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# jle

## Journal of Language & Education

### Editorial

Welcome to the first issue of the Journal of Language and Education (JLE) – the comprehensive platform that brings together researchers in such areas of inquiry as Linguistics, Psychology, Communication, Language Teaching and Learning. The JLE is also a fine-drawn forum for scientific debates about the significance and replicability of linguistic and education phenomena, presented in the papers of young researchers as well as those of well-established scientists. We invite all our readers to consider submitting their work in the mentioned areas to the JLE and to propose special issues in topic areas of emerging importance to the field.

This issue opens with the paper “Story genres in SFL: a more flexible taxonomy. Extrapolating a taxonomy of story genres in Spanish to story genres in English” by Grisel Salmaso. It is devoted to the taxonomy created on the basis of ‘anecdotes’ in Spanish that can be extrapolated to ‘anecdotes’ in English, as a stepping stone towards the extension of the application of such taxonomy to the five categories of story genres in English. The proposed research examines the differentiation between prototypical and non-prototypical, the recognition and characterization of complex NIs and the verification of the essential role of coproduction naturally conflate to a notorious flexibilization of the categories of NIs.

The article “Motivation of Russian students towards the learning of English” by Flora Komlosi presents motivation as playing one of the most important roles in the success of second and foreign language learning. The study seeks to identify the attitudes and motivation for learning English of students in the city of Surgut, in the Russian Federation. The results of the research show that most students did not lack intrinsic

motivation, they almost unanimously expressed the desire to learn English, in fact, extrinsic motivation proved to be the weakest motivator, one of the reasons for it being the impossibility to use the language in the area.

The paper “Chronotopic information of non-dialogic part of American dramatic text (based on the 20th century American plays)” by T. Orlova explored the informative potential of non-dialogic part of a dramatic text from the point of view of its content-related and semantic characteristics. The author focuses on spatiotemporal indications as the constituents of chronotopic information. The research suggests that the distinctive feature of the American plays of the first half of the XX century was the presence of large pieces of text and specific information in spatiotemporal indications in non-dialogic part.

Lozzi Martial Meutem Kamtchueng’s paper “Give an envelope for the boss/Give a brown envelope for the boss – On the semantics and characteristics of the metaphors for bribe across cultures: Focus on Cameroon and Nigeria” studies the use of metaphors for bribe that can be observed in speech of Nigerians and Cameroonians. The authors’ findings reveal that cultural, social and economic factors can provide insights into the values that account for the choice to refer to bribe by these language users. The present study may appeal to the international reader in terms of the intercultural interpretations on the value basis of the metaphors for bribe due to sociocultural environments as a reflection of the multilingual complexity of these countries.

In “The status of *si* in Yoruba” Olabode T. Abimbola studies the use of the syntax of sentential conjunction

in the Yoruba language with the view of ascertaining the actual syntactic function of *sì* on which opinions have been polarized. All the findings in this article further our understanding of generalization of meanings carried over from the traditional view to the generative theory. The overview revealed a need for further research of the Minimalist Program theoretical tool for the syntax analysis of sentential conjunction in languages.

The paper “Textual and prosodic features of an oral academic text” by Elena Velikaya presents a study done with new perspectives in the correlation and interdependence of cohesion, coherence, and prosody in students’ presentations. It should be noted that studying such linguistic features ensures a more profound comprehension of the intonation combinations mastering, oral communicative competence and generalized strategies for training in the area of communicative competence.

Natalia Ilyushchenko in “Comparative study of English and Russian phraseology: component theory of identity and difference of the same organization” investigates issues of the comparative study of English and Russian phraseology and semasiology, similarities and distinctions in the language world view and the peculiarities of different languages. The overview of previous research shows that a significant role when determining the degree of equivalence is also played by lexical structure, figurativeness, and grammatical form of the correlated units. The obtained results open fascinating opportunities for further research and comparative investigation of ways of the translation of phraseological units with no direct equivalents in other languages.

In “Lexical and grammatical means of distancing

strategy performed in the American political discourse (based on the Marie Harf’s briefings – a representative of U.S. Department of State)” Vera Karnyushina and Alina Makhina study some peculiar properties of the English lexis and grammar constructions that serve to realize communicative intention of request aimed at distance enforcement in the American political discourse. The research specifically determined various effective lexical, grammatical and ideological aspects that simulate a particular reality. The results of the study indicated that there is a necessary to emphasize the dependence of the subjective on the objective and critical objective for understanding the subjective.

Olga Krasnyak in her review on the book “Celebrities: Media Culture and the Phenomenology of Gadget Commodity Life” by Anthony Curtis Adler considers the philosophical aspects drawn from Heidegger, Marx, Althusser, and other influential thinkers in terms of their contributions to categories such as production and reproduction, commodities and consumption, being(s), values, and politics. The reviewer interpreted rhetoric correlations between different interpretations of the commodity, communication through self identify, methods that were used throughout the analysis of a number of television series, movies, and song/music videos.

We hope you will enjoy this first issue of the JLE, take part in the discussion of the proposed topics and that you will consider submitting your abstracts and sending comments.

Please, join us by submitting your work and suggestions for special issues in the coming months and years.

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# Story Genres in SFL: A More Flexible Taxonomy. Extrapolating a Taxonomy of Story Genres in Spanish to Story Genres in English

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The purpose of this article is: (i) to highlight the importance of flexibilizing the generic structure of the story genres proposed by Plum (2004) and Martin and Rose (2008) within the Systemic Functional Framework (SFL); (ii) to take up a taxonomy proposed for story genres in Spanish (Salmaso, 2009, 2010 a, 2010 b, 2012 a, 2014) which grants more flexibility to the generic structure of the five genres of the narrative family ('recounts', 'narratives', 'anecdotes', 'exempla' and 'observations') (Plum, 2004, Martin and Rose, 2008); (iii) to engage in a comparative study of the generic structure of one of the story genres: 'anecdote'. To this end, nine instances of 'anecdotes' were analyzed. All of the 'anecdotes' are written by native speakers of English belonging to different age and gender groups but with similar educational backgrounds (higher education). The examples are analyzed following Salmaso (2010, 2014) and comparisons are drawn between some aspects of the analysis presented herein and the analyses that would have been done following Plum's (2004) and Martin and Rose's (2008) taxonomies. Results show that it is possible to extrapolate the taxonomy of story genres in Spanish to English, in particular with respect to the genre 'anecdote' which is the focus of this article. Furthermore, this taxonomy enriches the analysis of 'anecdotes' and may be simpler and clearer for applied purposes, such as teaching.

*Keywords:* systemic functional linguistics, story genres, categories of Narrative Instances (NIs), anecdotes, generic structure

The theoretical framework underlying this article is Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), in particular, its notion of genre and, more specifically, story genres. This article takes up a taxonomy of story genres in Spanish (Salmaso, 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2012a, 2014) which grants flexibility and precision to the generic structure of story genres in English ('recounts', 'narratives', 'anecdotes', 'exempla' and 'observations') proposed by Plum (2004) and Martin and Rose (2008). The assumption is that the flexibility and precision of the taxonomy proposed for story genres in Spanish enriches the analysis of narrative instances belonging to the five story genres. Besides, as the taxonomy proposed for story genres in Spanish clearly establishes those constituents that the story genres have in common and those that differentiate them and define them, it is believed that such taxonomy is clearer, for example, for teaching purposes. This article presents

a comparative study of the generic structure of the story genre 'anecdote', which shows that the taxonomy created on the basis of 'anecdotes' in Spanish can be extrapolated to 'anecdotes' in English.

This research is an integral part of the project called "*Géneros textuales en la enseñanza de inglés como lengua extranjera*" (Genres in EFL). The general purpose of the project is the study of genres ('natural science reports', 'anecdotes', 'narratives', 'picture narratives', 'service encounters' and 'movie reviews') in order to generate didactic material to be used in schools of Mendoza Province, Argentina, which would help teachers become familiar with the Systemic Functional Linguistics Framework, and would provide them with the knowledge and techniques to teach how to produce and understand genres. This article attempts to make a contribution to the project with respect to the generic structure of the story genre 'anecdote'.

## Materials and Methods

SFL conceives language as a semiotic system, i.e. a system of options that we use to negotiate meanings, which belong to three linguistic metafunctions: ideational (integrated by the experiential and logical metafunctions), interpersonal and textual (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The ideational metafunction refers to the resources of a language used to represent human experience, the interpersonal metafunction refers to those language resources used to express how we enact our experience and the textual metafunction refers to the resources of a language used to organize the experience represented and enacted.

The system of language is divided into different strata: the level of context, the level of content (which consists of semantics and lexico-grammar) and the levels of expression (phonetics and phonology) (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The system of language – i.e. its potential as a meaning-making resource – instantiates in the form of a text. Texts are the authentic products of social interaction, which should be analyzed in relation to the context in which they are negotiated (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004).

Texts are instances or specific examples of text types or genres. The working definition of genre adopted in this article is the one proposed by Martin and Rose (2003, p. 7): “[...] a genre is a staged, goal-oriented social process.” It is a social process because, as members of a society, we interact and produce texts, which are instances of the genres recognized in our culture by social convention. These texts have a purpose and a structure that consists of stages or constituents, each of which has a purpose which contributes to achieving the overall aim of a text. In this regard, the notion of Generic Structure Potential (GSP) presented by Hasan (1996, p. 53) is also deployed in this article. GSP is an abstract category that represents all the possible variables in the generic structure of a particular genre. In the GSP of a genre all the obligatory and optional constituents are presented and they are assigned an order of occurrence and possibilities of iteration. A text – an instance of a genre – is considered to be complete when it presents all the obligatory constituents of the GSP of its genre. There might be variations from one text to another which may mean that the texts have different GSP – and, therefore, belong to different genres – or that each text selects different options given by the GSP – in which case they belong to the same genre but one of them, for example, presents more optional constituents than the other. Even though Hasan (1996) developed the notion of GSP based on the genre ‘fairy tales’, she claims this notion can be applied to all genres.

From casual conversation to written texts, innumerable linguistic practices instantiate “a

narrative quality”, a quality that intuitively makes us categorize a text as narrative. There are two essential elements that confer such “narrative quality” to a text: a chronological order of events, which involves characters that interact in a particular setting in time and place, and an evaluative element. This evaluative element typically refers to the expression of affection, desire and beliefs of the narrator or of the participants involved in the events. These two essential elements combine together in “narrative information structures”, which have different communicative purposes (Salmaso, 2014, p. 20).

Within the SFL framework there is a long tradition of research on narratives (Hasan, 1996; Martin & Rose, 2003, 2008; Martin, 2008; Martin & Plum, 1997; Plum, 2004; Rothery & Stenglin, 1997; Jordens, 2001, 2004; Eggins & Slade, 1997; Henderson-Brooks, 2006), which draws upon the general structure of narratives of personal experience proposed by Labov and Walezky (1997) and Labov (1972), with the following constituents: Abstract, Orientation, Complication, Evaluation, Result or Resolution and Coda. Labov (1972, p. 369) sustains that “a complete ‘narrative’ begins with an Orientation, proceeds to the Complicating Action, is suspended at the focus of Evaluation before the Resolution, and returns the listener to the present time with a Coda.”<sup>1</sup>

According to this general definition of narratives provided by Labov (1972), any narrative text that does not present all the stages of the narrative structure in the canonical order assigned to them results in an incomplete text, one which does not fulfill its purpose. This is certainly not true because as we narrate with many different purposes, it seems only natural to assume that we use different “narrative information structures” or generic structures to achieve our purpose. In this respect, and on the basis of the general structure of narratives proposed by Labov (1972) and Labov and Walezky (1997), Plum (2004) and Martin and Rose (2008) present five categories of story genres. Each category has a different purpose and, therefore, different generic structures.

The study of the family of story genres within the SFL tradition originates with research carried out by Plum (2004).<sup>2</sup> He conducted sociolinguistic interviews with fifty speakers of Australian English in Sydney on the topic of dog breeding and showing. The interview questions were specifically designed for the interviewees to produce story genres, in particular, ‘recounts’, ‘narratives’ and ‘thematic narratives’.<sup>3</sup> Plum (2004) ended up discovering that the subjects of his

<sup>1</sup> Initial capital letter is used to refer to the constituents of genres.

<sup>2</sup> Plum presented his PhD dissertation in 1988, which was published in 1998. However, as the digital version published in 2004 is the only one available, reference is made to that version.

<sup>3</sup> The names of the different genres are placed between single inverted commas.

Table 1  
*Genres produced in response to narrative questions (Plum, 2004, p. 263)*

<b>GENRE:</b>	<b>recount</b>	<b>narrative</b>	<b>anecdote</b>	<b>exemplum</b>	<b>observation</b>
<b>orientation:</b>					
metafunctional	experiential focus		interpersonal focus		
'real world'	representational		interpretative		
'contextual'	independent (text as artefact)		dependent (texts as a reflection on context)		
Purposive (to:)	account	enthrall	amuse	make a point	
				'objectively'	'subjectively'

study produced not the three expected story genres but five different types of narratives texts in response to the questions. Therefore, Plum (2004) came up with five categories of story genres: ‘recounts’, ‘anecdotes’, ‘narratives’, ‘exempla’ and ‘observations’, which have certain aspects in common but which differ from each other with respect to their purpose and, thus, have different stages or constituents to achieve their purpose (see Table 1).

The categories of story genres proposed by Plum (2004) are taken up by Martin and Rose (2008), who illustrate their proposal with texts from Australian aborigines originated in response to questions about their past, in particular traumatic events. The proposals in Martin and Rose (2008) and Plum (2004) differ only in a few respects. One of them is the denomination of constituents and the fact that Martin and Rose (2008) recognize the existence of the initial and final constituents called Abstract and Coda, respectively, only for some story genres, while Plum considers them to be optional constituents for all five of the story genres. Also, Martin and Rose (2004) focus more on the purpose of each of the story genres and how to distinguish one genre from another. The main difference between the two proposals is that Plum (2004) organizes the narrative categories in a continuum (see Table 1), which shows the differences with respect to the metafunctional focus — i.e. whether there is a focus on the interpersonal or experiential meanings —, the relationship of the text with the real world — i.e. whether the text represents or interprets the world around us —, and the dependence of the text on the context — i.e. whether the text is an artifact in itself and therefore is independent from the context or whether the text is used to reflect upon the context and is therefore dependent on it.

Salmaso (2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2012a, 2014) argues that the generic structures of the story genres in Plum (2004) and Martin and Rose (2008) — which originate from narrative instances in English that are induced, i.e. produced in response to questions specifically designed to generate story genres — do not account for

the characteristics she finds in the spontaneous story genres in Spanish of her corpus. Salmaso (2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2014) analyses narrative instances produced in admission interviews in public mental health carried out in youth centers in Mendoza, Argentina. The main characteristics of the narrative instances in such interviews are that they are spontaneous, oral and coproduced. In order to make the story genres in Plum (2004) and Martin and Rose (2008) applicable to the analysis of the narrative instances in her corpus, Salmaso (2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2012a, 2014) creates a taxonomy which grants flexibility to the generic structure of the five story genres within SFL.

Salmaso (2014) bases her proposal on Rosch’s (1978) Prototype Theory and Hasan’s (1996) Generic Structure Potential (GSP). Salmaso (2014) conceives story genres — which she refers to as categories of narrative instances (NIs), a denomination which will be used hereafter — as heterogeneous and non-discrete classes, which have members that are more representative of each class than others. Hasan’s (1996) and Salmaso’s (2014) proposals differ in that while both assign a canonical order for the constituents in the GSP of a genre, the latter sustains that the presentation of constituents in a canonical order is not a classification parameter and that this order can be altered without influencing the classification of a NI into one category or another (Salmaso, 2014, p. 29, 54). According to Salmaso (2014), the NIs that are prototypical in each category of NI are those that present all the constituents (obligatory and non-obligatory ones) of their category in the canonical order, while those that present, for example, only the obligatory ones in an order different from the canonical are less prototypical.<sup>4</sup>

Following Labov (1972), Salmaso (2014, p. 46) defines Nis as a means to reconstruct past events that refer to the same topic and that are temporally

<sup>4</sup> Salmaso (2014) not only analyses the generic aspects of the five categories of NIs but she also gives evidence at a lexicogrammatical level to show the validity of the taxonomy she proposes. These aspects will not be discussed here since they are not relevant for the general purpose of the article.



and logically connected. Salmaso (2014, p. 46) adds that narratives are not just a compilation of past events but, most importantly, they have expressions of evaluation of different types and that these evaluations are what actually motivate the speakers to narrate. In fact, NIs can consist of just one event (although it is not frequent) when such event is used with evaluative purposes.

There are three main general characteristics in Salmaso's (2014) proposal: canonical order of constituents versus rhetorical order of constituents, coproduction of NIs and complex NIs. Salmaso (2014, p. 54) conceives two levels of analysis of the generic structure of NIs: canonical order and rhetorical order. The canonical order is the typical order of occurrence of constituents in a NI, which Salmaso (2014) specifies for each of the categories. The rhetorical order is the observable and specific sequence in which the speaker selects to present the constituents. The NIs in Salmaso (2014) are oral instances narrated by patients in admission interviews carried out by public mental health professionals. The changes in the canonical order are many times caused by the intervention of the professional while the patients are narrating. These changes are also due to the fact that the narrator chooses, either consciously or unconsciously, a rhetorical order that better helps him fulfill his purpose. Salmaso (2014) shows that when the rhetorical order does not coincide with the canonical order, it is nevertheless possible to classify a NI as a member of one category or another. Therefore, the canonical order of constituents is not a classification parameter, which helps give flexibility to the new taxonomy. NIs that would not be classifiable following Plum (2004) and Martin and Rose (2008) into any category due to a different sequencing of constituents are not discarded as members of a category in Salmaso's (2014) taxonomy. There are some cases in which there is no real alteration in the canonical order of presentation of constituents but there is a slight change in the structure of NIs caused by iteration of constituents (See example (2) for iteration of constituents and example (3) for a rhetorical order of constituents different from the canonical one).

The alterations in the canonical order are related to another characteristic of Salmaso's (2014) proposal: coproduction. As mentioned before, the NIs in Salmaso (2014) are produced in public mental health admission interviews. The questions or requests for clarification by the professionals often produce the generation of a constituent and sometimes the generation of an entire NI. This phenomena of coproduction of NIs is particularly relevant for the analysis of NIs that are produced within a conversation, so as not to leave aside segments that are highly important in the narrative structure just because they are produced by a participant that is not the narrator. However, coproduction is not only relevant for the analysis of

oral NIs within a conversation. Coproduction is also found in written NIs when the narrator makes use of dialogues between participants. Recognizing the existence of coproduction might be of great use when analyzing written NIs and when teaching how to produce this type of genres, for example, for teachers to foster the use of such resources instead of banning or disregarding its use (see example (1) for coproduction).

Salmaso (2014) also recognizes the existence of complex NIs. Even if Plum (2004) analyses examples where he finds complex NIs, which he calls "embedded" narratives, he does not give a specific definition of them, neither does he explain in which constituents they can be inserted or how they originate. Salmaso (2014) explains that complex NIs in her corpus are produced by the ramifications that are typical of NIs in conversations. Speakers narrating orally and spontaneously often make clarifications or add details to their NIs which result in the insertion of a NI within another narrative, for example, a 'recount' in the Record of Events constituent within a 'narrative'. According to the examples of complex NIs in Salmaso's (2014) corpus, she restricts the insertion of NIs to evaluative and eventive (disruptive and non-disruptive) constituents. The insertion of NIs is not possible in descriptive constituents which denote states, i.e. 'orientation' and 'reorientation'.<sup>5</sup> In relation to this concept of complex NIs, Salmaso (2014) highlights a phenomena which she calls "syntax of constituents", which refers to the variety of combinations between the constituents of the main NI and the NIs inserted in it. This phenomenon suggests that a segment can have different and simultaneous functions and can, therefore, be simultaneously labeled as a constituent of a NI and as a NI in itself. Salmaso (2014, p. 53) finds three different cases of syntax of constituents: (i) the realization of each constituent of the main NI by one, two or three constituents of the inserted NIs; (ii) the realization of one constituent of the main NI by all the constituents of the inserted NI and; (iii) the realization of one constituent of the main NI by two inserted NIs. (See example (3) for complex NIs)

Apart from these broad characteristics of NIs, Salmaso (2014) proposes some specific changes generalizable to the five categories of NIs. Taking into account the perspective of the family of story genres (Martin and Rose, 2008), Salmaso (2014) believes it is necessary to establish more similarities between the members of the family of story genres: 'recounts',

<sup>5</sup> For practical purposes of analyses, Salmaso (2014) groups constituents into three main classes: descriptive, eventive and evaluative. Descriptive constituents present characters, time and place (Orientation and Reorientation). Eventive constituents denote the main events and all the events either logically or temporally related to them (for example, Abstract, Record of Events, Disruption). Evaluative constituents express positive or negative evaluations of affect, judgment or appreciation (Martin and White, 2005) (for example, Evaluation, Interpretation, Comment).

'narratives', 'anecdotes', 'exempla' and 'observations'. She considers that the different categories of NIs (members of the family of story genres) have more constituents in common than Abstract, Orientation and Coda, as proposed by Plum (2004) — but not identified as constituents in common by Martin and Rose (2008). Therefore, Salmaso (2014) proposes a taxonomy that revolves around constituents that are common and differential in each category.

The taxonomy in Salmaso (2014) — summarized in Table 2 — uses the same label for those constituents that have the same function in different categories of NIs, while Plum (2004) and Martin and Rose (2008) use different labels for constituents that have the same function in all the categories of NIs. For example, Martin and Rose (2008) and Plum (2004) assign a different label to the disruptive event in each category of NI when it has exactly the same function in all of the categories. For this reason and, in order to provide a taxonomy that clearly distinguishes those constituents that differentiate the categories of NIs and those they have in common, Salmaso (2014) gives the same label to the disruptive event of all the categories of NIs: Disruption, and she shows that it has the same function in all the categories, i.e. to change the normal course of events.

Another phenomenon that Salmaso's (2014) taxonomy attempts to avoid is assigning a multiplicity of functions to one constituent. While Plum (2004) and Martin and Rose (2008) sometimes assign more than one function to the same constituent, Salmaso (2014) assigns a single function to each constituent in all the different categories of NIs. An example of multiplicity of functions of one constituent is that of the Coda. Martin and Rose (2008) assign different functions to the Coda in each category of NI and sometimes even more than one function per category. In order to clarify the function of the Coda, Salmaso (2014) assigns it just one function, which is the same in all the categories of NIs, i.e., a final event or reflection which brings the NI to an end.

Following Plum (2004, p. 231), Salmaso (2014) recognizes the possibility of fusion of constituents which occurs when the function of two (or more) constituents is not distinctively realized in a given text, either because they occur in the same clause and it is not possible to clearly distinguish each of the constituents or because they are interspersed in a section of text and separating them would just imply an artificial and repetitive labeling of constituents, showing them as iterative when there is really no iteration. Salmaso (2014) explains that the definition of constituents in terms of a unique function does not exclude the possibility of fusion of constituents since, when there is fusion, it is not possible to clearly determine the boundaries between constituents but it

is possible to clearly state the function of each of them (Examples (1), (2) and (3) show fusion of constituents).

Salmaso (2014) not only defines constituents in terms of a unique function but also shows the existence of more constituents in each of the categories of NIs, constituents which perform a function that is not distinguished or accounted for by Plum (2004) and Martin and Rose (2008) for story genres in English. An example is the inclusion of an Evaluation in 'recounts' (Salmaso, 2009, 2014) which has exactly the same function as the Evaluation in 'narratives' — i.e. to evaluate the effects of the events or the participants in those events through positive or negative affect, judgment or appreciation, — and a constituent called Interpretation of the Reaction in 'anecdotes' (Salmaso, 2010, 2014) which has the function of explaining and evaluating why a participant in an 'anecdote' reacted in a certain way to a disruptive event.

The changes Salmaso (2014) proposes in the generic structure of the different categories of NIs result in a slight change in the purpose of each of the categories as well as in their classification in a continuum determined by the parameters focus, relation with the real world and dependence on the context (Plum, 2004) (see Table 1). For example, the purpose of 'recounts' is to show how a series of non-disruptive events affect the participants in those events and, due to the inclusion of an Evaluation (Salmaso, 2009, 2014), they are typically used to evaluate the effects of the events or the participants involved in those events. Also, including an Evaluation in 'recounts' produces changes as regards the three parameters mentioned above. The focus of 'recounts' is on the events but they possess a highly relevant interpersonal element realized by the Evaluation. They are representative of the real world but the Evaluation gives them an interpersonal quality and they are independent from the context, i.e., they are artifacts in themselves (Plum, 2004), but at the same time they may be used to reflect upon the context.

In brief, Salmaso (2014) proposes a flexible and precise taxonomy for the classification of NIs in which the different categories are characterized by defining their constituents in terms of a unique function and by establishing with precision which constituents are common to all categories and which are differential, the latter being those that distinguish and determine each category of NI. The differentiation between prototypical and non-prototypical NIs, the recognition and characterization of complex NIs and the verification of the essential role of coproduction naturally conflate to a notorious flexibilization of the categories of NIs. Salmaso's (2014) proposal is summarized below in Table 2.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> For a complete summary of Plum's (2004) and Martin and Rose's (2008) taxonomy for the five categories of NIs see Salmaso (2014, p. 43-46).

STORY GENRES IN SFL

Table 2

Categories of NIs: generic structure, purpose, focus, relation with the real world and context dependence - Translated from Salmaso (2014)<sup>7</sup>

Category of NI	<b>Recount:</b> Series of non-disruptive events that are culturally significant. Recounts are typically used to evaluate the effects of the events or the participants in those events.	<b>Narrative:</b> Series of events with a disruption which gets solved, either because an actual solution is provided or because there is an adaptation to the new situation created by the disruption.	<b>Anecdote:</b> Series of events with a disruption which produces a reaction in a participant in the events or the narrator of the events. The reaction is typically interpreted by a participant/narrator.	<b>Exemplum:</b> Series of events with a disruption which are narrated to judge the behaviour of a participant involved in the events.	<b>Observation:</b> Series of events with a disruption which are told to show the effects of the disruption on the narrator.
<b>Generic structure</b>	(Abstract)	(Abstract)	(Abstract)	(Abstract)	(Abstract)
	(Orientation)	(Orientation)	(Orientation)	(Orientation)	(Orientation)
	Record of events	( Record of events )	( Record of events )	( Record of events )	( Record of events )
	_____	Inter-personal Disruption	Inter-personal Disruption	Inter-personal Disruption	Interpersonal Disruption
	(Consequence of the events)	Inter-personal resolution	Inter-personal resolution	Reaction	_____
	(Evaluation) - positive or negative expression of affect, judgment or appreciation-	(Evaluation) - positive or negative expression of affect, judgment or appreciation-	(Interpretation of the reaction) - positive or negative expression of affect, judgment or appreciation-	Interpretation - positive or negative expression of judgment-	Comment - positive or negative expression of affect or appreciation -
	(Reorientation)	(Reorientation)	(Reorientation)	(Reorientation)	(Reorientation)
	(Coda)	(Coda)	(Coda)	(Coda)	(Coda)
<b>Purpose</b>	To tell events that are not disruptive but are all the same culturally significant. In most cases, the point of recounts is to evaluate the effects of the events or the participants involved in those events.	To show how a disruptive event is solved or how people adapt to the disruption, and to evaluate the disruption, the resolution or a participant in the events.	To show (and interpret) the reaction of a participant or the narrator towards a disruptive event.	To judge the behaviour of the participants in a disruptive event.	To show the effects of a disruptive event on the narrator who expresses his feelings (affect) or evaluates the events (appreciation)
<b>Focus</b>	Focus on the events: Experiential (there might be interpersonal elements)	Balance between the events and the evaluation: Experiential- Interpersonal		Focus on the evaluation: Interpersonal	
<b>Relation with the real world</b>	Representative (also interpretative when there is Evaluation)	Representative-Interpretative		Interpretative	
<b>Context dependence</b>	-C = The text is an artefact in itself that is sometimes used to reflect on the context	+/- C= The text as an artefact in itself and as a way to reflect on the context		+C = The text is used to reflect on the context	

<sup>7</sup> ( ) indicates constituents that are not obligatory

## Results and Discussion

The purpose of this article is: (i) to highlight the importance of flexibilizing the generic structure of the story genres proposed by Plum (2004) and Martin and Rose (2008) within the Systemic Functional Framework (SFL), (ii) to take up a taxonomy proposed for story genres in Spanish (Salmaso, 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2012 a, 2014) which grants more flexibility to the generic structure of the five genres of the narrative family ('recounts', 'narratives', 'anecdotes', 'exempla' and 'observations') (Plum, 2004, Martin and Rose, 2008) and (iii) to engage in a comparative study of the generic structure of the story genre: 'anecdote'. The final aim of this article is to confirm whether the taxonomy created on the basis of 'anecdotes' in Spanish can be extrapolated to 'anecdotes' in English, as a stepping-stone towards the extension of the application of such taxonomy to the five categories of story genres in English.

The central hypotheses of this research are: (i) that it is possible to extrapolate the taxonomy in Salmaso (2014) produced on the basis of oral, coproduced and spontaneous NIs in Spanish to written, induced NIs in English and; (ii) that the use of such taxonomy simplifies and enriches the analysis of the NIs in English, particularly for applied purposes. These hypotheses have been tested for the category 'anecdote' and the results are illustrated in this article with the analysis of induced, written instances in English. Nine instances of 'anecdotes' were analyzed, all of which were written by native speakers of English belonging to different age and gender groups but with similar educational backgrounds (higher education). Due to space restrictions, the analysis of only three instances of 'anecdotes' is presented in this article. The examples of 'anecdotes' were generated in response to the following instruction: write one or two anecdotes (or what in your mind is an anecdote) related to some 'special' (inspiring, scary, funny, etc.) event in your life.

The texts were analyzed following the generic structure proposed by Salmaso (2010, 2014) and drawing comparisons, when pertinent, with an analysis that draws on Plum (2004) and Martin and Rose (2008). The different instances of 'anecdotes' are analyzed only in terms of their generic structure – reference to lexicogrammatical features is made only when entirely relevant and, in particular, with reference to the evaluative constituent of 'anecdotes' in terms of Appraisal (Martin and White, 2005) and the boundaries and transition between constituents in terms of types of Themes<sup>8</sup> (Halliday, 1994; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Martin et al., 1997; Fries, 1995). The constituents are labeled in bold type between square brackets (see Analysis and Results section).

<sup>8</sup> Theme with initial capital letter is used to refer to the type of Theme: marked or unmarked topical, textual or interpersonal.

Even though the taxonomy in Salmaso (2014) was created on the basis of NIs in Spanish and in the context of admission interviews in public mental health, its flexibility suggests that the taxonomy can be extrapolated to the analysis of NIs that are produced in similar contexts, i.e. semi-structured interviews in public or private institutions, carried out face to face, with the purpose and roles of the interactants similar to those of the admission interviews in Salmaso (2014). Likewise, it is possible to predict that, because of its flexibility, the precision in the definition of constituents and the clear distinction between the different categories of NIs, the taxonomy in Salmaso (2014) may be useful for the analysis of NIs produced in contexts different from the one that originated it.

This article focuses on the category of NI 'anecdote'. Therefore, it is necessary to specify the changes that Salmaso (2010, 2014) proposes for 'anecdotes'. First, Salmaso (2010, 2014) renames the Extraordinary Event calling it Disruption, and argues that the Extraordinary Event in 'anecdotes' does not differ from the disruptive events in all the categories of NIs. That is the reason why Salmaso (2010, 2014) assigns the same name to all disruptive events in all categories of NIs. Salmaso (2010, 2014) states that the Disruption may be any type of event – either positive (e.g. funny) or negative (e.g. catastrophic) – or the attitude or behavior of a person, and that as such event or attitude is contrary to what is expected in a particular situation, it changes the normal course of events. Salmaso (2010, 2014) distinguishes two types of Disruption in 'anecdotes': Interpersonal Disruption and Natural Disruption. The Interpersonal Disruption refers to human conflicts, i.e. problems related to feelings, thoughts, actions, etc. of the participants in the events. The Natural disruption refers to natural phenomena (e.g. an earthquake, rain, etc.) as well as external conflicts (e.g. a car accident, losing the key to our house, etc.).

As mentioned before, the Disruption in one of the constituents that 'anecdotes' have in common with the other categories of NIs – with the exception of 'recounts', which do not have a disruptive event. What distinguishes 'anecdotes' from the other categories is the Reaction. What is significant about 'anecdotes' is that one or more participants involved in the events react to the Disruption, while in 'narratives', for example, the Disruption is resolved.

It is precisely in relation to the Reaction that Salmaso (2010, 2014) proposes another change in the generic structure of 'anecdotes'. She redefines the function of the Reaction and introduces another constituent called Interpretation of the Reaction. While Martin and Rose (2008) consider the reaction to be the evaluative constituent of 'anecdotes' in which the events are explicitly assessed from the point of view of the narrator with expressions of affect (Martin and White, 2005), Salmaso (2010, 2014) argues that the

Reaction (for example, “I decided to leave”, “I turned round and didn’t say a word”) shows the behavior of the narrator or a participant in the events towards the Disruption, but she sustains that the Reactions of her corpus do not have an evaluative quality. Salmaso (2010, 2014) considers the Interpretation of the Reaction to be the evaluative constituent in ‘anecdotes’. In the Interpretation of the Reaction, the Reaction is evaluated either positively or negatively through affect, judgment or appreciation (Martin and White, 2005), for example, “I reacted so badly because I was terribly angry”. The Interpretation of the Reaction is clearly a consolidation of the Reaction we expect in an ‘anecdote’.

The inclusion of the Interpretation of the reaction brings about other changes regarding the function of constituents in ‘anecdotes’. Martin and Rose (2008) mention the function of the Interpretation of the Reaction but they assign this function to the Coda, which, at the same time, they consider to be the constituent that reorients the ‘anecdote’. Besides, when defining the Coda for other categories of NIs, Martin and Rose (2008) give it a third function: a final event that wraps up the NI. As Salmaso’s (2014) aim is to define constituents in terms of a unique function and to clearly show which constituents are common to all categories, she states that the Coda is a constituent that presents the final event or a final reflection on the whole ‘anecdote’ and claims that the Coda has the same function in all categories of NIs. She includes another constituent common to all categories, the Reorientation, which has the sole function of reorienting the ‘anecdote’ – and all the other categories of Nis – in space and time. For the other function assigned to the Coda in ‘anecdotes’ by Martin and Rose (2008), Salmaso (2010, 2014) introduces the new constituent mentioned and defined before called Interpretation of the Reaction.

Salmaso (2010, 2014) also shows that ‘anecdotes’ may have an Abstract which Labov (1972) includes as a constituent of ‘narratives’ and Plum (2004) considers to be a constituent of all categories of NIs – but it is not explicitly included by Martin and Rose (2018) for any of the categories of NIs. Salmaso (2010, 2014) also includes a Record of Events, a constituent that is common to all categories of NIs according to her taxonomy.

To sum up, the generic structure of ‘anecdotes’ in Salmaso’s (2010, 2014) taxonomy is the following:

(Abstract) ^ (Orientation) ^ (Record of events) ^ Natural disruption ^ Interpersonal disruption ^ Reaction ^ (Interpretation of the reaction) ^ (Reorientation) ^ (Coda)<sup>9</sup>

The constituents above are presented in the canonical order of occurrence and, as previously

explained, Salmaso (2014) states that this order may be altered. The alteration in the order of presentation of constituents is due to the decision (either conscious or unconscious) of the narrator to use a rhetorical order different from the canonical one. According to the above formulaic representation of the generic structure of ‘anecdotes’, the only constituents that are obligatory in this category are the Disruption (either natural or interpersonal) and the Reaction and they are, therefore, the ones that define the category and distinguish it from the others. The following are the definitions that are to be applied to distinguish the different constituents in the generic structure of ‘anecdotes’ according to Salmaso (2010, 2014):

- Abstract: one or more clauses that briefly narrate the main event in the ‘anecdote’, which is usually the disruptive event.
- Orientation: one or more clauses that present the characters and/or the time and place where the events in the ‘anecdote’ occur.
- Record of events: a sequence of clauses that present one or more non-disruptive events.

The events in the Record of Events in an ‘anecdote’ unfold along a specific stretch of time (a day, last weekend, last holidays, a special day in my childhood, a trip, etc.), are temporally and logically related and lead to the Disruption.

- Interpersonal Disruption: a sequence of clauses that change the normal course of events; such change is caused by one or more of the participants (which might be the narrator) in the ‘anecdote’.
- Natural Disruption: a sequence of clauses that change the normal course of events; such change is caused by some sort of natural phenomena (e.g. an earthquake) or an external conflict (e.g. a car crash).

The Disruption (either interpersonal or natural) may consist of just one clause when there is a Record of Events, and such clause is temporally or logically linked to the clauses in the Record of Events.

- Reaction: one or more clauses that show the behavior of the narrator or another participant towards the Disruption.

The reaction is logically and/or temporally related to the event(s) in the Disruption.

- Interpretation of the Reaction: one or more clauses where the reaction is evaluated. The evaluation might be positive or negative and it may express affect, judgment or appreciation.
- Reorientation: one or more clauses that recontextualize the ‘anecdote’ in terms of time and space. Usually, the recontextualization is to the time of speaking.
- Coda: one or more clauses that present the final event or a final reflection of the whole ‘anecdote’, finishing off the ‘anecdote’.

<sup>9</sup> Notations:

( ) indicates constituents that are not obligatory

^ means followed by

^ denotes disjunction

The changes in the generic structure of ‘anecdotes’ presented in Salmaso (2010, 2014) produce changes in the purpose of this category of NI. According to Salmaso, the purpose of ‘anecdotes’ is to show the reaction of a participant/narrator towards the Disruption. When the constituent Interpretation of the Reaction is present, the narrator uses the anecdote to interpret his own reaction or the reaction of another participant.

Salmaso (2010, 2014) also reconsiders the three parameters for classification of NIs proposed by Plum (2004): the focus of the text – whether the text has interpersonal or experiential focus, – the relation of the text with the real world – whether the text is used to represent or interpret the real world – and context dependency – whether the text is an artifact in itself, independent from the context or whether the text is dependent on the context and used to reflect upon it. Plum (2004) places ‘anecdotes’ in the middle of the continuum (see Table 1) since he considers ‘anecdotes’ to be experiential and interpersonal, representative and interpretative of the real world and independent from the context although they are used to reflect upon it. Salmaso (2014) agrees with Plum’s (2004) classification of ‘anecdotes’ into the continuum. However, as Salmaso (2010, 2014) does not consider the Reaction in ‘anecdotes’ to be the evaluative constituent and as the evaluative constituent in ‘anecdotes’, the Interpretation of the Reaction is an optional constituent, she believes the focus of anecdotes is on the events and that they are, therefore, more experiential than representative and that they are independent from the context. Only when the Interpretation of the Reaction is present do ‘anecdotes’ have a balance between the experiential and the interpersonal, representation and interpretation of the real world and, in such cases, they are still independent of the context and, at the same time, they serve to reflect upon it.

## Analysis

### Example (1)

**[Orientation/Abstract]**<sup>10</sup> You never really understand the worth of what surrounds you until you’re taken out of that environment and sent 6,000 miles away. Living in the foothills of the Andes mountains for half a year to learn Spanish forced me to reexamine the life I left at home. **[Record of Events]** One evening, I was sitting at the dinner table with my Argentine host-mom, and I was gushing about the beauty of the mountains she got to look at every day. I was jealous that we didn’t have mountains where I was from. “Well, what do you have in Missouri?” she asked me. With my limited Spanish vocabulary, I told

<sup>10</sup>Fusion of constituents is signaled with the symbol /

her that we had wild rabbits, squirrels, turtles, turkeys, peacocks, raccoons, opossums, and I wanted to tell her that we also had a lot of deer. **[Interpersonal Disruption]** However, I didn’t know the word in Spanish for deer, so I began to creatively describe it, just as I was forced to do every day when I didn’t know the word for something. “They’re kind of like horses, but smaller. They’re bigger than dogs. And they have hair on their bodies and horns--” **[Reaction]** “You have Bambi’s in Missouri?” she yelled excitedly. “Bambi’s... yeah!” I responded, laughing. “What is the word in Spanish for those animals, though?” I asked. “Well, I don’t know. We don’t have Bambi’s in Argentina,” she told me. “But you have all the Bambi animals where you live!” **[Interpretation of the Reaction]** She was so excited to imagine my house in the middle of the woods surrounded by lush green fields, rabbits named Thumper, and skunks named Flower. **[Reorientation]** Every time I see a deer at home now, **[Coda]** I think of my excited host-mom, sitting at the dinner table, laughing and talking about how fun it would be to have Bambi’s in your own back yard. This is a special memory that will stay with me for a long time because just like a death in the family forces you to give your mom more hugs or a near car crash causes you to drive more carefully, glimpsing a Bambi crossing the street reminds me to be thankful for the world that surrounds me, whether it be majestic mountains, the vast, blue sea, or green, rolling hills.

Example (1) presents one of the general characteristics in Salmaso’s (2010, 2014) proposal: coproduction of constituents. In this case, the coproduction is not at the time of speaking between the narrator and his/her interlocutor, as is the case in some NIs in Salmaso’s (2010, 2014) corpus, but between two of the participants in the events in the ‘anecdote’. The latter type of coproduction is as relevant as the former and it is important to acknowledge its existence, for example for teaching purposes, in order to make it explicit to students who are learning to write or tell ‘anecdotes’ that this category of NI – and all categories for that matter – are not always monologic, and that including dialogues is a valid and powerful linguistic resource to make the events more vivid to the reader or listener of the ‘anecdote’.

Example (1) follows the generic structure of ‘anecdotes’ proposed by Salmaso (2010, 2014). It has the obligatory constituents as well as all the non-obligatory ones and there is no alteration in their canonical of presentation. In this instance of anecdote there is fusion of two constituents: Abstract and Orientation. In the first clauses of the ‘anecdote’, the narrator makes reference to the place where the events happened, first in a general way - “6,000 miles away” - and later more specifically – “in the foothills of the Andes mountains”. These elements constitute

the Orientation of the ‘anecdote’ together with one of the participants presented in these clauses which is the narrator herself – “forced **me** to reexamine the life **I** left at home”. Intermingled with these references to the place and one of the participants in the ‘anecdote’, there is the Abstract. In this case, the Abstract summarizes the Coda, probably because the Disruption and all the other events in the ‘anecdote’ are not that relevant compared to what the narrator learnt from them, which is the final reflection the narrator makes in the Coda. The evaluative language used in the Abstract shows its close connection with the Coda: “really understand the worth of what surrounds” – inscribed positive appreciation: valuation (Martin & White, 2005) – and “forced me to reexamine the life I left at home” – invoked affect: inclination (Martin & White, 2005).

The beginning of the Record of events is signaled by the marked topical Theme (circumstance of time) “One evening”, which introduces a sequence of non-disruptive events that took place that evening: she was talking to her Argentine host-mom, she made reference to the beauty of the mountains around them, the host-mom asked her about Missouri, and she started mentioning the natural beauties and animals in Missouri. This non-disruptive sequence of events is altered by the Interpersonal Disruption – caused by the participants – that is signaled by the textual Theme (concessive conjunction) “however”. The change in the normal course of events presented previously in the Record of Events is due to the fact that the narrator did not remember the Spanish word for deer and she used Bambi instead, which is what triggered the Reaction of the host-mom and of the narrator herself. There is inscribed affect: happiness (Martin & White, 2005) in the Reaction: “she yelled excitedly” and “I responded, laughing”.

Even though the use of affect in the Reaction seems to contradict Salmaso’s (2010, 2014) redefinition of the Reaction as an eventive constituent (instead of an evaluative one), it is relevant to point out that if we do away with the inscribed affect (Martin and White, 2005) there would still be a Reaction. The point is that the reaction may or may not contain inscribed attitude (Martin & White, 2005) and, when it does not, its purpose of showing the behavior of the narrator/participant towards the Disruption is still fulfilled. In fact, as mentioned before, there is also inscribed appreciation (Martin & White, 2005) in the Abstract and that does not make it the evaluative constituent of ‘anecdotes’. The Reaction is considered to be an eventive constituent because it is an event that is logically and chronologically connected with the rest of the events in the ‘anecdote’, while when the Interpretation of the Reaction – which is the constituent considered to be evaluative by Salmaso

(2010, 2014) – is present, it does not have a logical or temporal connection with the events in the ‘anecdote’ but the narrator takes distance from the events, interrupting the narrative flow to reflect upon them, in particular to evaluate the Reaction.

When the intention of the narrator is to use the ‘anecdotes’ not just to show how someone reacted towards a Disruption but to interpret the real world – in Plum’s (2004) terms – he/she includes an Interpretation of the Reaction to highlight the relevance of telling the ‘anecdote’. The purpose of the Interpretation of the Reaction is precisely to evaluate the Reaction by interpreting the reasons why a participant acted in a certain way when faced with a disruptive event. This is exactly what the narrator does in the Interpretation of the Reaction of example (1): she explains why her host-mom reacted so excitedly, “She was so excited to imagine my house in the middle of the woods surrounded by lush green fields, rabbits named Thumper, and skunks named Flower.” The Interpretation of the Reaction is not an event, as the Reaction, but a reflection upon an event.

After the Interpretation of the Reaction, there is a Reorientation that brings back the ‘anecdote’ to the time of speaking “Every time I see a deer at home **now**”, followed by the Coda that, as previously mentioned, provides a reflection of all the events in the ‘anecdote’ showing the importance of those events in the life of the narrator and bringing the ‘anecdote’ to an end.

If this example (1) had been analyzed following the generic structure of ‘anecdotes’ proposed by Martin and Rose (2008), the analysis would have been quite different. Martin and Rose do not consider the Abstract to be a constituent of ‘anecdotes’; therefore, the function of the Abstract and the connection between the Abstract and the Coda would not have been taken into account and the information in the Abstract would have probably been labeled Orientation. As Martin and Rose (2008) do not consider the Record of Events as a constituent of ‘anecdotes’, the information contained in that constituent would also be included in the Orientation, which they define as the constituent that shows a state of normality. Thus, the Orientation would be fulfilling three functions: to summarize the most important event in the ‘anecdote’, to introduce characters and place and to present events that demonstrate a state of normalcy. This means including general information, descriptive information (place and characters) and eventive information (concerning events) altogether under the same label, underestimating the relevance of the function that each of these constituents have in achieving the purpose of the whole ‘anecdote’. Moreover, Martin & Rose (2008) do not include the Interpretation of the Reaction or the Reorientation as constituents of ‘anecdotes’ and they define the Coda

as the constituent where the Reaction is interpreted and/or where the story is reoriented. Again, there would be a constituent with at least two different functions since the Interpretation of the Reaction and the Reorientation would be included under the label Coda. The question is what would be done with the information analyzed as Coda following Salmaso's (2010, 2014) proposal. It would probably be included under the label Coda as well but not because Martin and Rose (2008) specify such a function for the Coda of 'anecdotes', but only because they define the coda as a final event or final reflection when referring to the generic structure of other categories of NIs. The only difference between Martin and Rose's (2008) proposal and Plum's (2004) is that Plum recognizes the existence of an Abstract and he assigns it a function similar to Salmaso (2010, 2014). Therefore, that would be the only aspect that would be different analyzing the text from Martin & Rose's (2008) perspective and Plum's (2004) perspective.

**Example (2)**

**[Abstract/Orientation]** One of the most memorable moments in my life came one night when I was fishing with Titus. He was about 8 or 9 years old. We went to a place on the edge of Seneca Lake to fish for a few minutes after dinner one night. The sun was just going down. **[Record of Events]** We did not have any luck catching fish, so we were about to pack up our gear and head home. **[Natural Disruption 1]** But at that moment I saw a slight movement on the pier where we were standing. The pier – actually it was more of a jetty – was made entirely out of rocks, so there were cracks between the rocks. Out of one of the cracks appeared a little black nose. Then the head appeared. It was a mink – a small, but cute, rat-like animal. The mink was obviously a baby. It was probably about the size of my hand. It came out and walked towards Titus and I. Then another appeared from another crack. Then another. And another. By the end there were probably a dozen minks walking around that jetty. They walked to us and started to sniff our shoes; then they climbed on top of our shoes. **[Reaction 1]** These were wild animals! But they were so cute. I imagine it was the first time they ever left the nest. **[Natural Disruption 2]** After about 10 minutes I realized that if there were a dozen baby minks around, there was probably a mother mink around too. Knowing that minks have very sharp teeth, **[Reaction 2]** I told Titus it was time to leave. **[Coda]** But I would say it was one of the times in my life that I felt most connected to nature.

Example (2) follows the generic structure of 'anecdotes' proposed by Salmaso (2010, 2014) and the constituents are presented in their canonical order. The optional constituents, Interpretation of the Reaction and Reorientation, are not present in this example. The

alterations in the structure of the 'anecdote' are not due to the fact that the narrator chooses a rhetorical order that differs from the canonical one, but to the fact that there is iteration of constituents: there are two Disruptions and two Reactions.

As in example (1), in this instance of 'anecdote' the Abstract and the Orientation are fused. In the Abstract – "One of the most memorable moments in my life" – the narrator briefly summarizes the most important events in the 'anecdote', which are the Disruptions: his finding baby minks while fishing with Titus and his realizing that the mother mink might be around and that she might be dangerous. In the Abstract, there is inscribed positive appreciation: reaction (Martin and White, 2005). The Orientation presents information about the place – "a place on the edge of Seneca Lake" – and the time – "one night", "a few minutes after dinner one night." – of the events as well the characters and information about them and what they were doing at that place – I was fishing with **Titus**. **He** was about 8 or 9 years old.

The Record of Events is very short; it only consists of two events – "They had no luck catching fish and they were about to leave" – that lead up to Disruption 1. There are two Disruptions in this 'anecdote' and both of them are Natural Disruptions since they do not refer to a conflict caused by the participants in the events but one caused by an external factor that changes the normal course of events. The first Natural Disruption (Natural Disruption 1) is signaled by the textual Theme (concessive conjunction) "but" and the marked topical Theme (circumstance of time) "at that moment" and the information presented in it consists of a series of events showing how a dozen of baby minks appeared and approached them. These events are disruptive not just because it is unusual to be faced with wild animals like minks but also because the appearance of the animals at that moment prevented them from leaving, which is what they had planned to do. The participants reacted to this Disruption (Reaction 1). In Reaction 1, the narrator expresses his thoughts about the animals using inscribed positive appreciation: reaction (Martin & White, 2005) – they were **so cute** – and it might be argued as well whether there is invoked negative appreciation: valuation (Martin & White, 2005) when the narrator says "they were wild animals!" However, there is little evidence to say whether the narrator is evaluating their being wild as dangerous or whether he just mentions that in contrast with their being cute, just because he cannot believe that wild animals can be so cute. What is crystal clear is that there is inscribed positive appreciation of the animals.

Disruption 2 is also a Natural Disruption, as mentioned before, since it is the possible presence of a mother mink with sharp teeth (Disruption 2) that makes the characters leave (Reaction 2). Reaction 2 is



the type of reaction that Salmaso (2010, 2014) finds in her corpus, i.e. a reaction with no explicit evaluative language. It might be argued that they were afraid and, therefore, that there is invoked affect: insecurity – they were afraid – (Martin & White, 2005). However, the way they act does not really show they are afraid since the narrator does not say that they have to leave immediately or in a hurry, for example. Saying that they were afraid would be putting our own feelings or thoughts into the analysis of the ‘anecdote’. Reaction (2) is just an event logically and temporally related to the other events in the ‘anecdote’ and it has no explicit evaluative language.

In this ‘anecdote’ there are two Reactions, one of them contains evaluative language and the other does not. It is clear, then, that the function of the Reaction, i.e. to show the behavior of the narrator or another participant towards the Disruption, can be fulfilled without the expression of affect. As explained in the analysis of example (1), the presence of affect (Martin & White, 2005) – or any type of attitude for that matter – in the expression of the Reaction does not make it the evaluative constituent of ‘anecdotes’ just as the use of evaluative language in the Abstract of example (2) – “most memorable moments in my life”, for example, does not make it the evaluative constituent. The Interpretation of the reaction is the evaluative constituent of ‘anecdotes’ since, when its present, it is always evaluative – expressing affect, judgment or appreciation – and it produces a change in ‘anecdotes’ in relation to the parameters of focus, relation with the real world and dependence on the context (Plum, 2004), making the text more experiential and interpretative of the real world and turning it into an artifact used to reflect upon the context. Besides, following Martin & Rose (2008), the Reaction should always express affect (Martin & White, 2005) and that is not the case according to example (2). Therefore, the presence of affect should not be considered a classificatory parameter for the Reaction. The Reaction may contain evaluative language – affect, judgment or appreciation – but if it does not, it still fulfills its function in the ‘anecdote’. In the Coda, the narrator makes a final reflection about the whole ‘anecdote’ which brings it to a close.

If example (2) had been analyzed following Martin & Rose (2008), the information in the Abstract and Record of Events – constituents which are not considered by the authors to be part of ‘anecdotes’ – would have been included in the Orientation, therefore considering constituents with different functions – providing general information, descriptive information and eventive information – to be performing only one function: show a state of normality – which is the function these authors assign to the Orientation. As Martin & Rose (2008) consider the Reaction to

be the evaluative constituent of ‘anecdotes’ and its function to be the expression of affect (Martin & White, 2005), the constituent previously analyzed as Reaction 1 would not be considered a Reaction by the authors since it expresses appreciation; therefore, it is difficult to know how they would label it. If it were to be included as part of the disruptive event the first Reaction of the narrator to the minks would be missing from the analysis. It is also difficult to know how the constituent previously analyzed as Coda, would be labeled following Martin & Rose (2008) since they define the Coda of ‘anecdotes’ as the constituent where the reaction of the narrator or another participant is interpreted and/or the constituent where the story is reoriented. The main difference if this example had been analyzed following Plum (2004) instead of Martin & Rose (2008) would be that the former includes the Abstract as a constituent of ‘anecdotes’.

### **Example (3)**

#### **[Abstract/Orientation 1]**

It’s very rare for me to remember dates. I, along with countless others I’m sure, can only remember the birthdays of friends and family through the wondrous invention of social networking, specifically Facebook. Many times, I even find myself completely oblivious to the day of the week I am currently in. It’s quite an issue, yet this particular date has stuck with me even up to the moment I am writing this, nearly six months later.

I should first set the scene. This date took place on my last weekend in Hawaii. I had been staying in this breathtaking island for three months, selling hot dogs and smoothies on the beach and spending time with the many friends I had made throughout the trip. I had decided to quit my job two weeks before my flight back to Mendoza in order to travel to the other islands and treasure my last few days there. Throughout the three months, I had heard from a couple acquaintances about a sky diving company on the north shore. I heard great things, and it really got me thinking. I suppose nowadays, it is common for everyone to have a ‘bucket list’, a list of things you want to do before you die. Now I can admit that my list is quite thorough and large-scale, just like a little child’s Christmas list to Santa Clause would be. But here, I had an opportunity to do something I couldn’t even dream of: get on board an airplane and jump off with only a parachute.

#### **[Interpersonal Disruption 1] ‘anecdote’**

**[record of events]** It took me a very long time to find someone to go sky diving with. It was practically the only factor that was preventing me to do it. Usually, some people would take into consideration the fact that you are jumping off a plane at 12,000 feet (3,657 meters) or the risk of a malfunction of the parachute. Not me... I just didn’t want to go by myself! **[disruption]** Luckily enough, my two friends from

Switzerland, who had gone to Hawaii in an exchange program to study English, also wanted to go and we set the date. We paid and signed up to go for the 2<sup>nd</sup> of March. **[reaction]** Words cannot describe the anxiety I felt the day before. **[Interpretation of the reaction]** I honestly believe that is the worst part of an experience like this... the famous ‘butterflies in your stomach’.

**[Natural Disruption 2] ‘narrative’**

Unfortunately, on the day we went it was cloudy and rainy at the north part of the island. **[Record of events]** We watched the safety video, signed the waivers and waited to see if the weather would improve. It didn’t. The company receptionist suggested that we go bright and early the next day. **[Evaluation]** I was a bit pessimistic because I only had a couple of days left, but nonetheless we waited one more day (and my anxiety level nearly tripled) and **[Resolution]** I was surprised to see that the stormy weather had gone away the next day. It was go-time.

**[Orientation 2/Record of Events 1]**

After waiting a few hours at the base, it was finally our turn. We each met our instructors who would dive with us and they drove us towards our plane. The group included the three of us and two sisters (one was celebrating her birthday), and each person had their instructor and their personal photographer (someone who jumps seconds before you do and films/takes pictures). As we reached the small plane, my moment of fear kicked in. I had never in my life been in such a small plane and I found myself doubting if we would all fit in. Thankfully, I didn’t have time to contemplate on my decision and back out as we were instantly pushed inside. We sat in two small rows with our instructors behind each of us. After everyone settled in, the door was shut and there was no turning back.

As soon as the small plane took off, our instructors began to tighten our harnesses. It was amusing, because while they were busy with that, everyone else was silent. I looked out the window the entire time. I’m not sure why, but as soon as we were up in the air I was actually pretty calm. The tiny size of the plane had terrified me, but once I had confirmation that it wasn’t going to crash, I was ready to jump. After a few minutes, we finally reached the altitude of 12,000 feet and the frenzy began. First up were the individual divers who didn’t have an instructor. A German woman who was diving by herself hesitated at first, and I clearly remember someone yelling, “If you’re not gonna jump, step aside!” This immediately brought her back into the moment and she jumped off. After one of my friends jumped with his instructor, it was my turn. My instructor and I sat on the edge of the plane. I looked down and saw a blanket of clouds just waiting for us to drop through them.

**[Interpersonal Disruption 3]** I then closed my eyes and before I know it, I was no longer on it.

**[Interpretation of the Reaction 1]** Everyone always asks me how the free fall felt. I always say that I felt a dropping sensation for the first five seconds and then I felt like I was floating as if I were swimming. **[Record of events 2]** I was very cold but that was because I had made the intelligent decision to go barefoot with shorts and a T-shirt. I also struggled to breathe at one point as the wind just crashed through your body. But all of these minor setbacks didn’t matter at that moment. **[Reaction 1]** I lifted my hands up and pretended that I was flying, something that I had always fantasized as a child.

**[Record of events 3/Reaction 2]**

After about a minute later (probably the longest minute of my life), the instructor lifted the parachute and we descended slowly. I was astonished by the amazing view of the island and the Pacific Ocean. I got to enjoy the view for a few moments with calmness and tranquility before we landed back to the base. As soon as we landed, I looked up and waited for the other pairs to land. My heartbeat was probably on overload for the next ten minutes.

**[Reorientation/Coda]**

When I look back on this moment, I always remember the range of emotions I felt: anxiety, fear, adrenaline, calm and gratitude not only because I got to skydive but also because I survived! I can definitely say that this day was the highlight of my life so far and if I learned anything from the experience, it’s that one should never put off doing things they dream of doing. I have a great deal of goals I have yet to reach, such as improving my first novel in order to share it with the world and travelling to fascinating places like China and Australia. The list goes on, but I am determined to work hard and attain them the first chance I get because, let’s face it, life is too short for anyone to be carrying a long list of things they want to do.

Example (3) illustrates three characteristics in Salmaso’s (2014) proposal. Firstly, this example is a complex NI: an ‘anecdote’ that contains another ‘anecdote’ and a ‘narrative’ in its interior, more precisely in the constituent called Disruption.<sup>11</sup> In fact, the inserted ‘anecdote’ and ‘narrative’ constitute two different Disruptions: Interpersonal Disruption 1 and Natural Disruption 2, respectively, the first one caused by the participants - the narrator does not want to go skydiving alone - and the second one caused by a natural phenomena: the bad weather. Also, in this example there is fusion of constituents, for example, Abstract/Orientation 1, Orientation 2 /Record of Events 1. Besides, in this example, the narrator chooses a rhetorical order of presentation of constituents which differs from the canonical order: Abstract/Orientation 1 ^ Interpersonal Disruption 1 ^

<sup>11</sup> The inserted NIs are signalled in the example with a deeper indentation.

Natural Disruption 2 ^ Orientation 2/Record of Events 1 ^ Interpersonal Disruption 3 ^ Interpretation of the Reaction 1 ^ Record of Events 2 ^ Reaction 1 ^ Record of Events 3/Reaction 2 ^ Reorientation/Coda.

In the Abstract/Orientation 1, the narrator first anticipates the main event in the anecdote and the main participant in it, himself: “**this particular date** has stuck with **me** even up to the moment **I** am writing this, nearly six months later”, although he does not anticipate the exact event yet. The anticipated event is clearly disruptive from the use of the material process “stick with”, meaning that it is such a strong memory that he has not been able to forget it. He then goes on, in his own words, “to set the scene”. He sets the ‘anecdote’ in place and time: “my last weekend in Hawaii” and gives information about the activities he did at that place and a special one in his ‘bucket list’ he now had the opportunity to do: to sky dive, which is the central and disruptive event in the ‘anecdote’, anticipated at the beginning of the Abstract/Orientation 1.

Interpersonal Disruption 1 constitutes a digression in the flow of the main ‘anecdote’ since the narrator does not go directly to retell the main event in the anecdote, i.e. the time when he jumped off an airplane with a parachute, but writes about something that is not the main topic of the anecdote although it is related to it. He writes a short anecdote on how he found someone to go skydiving with. This digression is an ‘anecdote’ inserted in the main ‘anecdote’. The inserted ‘anecdote’ begins with a Record of Events where the narrator expresses that he was determined to go skydiving but was not able to do so since he did not have a companion. The Interpersonal Disruption of the inserted ‘anecdote’ changes the course of the events in the Record of Events: two friends of the narrator from Switzerland who were in Hawaii agreed to go skydiving with him. As Salmaso (2014) explains, the Disruption does not necessarily need to be a negative event but an event that alters the normal course of events presented in the Record of events. In this inserted ‘anecdote’, the Interpersonal Disruption changes the course of events for the better. The Reaction expresses the narrator’s attitude towards the Interpersonal Disruption: anxiety – inscribed affect (Martin & White, 2005). Whether his attitude is positive or negative is not clear from the Reaction since anxiety might be either the feeling of being very worried about something or the feeling of wanting to do something very much. Here, the importance of the constituent called Interpretation of the Reaction becomes clear. In this constituent the narrator describes the feeling of anxiety as negative: “that is the worst part of an experience” – negative appreciation: value (Martin & White, 2005). In the Interpretation of the Reaction of this example, it becomes evident in the tense shift from past to present that the narrator takes

distance from the events he is narrating to reflect upon his Reaction. The Interpretation of the Reaction is clearly the evaluative constituent since it has the characteristic of interrupting the narrative flow (Labov, 1972) to evaluate the events. It is the Interpretation of the Reaction that shows the significance of telling the inserted ‘anecdote’: Even though he was determined to go skydiving and did his best to find someone to do so with, realizing that he was actually going skydiving was “the worst part of an experience like this... the famous ‘butterflies in your stomach’”.

Interpersonal Disruption 1 is followed by another digression, which constitutes Natural Disruption 2. This second Natural Disruption is another inserted NI, in this case a ‘narrative’. Instead of directly telling the reader about the day he actually jumped off a plane, the narrator decides to refer to another downside of his skydiving adventure. The inserted narrative starts with a Natural Disruption signaled by the interpersonal Theme “unfortunately”, which shows that the narrator believes the event he is about to introduce is a negative one. The disruptive event presented is that the day they were supposed to go skydiving the weather was bad and they had to wait and see if it improved the following day. There is then an Evaluation in which the narrator expresses his feelings about this Natural Disruption “he was pessimistic and anxious” – inscribed affect: dissatisfaction (Martin and White, 2005). In the Resolution the conflict presented in the Natural Disruption is solved: the following day the weather was good.<sup>12</sup>

After the first two Disruptions there is Orientation 2 and Record of Events 1. These two constituents are fused. The author introduces new participants in the ‘anecdote’ – the people that were jumping, the instructors and the photographers, – specifies the exact setting in place – the plane, first on land and then flying - and tells a series of non-disruptive events which specify what they did from the time they got on the plane until they got ready to jump.

Interpersonal Disruption 3 – caused by the narrator himself – is the central disruptive event in the whole ‘anecdote’: jumping off the plane. After Interpersonal Disruption 3, there is Interpretation of the Reaction 1, Record of Events 2 and Reaction 1. In the Interpretation of the Reaction 1 - “Everyone always asks me how the free fall felt. I always say that I felt a dropping sensation for the first five seconds and then I felt like I was floating as if I were swimming”, - the narrator explains why he reacted positively even though there were a some setbacks. The interpretation

<sup>12</sup> Even if the generic structure of ‘narratives’ is not the focus of this article, it is relevant to clarify that the main difference between an ‘anecdote’ and a ‘narrative’ is that in the ‘narrative’ the Disruption is solved or the characters adapt somehow to the new situation, while in the ‘anecdote’ there is no Resolution but only the Reaction of the characters to the Disruption (see Table 2).

of the Reaction 1 is not part of the chain of events logically and temporally connected but it is a reflection the author makes on his reaction when he is asked to explain it sometime after the events occurred. In the Interpretation of the Reaction there is invoked affect: satisfaction (Martin & White, 2005). The events in the Record of Events 2, i.e. his being cold because of his wearing light clothes and no shoes and his struggling to breathe (presented as non-disruptive by the narrator himself “these minor setbacks didn’t matter at that moment”) are followed by the Reaction 1 “I lifted my hands up and pretended that I was flying, something that I had always fantasized as a child”. In Reaction 1 there is invoked affect: satisfaction (Martin & White, 2005). Even if the Interpretation of the Reaction and the Reaction have the same type of affect, there is a crucial difference between them: the Reaction is one more events in the chain of events in the ‘anecdote’ while the Interpretation of the Reaction, as explained before, is not logically and temporally connected and it is the explanation the narrator makes of his feelings upon reflection.

The narrator presents the final events in the ‘anecdote’ that are fused with his reaction - Record of events 3/Reaction 2. He explains they started to descend and “[he] was astonished - inscribed affect: satisfaction (Martin and White, 2005) - by the amazing view of the island and the Pacific Ocean - inscribed positive appreciation: valuation (Martin & White, 2005), — [he] got to **enjoy** the view for a few moments **with calmness and tranquility**” - inscribed affect: satisfaction and inscribed judgment: normality (Martin & White, 2005), they landed and his heartbeat was probably on overload for the next ten minutes - inscribed negative appreciation: reaction and invoked affect: dissatisfaction (Martin & White, 2005). As mentioned before in the analysis of the other two examples, when there is evaluative language in the reaction, it is not just affect, as stated by Martin & Rose (2008) but there might also be appreciation and judgment.

In the Reorientation/coda, the narrator reorients the anecdote to the time of speaking, recapitulates his feelings at the time of the event, reflects upon the importance and influence that the events in the ‘anecdote’ had on his life and finally brings the ‘anecdote’ to an end, going back to the idea of the ‘bucket list’ mentioned in the abstract: after going skydiving, he is determined to try hard to do the other activities in his ‘bucket list’.

If example (3) had been analyzed following Martin & Rose (2008), the inserted ‘anecdote’ and ‘narrative’ - Interpersonal Disruption 1 and Natural Disruption 2, respectively - would not have been analyzed as such, since the authors do not recognize the existence of complex NIs. Therefore, the information contained in

them, would have probably been analyzed as just one Disruption, together with Interpersonal Disruption 3, missing the fact that the events in the first two disruptions are not the central disruptive events in the general ‘anecdote’ but just contribute meanings related to it. Moreover, the inserted ‘anecdote’ and ‘narrative’, would not have been analyzed in detail and the subtle meanings they contribute to the whole text would have been lost in generalizations. Martin & Rose (2008) do not recognize the existence of fusion of constituents, so it is difficult to predict how such constituents would have been analyzed. Additionally, Martin & Rose (2008) do not present Abstract, Record of Events, Interpretation of the Reaction and Reorientation as constituents of ‘anecdotes’, so the information contained in those constituents would have been inside other constituents, either assigning a double function to one constituent or missing important and meaningful information they contain. Even if Plum (2004) provides some analyses of complex NIs (which he calls “embedded” narratives), as stated before, he does not give a restrictive definition of them neither does he explain in which constituents they can be inserted or how they originate, so it is difficult to know whether he would have analyzed the inserted NIs as such. The only certain similarity between his analysis and the one following Salmaso (2010, 2014) is that Plum (2004) acknowledges the existence of an Abstract and Coda for ‘anecdotes’ and he is the one who first proposed fusions of constituents.

## Conclusion

The central purpose of this article is to show that the taxonomy proposed for NIs in Spanish (Salmaso, 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2012a and 2014) can be extrapolated to NIs in English, in particular with reference to the category of NI called ‘anecdote’. According to the examples of ‘anecdotes’ analyzed, the extrapolation is possible and the taxonomy enriches the analysis of the ‘anecdotes’.

The three examples of ‘anecdote’ illustrate the concept of prototypicality in NIs (Salmaso, 2014). Example (1) is a prototypical instance of the category ‘anecdote’ since it has all the constituents of ‘anecdotes’ — obligatory and non-obligatory — in their canonical order of presentation (Salmaso, 2010, 2104). The other two examples of ‘anecdotes’ are less prototypical since they do not present some optional constituents (example (2)) and some constituents are not presented in the canonical order (example (3)).

The general characteristics of coproduction of constituents, fusion of constituents and complex NIs presented in Salmaso (2014) are also illustrated in

the examples. The three instances of ‘anecdotes’ in this article present fusion of different constituents. Example (1) illustrates coproduction of constituents and example (3) is a complex NI, an ‘anecdote’ that contains another ‘anecdote’ and a ‘narrative’ in its interior, more precisely in the eventive constituent called Disruption.

The three examples also illustrate some specific characteristics in Salmaso’s (2010, 2014) taxonomy regarding the inclusion of constituents not present in Plum’s (2004) and Martin & Rose’s (2008) proposals. All of the examples present the constituents Abstract, Record of Events, Reorientation and Coda, as defined by Salmaso (2010, 2014). In the examples, the difference between Natural Disruption and Interpersonal Disruption (2014) has also been illustrated. Examples (1) and (3) present the constituent considered by Salmaso (2010, 2014) to be the evaluative constituent of ‘anecdotes’, i.e. the Interpretation of the Reaction. It has been shown that the Interpretation of the reaction is the evaluative constituent of ‘anecdotes’ since, when it is present, it is always evaluative – expressing affect, judgment or appreciation – and it produces a change in ‘anecdotes’ in relation to the parameters of focus, relation with the real world and dependence on the context (Plum, 2004), making the text more interpersonal and interpretative of the real world and turning it into an artifact used to reflect upon the context. The Interpretation of the Reaction is the constituent where the narrative flow is suspended (Labov, 1972) for the narrator to take distance from the events and to be able to reflect upon them. It has also been shown that the Reaction is an event that is logically and temporally connected to all the events in the ‘anecdote’ and that it may contain any type of evaluative language – affect, judgment or appreciation – just as any other constituent in the ‘anecdote’. It has been pointed out that when the Reaction does not have explicit evaluative language, it still fulfills its purpose in the ‘anecdote’. The Interpretation of the Reaction, as opposed to the Reaction, is not an event in the chain of events presented in the ‘anecdote’ and its purpose is purely evaluative.

This article constitutes only the beginning of a study that aims to show that it is possible to extrapolate the taxonomy proposed in Salmaso (2014) for the five categories of NIs in Spanish to instances of those categories in English. It is believed that due to the flexibility of the taxonomy (Salmaso, 2014), the precision in the definition of constituents in terms of a unique function and the clear distinction between the categories in terms of constituents in common and differential constituents, this taxonomy may enrich the analysis of the different categories of NIs and it may also be simpler and clearer for applied purposes, for example for teaching purposes. Since the ultimate

purpose of this study is to contribute to the research project, “*Géneros textuales en la enseñanza de inglés como lengua extranjera*” (Genres in EFL), it is believed that the simplicity and precision of the taxonomy in Salmaso (2004) might prove practical to produce didactic material to be used by teachers, and to help teachers become acquainted with the five categories of NIs so that they have the knowledge and techniques to teach students how to produce these types of genres.

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# Motivation of Russian Students Towards the Learning of English

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This paper seeks to analyze the attitudes and motivation for learning English of students in the city of Surgut, in the Russian Federation. The investigation was carried out in November 2013 by means of self-completion questionnaires distributed to 30 students, aged 13 to 17, who had studied English for at least two years in private language schools (although all of them had studied at least one foreign language within the Russian national education system). The students were divided into two main categories: students who were citizens of the Russian Federation from bilingual families (BF), such as Tatar, Bashkir, Ukrainian or others, and students from Russian monolingual families (MF). The results were analyzed from different motivational viewpoints, namely, achievement, instrumental, integrative, extrinsic, and intrinsic motivations. This methodology allowed the researcher to acquire a multi-dimensional perspective of what impelled Russian students to learn English, what they expected of that knowledge, and whether there were differences between the two groups. The results showed a high level of motivation amongst both genders of bilingual students and among girls from Russian monolingual families, while the results for non-bilingual boys were much more discreet. Although this research was carried out according to concrete standards of age and education, the results can enhance the scientific understanding of motivation for second-language learning in contexts where that second language is not necessary, used or even known by the community in its daily life, as well as the perception of language learning by monolingual and by bilingual individuals.

*Keywords:* motivation, second-language acquisition, English; bilingualism, Russia

The language teaching industry has become one of the most important sectors in the globalized world. It involves not only teachers but also the creation of language schools and foreign language departments in regular schools and universities, and the production and marketing of language learning materials, such as dictionaries, course books, grammar books or computer programs. This industry is nurtured by a relatively high percentage of the world's population.

During the last decades of the twentieth century, English became a global language, displacing French as the international *lingua franca*. Currently, the English Teaching and Learning industry accounts for a minimum of 11 billion pounds annually (Press Association, 2004). Every year about 600,000 people travel to one of the 'native English speaking countries'

to enroll in different English language courses; however, the main market is in the home countries of these students, mainly from the European Union, the People's Republic of China, India, and East Asia (British Council, 2006, p. 8).

## Motivation in Foreign Language Learning

Both teachers and researchers accept that motivation plays one of the most important roles in the success of second and foreign language learning. It provides the initial impetus to initiate the process of learning another language and it is also the driving force to maintain effort over the years, responsible for determining human behavior by energizing it and giving it direction (Dörnyei, 1998, p. 117). Although

motivation is a main factor, there is often a limited or superficial treatment of it with regards to second language learning in the literature.

*Motivation* is a frequent term used in psychology and a key concept in education. However, it is interesting to discover how little agreement there is in the literature with regard to the exact meaning of this concept (Dörnyei, 1998, p. 117). The modern English word *motivation* is derived from the Latin verb *movere* (to move). Thus, it could be concluded that etymologically, 'to be motivated' or 'to have motivation' means 'to be moved to action towards something.'

Although scholars agree that motivation is responsible for guiding human behavior by prompting and directing it, there are a variety of theories and perspectives on how this happens. The reason for this range of opinions has its basis in human complexity. Since those psychological theories seek to explain why humans behave as they do, it would be unrealistic to assume any simple and single answer. Therefore, basically every different psychological perspective on human behavior is associated with a different theory of motivation (Dörnyei, 1998, p. 117).

## Materials and Methods

### Different Types of Motivation. Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation

According to Edward Deci and Richard Ryan (1985), motivation can be categorized as 'intrinsic' and 'extrinsic'. Intrinsic motivation is, "the energy source that is central to the active nature of the organism." It implies that not all human behaviors are a consequence of external control (Deci & Ryan, 1985, p. 11). On the other hand, extrinsic motivation is that which is controlled by external factors where, obviously, the individual's internal forces are less determinant. Intrinsic motivation is related to academic performance since it improves the quality of learning; the conditions created by the process will promote more effective learning as well as enhanced intrinsic motivation and self-esteem (Deci & Ryan, 1985, p. 256).

### Integrative and Instrumental Motivation

Another viewpoint related to motivation is the distinction outlined by Wallace E. Lambert (1955) between integrative and instrumental aspects. In order to define what those concepts mean, he provided two real-life examples of Americans who had learnt French. The first one was a man who reported to do more thinking in French. He had spent a year in France and was planning to return. The individual reacted against anything that was non-European

and only read French materials. He provided, then, a clear example of *integrative* motivation, since for him the language was much more than a code. He was determined to integrate, to become a part of the French culture. The other person was a woman who had been teaching French in a school. By that time she was working towards a graduate degree in French. For her, French was only an *instrument* to achieve her purpose (Gardner, 1991, p. 44).

In order to define the idea of the integrative motivation, three broad categories were hypothesized. The first one, *integrativeness*, involves attitudes towards the second language community and towards other groups. The second category implies *attitudes towards the learning situation* itself. The third element involved *motivation*. In this proposal, integration and attitudes towards the learning situation are considered determinants for motivation, while motivation is a main factor in second language achievement (Gardner, 1991, p. 49).

### Achievement Motivation

Another type of motivation that can be displayed by students is '*achievement motivation*.' In order to understand this concept, it is necessary to have in mind the key term '*better*.' As David C. McClelland (1987, pp. 227-8) stated, people can do better for a range of different reasons, such as wishing to please the teacher, avoid criticism, gain the approval of a loved one, or simply to get some time off work. However, it does not imply that their actions are governed by achievement motivation since the common factor that is involved in this type of motivation is "doing something better *for its own sake*, for the intrinsic satisfaction of doing something better."

### Ethnic, Political and Educational Organization of the Russian Federation

Due to its area (more than 17 million km<sup>2</sup>) and its diverse ethnic composition, the Russian Federation is a highly complex country. It is home to more than 160 nationalities where Russians account for about 80 percent (Khaleeva, 2006, p. 321). The state is, in fact, a federation of 83 entities, 32 of which are described as ethnic (non-Russian) territorial divisions (Leprêtre, 2002, p. 4) and there is no necessary correspondence between the total number of nationalities to the number of regions. Often, some of those divisions are home to two or more indigenous groups, in addition to the immigrant population belonging to some other ethnic minorities.

The current study was carried out in the city of Surgut, in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug or Yugra, which is situated in central Siberia, about 2,000 kilometers East of Moscow (see Figure 1). Although



the region is as large as France, its population is only slightly over 1.5 million. Yugra is a territorial division based on the ethnicity of its original settlers, the Khanty (Ostyaks) and the Mansi (Voguls). Although those two nationalities are still titular of the Okrug, they have become a tiny minority accounting for only 2 percent of the total population following the arrival of thousands of immigrants from other parts of Russia and the former USSR. Surgut was founded in 1594 as a Slavonic bastion and a place for commerce with the Khanty hunters. Over time it became a small, unimportant wooden fortress situated within the confines of the Russian Empire, and its population had never been more than 3,000. With the arrival of thousands of immigrants, however, Surgut became the main center of the Okrug with more than 300,000 inhabitants in 2010. It is also considered the capital of the Russian oil industry, the base of Surgutneftegas, and one of the main quarters of Gazprom.



Figure 1. Situation of Surgut within the Russian Federation.

**Linguistic Education in Russia: Foreign Languages**

Foreign language study was always an important and desirable issue in the USSR. From the early 1920s, the Government saw possibilities to promote the ideals of socialism and communism through the use of foreign languages. Soviet children started their study of foreign languages in the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> grade and continued for six years until the end of secondary school. Nevertheless, the level achieved by students was in general very low, mainly due to the shortage of qualified teachers and the teaching methodology used, usually one focused on low-intensity reading and translation. There were, however, some schools in Moscow and Leningrad (St. Petersburg) where the study of foreign languages started in the 2<sup>nd</sup> grade. Students not only learned the foreign language itself more intensively, but also had some subjects taught in it (Pavlenko, 2003, p. 322).

In 1991, the collapse of the USSR provoked profound reforms in all domains in its successor states. In the Russian Federation, the old Soviet education

system was substituted by a new Russian system and, consequently, the teaching of foreign languages was also altered. The changes in that particular school subject were not especially noticeable in structure or in number of hours devoted, but rather in the viewpoint about languages and the cultures related to them. The ‘Western world’ was no longer seen as an enemy and languages such as English became a tool not just for political purposes but also for personal and national advancement. By that time, Russians were also able to travel to countries where Russian was neither the main language nor the *lingua franca* and many Western tourists arrived in Russia for the first time. Some foreign countries also started to invest and to import from Russia and, in turn, Russia started to have commercial ties with the West. That climate favored the creation of some companies that became world leaders in their fields, while some old Soviet companies expanded their horizons towards Europe and the rest of what was once the so-called capitalist world. All these changes demanded bilingual Russian-English (or not so common, Russian-other foreign language) speakers.

It can be concluded that although foreign languages in the Russian Federation are mostly considered a valuable resource nowadays, and despite the initial boom, the knowledge of foreign languages is still not widespread, especially when compared with some other European countries (see Table 1).

Table 1  
Most widely known foreign languages. Comparison by country (percentage of the total population). Sources: Russian Census 2010 and Eurobarometer 386

Russian Federation	United Kingdom	Hungary	Germany
English (5.32%)	French (19%)	English (20%)	English (56%)
German (1.45%)	German (6%)	German (18%)	French (14%)

**Methodology. Participating Schools**

The study was carried out in seven language schools in the city of Surgut. The combined number of students in those schools represents about a third of the language students in the city besides those attending state institutions, such as schools and universities.

**Sampling: Participating Students**

The final sample consisted of 27 students, which represents over 2 percent of the students within the age group in Surgut. This comprises an acceptable number since it is generally recommended that the sample be between 1 and 10 percent of the total

population (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2012, p. 82). The main sampling criterion for this study was to find the most representative individuals, thus a stratified sample was used. Several factors were taken into consideration, such as:

- *Students' ages:* All participants were aged between 13 and 17. These ages were considered appropriate for the study of language attitudes since some scholars suggest that attitudes start to appear at the age of 10 and are clarified and consolidated during adolescence (Appel & Muysken, 1987; Siguan & Mackey, 1986 cited in Huget & Llorca, 2001, p. 271). A summary of the number and age of participating students is given in Table 2.
- *Representativeness of each sex according to the total student population:* Most of the language students were girls in a ratio of approximately 2:1, the same proportion as the participant sample.
- *Ethnicity:* No ethnic group was over-represented. The sample included representatives of the main ethnic groups of Surgut according to their proportion in the total population of the city.
- *Academic capability:* Participants were not selected according to their marks at school. The aim of the study was to observe motivation of students, independently of their qualifications.
- *Similar English language background and proficiency:* As previously mentioned, all the chosen students had a similar English language learning background. All of them had three weekly hours of English instruction according to the national curriculum at school and they had also studied English in private language schools for at least two years (about 150 hours per year).

Table 2  
*Distribution of students by sex and age*

Ages	13	14	15	16	17	Total
Boys	-	5	-	2	2	9
Girls	2	5	8	3	-	18
Total	2	10	8	5	2	27

### The Instrument: The Questionnaire

In order to accomplish this study, no official or pre-designed questionnaire was used since it was totally impossible to find any which would perfectly fit the research questions within the context given. The questionnaire used for this study was initially designed in English; however, due to the fact that none of the participants had English as their mother tongue, a Russian version was also produced.

## Results and Discussion

### Data Analyses

The following questions served as a basis for this study:

- a) What was the real motivation for students to pursue their English learning in a context where the knowledge of that language is basically irrelevant for daily life?
- b) Was there any difference in motivation and/or attitudes towards learning English among children who belonged to native bilingual families and children who belonged to Russian-monolingual families?

The results are based on the five-point Likert scale questionnaire (from '1' strongly disagree to '5' strongly agree). They were codified into two main categories: 'members of native bilingual families' (BF) and 'members of Russian-monolingual families' (MF). A third category, namely 'members of families where at least one of the parents speaks a foreign language' was dismissed due to the students' perception of having parents who 'speak a foreign language' meant very often that their parents knew a few sentences or had simply studied the language at school, but it did not imply a significant knowledge of that language, being fluent, or that it had any influence on family life. Each category was also divided into three minor subcategories: *boys*, *girls* and *total*. There was a considerable number of both boys and girls from Russian monolingual families. On the other hand, the results of members from bilingual families were analyzed as a compact group, due to the lack of a meaningful number of representatives of boys from bilingual families.

### Student's Background

At first sight, the linguistic background of most students was quite uniform. Most of them, 21 students, came from monolingual native Russian families, while only 6 students belonged to native bilingual families from Ukrainian, Chechen, Bashkir, and Tatar origins. Nevertheless, it did not mean that other languages besides Russian were not present at all within the family since 12 students (5 boys and 7 girls) reported having parents with at least some knowledge of at least one foreign language, usually German, English, or French.

Although all the students had been abroad on holidays, any prolonged direct contact with foreign cultures and languages, excluding those of the former Soviet Union, within the family circle was almost negligible. Only one student reported having lived abroad for longer than three months, but it was in the Ukraine, where Russian is spoken by the majority of

## MOTIVATION OF RUSSIAN STUDENTS TOWARDS THE LEARNING OF ENGLISH

the population. Of the seven students who indicated having a member of their family living or studying abroad, only two declared that it was in a Western country where Russian is not spoken (see Table 3).

Despite the almost general lack of direct contact with foreign cultures and the weak bilingual tradition within the respondents' families, most of the participants declared their interest in continued learning of other foreign languages besides English, the most popular being French (59.3 percent of the students), German (48.1 percent), Spanish (40.7 percent, mostly boys), and Italian (22.2, mostly girls).

### Students' Motivation

Motivation to learn a second language cannot be taken as a general occurrence. Therefore, the following sections offer an analysis of the students' attitudes according to five types of motivation: achievement; integrative; instrumental; intrinsic; and extrinsic motivation.

**Achievement motivation** - Achievement motivation, or that which impels the students to "do something better for its own sake, for the intrinsic satisfaction of doing something better" (McClelland, 1987, pp. 227-228), seems to be high when learning English is a personal process, but not as high when the process is directed by the desire to gain the recognition of a third party, such as family or friends (see Table 4).

There were no extreme differences between BF and MF. However, boys from MF scored lower than the general results in all items, while BF students did the opposite, always scoring above the average. The most

observable difference was in the *challenge* that learning a language represented for each group (Question 4:4). While BF students seemed to accept and enjoy it, MF students had a tendency to enjoy the process, but not so much the challenge, as if their interest diminished when too much pressure was applied.

Interestingly, the general results of Question 4:1 and Question 4:2 showed a rather low level of motivation when pleasing family and demonstrating abilities were involved. Nevertheless, it seems that learning a language played a more important role in the family life of BF pupils. MF pupils, however, scored much lower on this item with slightly higher than a neutral answer. The reason for this difference may be found in the fact that language knowledge is more appreciated within the BF than within MF, who may simply view it as 'another school subject.'

**Integrative motivation** - The next issue analyzed was the perception of the English language and the culture of English-speaking countries by the students. Those results could be a point of reference for understanding their attitude towards learning the language or integrative motivation, in the terminology adopted by Lambert (1955).

The questions related to the language itself were formulated from a practical point of view to prevent students from giving their opinion *on the course* instead of *on the language*. The overall data showed that students did not perceive English and English-speaking/Western people as a negative factor (see Table 5). The first two questions from this section, Question 2:1 and Question 2:2, showed that most students perceived Western people (for most Russians, 'Western'

Table 3  
*Students' background*

	Boys	%	Girls	%	Total	%
Russian monolingual family	7	77.7	14	7.7	21	7.7
At least one of the parents is native bilingual	2	22.2	4	22.2	6	22.2
Students with at least one of their parents with some foreign language knowledge (not necessarily fluent)	5	55.5	7	38.8	12	44.4
Russian monolingual siblings	1	10	1	10	2	10
Siblings with foreign and/or national language knowledge	9	90	9	90	18	90

Table 4  
*Achievement Motivation*

	Bilingual Fam. (BF)			Monolingual fam. (MF)			General
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	
<b>Part 2:5.</b> How much do you enjoy the process of learning English?	4	5	4.7	3.8	4.7	4.4	4.5
<b>Part 4:1.</b> I want to do well in this class because I want to show my abilities to my family/friends /teachers/others	3.5	4	3.8	3.7	3.6	3.6	3.7
<b>Part 4:2.</b> I want to do well in this class because my family can be proud of me	4.5	4	4.2	3.7	3.6	3.6	3.8
<b>Part 4:4.</b> Learning English is a challenge that I enjoy	4	5	4.7	3.7	4.4	4.1	4.3
<b>Part 4:5:</b> I am sure I will be able to learn English well	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.1	4.5	4.4	4.4

and ‘English-speaking’ are basically synonyms) in a positive way and they especially seemed to enjoy the idea of having opportunities to meet some of them. As usual, BF students had the highest scores, while MF boys scored the lowest. Almost all of them thought that English is important these days (Question 2:9) and that English-speaking countries play an important role in the world (Question 2:6) with similar results in members of BF and MF. Moreover, most students from all groups would like to spend some time in an English-speaking country (Question 3:5).

Almost unanimously, students listened to music in English (Question 2:4). A notable difference was found in the amount of time they spent watching films or TV in English (Question 2:3) since it was considerably lower than the time spent listening to music. The explanation may reside in the fact that to enjoy music it is not necessary to understand lyrics, but to enjoy a film it is necessary to follow the dialogue, which is much more difficult. However, there were differences between BF and MF members, since BF members seemed much more inclined to accept the challenge of watching films or TV in English than MF members. Finally, it was generally admitted by most of the students that knowing the language is essential to fully understanding the culture of the English-speaking world (Question 2:8).

When linking English to Russia as a country, rather than to the individual, the answers of the groups showed similar tendencies, but with notable differences. In fact, when asked about the need/obligation for every Russian to know English (Question 3:10), the answer was not so enthusiastic, although BF students were much more receptive to the idea. Finally, students did not see the knowledge of English as a threat to Russian

patriotism (Question 4:12). However, the difference between BF and MF became evident when the first group strongly disagreed (1.2 points) with the item, while the latter only disagreed (2.1 points).

**Instrumental motivation** - English was perceived as an auxiliary instrument much more than as a basic tool. In fact, it was considered *necessary* for both groups only for travelling abroad (Question 2:7). The rest of the results showed big differences between BF and MF members (see Table 6).

Although MF students were more likely than BF students (who did not seem very attracted by that idea) to admit that they learned English to enhance the possibility of studying abroad (Question 3:1), the language was much more valued by members of the BF. The answers to Questions 3:2, 3:3, 3:4 clearly showed the desire of respondents of the BF group to use English *in Russia* for academic achievement, while the other group perceived it more skeptically, always scoring under 4 (agree).

Trust in English as a means to a better professional life was also different depending on the group of respondents. BF children seemed to be sure of the value of English to achieve a better job and a higher salary. MF students also viewed English as a tool, although they did not seem to be convinced of it as the feature that could help them to improve or to make the difference between them and the rest of their future Russian colleagues (Question 3:6 and Question 3:7). Despite those facts, both groups agreed that their knowledge of English most probably would not add to their social life or status (Question 3:8, Question 3:9). Finally, BF students were more likely to admit that studying English might be an opportunity to meet new people (Question 4:3).

Table 5  
*Integrative Motivation*

	Bilingual Fam. (BF)			Monolingual fam. (MF)			General
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	
<b>Part 2:1.</b> How much do you like to meet foreigners from Western countries?	4.5	5	4.8	4.3	4.7	4.6	4.7
<b>Part 2:2.</b> How much do you like people from Western countries?	4.5	4.7	4.7	3.8	4.3	4.2	4.4
Part 2:3. How much do you watch films or TV programs in English?	3.5	4.2	4	3.1	3	3	3.3
<b>Part 2:4.</b> How much do you listen to music in English?	5	5	5	4.6	4.9	4.3	4.3
<b>Part 2:6.</b> How important are English speaking countries in the world?	3.2	4.7	4.2	3.8	4.6	4.3	4.3
<b>Part 2:8.</b> How important do you think learning English is in order to understand better the culture and arts of its speakers?	4.5	4.7	4.7	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.4
<b>Part 2:9.</b> How important do you think English is in the world these days?	5	4.7	4.8	4.4	4.8	4.7	4.7
<b>Part 3:5.</b> I am learning English because I want to spend time in an English speaking country	4.5	4.2	4.3	4	4.3	4.2	4.2
<b>Part 3:10.</b> Everybody in my country should be able to speak English	3	4	3.7	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.3
<b>Part 4:12.</b> Learning English makes people less patriotic	1	1.2	1.2	2.8	1.8	2.1	1.8

## MOTIVATION OF RUSSIAN STUDENTS TOWARDS THE LEARNING OF ENGLISH

Although Russian is one of the main languages on the Internet and there are all kinds of media in Russian or translated into Russian, both groups seemed to agree on the importance that English has in using new technologies and understanding media. The difference, however, between both groups was quite noticeable: the BF students being absolutely convinced about using English for those purposes, while MF students were always closer to being neutral than to strongly agreeing with Questions 4:9 and 4:10.

**Intrinsic motivation** - Intrinsic motivation was also discernible among the students from Surgut. However, once again, there were differences between BF students and MF students, especially between MF boys and BF students. While intrinsic motivation was very high among BF students, who always scored over 4.7, it was also relatively high among MF girls, but rather discreet among boys, who usually moved in a neutral zone instead of fully agreeing with the items

proposed (see Table 7).

The difference between those from bilingual and monolingual families was especially noteworthy when responding to item 4:4 about learning English as an enjoyable challenge. For BF students it was certainly such an activity, while MF students' answers were on the borderline between agreeing and neutrality (MF boys were clearly neutral to this item).

**Extrinsic motivation** - As a general rule, the students disagreed with Question 3:11, that is to say, that they learn English only to please their parents. They thus declared that learning the language was a voluntary activity. Nevertheless, family opinion (Question 4:7) and the influence of some celebrities (Question 4:11) seemed to have some weight in the students' decision. Interestingly, friends (Question 4:8) were the least important influence in this regard, especially among the MF girls (see Table 8).

Table 6

### *Instrumental Motivation*

	Bilingual Fam. (BF)			Monolingual fam. (MF)			General
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	
<b>Part 2:7.</b> How much do you think knowing English would help you when travel abroad in the future?	5	5	5	4.7	4.9	4.8	4.9
<b>Part 3:1.</b> I want to learn English to have the possibility of studying abroad	5	3.2	3.8	4.3	4.4	4.3	4.1
<b>Part 3:2.</b> I want to learn English because I will need it at university in my country	5	4.2	4.5	3.7	3.7	3.7	4
<b>Part 3:3.</b> I want to learn English because I will need to read textbooks in English	5	4	4.3	3.1	3.5	3.4	3.7
<b>Part 3:4.</b> The main reason to learn English is to pass examinations	5	4.7	4.8	3.6	3.7	3.7	4.1
<b>Part 3:6.</b> If I learn English I will be able to get a better job	4.5	5	4.8	4.1	4.3	4.2	4.4
<b>Part 3:7.</b> Increasing my English proficiency will have financial benefits for me	5	4.5	4.7	3.9	3.6	3.7	4
<b>Part 3:8.</b> Being able to speak English will add to my social status	3.5	4	3.8	3.7	2.9	3.2	3.4
<b>Part 3:9.</b> If I can speak English I shall have a fantastic life	2.5	4.2	3.7	3.6	3.2	3.3	3.4
<b>Part 4:3.</b> One reason I learn English is that I can meet new people and make friends in the class	4	4.5	4.3	3.3	3.8	3.6	3.8
<b>Part 4:9.</b> I want to understand better English speaking films/TV programs/Internet videos	5	5	5	4	4.1	4.1	4.4
<b>Part 4:10.</b> I want to be able to read websites	5	5	5	4.1	4.2	4.2	4.5

Table 7

### *Intrinsic Motivation*

	Bilingual Fam. (BF)			Monolingual fam. (MF)			General
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	
<b>Part 2:1.</b> How much do you like to meet foreigners from Western countries?	4.5	5	4.8	4.3	4.7	4.6	4.7
<b>Part 2:2.</b> How much do you like people from Western countries?	4.5	4.7	4.7	3.8	4.3	4.2	4.4
<b>Part 2:5.</b> How much do you enjoy the process of learning English?	4	5	4.7	3.8	4.7	4.4	4.5
<b>Part 4:4.</b> Learning English is a challenge I enjoy in English	4	5	4.7	3.7	4.4	4.1	4.3

Table 8  
*Extrinsic Motivation*

	Bilingual Fam. (BF)			Monolingual fam. (MF)			General
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	
<b>Part 3:11.</b> I only learn English because my parents tell me to do so	2	2	2	1.6	1.8	1.7	1.8
<b>Part 4:7.</b> My family thinks that learning English is good for me	5	5	5	4.3	4.4	4.3	4.5
<b>Part 4:8.</b> My friends think that learning English is important	4	4.2	4.2	4	3.3	3.5	3.7
<b>Part 4:11:</b> Most of my favorite actors//singers/sportsmen speak English	5	5	5	3.7	4.4	4.2	4.5

## Conclusion

*First research question: “What was the real motivation for students to pursue their English learning in a context where the knowledge of that language is basically irrelevant to daily life?”*

As stated in previous sections, Russian is not only the native language of the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of Surgut but also the *lingua franca* for the other groups. In fact, since the majority of the population are Russian monolinguals, all the local, regional, and national services are offered in Russian, there is a wide range of media and leisure possibilities offered exclusively in Russian, and the closest area where Russian cannot be used or understood is thousands of kilometers away, there is really no need to speak or even to know any other language on a daily basis. However, according to the results of the survey, a percentage of the students in Surgut seemed to be highly motivated to learn English.

Although most students did not lack intrinsic motivation - in fact, they almost unanimously declared that they learn English voluntarily - parents and English-speaking celebrities, such as sportsmen, actors, or singers, exerted a considerable degree of influence on their decision to learn the language. However, extrinsic motivation was the weakest variable of all probably due to the impossibility of using the language and the lack immediate need for it in the area. Nevertheless, an interesting point, probably related to the influence of their favorite celebrities, there was a rather strong desire to use English to be able to read websites and to understand films and videos in English.

Students declared that English is an important international language necessary when travelling abroad, especially to countries outside the former Soviet influence, such as Catalonia, Thailand or Turkey, where there are direct flights from Surgut. In fact, they felt at ease with foreigners from Western countries and they enjoyed Western culture, although they did not see the need for Russians in general to know (to be fluent in) English. Some students also considered English to be an asset for academic achievement and

for getting better jobs, however, they did not see it as a tool for acquiring a better social status.

Although both boys and girls followed a similar pattern of answers, it is noteworthy that girls seemed to be more motivated in all categories than boys, while boys scored higher on negative factors, such as relating the knowledge of English with lack of Russian patriotism.

*Second research question: “Was there any difference in motivation and/or attitudes towards learning English between children who belonged to native bilingual families (BF) and children who belonged to Russian-monolingual families (MF)?”*

It was found that there were important differences between students from bilingual families (BF) and students from Russian monolingual families (MF). While BF students seemed to be highly motivated in all the aspects considered, MF students were notably more skeptical about the process of learning and how English could be used. These differences were particularly accentuated when comparing BF students and MF boys. The first group generally scored between 4.3 (extrinsic motivation) and 4.7 (intrinsic motivation), but the latter never scored higher than 3.9, which implied ‘*neutral*’ answers never reaching to the level of ‘*agree*.’

The reason for these differences might be found in the fact that BF students consider English to be an asset for progressing in the world, in a similar way that their families use Russian to survive and progress in a Russian-speaking environment. MF students, however, might not clearly see the link between progressing and learning another language, since they had always lived in Russian, which is also the key to success in their country. For them, success is to be linked to speaking Russian. Moreover, *cognitive flexibility*, as for example the ability to generate multiple associations from one concept, may be another factor influencing BF students in having a higher motivation and better attitudes towards the learning of a new language, in this case, English (Chin & Wigglesworth, 2007, p. 61). For them, a new language means a new tool to be used, while for most MF students, Russian is and will be their almost exclusive tool.

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**APPENDIX**

Questionnaire given to the students in Surgut (English version)

We would like to ask you to help us by answering the following questions concerning English language learning. Don't worry, this is NOT a test and you DON'T have to write your name. Moreover, there are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers. We are very interested in your personal opinion. Please give your answers sincerely. Thank you very much for your help!

**PART 1**

1 If you could choose, which foreign languages would you like to learn next school year?

*(Please, mark the languages in order of importance)*

- 1 \_\_\_\_\_  
 2 \_\_\_\_\_  
 3 \_\_\_\_\_

2 Sex: Boy    Girl

3 Age:

4 Have you ever been abroad for longer than 3 months? If yes, where?

5 Besides Russian, my **mother** can speak

6 Besides Russian, my **father** can speak

7 Besides Russian, my **brother/s** can speak

- brother 1:
- brother 2:

8 Besides Russian, my **sister/s** can speak:

- sister 1:
- sister 2:

9 Does any member of your family currently live abroad?

10 Did/Does anybody of your family study abroad?    If yes where?

**PART 2**

<i>Put an X in the correct box</i>	<b>Very much</b>	<b>much</b>	<b>A little</b>	<b>Not much</b>	<b>Not at all</b>
1 How much do you like to meet foreigners from Western countries?					
2 How much do you like people from Western countries?					
3 How much do you watch films or TV programs in English?					
4 How much do you listen to music in English?					
5 How much do you enjoy the process of learning English?					
6 How important are English speaking countries in the world?					
7 How much do you think knowing English would help you when travel abroad in the future?					
8 How important do you think learning English is in order to understand better the culture and arts of its speakers?					
9 How important do you think English is in the world these days?					



MOTIVATION OF RUSSIAN STUDENTS TOWARDS THE LEARNING OF ENGLISH

**PART 3**

<i>Put an X in the correct box</i>	<i>strongly agree</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>neutral</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>
1. I want to learn English to have the possibility of studying abroad					
2. I want to learn English because I will need it at university in my country					
3. I want to learn English because I will need to read textbooks in English					
4. The main reason to learn English is to pass examinations					
5. I am learning English because I want to spend time in an English speaking country					
6. If I learn English I will be able to get a better job					
7. Increasing my English proficiency will have financial benefits for me					
8. Being able to speak English will add to my social status					
9. If I can speak English I shall have a fantastic life					
10. Everybody in my country should be able to speak English					
11. I only learn English because my parents tell me to do so					

**PART 4**

<i>Put an X in the correct box</i>	<i>strongly agree</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>neutral</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>
1. I want to do well in this class because I want to show my abilities to my family/friends/others.					
2. I want to do well in this class because my family can be proud of me					
3. One reason I learn English is that I can meet new people and make friends in the class					
4. Learning English is a challenge I enjoy					
5. I am sure I will be able to learn English well					
6. I will never be able to use English in my country					
7. My family thinks that learning English is good for me					
8. My friends think that learning English is important					
9. I want to understand better English speaking films/TV programs/Internet videos					
10. I want to be able to read websites in English					
11. Most of my favorite actors/singers/sportsmen speak English					
12. Learning English makes people less patriotic					

# Chronopotic Information of the Non-Dialogic Part of American Dramatic Text (Based On 20<sup>th</sup> Century American Plays)

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It is well-known that any dramatic text consists of two main blocks – the dialogic represented by actors' speech and the non-dialogic part represented by the author's indications (remarks). This article seeks to analyze the informative potential of the non-dialogic part of a dramatic text from the point of view of its content-related and semantic characteristics, and in its peculiarity is considered as a distinctive feature of the American linguocultural area. The topic of the content of the non-dialogic part is rendered by chronotope and anthropocentric information, which reveal the point that a dramatic text is encoded in the verbalization of extra-linguistic space/time and of a human being. Special attention is paid to spatiotemporal indications as the constituents of chronopotic information. The interior and scenery descriptions as subtypes of spatial loci are subjects of the research as well.

The investigation was carried out on the bases of 45 dramatic texts created by American authors of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The research methods were component data mining, descriptive analytical method and linguistic comparison. The results showed that the distinctive feature of the American plays of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was the presence of large pieces of text and specific information in spatiotemporal indications in the non-dialogic part. Furthermore, the results affirmed that during the reading of modern American dramatic texts it might seem as though the authors forgot about the original orientation of plays for performance on stage. Some of the spatiotemporal indications were bound not to be embodied by a stage director and were available only for a reader, who in this aspect was equal to a reader of a prosaic text. As for a viewer, they are highly unlikely to perceive the author's descriptions of the scenery in full informational content and consequently they would face a definite information gap.

*Keywords:* dramatic text, non-dialogic part, absolute beginning of the text, chronotope, spatiotemporal indications, spatial locus, semiotic system

Linguistics, having mastered texts of various kinds and genres, is starting (although rather rapidly) to its area of study to dramatic text (DT). If to address to the works in this area it is possible to distinguish the following directions in its study: communicative organization of DT (Ishchuk – Fadeeva, 2001; Karimova, 2004; Kormilina, 2004;

Zhurcheva, 2006), correlation of verbal and non-verbal means of communication of DT (Balyagina, 1993; Lozhechnikova, 2004; Orlova, 2007; Chubarova, 2008), diverse problems of drama speech (Zaitzeva, 2002; Tislenkova, 2004; Borger, 2004), categorical properties of DT (Gregorowicz-Cap, 1998; Sintotzkaya, 2003; Chernetz, 2004), prosodic

organization of DT (Magill, 1985; Hess-Luettich, 1991; Hadar, 1997), the place of DT within literary studies (Meserve, 1966; Veltrusky, 1977; Schroeder, 1989; Mitchell, 1995), embodiment of DT on the scene (Bentley, 1967; Briggs, 1983; Dessen, 2000; Elam, 2002). Representatives of different approaches to the study of DT have an undivided opinion that communicative direction of DT can be stratified on three audiences: DT – a reader, DT – a viewer and DT – an intermediate group (actors, stage directors). This article is focused on the study of peculiar type of DT called «Lesedrama» (Zhurcheva, 2006), which is oriented to readers. This type of DT has not been investigated at all in linguistics and requires careful examination. Moreover, research of DT admits that the comprehensive revealing of the informational potential of DT is impossible without consideration of that part of the text located outside of the actors' speech and comprises the wide range of elements forming its structure.

In spite of the fact that DT has already become the object of linguistic investigation, it can be stated that there is much to analyze in revealing its formative models and in comprehending some prominent features in researching the specificity of DT creation. **Immediacy** of the topic under investigation is determined by the increasing interest of modern linguistics to a person's being and their communicative activity in various spheres of society, including the aesthetic sphere, where DT can be regarded as complex phenomenon of oral lore. The **novelty** of the article is defined by the extended research of chronotope, which is supposed to be the formal and content-related category of the text and defines the characters' image. In this context, it is relevant to point out that the study of semantic and structural peculiarities of interior and scenery descriptions is extremely important, because these descriptions are the objects forming the general picture of the locality of the characters and their actions in DT.

## Materials and Methods

### Theoretical Framework

Text linguistics investigating the rules of text building often leaves out of its view the newest tendencies defining patterns of modeling of this or

that type of text, aiming only at the fixed regularities of total ordering. Meanwhile, consideration of such tendencies is highly essential, with the revealing of the interconnection of the general and the specific features in the rules of text building provides greater insight by integrating the linguocultural aspect in research of language and text phenomena. The review process of DT, depending on specific conditions of its creation, in many ways determines the research approach to its study as typified by American plays of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It is widely accepted that any DT has a specific structure, characterized by particular elements (dramatis personae, characters' remarks, author's remarks) and is meant for a stage performance. A linguist, proceeding to the study of DT, starts dealing with a typographical edition of the text and in this respect is regarded as the researcher of a specific kind of DT named as Lesedrama. The communicative orientation of DT is multi-faceted and its consideration plays into the problem of text dialogics. This term was introduced by D. Bialostosky (1986). The main point of text dialogics is the idea that any text is meant for its own addressee and is created on the expectation of the addressee's perception. Bearing in mind the multiple audiences of DT (DT – a reader, DT – a viewer and DT – an intermediate group (actors, stage directors) and that the orientation of the modern American plays on a reader to a greater extent than on a viewer, it is logical to state that the correlation of the dialogic and non-dialogic parts as manifestation of direct author's indications (remarks) ultimately depicts the evolution of genre and descriptive background assumptions in DT.

The informative range of the author's remarks, which form the non-dialogic part of DT, can be divided into following directions: basic spatio-temporal indications (at the beginning of the acts and scenes); small indications, which are specified in the text ; communicative indications for the characters. A remark as a component brought by historical development of drama, as opposed to monologue or dialogue, is inseparably connected with the evolution of the form of epic narration. American plays of the previous century can be regarded as a good example of this because it is possible to say as it may seem, while reading them, as though the author forgot about their original orientation for stage performance. Some of the author's indications are likely not to be conveyed by a stage director and are available only for a reader, who thus becomes equivalent to a reader of

a prosaic text. As for a viewer, they are highly unlikely to understand chronotopic data in its entirety and consequently they will fail to comprehend it. This process lets us speak about gradual prosaism of the author's indications in American plays of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and about the blurring of the lines between prosaic text and DT. It can mean that DT is nearing prosaic text in this respect.

## Research

English language dramatic text is studied in this article in its written form, which it acquires in print publishing. It is important to take into account the graphic presentation of the text, which is printed in different types of fonts and its non-dialogic part is performed in italics. Therefore, American dramatic text presented in modern printed versions, having specific structural and graphic distinctiveness of its non-dialogic part, allows for the investigation of its informative potential separately from the information of the whole text.

DT has multiple addressees and varies informative potential of its non-dialogic part according to the certain recipient. A recipient-reader, dealing with specific manifestation of DT known as Lesedrama, in modern conditions perceives the whole range of informative intricacies defined by the terms of literal communication. The non-dialogic part of DT, traditionally performed by the author's indications, increases the volume of superfluous information, which can be perceived only by a recipient-reader in its full informative potential. The superfluous information in the author's indications (remarks) is presented by the various data about location of the actions, scenery, descriptions of the physical appearance of the characters, their movements on the scene and their emotional state. All these informative points form the content-related characteristics of the non-dialogic part and serve the stated **purpose** of our investigation, which is to analyze chronotopic information as the constituent of content-related characteristics of the non-dialogic part of American DT of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The remaining content-related information of DT provides a great resource for further investigation on the bases of DT. The **goals** of this article are the following: to distinguish the types in chronotope marking, to analyze the correlation of the landscape descriptions (as a sub-aspect of spatial locus) with

temporal indications, to classify spatial loci, to state compositional constituents of scenery description, to make conclusions of a typological nature about the peculiarities of chronotope information in the non-dialogic part of modern American DT.

**The hypothesis** is represented by the thesis that at present time traditional methods of dramatic text building are undergoing active reorganization marked with specific distinctness in this or that linguocultural area. This fact has great linguistic significance, which lies in the determined influence done of modern society on modeling of text building informative structure, serving separate spheres of modern literary communication.

The spatial and temporal indications of the non-dialogic part of DT are presented and analysed as the constituent elements of chronotopic information from the point of view of their structure and informative value. They are discussed in three sections, namely, spatiotemporal indications, interior description, which forms the subtype of spatial locus, and scenery description, which forms the other subtype of spatial locus as well. The investigation is carried on the bases of 45 dramatic texts created by American authors of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The three main methods are applied to achieve the goals set in the article:

- component data mining (for revealing components which form the content of the non-dialogic part)
- descriptive analytical method (for characterization of informative lines)
- method of linguistic comparison (for finding common and specific features in the structure of the non-dialogic part in DT within 20<sup>th</sup> century American texts).

## Results and Discussion

One of the most typical features of drama is the presence of the distinctly marked chronotope, located at the absolute beginning of the text. It is argued that drama, at its absolute beginning, contains chronotope data divided into acts and scenes but that over time this can shift from being a typical feature to a changeable one. In this respect, it is reasonable to reveal the content-related aspect of the chronotope data in the non-dialogic part of dramatic text and to retrace the changes in information representation. It is necessary to mention that in our article the

absolute beginning of dramatic text means the very beginning of text information located after the second mention of the title.

In a text of modern American drama it is possible to distinguish the following types of chronotope marking (are listed in the order of frequency of usage):

**1. Separated naming units of location and time of an action:**

THE PLACE

*Nick's Pacific Street saloon, Restaurant, and Entertainment Palace at the foot of Embarcadero, in San Francisco. A suggestion of room 21 at The New York Hotel, upstairs, around the corner.*

THE TIME

*Afternoon and night of a day in October, 1939 (Saroyan, 1941, p. 920).*

**2. Indication of location and time of an action for each act:**

SCENES

The action of the play takes place at Camp Kare-Free, in the Berkshires, during August

ACT ONE

SCENE I

Teddy's Bungalow. About noon.

SCENE II

The Dining Room. Ten minutes later. (Kober, 1941, p. 680)

**3. General indication of location for all the acts and indication of the precise time for each act:**

SCENE

Tony's farmhouse in the Napa Valley, California

ACT ONE

Morning, in early summer

ACT TWO

Evening. Same day ... (Howard, 1941, p. 4).

**4. General indication of location and the year for all the acts and indication of more precise time for each act:**

SCENES

The entire action takes place in Marion Froude's studio in New-York City. The time 1932.

ACT ONE

About five o'clock of an afternoon in

November

ACT TWO

Afternoon, three weeks later ... (Berhman, 1941, p. 206).

**5. United indication of location and time of the action for the whole text of the play:**

PLACE:

The play takes place in Moscow, March 1985, and Talmenka, Siberia, 1992 (Kushner, 1995, p. 133).

**6. Indication of action location for each scene and absence of time indication:**

SCENES

PART ONE

SCENE ONE

The Sunday School

SCENE TWO

A Fish Fry

SCENE THREE

A Garden ... (Connelly, 1941, p. 145).

**7. Indication of action time and absence of location indication of the action:**

Time – the present (Albee, 1970, p. 19).

It is interesting to point out that in more than one-act dramatic texts the distinctly marked chronotope data at the absolute beginning of the text can be duplicated at the beginning of an act or a scene, being added by some details and extended by descriptions of stage settings. For instance, there is a clearly marked chronotope at the beginning of the whole text in the three-act play by E. O'Neill, "Ah, Wilderness!":

SCENES

ACT ONE

Sitting-room of the Miller home in a large small-town in Connecticut – early morning, July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1906

ACT TWO

Dining room of the Miller home – evening of the same day ... (O'Neill, 1941, p. 278).

It is worthy to note that the mentioned information about the time and location of the action is indicated one more time at the beginning of the second act:

SCENE: *Dining-room of the MILLER home – a little after 6 o'clock in the evening of the same day.*

*The room is much too small for medium-*

*price ...* (O'Neill, 1941, p. 290).

Such repetition of chronotope data allows a reader to perceive text information as a cohesive unit without separation from reading of the acts and scenes that follow and without return to the very beginning of the text to recollect the location and the time of the described action.

It is important to mention that in the dramatic texts of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the spatio-temporal data are relocated into the non-dialogic part of the text, which is situated at the beginning of the acts and scenes and are followed by the descriptions of stage settings. Thus it is possible to state the peculiar packing of chronotope information. The plays of (1) Tennessee Williams, "The Case of the Crushed Petunias" and (2) Maurice Valency "Feathertop" illustrate this point of view:

1. SCENE: *The action of the play takes place in the Simple Notion Shop, owned and operated Miss Dorothy Simple ...*

The play starts in the early morning. Miss Simple, very agitated for some reason, has just opened her little shop (Williams, 1994, p. 11).

2. *The kitchen is a low-beamed room, the largest room in a small New England house of colonial design. It is the year 1770. There are cobwebs in the corners ...* (Valency, 1994, p. 52).

Apart from that in a few modern American drama (for example, (1) S. Howard "They Knew What They Wanted" and (2) F. Nagy "Trip's Cinch") correlation of the landscape descriptions (as a subspect of spatial locus) with temporal indications can be observed:

1. *In the beginning of the play – it begins in summer – the grapes on the porch vines are small and green. In the last act – three months having elapsed – they are large and purple* (Howard, 1941, p. 5).
2. *Beyond the sand, there is a clear, black night sky, stretching as far as the eye can see* (Nagy, 1994, p. 343).

Bearing in mind the informative aspect of the first example, it is necessary to assume that a producer of the play "They Knew What They Wanted" deals with a tricky task to express text chronotope by the means of another semiotic system, dividing it into two acts, while a reader perceives it immediately.

It appears that in dramatic texts of the second-half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, temporal indications are added by various data. For instance, in the play of G. Gonzales

"Gaucho" besides of temporal indications there is additional information about the air temperature and brightness of the daylight (it is impossible to ignore the fact, that the implementation of the air temperature by means of a stage is highly difficult):

HOUR: *Late summer afternoon, warm temperatures, around 6 p.m. bright daylight* (Gonzales, 1994, p. 98).

But one cannot affirm that such specification of temporal indications is typical for modern American dramatic texts, because the information about the time of day (*late afternoon, early morning, about 9 o'clock that night*) or month/season of a year (*autumn day, an afternoon in November*) is presented more often.

Alongside the specifications regarding temporal indications of stage actions are other atypical features of American drama, namely: (1) abstract temporal locus and (2) extension of its borderlines:

(1) TIME: *May be never. May be tomorrow* (Klein, 1994, p. 73).

(2) TIME: *Slavery Days* (Douglass, 1994, p. 139).

Description of the interior occupies a fairly big place in the non-dialogic part of the modern American plays. Undoubtedly, research interest is aroused by the author's remarks which have undergone compositional changes, in other words the author's remarks (with description of interior in their structure) are characterized by particular expansion in size and can occupy from a half a page up to a page and a half of printed text. In this regard, the study of semantic and structural peculiarities of interior description reveals some remarkable properties.

A distinctive feature of the American plays of the first-half of the XX century is the presence in the interior description structure of the author's characterization of the whole scene in general. In a greater degree the author's appraisal of the interior is common for a prose text because it is rather a tricky task to encapsulate some abstract ideas for a scene in just a few words. For example below, (1) taken from the play "Biography" by S. Behrman; (2) extracted from the play "The Women" by K. Boothe.

- (1) *... in the wall spaces looking at the audience are great, dim canvases – copies by some former tenant left probably in lieu of rent – of Sargent's Lord Ribblesdale and Mme. X. Whether it is due to **the amenable spirit of the present incumbent** or because they are relaxed in the democracy of art, these **oddmens of***

*the creative spirit* do not suggest disharmony (Behrman, 1941, p. 207).

- (2) *Today, Park Avenue living rooms are decorated with a significant indifference to the fact that ours is still a bisexual society. Period peacock alleys, crystal-hung prima-donna roosts, they reflect the good taste of their mistresses in everything but a consideration of the master's pardonable right to fit into his own home decor* (Boothe, 1941, p. 603).

It is relevant to note that there are some illustrations where unusual place indications are presented: (1) the example from the text of, B. and S. Spewack's "Boy Meets Girl", appeals to the individual perception of a reader; (2) the extracts from the play "The Green Pastures" by M. Connelly represents itself an imaginative spatial locus:

(1) *In Your Own Home. That is, if you have one, and if you listen to the radio* (B. and S. Spewack, 1941, p. 588).

(2) a. *The scene itself is a pre-Creation Heaven with compromises ...* (Connelly, 1941, p. 149).

b. *GOD'S private office in Heaven* (Connelly, 1941, p. 161).

As far as American plays of the second-half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are concerned, they are mostly characterized by the presence of specific non-imaginative spatial loci, such as a restaurant, a hotel, a room and etc., which do not require from a reader/a viewer additional comprehension of the place of the action.

It is remarkable that the description of interior elements, as a subtype of spatial locus, is not only observed in the absolute beginning of the dramatic text but also in the course of its development, where these spatial indications are interlaced with dialogical parts. Such kinds of spatial loci, presenting themselves the elements of interior or separate local indications can be distributed into the following types (are given in the order of usage frequency):

1. spatial indications pointing at moving/ position of an actor on the scene: *crossing the sofa; at the piano; at door; by the upper window; makes to the door; he begins moving around the stage; crosses downstage; they go to stage left; Mr. Miranda has now come out from behind the desk; exit Beth, upstairs; he runs out the front door; Julie goes back to the window; she exits through the up right door;*
2. spatial indications with which an actor interacts or uses: *settles back in chair; drops the shovel on the ground; she takes her pipe from the mantel shelf; noticing her staring into the mirror; he is now fairly cramped at one end*

*of the bench; Frank puts the ice cream on the chair on stage left; Mr. Miranda takes a book from his desk; she crosses to the armchair and collapses into it; throwing things against walls; he bends the chair back, and begins to lather Clark's face; he takes up a massive candlestick and draws GOOKIN to the mirror;*

3. spatial indications in combination with indications of an actor's emotions: *backing away from window as if about to faint; pointing to the picture in wonder; HILDY stands dazed, looking out from the window; stands in the door, nerveless and meditative as a child; her sobs filling the room and corridor; sitting down with a sigh of relief under the tree; puzzled, slowly swinging chair around again;*
4. spatial indications in combination with indications of an actor's actions: *she climbs laboriously back up on the porch; Linda throws up her hands in disgust and goes to the upstage table; Flora shuffles to the edge of the steps and stands there with slight idiotic smile; she stops at the bottom of the steps and stares at the sky, vacantly and raptly; HILDY leans weakly up against the desk and laugh hysterically; the girl walks back to the mirror and makes a face at his retreating back; get up from her chair and storms over to her friend;*
5. spatial indications pointing at an actor outdoors: *are sweeping snow from the entrance steps; Howie arrives in Greenwich village; Howie wanders through the landscape; at the corner of the house, he stops; he sits on the porch steps; Betty comes out from behind the tree; Then Claire jumps off the couch; A COLOURED MAN in chauffeur's uniform comes down the sidewalk;*
6. spatial indications in combination with temporal indications: *the rising sun streams in through the window, setting his figure; through the windows and the panes of the door come bright moonlight; a crouched silhouette against the moonlit desert.*

In conclusion it is possible to state that spatial loci inside the text of American drama of the 20<sup>th</sup> century constitute the background for the described events and correspondingly are tightly interlaced with actors' actions and emotions.

Aiming at the full presentation of dramatic action, the author involves in its sphere not only an individual but all inner object world in a tolerant rate. Due to this, description can be found at the very beginning of the dramatic text or its compositional constituents of scenery. The elements of scenery description are the objects forming the general picture of the

locality. There is no doubt that the dramatic genre does not have any conditions for including pieces of scenery in the text because the scenery is embodied according to convention in the stage setting. In the majority of the modern American plays studied, the scenery description tends to the utmost narrowing of the inner object set. Natural environment, as a rule, is depicted with few scenery indications and generally presents abstract images of scenery phenomena. For example, (1) M. Connelly "The Green Pastures"; (2) S. Shepard "Seduced"; (3) J. Klein "Bety the Yeti":

1. *The foot of mountain appears; a trumpet call is heard as the foot of the mountain reaches stage center. The marchers halt. The picture now shows the mountain running up out of sight off right* (Connelly, 1941, p. 191).
2. *The full moon in the background starts to slowly turn into orange as the sky grows darker to the end of the act* (Shepard, 1984, p. 275).
3. A thick canopy of mossy trees that keeps daylight out and moisture in. The underground is thick with ferns, flowering plants and downed trees. There is an enormous Douglas Fir, centuries old, that dominates the scene ... (Klein, 1994, p. 73).

It is essential to highlight that the above-listed illustrations are examples of geographically unmarked scenery because they do not contain the indications of any geographical coordinates in presenting landscape settings.

Alongside geographically unmarked scenery in modern American drama of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, geographically marked scenery can be found, which gives evidence about one more specific feature of its text. This feature means that the plot of the plays is geographically detailed: (1) R. Sherwood "Petrified Forest"; (2) S. Howard "They Knew What They Wanted":

1. *The scene of the entire play is the lunch room of the Black Mesa Filling Station and Bar-B-Q on the desert in Eastern Arizona ...*

*In the right wall are wide windows, through which may be seen the porch and, beyond it, the desert purpling in the sunset* (Sherwood, 1941, p. 361).

2. *The scene of the play is the home of an Italian winemaker in the Napa Valley in California ...*

*The view from the house is over a valley and toward brown Californian hills. The landscape is checkered with cultivation. Some of the checkers are orchards. Most of them are vineyards. The foreground is all vines*

*twine about the pillars of the porch* (Howard, 1941, p. 5).

As a matter of fact, these descriptive passages represent textual chronotopes that give many little details about action setting (including scenery). From the very first lines of the texts a reader obtains information about the actions of the plays, which took place in the desert of Eastern Arizona and in the Napa Valley in California. Unlike a reader, a viewer has to guess at the location of the action via different semiotic channels, and first of all, these will be based on visual information conveyed by the stage decorations, presenting *the desert in Eastern Arizona ...; the desert purpling in the sunset brown Californian hills*). It is interesting that not all viewers are able to identify the location of the action, but only those who are aware of Arizona's and California's landscapes. For other viewers, this aspect of textual information will be lost, while a reader acquires this information quite easily and unmistakably.

Apart from geographical realia in landscape descriptions in modern American drama of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there are a lot of toponymes which form urban scenery:

*Dead end of a New York street, ending in a wharf over the East River. To the left are a high terrace and a white iron gate leading to the back of the exclusive East River Terrace Apartments ...*

*Beyond the wharf is the East River, covered by a swirling scum an inch thick... Up-town of the wharf as we float down Hell Gate, the River voices its defiant protest in fierce whirlpools and stumbling rapids, groaning. Farther down, we pass under the arch of the Queensboro Bridge, spired, delicate, weblike in superstructure, powerful and brutal in the stone and steel which it plants like uncouth giant feet on the earth. In its hop, skip, and jump over the River it has planted one such foot on the Island called Welfare, once the home of hospital, insane asylum, and prison ...* (Kingsley, 1941, p. 453)

Another remarkable feature of modern American plays is the specification of vegetative scenery:

*Enclosing the stage is a heterogeneous cluster of cottonwood, camphor, live oak and sycamore trees, yaupon and turkey-berry bushes, with their purple and red berries, sprays of fern-like indigo fiera and splashes of various Louisiana flowers* (Connelly, 1941, p. 156).

Such examples of vegetative scenery descriptions only convey their full informational content to readers, not viewers. It is highly unlikely that a



stage designer can show all the botanical precisions of depicted plants, the abundance of which could never be perceived by a viewer in the intended way. Moreover some word combinations in the structure of scenery descriptions are nothing less than metaphors – *spray of fern-like indigo fiero and splashes of various Louisiana flowers* – which do not have visual embodiment or which require exceptional imaginative solutions in the process of their presentation in stage decorations.

### Conclusion

It has been found that at its outset, a dramatic text contains chronotope data divided into acts and scenes, but within the time this feature shifts from the typical to the changeable one. In this regards, it is reasonable to retrace the changes in information presented. This study indicates that in dramatic texts from the second-half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, spatiotemporal data are relocated into the non-dialogic part of the text, which is situated at the beginning of the acts and scenes, and are followed by the descriptions of stage settings. This means a peculiar packaging of chronotope information. Moreover, it appears that in dramatic texts of the second-half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, temporal indications are added by various data; for instance, by additional information about the air temperature and brightness of the daylight. However, it is not possible to affirm that such specifications of temporal indications is typical of modern American dramatic texts because the information about the time of a day is presented more than once throughout the text. Other atypical features of American drama, such as abstract temporal locus and extension of its borderlines, exist alongside these specifications in temporal indications of stage actions.

Description of interiors occupies a fairly big place in the non-dialogic parts of modern American plays. The results of the investigation show that the structural presentation of interior descriptions are characterized by an expanded size, occupying from half a page up to a page and a half of printed text. Another distinctive feature of American plays from the first-half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is the presence in the interior description of the author's characterization

of the whole scene in general. To a greater degree, the author's appraisal of the interior is more common for a prose text because it is a rather tricky task to encapsulate some abstract ideas in a brief scene. In conclusion, it is possible to state that spatial loci inside the text of American drama of the 20<sup>th</sup> century constitute the background for the described events and correspondingly are tightly interlaced with the actors' actions and emotions.

As for the elements of scenery description, the study shows that these objects form the general picture of the locality. There is no doubt that the dramatic genre does not enable the inclusion of aspects of scenery in the text because the scenery is conventionally embodied in the stage settings. For the majority of modern American plays, the scenery description tends to the utmost narrowing of inner object set. Two types of scenery have been distinguished in modern American drama of the 20<sup>th</sup> century - geographically unmarked and geographically marked scenery. The latter gives evidence of one more specific feature of its text, such as geographical realia, toponymes, or specification of vegetative scenery. Moreover, some word combinations in the structure of scenery descriptions are nothing less than metaphors, which do not have a direct visual embodiment but suppose an exceptional imaginative solution in the process of their presentation in stage decorations

As a whole, during the reading of dramatic texts it seems as though the author forgets about his original orientation on stage performance. Some of the author's remarks are bound not to be embodied by a stage director and are available only to the reader of the printed play who, in this regard, is equal to a reader of a prose text. As for viewers of a dramatic play, they are highly unlikely to perceive the full informational content of an author's description of the scenery and, consequently, they will face a definite information gap.

Further analysis is needed on other content-related characteristics of non-dialogic parts of DT: for instance, portrait descriptions of the characters; communication of the characters and their reflections in the non-dialogic parts; the range of characters' actions and their commenting in the non-dialogic parts. All these aspects seem to be essential for a comprehensive understanding of the informational potential of the non-dialogic part of dramatic texts.

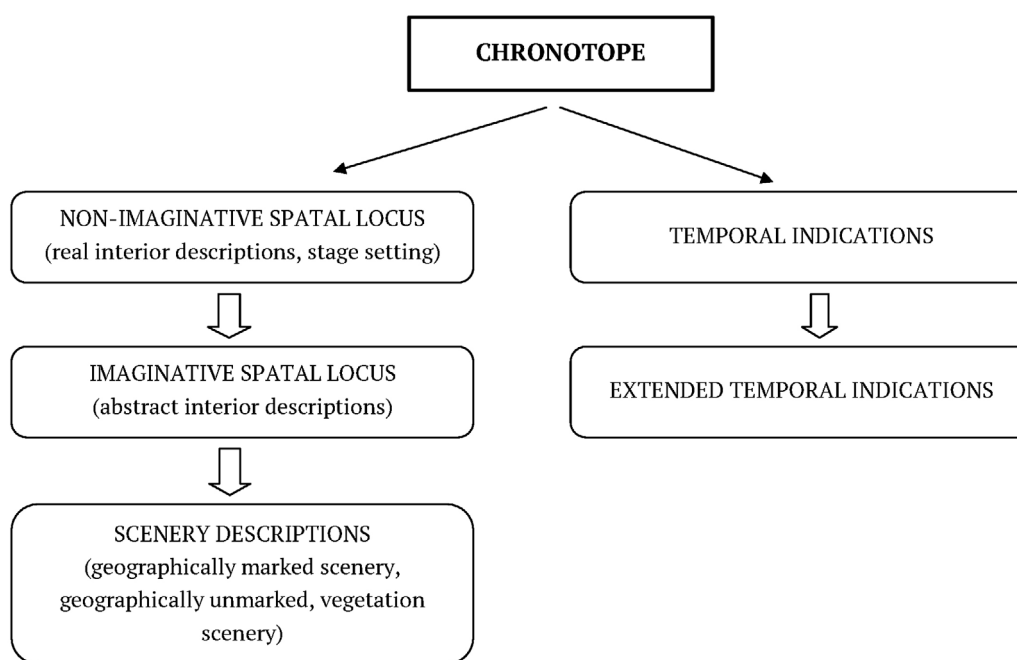


Figure 1. The structure of Chronotope.

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# Give an Envelope for the Boss/Give a Brown Envelope for the Boss - On the Semantics and Characteristics of the Metaphors for Bribe across Cultures: Focus on Cameroon and Nigeria

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This paper sets out to study in a comparative perspective the semantics and the characteristics of the metaphors for bribe used by Cameroonians and Nigerians and discuss the factors which can account for the choice of these metaphors. The data for the study were collected from participant observation, novels, interviews, scientific papers and online sources and the work is discussed from the vantage point of functional grammar and cognitive linguistics. The findings of the study reveal that in order to lessen the appalling nature of the act of asking for bribes, avoid sounding ridiculous and render incomprehensible the message of asking for bribe from people who are not familiar with it, these language users utilize various types of metaphors (object metaphors, anthropomorphic metaphors, vegetative metaphors as well as zoomorphic metaphors). These metaphors display some similarities (which can be accounted for by the geographical proximity between the two countries) and differences: both utilize almost the same types of metaphors and to a lesser extent the same lexical items to refer to bribe but in different proportions (object metaphors, anthropomorphic metaphors, vegetative metaphors as well as zoomorphic metaphors). Furthermore, it is found that the values conveyed by these metaphors fall under the domains of foodstuff and drinks, fauna, human beings and body parts, mailing and transportation as well as abstract realities. Also, some of these metaphors can be characterized as being meliorative, pejorative, vindictive and kinesthetic. Moreover, it is found that cultural, social and economic factors can provide insights to the understanding of the choice of the values used to refer to bribe by these language users. In addition, the values used to represent bribes in these countries are a depiction of their multilingual complex nature.

Keywords: bribe, metaphor, values, language users, lexical items, factors

The phenomenon of corruption is very commonplace in Sub-Saharan Africa and in other parts of the world (Cf Transparency International reports from 2008 to 2015). Due to its pervasive nature, it has developed its language with its own lexico-semantic features. One of the key features of the lexico-semantics of this language is the use of metaphors. These metaphors are central in the language of corruption since it enables people who ask for bribes to pass across their message

tactfully while rendering it incomprehensible from the non-users of this code so much so that a person who is not used to this code will face difficulties in getting what is being said. The semantics of these metaphors therefore need to be deciphered. The use of metaphors for bribe can be observed in the productions of Nigerians and Cameroonians as the data collected for the study indicate. These metaphors are not always the same as we move from one sociocultural

environment to another although there are some points of convergence. The study is therefore based on the following assumptions:

- The semantics and characteristics of the values used as metaphor for bribe by Nigerians and Cameroonians display similarities and differences.
- Cultural, social and economic factors can provide insights to the understanding of the choice of the values used to refer to bribe by these language users.
- The values used to represent bribes in these two sociolinguistic environments are a depiction of the multilingual complex nature of these countries.

The study is discussed from the vantage point of functional grammar ((Halliday & Matthiessen 2004), Thompson (2004)) and cognitive linguistics (Lakoff & Johnson (1980a), Lakoff & Johnson (1980 b) and Shelestiuk (2006)).

According to functional linguists, language consists of three metafunctions: the interactional (we use language to interact with people), the textual (language is used to create coherent and cohesive texts) and the experiential metafunctions (we use language to convey our experiences of the world (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Thomson, 2004). Metaphors are discussed in the experiential metafunction and more precisely under relational processes. This metafunction upholds that language is used to talk about the world, either the external-things, events, qualities, etc. – or our internal world – thoughts, beliefs, feelings, etc.” (Thompson, 2004, p. 86). So, language is a reflection of our worldviews which can be perceived in terms of processes, namely material, mental, verbal, behavioral and relational. Since metaphors “set up a relationship between two concepts” (Thompson, 2004, p. 86), they are discussed under relational processes.

The analysis of a relational clause in systemic-functional grammar implies the use of the following key terms: “carrier” Vs. “attribute” and “token” Vs. “value”. The terms “carrier” Vs. “attribute” are used in attributive relational clauses while the terms “token” Vs. “value” are used in identifying relational clauses. The terms “token” Vs. “value” are appropriate to the analysis of metaphors. Attributive relational clauses and identifying relational clauses are exemplified in (a) and (b).

- (a) Your arguments are false.
- (b) Peter is a lion.

In (a), “arguments” is ascribed the attribute “false” while in (b) “Peter” is identified in terms of a “lion”. So, in (a), “arguments” is the “carrier” and “false” is the “attribute” while in (b) “Peter” is a “token” and “lion” is the “value”. The identification of “Peter” in terms of “a lion” is based on the similarity between “Peter” and

a “lion”. It is possible here that some aspects of the character of Peter are similar to those of a lion. This point is in consonance with the theory of conceptual metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980a); Lakoff & Johnson (1980b) according to which “the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing or experience in terms of another” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980a, p. 455). To be more precise, metaphors “involve understanding less concrete experiences in terms of more concrete and more highly structured experiences” (Lakoff & Johnson (1980a, p. 486). In other words, it is “a transfer (transposition) of a name of an object/phenomenon to another object/phenomenon on the basis of the similarity between them (Shelestiuk, 2006, p. 334). In (b) “Peter” is perceived in terms of a “lion”. In the conceptual metaphor theory, “Peter” belongs to the “target domain” while “lion” falls under the source domain. The common features which “Peter” share with the “lion” constitute “the ground” (Richards, 1990, p. 93).

As pointed out by Shelestiuk (2006, pp. 337-338), metaphors can be classified following structural and semantic approaches. In the present study, the second approach is adopted. Under the semantic approach can be identified three main classifications: the classification by associative link between the vehicle (value) and tenor (token), forming the ground of similarity: similarity of function (e.g.: the hands of a clock), similarity of form (a bottle’s neck), similarity of structure and substance (e.g.: a flood of tears); the classification based on the logico-grammatical meaning of the ground in a metaphor, describing the process of nomination in it. (e.g. a substance can be characterized through another substance, a substance can be characterized through an action, etc.) and the classification of metaphors based on the subject of the vehicle whereby metaphors are characterized as anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, vegetative metaphors, etc. (Shelestiuk, 2006, pp. 337-338). The first (classification by associative link between the vehicle and tenor) and the third classification (based on the subject of the vehicle) will be used in this study. This theoretical background will serve as the framework of analysis of the metaphors in the present study.

Many researchers in Cameroon (Meutem Kamtchueng, 2015; Safotso, 2015) and Nigeria (Bassey Ekpenyong & Bassey, 2014; Adeyemi Adegoju & Saheed Ake Raheem, 2015) have been interested in the language of corruption. Both in the Nigerian and Cameroonian contexts, this language has developed its own vocabulary and lexico-semantic features such as gradable synonyms, collocates, metaphors, idioms, clichés and coinages (Bassey Ekpenyong & Bassey, 2014), semantic shifts, borrowing, affixation, idiomatic formation, and stereotyped sentences (Meutem Kamtchueng, 2015). In the Nigerian context,

it makes use of pragmatic strategies such as blatant requests, cunning/subtle elicitations, proverbial/metaphoric cues and technical/bureaucratic non-formation (Adeyemi Adegoju & Saheed Ake Raheem, 2015). In Cameroon, this language has got a register (Safotso, 2015) and draws its lexes from background languages (Meutem Kamtchueng, 2015; Safotso, 2015). The following types of metaphors for bribe can be identified in Cameroon: anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, vegetative, abstraction and object metaphors (Meutem Kamtchueng, 2016). Also, social, traditional and cultural practices in Cameroon can account for the choice of the values used in the metaphors of bribery and corruption in this country. These metaphors delineate the social, economical and political plight of Cameroonians (Meutem Kamtchueng, 2016). It is recommended that in Nigeria, anti-graft agencies should track the nuances with which corrupt practices are coded so as to boost the anti-graft crusade in the country (Adeyemi Adegoju & Saheed Ake Raheem, 2015).

As opposed to the above mentioned studies, the present work analyses, in a comparative perspective, the semantics and characteristics of the metaphors for bribe in the Cameroonian and Nigerian sociolinguistic environments. As mentioned above, it is based on the following assumptions:

- The semantics and characteristics of the values used as metaphor for bribe by Nigerians and Cameroonians display similarities and differences.
- Cultural, social and economic factors can provide insights to the understanding of the choice of the values used to refer to bribe by these language users.
- The values used to represent bribes in these two sociolinguistic environments are a depiction of the multilingual complex nature of these countries.

## Materials and Methods

The data analysed in this study were collected from written and online materials, participant observation and interviews.

### Written and Online Materials

As concerns written material, the data were collected from scientific papers and novels written both by Cameroonians and Nigerians. They are the following:

#### a) Cameroonians

#### •Scientific papers

- Meutem Kamtchueng Lozzi Martial (2015) C'est ça que je mange?/Is that what I eat?-Examining the language of corruption in Cameroon. *International Journal of Language Studies* 10/1, 125-148.
- Safotso Tagne G. (2015) The metalanguage of corruption in Cameroon-part I: The registers of general administration, transport and education. *International Journal of English Linguistics* 5/2, 47-54.

#### •Novels

- Ambanasom S. (1999) *Son of the native soil*. Bamenda: Patron Publishing House.

#### b) Nigerians

- Bassey Ekpenyong and V. Bassey (2014) Language of corruption and anticorruption in Nigeria. *Journal of Contemporary Research* 11/2, pp. 45-59.
- Adeyemi Adeyemi Adegoju and Saheed Oke Raheem (2015) Gone are the days of 'kola (nut): New trends in language habits and coding of corrupt practices in Nigeria. *Marang: Journal of Language and Literature*. Vol. 26, pp. 155-171.
- Bamiro, Edmund (2015) "English in Nigerian Settings: Recent Lexicoining in Nigerian English". In Tunde Opeibi, Josef Schmied, Tope Omoniyi and Kofo Adedeji (eds) *Essays on Language in Societal Transformation: A Festschrift in Honour of Segun Awonusi*. Gottingen, Germany: Cuvillier Verlag, pp. 87-96.

The following online materials serve as a source for provision of the data:

- <http://cameroonjournal.com/national-news/conac-wont-name-corrupt-officials-in-anti-corruption-repo> (accessed on July 5, 2016)
- [https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08YAOUNDE913\\_a.html](https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08YAOUNDE913_a.html) (accessed on July 5, 2016)
- <https://www.facebook.com/radiotiemenisiantou/posts/696678067037234> (accessed on July 5, 2016)
- <http://cameroonjournal.com/national-news/conac-wont-name-corrupt-officials-in-anti-corruption-repo> (accessed on July 5, 2016)
- <http://www.georgeehusani.org/home/index.php/papers> (accessed on July 5, 2016)

#### •Interviews

Also, part of the data was collected via interviews. One hundred informants were interviewed in both countries. These informants were civil servants, workers of the private sectors and students of both sexes. The questions found in the interview are the following:

1. Are you a Cameroonian/Nigerian?

2. What is your region/State of origin?
3. What is your occupation?
4. Have you ever heard of corruption?
5. What does that mean?
6. Have you ever practised or been a victim of corruption?
7. In which situation(s)?
8. What are the words or expressions used by the persons who corrupt or who ask for bribe?
9. What do they mean?
10. In which contexts are they used?

• **Participant observation**

Participant observation was used to collect data in the Cameroonian context only. The data about the metaphors for bribe used in the Nigerian context were collected only through written materials, online materials and interviews. The most sizeable proportion of the data obtained from participant observation were collected in the Yaounde administrative area, more precisely around the Ministry of Finance. This area is the point of convergence of all civil servants in Cameroon since their financial documents are treated there. It was very frequent to hear civil servant, in informal conversations, using terms such as “gombo” (gumbo), “motivation” (motivation), “pourcentage” (percentage), “parle bien” “speak well”, etc. to refer to bribe. I have been hearing these expressions since 2007, date from which I started following up my documents of integration into the public service. From 2007 up to the present time, these terms and expressions are still used. Furthermore, other data collected from participant observation were heard from the conversations between policemen or gendarmes and car drivers (especially those who either have incomplete car’s documents or those whose car’s documents have expired) and between policemen or gendarmes and the passengers who either do not have their identity cards or whose identity cards are expired.

In order to avoid idiosyncratic data, only the lexis and expressions which were recurrent were finally analysed. For a lexis or expression to be included in the analysis, it should occur at least twice.

## Results and Discussion

In this section are presented and analysed the data collected from the various research instruments. They are discussed in four subsections, namely, object metaphors, anthropomorphic metaphors, zoomorphic metaphors, vegetative metaphors and abstraction metaphors. For each type of metaphor, the examples will be provided into two groups, namely the data drawn from the Cameroonian and Nigerian contexts respectively.

### Object Metaphors

Under this subsection are discussed metaphors for bribe whose value denotes lifeless material realities, more precisely those which can be seen and touched (e.g.: food, drinks, objects, etc.)

#### A) Cameroonian context

- 1)
  - (a) “Il faut *le vin du patron*”: There should be *the boss’s wine*.” (Safotso, 2015, p. 50)
  - (b) “Donne moi *mon whisky*, je te fais valider cette matière: Give me *my whisky* I will make you pass the course.

#### B) Nigerian context

- 2)
  - (a) “[...] the expression “*pure water* is not too small” is sometimes used to seek gratification. (Adegoju & Raheem, 2015, p. 163)
  - (b) “*Chop-chop*: A Pidgin expression for corruption (Bassey & Bassey, 2014, p. 54)
  - (c) “Glad you are here; I can rest assured *my lunch*/transport fare is fixed for today” (Adegoju & Raheem, 2015, p. 161)
- 3)
  - (a) “In making such a cunning request, a common Pidgin English expression “*you no chop remain?*” (*Have you no left-over?*) could be used” (Adegoju & Raheem, 2015, p. 163)
  - (b) “So, in Yoruba, the expressions “*E je kó gbon sile*” (*Let the crumbs filter down*)[...] (Adegoju & Raheem, 2015, p. 165)
  - (c) “*Dash*” may be offered in solid cash [...] the “dash” is an incentive (Bassey & Bassey, 2014, p. 49)

As indicated above, (1a) and (1b) are drawn from the Cameroonian context while (2a), (2b) (2c), (3a) and (3b) and (3c) are used in the Nigerian context. In these sentences, the lexis or expressions “le vin du patron: boss’ wine”, “mon whisky: my whisky”, “pure water: water in sachets”, “chop-chop: food”, “lunch”; “chop remain: left over”, “kó gbon sile: crumbs filter down” and “dash” are the values used to represent bribe. So, the metaphors used in these sentences can be paraphrased as follows: “(1’a) bribe is the boss’ wine”, (1’b) “bribe is whisky”, (2’a) “bribe is pure water”, (2’b) “bribe is chop-chop”, (2’c) “bribe is lunch”, (3a) “bribe is left-over”, (3b) “bribes are crumbs”, (3c) “Bribe is dash”. In (1’a) and (1’b), “boss’ wine” and “whisky” are respectively the values used in source domains to represent the target domain lexis “bribe” while “in (2’a), (2’b) and (2’c) the lexis “pure water”, “chop-chop” and “my lunch” are the vehicles used in the source domain to represent “bribe” in the target domain. In (3a), (3b) and (3c) the lexis “crumbs” and “left-over”



and “dash” are the values used to represent “bribe”. What is common to these values is that all of them belong to the lexical domains of foodstuff and drinks. Therefore, the above metaphors can be paraphrased as “bribe is food and drinks”. It is important to indicate that the above values used to represent bribe are just euphemistic. This concurs Meutem Kamtchueng (2015, p. 76) when he points out that “when a corrupt worker asks a person who needs his or her services to give him/her “kola nut” before he/she can attend to him/her, he/she does not certainly expect from him/her the fruit of the kola nut tree neither does he expect CFA 25 or CFA 50 which are roughly the price of a kola nut on the Cameroonian market”. This point is buttressed by Adeyemi Adegaju and Saheed Oke Raheem (2015, p. 161) who state that reference for “lunch” and “transport fare” in the expressions used to ask for bribe does not necessarily mean that what is expected from the interlocutor is not equivalent to what is requested. It should be observed that both Nigerians and Cameroonians use the values of **DRINKS** to refer to bribe (boss’ wine” and “whisky (in the Cameroonian context) and “pure water” (in the Nigerian context). Also, Nigerians use the value of **FOOD** to represent bribe (e.g.: “*chop-chop*: a Pidgin-English expression for corruption and bribery), “lunch”, “crumbs”, “left-over” and “dash”. Literally, “chop-chop” is the Pidgin-English word for food, “lunch” is “a meal that is eaten in the middle of the day (Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, henceforth CALD, 2005, p. 758), “crumb refers to “a very small piece of bread, cake or biscuit” (CALD, 2005, p. 299) and “left-overs” means “food remaining after” (CALD, 2005, p. 724), a “dash” is “a small amount of something, especially liquid food, that is added to something else” (CALD, 2005, p. 314). These values point to the fact that one of the main factors which motivate people to take bribe is hunger and poverty. The images conveyed by the values of these metaphors go a long way to portray the abject misery of people in these countries: From these metaphors, it can be inferred that people ask for bribe on the grounds that they are hungry and thirsty. So, they want to satisfy one of their basic biological needs (eating and drinking). It is worth noting that the metaphors “pure water: water in sachets”, “left-over: food remaining after”, “crumb: a very small piece of bread, cake or biscuit” reinforce the abject living conditions of many people in these countries. The findings obtained from the study carried out by Action AID Nigeria (2015, pp. 45-57) reveal that there is a correlation between corruption and poverty. Many people in sub-Saharan Africa are poor and this can be a fertile ground for corruption. Uzochukwu (2016) sheds more light on this point when he states that

According to international standards of poverty, a person is said to be poor when he

lives under \$1.25 (₦210, though it varies) per day. There are many poor people in Nigeria, and poverty pushes them into corruption. According to World Bank Group, in 2004, 63.1% of Nigerians were poor. The poverty level increased in 2010. In 2010, 68% of the Nigerian populations were estimated to be poor. A person can take bribes to commit crime because he is poor. It is one of the reasons why the poor youths in the country collect bribes to work as thugs for Nigerian politicians (<https://soapboxie.com/world-politics/Corruption-in-Nigeria>, accessed on July 20, 2016).

What is said by Uzochukwu (2016) in the above quotation holds true for many African countries, especially those of sub-Saharan Africa.

In addition to using metaphors whose value belong to the lexical domain of food stuff and drinks to represent bribe, Cameroonians and Nigerian also make use of the metaphors whose values are drawn from other lexical domains.

#### C) Cameroonian context

4)

- (a) “Voilà votre *taxi*”: “That is your *taxi (fare)*” (Safotso, 2015, p. 53)
- (b) “Find me *an envelope*”: “Find *an envelope* for me” (Safotso, 2015, p. 53)

#### D) Nigerian context

5)

- (a) To give and receive *brown envelope* (Bassey & Bassey, 2014, p. 54)
- (b) “Glad you are here; I can rest assured my lunch/*transport fare* is fixed for today” (Adegaju & Raheem, 2015, p. 161)
- (c) “Among the notable expressions which have permeated the corrupt world of the country are “settlement”-any form of gratification, be it monetary or material; “brown envelope”-packaged money for inducement[...]“*Ghana must-go*”-massive money mopped up for influencing political decisions[...] (Adegaju & Raheem, 2015, p. 161).

Sentences 4(a) and 4(b) are drawn from the Cameroonian context while 5(a), (b) and (c) are drawn from the Nigerian context. The metaphoric constructions in these sentences can be paraphrased respectively as (4’a) bribe is taxi(fare), (4’b) bribe is envelope, (5’a) bribe is brown envelope, (5’b) bribe is transport fare, (5’c) bribe is Ghana-must-go (NB: Ghana-must-go (bags) which are multi-color bags mass-produced by Ghanaians to pack their belongings when they returned to Ghana en-masse as the economy of their country started to stabilize and improve in the 1990s; such bags, now used to load cash inducements,

have become a metaphor for corruption in Nigerian politics)(Bamiro, 2015, p. 90). In these sentences, “taxi (fares)”, “envelope”, “brown envelope”, “transport fare” and “Ghana-must-go” are the values used in the source domain to represent the token “bribe” in the target domain. What is common to all these metaphor values is that they belong to the lexical domain of mailing and transportation. So, it can be observed that both Cameroonians and Nigerians make use of the metaphor which are drawn from the domain of mailing and transportation to refer to bribe and in many situations, the lexes used are almost the same: “envelope: bribe”, “taxi (fare): bribe” (Cameroonian context); “brown envelope: bribe”, “transport fare: bribe” (Nigerian context). What could have motivated the choice of “envelope”, “taxi (fare)”, “brown envelope”, “transport fare”, “Ghana-must-go” in order to refer to bribe. It can be pointed out that in the language of corruption, some of the object metaphors used to refer to bribe denote the realities which can help to ease or facilitate an action, an activity or task: envelopes/brown envelopes helps to keep a letter, or any object made from paper; taxi facilitates the movement of people from one place to another, taxi( fares) or transport fares is money paid in order to be transported from one place to another and Ghana-must-go (bags) are multi-color bags produced by Ghanaians to pack their belongings when they returned to Ghana en-masse (Bamiro, 2015, p. 90). So, like taxi/transport (fares) which facilitates the movement of people from one place to another, like the envelope/brown envelope which helps in keeping documents for mailing, like Ghana-must-go (bags) which are the bags which ease the keeping and transportation of goods, bribe facilitates or eases the interaction between a corrupt official and the person who needs to be attended to and therefore enables the latter to get what he needs from the former no matter whether or not the latter is entitled to it.

### Zoomorphic and Vegetative Metaphors

Zoomorphic metaphors refer to the metaphors whose values are related to fauna (i.e. animals) as opposed to vegetative metaphors whose values are drawn from flora (plants, vegetables, fruits, etc.).

#### E) Cameroonian context

6)

- (a) As-tu attaché *la chèvre* du proviseur? :  
“Have you tied *the goat* of the principal (zoomorphic metaphor)
- (b) J’attends toujours *mon coq* pour ton dossier que j’ai traité: I am still waiting for *my cock* for your file that I treated (zoomorphic metaphor)
- (c) Donne moi un *pigeon*: give me *a pigeon* (Bribe of CFA 1000)(zoomorphic metaphor)

7)

- (a) “[...] They went straight to the DO’s com pound with their “kola-nut” [...] Achamba had influenced the DO’s decision” (Ambanasom, 1999, p. 143) (NB: the metaphor “kola-nut” is also used in the French language in Cameroon)(vegetative metaphor)
- (b) “Donne-moi *mon gombo*, je te fais réussir”: Give me *my gumbo*, I make you succeed (Vegetative metaphor).

#### F) Nigerian context

(c) “*To give kola or receive kola*”: to bribe or to be bribed (Bassey & Bassey, 2014, p. 54 (vegetative metaphor)

The metaphors in (6a), (6b), (6c), (7a) and (7b) are drawn from the Cameroonian sociocultural environment while that of (8a) is drawn from the Nigerian context. The metaphoric constructions in these sentences can be paraphrased respectively as “(6’a) bribe is goat, (6’b) bribe is cock, (6’c) bribe is pigeon, (7’a) bribe is kola-nut, (7b) bribe is gumbo, (8a) bribe is kola-nut. The values of the metaphors in (6a) (6b) and (6c) are zoomorphic (i.e. they have to do with animal (goat, cock, pigeon) while those in (7a), (7b) and (7c) are vegetative (they have to do with plants, fruits, etc.). It can be observed that some of the vegetative metaphors used in the Cameroonian context to refer to bribe are also attested in the Nigerian sociocultural environment. It is the case of the vegetative metaphor “kola(nut)” which is used in both contexts. Furthermore, a scrutiny of the data indicates that in addition to vegetative metaphors, Cameroonians, unlike Nigerians, make use of zoomorphic metaphors in order to refer to bribe. This is attested in the data by values such as “goat”, “cock” and “pigeon”. The choice of these values in order to represent bribe can be explained by some sociocultural practices which are common place in these neighboring countries. People in many ethnic groups in Cameroon and Nigeria during certain events perform sacrifices during which they slaughter goats, cocks. This is generally done during some traditional events (traditional wedding. As pointed out in Meutem Kamtchueng (2016, in press, *REAL Studies 10*)

the offering or sacrificing of goat(s) and cock(s) while performing these traditional and cultural practices aims at making in such a way that the event for which the animals are offered or sacrificed take place without hitch (marriage, for example), or find an everlasting solution (settling of a dispute, for instance); or that the benediction sought be granted to people, etc. These clues can enable us to understand the choice of the

values of zoomorphic metaphors “goat”, “cock” used [...] to refer to bribe. Like the goats and cocks which are offered during traditional and cultural practices to seek an everlasting solution to a problem, bribes are given by people so that the various problems they face in the treatment of their files by unscrupulous officials in various offices find a solution; legitimate services be rendered to them; their files be treated diligently, etc.

It should be mentioned that the choice of the value “pigeon” in order to refer to a bribe (bribe of CFA1000) can be explained by the fact that CFA1000 is generally the price of a pigeon. This metaphor is regularly used by policemen when they want to ask for bribe to a taxi-driver who has committed a traffic offence or who does not have all the car’s documents. With regard to kola (nut), it is important to say that it symbolizes friendship, familiarity, solidarity among people, especially in Africa. In many offices in underdeveloped countries, officials attend to people on the basis of their familiarity with the person who needs their services. Since kola(nut) is used to create familiarity, the person who needs services has to create this familiarity (by giving kola(nut)) before he is attended to. The choice of the value “gumbo” to refer to bribe can be linked to the nature of its substance. The substance of the gumbo fruit is slippery. So, “what is slippery does not stick to something and can therefore be easily slipped into a container. So, like gumbo (substance) which can easily be slipped into a container, bribe can easily and secretly be slipped into the pocket of the person who takes it for fear of not being noticed” (Meutem Kamtchueng, 2016, *REAL Studies 10*). From the above clues, one can understand why the values discussed above have been chosen by language users in these countries to refer to bribe.

In addition to drawing the metaphor of bribe from object-related entities, fauna and flora, language users in Cameroon and Nigeria draw the metaphors for bribe from human-related entities.

### Anthropomorphic Metaphors

A metaphor is said to be anthropomorphic when its value is related to human beings (persons, body parts, etc.).

#### G-Cameroonian context

8)

- (a) “Fais comme un *bon Camerounais*: do/make like a *good Cameroonian*.
- (b) Parle comme *un grand homme*”: speak/talk like *a great man* (Meutem Kamtchueng, 2015, p. 70)

9)

- (a) “Il n y a rien pour les *pauvres*”: There isn’t any

thing for the *poor*

- (b) Il y a les *mange mille* en route: there are *1000-eaters* on the road (CFA 1000)

#### H) Nigerian context

10)

- (a) “*bottom power*”-female influence on male to get whatever is desired (Adegoju & Raheem, 2015, p. 161)
- (b) [...]“Anything there for *the boys?* [...]” (Adegoju & Raheem, 2015, p. 163)

Sentences (8a) and (8b); (9a) and (9b) incorporate metaphors for bribe which are drawn from the Cameroonian sociocultural environment while (10a) and (10b) have to do with the metaphors which are found in the Nigerian context. The metaphoric construction identified in the above sentences can respectively be paraphrased as (8’a) a good Cameroonian is the person who bribes, (8’b) a great man is the person who bribes, (9’a) workers are the poor, (9’b) Policemen/gendarmes are 1000-eaters (CFA 1000), (10a) bribe is bottom power, (10b) policemen/gendarmes are the boys. The values incorporated in these metaphors can be said to be anthropomorphic since they are related to human beings (“good Cameroonian”, “great man”, “the poor”, “1000-eaters”, “bottom power” (female influence on male to get whatever they want) and “the boys”. It can therefore be observed that both Cameroonians and Nigerians make use of anthropomorphic metaphors in order to refer to bribery. Let us consider the following sentences:

8)

- (a) “Fais comme un *bon Camerounais*: do/make like a *good Cameroonian*.
- (b) Parle comme *un grand homme*”: speak/talk like *a great man* (Meutem Kamtchueng, 2015, p. 70)

It is important to mention that these sentences are used by Cameroonian when asking for bribe. The values of the metaphors incorporated in these sentences have a flattery overtone (meliorative) (“*good Cameroonian*”, “*a great man*”). The overall aim of these meliorative metaphors is to flatter their interlocutor so that they can give them some bribe. It can be stated that these metaphors show the extent to which corruption is so widespread and has eaten deep into the fabric of the Cameroonian society so much so that it has become the norm: These metaphors suggests that a model Cameroonian citizen/a great man is he who corrupts. So, in Cameroon, being corrupt is the norm whereas not being corrupt is the exception.

Like sentences (8a) and (8b), (9a) (“Il n y a rien pour les *pauvres*”: There isn’t anything for the *poor*”) and (10b) “[...] Anything there for *the boys?*” are interrogatives used to ask for bribe. However, unlike the values of the metaphors in (8a) and (8b) which are meliorative (they have a flattery overtone), the values

of the ones used in (9a) (*the poor*) and (10b) (*the boys*) have a pejorative overtone. In other words, officials who ask for bribe call themselves “the poors” (in the Cameroonian context) while policemen who ask for bribe call themselves “the boys” (in the Nigerian context). By referring to them using the metaphors “the poors” and “the boys”, these official tactfully wants to arouse pity from the heart of the people to whom they are asking for bribe and in many situations they succeed in their ridiculous and shameful enterprise. Many officials, especially policemen and gendarmes in Cameroon excel in asking for bribe. Such an annoying behavior has brought many Cameroonians, especially, road users, to refer to them using the metaphors “1000-eaters” (this is due to the fact that they usually collect CFA 1000 from drivers). Sentence (9b) “Il y a les *mange mille* en route: there are *1000-eaters* on the road” serves as an illustration of this metaphor. It can be observed that the value of the metaphor in (9b) neither has a meliorative nor a pejorative overtone. Instead, it has a vindictive or derogatory overtone. This metaphor is an expression of the anger of the Cameroonian road users, especially drivers, who are fed up of this appalling behavior of these road officials.

If it is true that the values of the metaphors for bribe take the form of material entities, as it is the case of object metaphors, it is nonetheless true that immaterial entities are used as the metaphors for bribe. The example incorporated in (10a) can serve as an example.

(10a) “*Bottom power*”-female influence on male to get whatever is desired (Adegoju & Raheem, 2015, p. 161)

Many women use their sex organs as an inducement in order to get what they are unable to get or have access to using legal means or material things. This way of bribing is referred to in the Nigerian sociocultural environment using the metaphor “bottom power” (i.e. the power which consists in using one’s intimate parts to have what one desires). This situation is rampant in the school environment where many female students get good marks after that they have had sexual intercourses with their male teachers or lecturers. In Cameroon such marks are known as STM (Sexually Transmitted Marks). Also, “bottom-power” is used by women in other social domains in order to get a promotion, influence decision-making in their favor, etc.

The metaphors discussed in the following section denote immaterial realities, more precisely abstractions.

### Abstraction Metaphors

These are metaphors whose vehicles refer to immaterial realities (i.e. realities which cannot be seen

and touched).

### I) Cameroonian context

11)

- (a) “Faire *un geste*: to *make a gesture*” (Meutem Kamtchueng, 2015, p. 69)
- (b) “E don *oil yo mop* (Cameroon Pidgin English)”: “he has *oiled his mouth*” (Safotso, 2015, p. 49)
- (c) “Dem go *lock yo mop*”(Cameroon Pidgin English)”: “they will *shut his mouth*” (Safotso, 2015, p. 49)
- (d) *Shake skin* (Cameroon Pidgin English)”: *shake your skin*
- (e) *Fais vite tu pars: make fast and go*

12)

- (a) *Lave tes péchés: wash away your sins*
- (b) *Va pisser: go and pee* (used by gendarmes to ask for bribe at the Cameroon-Chad border)
- (c) “Gars, si tu *ne parles pas bien*, le proviseur ne t’acceptera pas dans son établissement: Guy, if you do *not speak well*, the principal will not admit you into his school”

### J) Nigerian Context

13)

- (a) “[...] While the addressee is confronted with this seeming question which is actually an invitation for inducement, the speaker would follow up with another metaphoric utterance to ensure the case is pushed through the “express mode”. Therefore, in Igbo, the common expression “*Bba oku*” (*Flash your torch*) or “*Gbaa gburugburu*” (Run around to look for something) could be used” (Adegoju & Raheem, 2015, p. 164).
- (b) “[...] While the addressee is confronted with this seeming question which is actually an invitation for inducement, the speaker would follow up with another metaphoric utterance to ensure the case is pushed through the “express mode”. Therefore, in Igbo, the common expression “*Bba oku*” (*Flash your torch*) or “*Gbaa gburugburu*” (*Run around to look for something*) could be used” (Adegoju & Raheem, 2015, p. 164).
- (c) “In some other situations when the addressee is perceived to be well to do [...] an entreaty is made that he or she should give out from the abundance he/she possesses. So, in Yoruba, the expressions “*È jẹ́ kó gbòn silẹ́*” (Let the crumbs filter down) or “*È ju nnkan silẹ́* (*Drop something*) could be used for metaphoric invitations. The Igbo equivalent of the invitation to “*drop something*” is “*kpokom*” which is an onomatopoeic utterance usually accompanied with the body gesture (hand description) of the act of dropping something. (Adegoju & Raheem, 2015, p. 164)
- (d) Other similar expressions in Yoruba are [...] “È

**ma da je o” (Do not monopolise the largesse).**

(Adegoju & Raheem, 2015, p. 164)

- (e) There is also a proverbial expression which is deployed in the discourse of corrupt practices in Yoruba: **“È domi siwaju kẹ le tẹlẹ to tutu” (pour water upfront so that you walk on a wet ground)** (Adegoju & Raheem, 2015, p. 165)

The metaphoric constructions in (11a), (11b), (11c), (11d), (11e), (12a), (12b) and (12c) are drawn from the Cameroonian sociocultural environment and can be paraphrased as follows: (11’a) Bribing is **making a gesture**, (11’b) Bribing is **oiling someone’s mouth**, (11’c) Bribing is **shutting someone’s mouth**, (11’d) Bribing is **shaking skin**, (11’e) Bribing is **making fast and go**, (12a) Bribing is **washing away one’s sins**, (12b) looking for bribe is **to go and pee**, (12c) Bribing is **speaking well**. The ones found in (13a), (13b), (13c), (13d) and (13e) are drawn from the Nigerian sociocultural context and can be paraphrased as follows: (13’a) Bribing is **flashing one’s torch**, (13’b) Looking for bribe is **to run around to look for something**, (13’c) Bribing is **dropping something**, (13’d) Not bribing is to **monopolise the largesse**, (13’e) Bribing is to **pour water upfront so that you can walk on a wet ground**. All these metaphors are used to ask for bribe. Besides, despite the fact that they are drawn from two different sociocultural environments, they do not only denote abstract realities but also they have the same underlying characteristic. In other words, their value denote a kinetic reality. i.e. they involve some sort of movement of the body parts. It will be interesting to understand the meaning of such metaphors. Bribing is an illegal and illegitimate act which is sanctioned in almost all countries (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (henceforth OECD, 2008, pp. 42-48). So, when one bribes, the action of giving bribe should not draw people’s attention. This action should be stealthily. These clues can account for the use of expressions such as “making a gesture (11’a)”, “shaking skin” (11’d), “making fast and go” (11c), “dropping something” to refer to the action of bribing. The actions denoted by the values of these metaphors are stealthy and ephemeral and as such they do not draw people’s attention. Let us note that a gesture which involves body parts is generally ephemeral and stealthy. Besides, “to shake” and “to drop” are momentary verbs and one of the key characteristics of momentary verbs is that they denote actions which “have little duration” (Quirk & Greenbaum, 1973, p. 47). When an action denoted by a verb has little duration, that action can easily go unnoticed and so is the action of bribing. Such clues can help understand the choice of such metaphors to refer to bribing. Also, as mentioned above, some metaphors used to represent bribe are realities that ease or facilitate a movement.

This can justify the use of the metaphor “oiling someone’s mouth” (11’b). To oil means “to put oil on something, especially a machine, usually to make it work more easily without sticking” (CALD, 2005, p. 876). So, like oil which eases the functioning of a machine, bribe eases the interaction between the corrupt official and the person who needs his/her services. It should also be noted that one can bribe not only to get a service, but also to make in such a way that the truth is not revealed about an affair, or a judgment is said in his or her favor. For these to be done, one has to “lock” (i.e. shut) the mouth of the official. i.e. bribe him. This can account for the use of the metaphor “locking” (shutting) someone’s mouth (11’c). Furthermore, in order to convince their interlocutors to give them bribe, corrupt officials create a situation whereby their interlocutor will not feel at ease should he/she not give the bribe. This can be illustrated by instances such as “wash away your sins” (12’a), “do not monopolise the largesse (13’e)”. It should be said that the metaphor “washing away one’s sins” is used by policemen in Cameroon, in order to ask for bribe from taxi drivers who have either infringed the driving code or whose car documents are not complete. Not respecting road regulations or having a taxi with incomplete documents is equated to a **sin** which will be washed away not by prayers but by a **bribe**. The rationale of the policemen to use the metaphor of “sin” to refer to a driving fault is to aggravate the fault committed in order to convince the taxi-driver to give them bribe. Also, in order to ask for bribe, corrupt officials also use some metaphors which have to do with the body function and which consist in getting rid of waste material. This can be illustrated by the metaphor for bribing in (12’b) “looking for bribe is **to go and pee**”. The metaphor “to go and pee” is used by Cameroonian road officials at check points at the Chad-Cameroon border so as to ask for bribe. As pointed out above, the action of bribing is done secretly. In other words, it should be hidden for fear that it does not draw people’s attention. Under normal circumstances one does not pee in public. In order to pee, one has to do it far from the eyes of people. So, like the action of peeing which is hidden so that it does not draw people attention, so is the action of looking for bribe which will be given to a corrupt road official. It should be noted that the corrupt official generally put some sort of pressure on his interlocutor while asking him to look for bribe. The metaphor in (13a) “[...] or **“Gbaa gburugburu” (Run around to look for something)**” which originates from the Igbo language, serves as an illustration. The use of the metaphor “run around to look for something” to mean “run and look for bribe” shows that the person who asks for bribe puts pressure on his/her interlocutor. Should his /her interlocutor not give bribe, something bad might

happen to him/her (he might not be attended to, his file might not be treated, the information needed might not be given to him/her, etc.). Moreover, it should be stated that many corrupt officials would not give much importance to the service you need from them and for which they earn a salary unless you bribe them. For instance, when you arrive in some public offices in Cameroon, after that you have told you *raison d'être* coming there, a corrupt official might ask you to bribe him/her using the utterance “*parle bien*”/ “speak well”. From this utterance, one can say that when one asks for a service without bribing, he/she is not “speaking” well but when one ask for service and gives a bribe, one is “speaking well”. So, what makes much sense to the corrupt official is not the service you ask him/her to do for you but the bribe you give him/her for the service needed. As pointed out above, the values of many metaphors used to refer to bribe are realities which ease or facilitate a process. The metaphor in (13 a) “*Bba oku*” (*Flash your torch*)” drawn from Igbo, a language spoken in Nigeria, is a case in point. In this example, the value used to represent the token “bribing” is the action of “flashing one’s torch”. Generally, the torch is flashed so that light can be produced. So, like the torch which helps to produce light, bribe helps to facilitate the interaction between a corrupt official and their interlocutors. Also, as discussed above, one strategy used by corrupt people to ask for bribe consists in using some metaphors whose value either have a flattery overtone or which arouse pity from the heart of their interlocutor(s). The value of the metaphor in (13 d) [...] “*E ma da je o*” (*Do not monopolise the largesse*) which originates from Yoruba, a language spoken in Nigeria, follows this trend. In (13d), the metaphor not to “monopolise the largesse” is used to refer to the action of bribing. It is worth noting that “largesse” is the “money given to poor people by rich people” (CALD, 2005, p. 713). The word “largesse” implies that the person who asks for bribe is one of “the poor” whereas his or her interlocutor is one of “the rich”. By using this metaphor, the corrupt official praises his interlocutor (insinuating that the interlocutor is rich) and belittles himself/herself (insinuating that he/she (the corrupt official) is poor). So, the interlocutor should give them that money (not monopolise the largesse) since it is meant for them (the poor). This metaphor goes in the same vein with the one found in (9a) which is used in the Cameroonian context (9a) “*Il n y a rien pour les pauvres*”: There isn’t anything for the *poor*” (Cf section 3.3).

As discussed above, some traditional practices can provide clues in the understanding of some metaphors used to refer to bribe. Also, it has been observed that some metaphors used to refer to bribe are realities which ease or facilitate a process, an activity, etc. The metaphor (13e) drawn from the

Nigerian context “(13e) *E domi siwaju ke le tele to tutu*” (*pour water upfront so that you walk on a wet ground*) is another illustration of this point. In order to perform some rituals in Africa, people pour libations and water is one of the liquid which is poured during libations. In other words, in traditional African cultures and traditions, pouring libations is a ritual usually involving the pouring of water ([www.abpsi.org/.../2016firsttimeattendeehandout.pdf](http://www.abpsi.org/.../2016firsttimeattendeehandout.pdf)). The pouring of water or libation is done in order to thank the ancestors, requesting something like support, stability, clarity, spiritual cleansing or protection etc. (<http://www.africaspeaks.com/reasoning/index.php?topic>). So, like water which is poured in order to seek support, stability, spiritual cleansing and protection from the ancestors, bribe is given so as to help the person who needs the services of a corrupt official to be attended to, to have his/her file treated diligently, to be given the required information, bribe is given in order to ease or facilitate the interaction between the corrupt official and the person who needs his/her services.

#### K) Cameroonian Context

14)

- (a) Il faut *voir le patron* pour qu’il déblocue ton dossier: You should see [*meet*] *the boss* so that your file can be processed
- (b) As-tu déjà donné *la motivation* du patron pour le traitement de ton dossier-là?: Have you already given *the motivation* of the boss for the treatment of your file?
- (c) [...] to avoid problems: to bribe (<http://cameroonjournal.com/national-news/conac-wont-name-corrupt-officials-in-anti-corruption-repo>)

#### L) Nigerian Context

(15a) “In some cases when the speaker does not want to open up or give clear indicators as to the form of gratification desired, an open request may be presented in Yoruba thus: “*E ma a ri mi/wa ke to lo o*” (*You would see me/us before you go*). (Adegoju & Raheem, 2015, p. 162)

(15b) “*Motivation* could actually come in the form of a Greek gift as bait, employment given to a relation either on a contract basis, internship or absorption of a relation as a corps member to serve[...]” (Adegoju & Raheem, 2015, p. 167).

(15c) “Among the notable expressions which have permeated the corrupt world of the country are “*settlement*”-*any form of gratification, be it monetary or material*” (Adegoju & Raheem, 2015, p. 161)

(15d) “The giving and taking of bribe is the most widely known form of corruption in Nigeria, referred to by such euphemisms as [...] *family support and settlement*” (<http://www.georgeehusani.org/home/>)

index.php/papers-)

The metaphors for bribe in (14a), (14b), (14c) are drawn from the Cameroonian sociocultural context while those found in (15a) and (15b) are drawn from the Nigerian sociocultural environment. They can respectively be paraphrased as follows: (14'a) Bribing is seeing the boss, (14b) Bribe is motivation, (14c) Bribing is avoiding problems, (15'a) Bribing is seeing an official, (15b) Bribe is motivation. Let us consider the metaphors in (14a) and (15a) (Bribing is seeing an official). This metaphor is generally used in the contexts where someone is following the treatment of his/her file in a public office, when one has applied for a job in the public service, when one has written a competitive entrance examination into a training school, or when an enterprise applies for the award of public contracts (e.g.: to build a government infrastructure, to supply material to the government, etc.). In such situations the person who needs the services, the candidate or the applicant might be asked to "see [meet] an official", "see[meet] the members of the commission for the award of the contract" so that his/her file can be treated diligently, so that he is admitted into the training school or for his/her enterprise to be awarded a contract. In such situations, one does not "see" [meet] these officials for "seeing" [meeting] sake. In such contexts, "seeing [meeting] an official/members of the commission for the award of a contract" means "bribing him/them". As a result some workers recruited are not fit for their jobs, some government public works are poorly done. The overall consequence is that the output of these workers is very mediocre and populations continue to suffer.

Another value of the metaphor for bribe used in both countries is "motivation" as exemplified in (14b) and (15b) (Bribe is motivation). It is worth stating that motivation is "the enthusiasm for doing something" (CALD, 2005, p. 823). It should be pointed out that many workers of the public sectors in some Sub-Saharan Africa countries are poorly paid. This poor payment sometimes affects their output. That is why some of them are not very enthusiastic to do the work they are paid for. It is common place to hear some of them tell those who need their services "to motivate them". "Motivating" them in these contexts does not mean uttering words of encouragement to them. Instead, it means "bribing them". So, the person who needs their services has to create in these workers some sort of enthusiasm not by uttering to their regards words of encouragements but by giving them bribe. It should be noted that when one "motivates" (i.e.: bribes) these unscrupulous workers, it is said that you are (15c) "avoiding problem". So, bribing is avoiding problems. Sometimes, failure to bribe some of these officials might have some negative unforeseeable consequences on the treatment of the

file of some citizens, their application for recruitment into the public service or for the award of a contract no matter the conformity of their files (in the case of the follow-up of the treatment of file), the quantity and quality of their credentials (recruitment in the public service) or the performance of their enterprise (award of contracts). These clues can also account for the reference to bribe by Nigerians using the metaphor "settlement" as illustrated in (15c). It should be stated that a settlement is "an official agreement that finishes an argument" or "an arrangement to end a disagreement involving a law having been broken, without taking it to a law court, or an amount of money paid as part of such an arrangement" (CALD, 2005, p. 1163). However, in this context, it is used metaphorically to refer to bribe. The metaphor "settlement" used to refer to bribe suggests that under normal circumstances, the relationship between an official and a person who needs his/her services is not harmonious and that arguing with such an official about a treatment can be perceived as a breaking of the law and that is why one has to make arrangements with them by giving them money for "settlement" in order to end this disagreement.

It can be observed that the values of the metaphors for bribe identified in (14a) and (15b) (Bribing is seeing the official; (14b) and (15b) (bribe is motivation) in addition to the ones discussed earlier in this section reveal that in many situations Cameroonians and Nigerians make use of the same semiotic choices when it comes to choosing the values of some metaphors for bribe. In other words, the vehicles chosen to represent some metaphors for bribe in Cameroon are also attested in Nigeria. This can be accounted for by the geographical proximity of these two countries which favor the contact of populations.

As indicated in the report of Action AID Nigeria, (2015, pp. 45-57) there is a correlation between corruption and poverty. So, when people are poor, the probability for them to collect bribes is very high. This point is in consonance with Tanzi's (1998, p. 16) who found that one of the indirect factors which constitute a fertile ground for corruption is the low level of public sector wages. It should be noted that in these countries, the salary of the workers of the public sector is low. As a consequence, they are inclined to take bribes so as to satisfy their family needs. This clue can account for the reference to bribe in the Nigerian context using the metaphor "family support" as illustrated in (15d). So, people take bribes on the grounds that these will enable them help or support their family.

As mentioned above, a scrutiny of the metaphors for bribe used in the Cameroonian and Nigerian sociocultural contexts shows the multilingual complexity of these two countries. In other words, the values of the metaphors for bribe used in both

Table 1  
*Distribution of the types of metaphors per donor languages*

Types of metaphors	Cameroon				Nigeria				Total		
	Donor languages				Total	Donor languages					
	French	Eng	CamPE	H L		Eng	NPE	H L		NE	
Object metaphors	4	4	/	/	7	5	2	1	2	10	17
Anthropomorphic metaphors	4	3	/	/	7	1	/	/	1	2	9
Zoomorphic metaphors	3	2	/	/	5	/	/	/	/	00	5
Vegetative metaphors	2	1	/	/	3	1	/	/	/	1	4
Abstraction metaphors	7	5	3	/	15	4	/	6	/	10	25
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>00</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>60</b>

countries draw from various languages as the table below illustrates. In the table, Eng, CamPE, NPE, HL, and NE respectively stand for English, Cameroon Pidgin English, Nigerian Pidgin English, home languages and Nigerian English.

The statistics presented in the table below show that there is much convergence as far as the choice of the value for the metaphors for bribe by Cameroonians and Nigerians are concerned: The type of metaphors which has registered the highest number of tokens in both sociocultural environments are abstraction metaphors (15 tokens in Cameroon Vs. 10 tokens in Nigeria), followed by object metaphors (7 tokens in Cameroon Vs. 10 tokens in Nigeria), anthropomorphic metaphors (7 tokens in Cameroon Vs. 2 tokens in Nigeria), zoomorphic metaphors (5 tokens in Cameroon Vs. 00 token in Nigeria) and vegetative metaphors (3 tokens in Cameroon Vs. 1 token in Nigeria). As a whole, 37 tokens are attested in Cameroon Vs. 23 in Nigeria. This outnumbering can be explained by the fact that the language of corruption is very commonplace in or around public offices and in Cameroon two official languages are used in the Cameroonian administrative life (English and French) as opposed to Nigeria where the language of administration is English. So, many metaphors for bribe used in French also have their English equivalents in the country. Moreover, the table indicates that all types of metaphors for bribe are attested in Cameroon as opposed to Nigeria where zoomorphic metaphors were not identified. Besides, it should be observed that the proportion of these metaphors in each country, to an extent, is a reflection of the power relationship among languages on the territory. In Cameroon, French and English are the two superstrate languages and Cameroon Pidgin is the mostly spoken hybrid language on the territory. Home languages are substrate languages. This power relationship among these languages can account for the following statistics. 20 tokens for French, 15 for English, 3 for Cameroon Pidgin English and none for home languages. In Nigeria, English is the superstrate

languages and that is what can justify the fact that the highest number of tokens (11 tokens) originate from the English language. Nigerian Pidgin English, home languages and Nigerian English are all influenced by the English language.

### Conclusion

As a whole, it can be said that the choice of the values for the metaphors of bribe used by Cameroonians and Nigerians display some similarities and differences: If it is true that the lexical items and expressions for bribe used in both sociocultural environments are not always the same, it is nonetheless true that both language users utilize almost the same type of metaphors to refer to bribe but in different proportions (object metaphors, anthropomorphic metaphors, vegetative metaphors as well as zoomorphic metaphors (identified only in the Cameroonian context). Furthermore, the values conveyed by these metaphors fall under the same lexical domains: foodstuff and drinks, fauna, human beings and body parts, mailing and transportation as well as abstract realities. Also, it has been found that there are some values for the metaphors for bribe in both sociocultural environments which are the same. It is the case of “kola (nut)” (Cameroon) vs. kola nut (Nigeria) (Cf. (7a) and (7c), “motivation” (Cameroon) vs. motivation (Nigeria) (Cf. examples (14b) and (15b), “envelope” (Cameroon) vs. “brown envelope (Nigeria) (Cf. (4b) and (5a), taxi (fares) (Cameroon) vs. transport fares (Nigeria) (Cf. (4a) and (5b), “to see someone” (Cameroon) vs. “to see someone” (Nigeria) (Cf. (14a) and (15a). This can be justified by the geographical proximity between Cameroon and Nigeria which favors the contact between the citizens of these countries. It has also been found that cultural, social and economic factors can provide insights to the understanding of the choice of the values used to refer to bribe by these language users. Moreover, the proportion of lexical



items and expressions used as values for the metaphors for bribe in these sociocultural environments is a reflection of the multilingual complexity of these countries which is characterized by a power relationship among languages spoken therein.

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# The Status of *sì* in Yoruba

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This paper examines the syntax of sentential conjunction in the Yoruba language with the view of ascertaining the actual syntactic function of *sì* on which opinions have been polarized in the syntax of Yoruba grammar. This paper argues that the Yoruba language has a sentential/clausal conjunction element but its structural position is not the between the two clauses. The researcher conducted a series of structured interviews and also consulted existing works targeting the *sì* in compound clauses so as to generate the data for the research. The research adopts the Minimalist Program (MP) as its theoretical tool for the analyses presented in the article. MP views syntactic derivations as resulting from computational systems whose operations are based on operation Select and operation Merge. Syntactic structures are built in a par-wise fashion from bottom to top by putting two items together at a time. The research shows that there are three different *sì* in Yoruba occurring in seemingly similar environment but they are performing different syntactic functions. One *sì* denotes “emphasis” as a preverbal element; the second one denotes “consecutiveness of action” while the third one performs the function of sentential/clausal conjunction, an overt realization of the in the second clause. The overtly marked sentential/clausal conjunction also has a variant, which is an abstract realization between the two conjoined clauses.

**Keywords:** *sì*, emphasis, consecutiveness, conjunction, sentential conjunction, minimalist program

In the Minimalist Program literature (hence, MP) there are several publications on the nature of sentence types and derivations (Pollock, 1989; Chomsky, 1991, 1993, 1995; Rizzi, 1997; Ajiboye 2005; Ajongolo, 2005; Abimbola, 2014, Olaogun 2016). Compound structures have been identified in MP as projections of the conjunction head (hence, Conj<sup>0</sup>) whose maximal projection is conjunction phrase (hence, ConjP). ConjP as a functional projection combines two or more Tense Phrases<sup>1</sup> (TPs, i.e. TP<sub>1</sub> and TP<sub>2</sub> TP<sub>n</sub>) in pre-syntactic computations together to form compound

sentence constructions. Compound sentences are known to consist of two different clauses joined by a conjunction, in addition to having the two clauses as separable. Within Yorùbá linguistics, opinions are still polarized concerning one of the sentence conjunctions in Yoruba.

In the traditional grammar of the language *sì* is regarded functionally as the sentence conjunction. Scholars who hold this view are Bamgbose (1990), Yusuf (1980, 1999) among others. We shall regard this hypothesis as the first school of thought. But some scholars do not agree on the presence of sentential conjunction in Yoruba and out rightly disagree with the first school of thought on *sì* as the actual sentential/clausal marker of conjunction. Awobuluyi (1978; 2001; 2008; 2013) and Ilori (2010) hold the view that Yoruba does not have sentential conjunction, constituting the second school of thought. But there is no known work that has considered the status of *sì* in Yoruba grammar. This is the gap this research intends to fill using the Minimalist Program.

Based on the behavior of conjunctions, conjoined constituents are said to be on either sides of the conjunction element. It is observed, however, that

<sup>1</sup> Yoruba clause structure has been identified as having a tense head represented by T<sup>0</sup>, and TP re ten as a maximal category, Ilori (2010); Oduntan (2000); among others. Other abbreviations used in this work include; \* - ungrammatical structure/sentence; MP – Minimalist Program; Conj<sup>0</sup>/Conj – conjunction head; ConjP – Conjunction phrase; ConjII – extended projection of ConjP; TP<sub>1</sub> and TP<sub>2</sub> – clause one and two in conjoined sentences; T<sub>1</sub> – intermediate category/projection of tense phrase; Fig. – figure; DP – Determiner Phrase; D/Det –Determiner; MaxP – Maximal Projection of a given phrasal category; CA – consecutive Action; emph – emphasis; S – sentence; pst – past tense; pres – present tense; prep – preposition; Ex-DP – external argument DP; foc – Focus head of Focus construction; vP – light verb/external VP shell; v<sub>1</sub> – intermediate category/projection of vP; α, β – variables; Adv – Adverb.

sì behaves differently and hence we investigate the behavior of the item if truly it is actually a conjunction as it has been classified traditionally and speculated in the language or whether it is a preverbal adverb as first mentioned by Awobuluyi (1978). Figure 1 is an example of compound sentence in Yoruba while Fig. 2 indicates the two clauses:

<p>[<sub>TP</sub> Ọlá ra ẹran, ó sì jẹ ẹ]</p> <p>[<sub>TP</sub> Ọlá buy:pst meat, he sì eat:pst it]</p> <p>“Ola bought meat and ate it”</p>
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Figure 1. A compound sentence in Yoruba.

<p>[<sub>TP1</sub> Ọlá ra ẹran], sì [<sub>TP2</sub> Ọlá jẹ ẹ]</p> <p>[<sub>TP1</sub> Ola buy:pst meat], conj [<sub>TP2</sub> Ola eat:pst it]</p> <p>“Ola bought meat, Ola ate it”</p>
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Figure 2. Conjoined clauses: TP<sub>1</sub> and TP<sub>2</sub>.

<p>[<sub>TP</sub> Jésù sì sọkún] (The Holy Bible: Matthew 11:35)</p> <p>[<sub>TP</sub> Jesus sì cry:pst]</p> <p>“Jesus wept”</p>
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Figure 3. A mono-clausal construction with SÌ.

Figure 2 represents the two clauses in Figure 1 where the bracketed TP<sub>1</sub> is clause1 and clause2 is TP<sub>2</sub> and *sì* is regarded as the linker between the two clauses, an item which is noticeable to occur consistently after the subject DP. Figure 3 is an example of mono-clausal construction where it occurs independently without the second clause.<sup>2</sup>

## Materials and Methods

### Aims of the Research

It should be noted that the status of *sì* in the grammar of Yoruba language is still unknown. This paper aims to fill this vacuum. It will also examine the derivation of sentences involving clausal conjunction. Apart from the aforementioned goals, it will also investigate the possibility of the item being two in Yorùbá. To archive the aforementioned aims, the following research questions are developed to guide the analysis presented here:

- What are the inadequacies in the analyses of conjoined sentences?
- Does the Yoruba language have an overt realization of sentence conjunction marker?
- If the language has a sentence conjunction marker, what is its form?

<sup>2</sup> Clauses of this sort are discussed in section 5.2. of this work in detail. However, curious reader could read Awobuluyi (1978, 2001) among others.

- Is *sì* a sentence conjunction marker in the Yoruba language?
- What is the function of *sì* in the Yoruba language?

### The Minimalist Program

The Minimalist Program (hence, MP) propounded by Chomsky (1995, 2000) among others, is adopted for the analysis of this work. MP is a theory that builds on economic principles in the derivation of syntactic structures. It is a more natural and general approach to language (Ouhalla, 1999). MP views the human cognitive system as a computational system similar to that of a computer and uses a limited set of mechanisms and constraints to provide adequate explanation to language structures. MP’s assumptions significantly deviated from its offshoot – Principles and Parameters’ theory and other models of Generative Grammar - by eliminating theory internal levels of representation such as D-structure and S-structure. The Computational System of Human Language (C<sub>HL</sub>) in MP is regulated by a principle called the Inclusiveness condition, which assumes that a derivation of a syntactic structure can be built only from the items specified in the numeration (Radford). The numeration serves as the spring-board for the computation where items are first selected into from the lexicon. The lexicon consists of lexical items (LI) used in the computational processes.

MP adopts minimal operations for computational processes: Operation Select, and Operation Merge, Agree, Transfer and Spell-Out.

- **Operation Select** is used to choose from the list of Lexical Items (LIs) available in the lexicon into the numeration for further computation.
- **Operation Merge** is a binary operation that combines two LIs to derive a Syntactic Object (SO). The by-product of merge operations is endocentric, so that when Merge groups two LIs, one of them projects maximally; for instance, if merge combines two elements X and Y, the resulting phrase takes its label from either X or Y (Collins, 2011) e.g. merge (X, Y) = {X, Y} = XP. Merge can be divided in two: internal and external merge. Internal merge is concerned with SOs that enter the derivation but have to undergo another merge operation. External merge only targets merger of SOs that enter the derivation from the lexicon.
- **Agree** is the mechanism responsible for the matching of features for onward valuation of unvalued features, i.e., a situation where a head looks for matching features in its c-commanding domain.
- **Transfer** is an operation in narrow syntax that ships derivation to the interfaces, i.e., LF and PF.
- **Spell Out** is the point of interpretation at either the PF or LF.
- This theory determines the structural

representations drawn in this work. Also, the data analyzed were subjected to theoretical analysis.

## Results

The materials for the study include: a) a primary data source where structured interviews were conducted in English and the responses were given in Yoruba by randomly selected Yoruba speakers; b) secondary sources were also consulted, including existing works on Yoruba grammar.

### A Review of Existing Works on *Sì*

Scores of Yorùbá grammarians and linguists have examined the *sì* and opinions remain polarised on the conjunction *sì* in the language. Scholars like Yusuf (1980), Bamgbose (1980), Awobuluyi (1978) and Ilori (2010) among others have discussed conjunctions in Yorùbá. Conjunction has been variously defined, it is said to link two or more items together. In Yorùbá, there are basically two types of conjunctions regarding the items they can conjoin. Ogunbowale (1970, p. 95), cited in Yusuf (1980, p. 2), defines conjunction as, “a word which links part of speech or sentences together”. This means that conjunctions that are used to connect two words, phrases, or sentences together do occur in between the words, phrases, or sentences that are being connected. As implied, from this analogy, conjunctions acts like the concrete between two bricks holding them together. Consider the following examples;

[TP [DP Olá] àti/pèlú [DP Adé] wá ilé lánàá]  
 [TP [DP Ola] and/and [DP Ade] come-pst house  
 yesterday]  
 “Ola and Ade came home yesterday”

Figure 4. A simple sentence showing nominal conjunction.

[TP [DP Oko] àti [DP iyàwò rè] ti lo]  
 [TP [DP Husband] and [DP Wife his] has go-pst]  
 “The husband and his wife have gone”

Figure 5. The use on nominal conjunction.

\*[DP Olá lo] àti/pèlú [TP Olú ti dé]  
 [DP Olá go-pst] conj0 [TP Olú has arrive-pst]

Figure 6. An ungrammatical use of nominal conjunction.

As evident from the data presented above in Figure 4 and Figure 5, one could deduce that the conjunction *àti/pèlú* are DP conjunctions and cannot be used to connect DP and a clause/sentence together as seen in Fig. 6, any attempt to make *àti/pèlú* function in similar structures as Figure 6 would yield ungrammatical sentence structure in Yoruba language.

### Yusuf’s (1980) View on *Sì*

Yusuf (1980) is one of the earliest scholarly works found on *sì* and his view has some theoretical implications and shortcomings as first observed by Ilori (2010). First, the lowering of *sì* to the position after the subject DP is rightward. This is not theoretically possible in Minimalist assumptions. This is because MP does not allow rightward movement. Secondly, clauses are generated from the list of lexical items selected from the lexicon, made available in the lexical sub-array, i.e., where computation begins, resulting in clausal architectures built from the Merge operation of two basic elements { $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ } with projection towards the leftward movement or Left periphery. This being so, there is no point where an item that enters late in the derivation can ‘move down’ to what has already being computed in the derivation. Judging by the ways conjunction elements in the language behave (even those Awobuluyi (1978) referred to as disjunctions) usually stand in between the elements being conjoined together and none of them moves rightward. Yusuf’s representation is provided below in Figure 7 and Figure 8.

As evident in Figure 7 and Figure 8, the structures

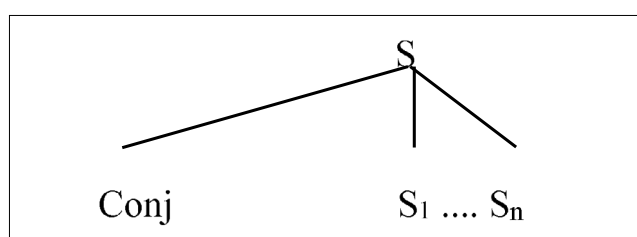


Figure 7. Yusuf’s (1980) Conjunction rule.

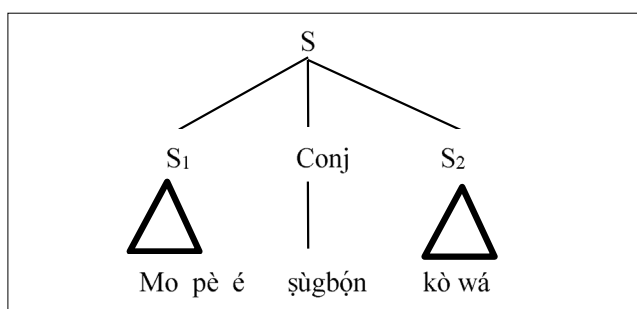


Figure 8. A representation of conjoined sentences by Yusuf (1980).

projected are not allowed in Minimalism. Apart from this, neither of Figure 7 and Figure 8 are possible structures in Minimalism. Figure 7 is not endocentric, i.e., it is not the projection of the conjunction head and so it is not allowed in MP. Figure 8 does not have a head of its own; besides the use “S” is alien to MP.

**Awobuluyi’s View (1978 & 2008) on SÌ**

Traditionally, àmó, sùgbón and sÌ were identified as the clausal conjunctions in the language. But Awobuluyi (1978, p. 104) taking insight from the behaviour of these items noted that two separate classes are combined together in one class called conjunction in the Yorùbá traditional grammar. On the one hand, there is the disjunction which he defines as showing two or more elements are alternatives, and a person can only choose one; on the other hand, there are the conjunctions which ‘show that two or more things go together or are united. In sum, both conjunctions and disjunctions ‘relate elements of the same functional class’. In his work sÌ is not classified as a sentence conjunction rather he classifies the item as pre-verbal adverb which marks ‘consecutive action’ (Awobuluyi, 1978, p. 69). He assumes that there is no sentence conjunction that behaves as phrasal conjunction or disjunctions in the language. In his discussion on the HTS in his (2008) book, he only advanced arguments in favor of HTS use of sÌ.<sup>3</sup>

[<sub>TP</sub> Ó sÌ lọ sí ibè]  
 [<sub>TP</sub> He sÌ go-pst prep there]  
 “And he went there”

Figure 9. A simple clause in Yoruba.

[<sub>TP</sub> Òun nàà ni ó sÌ lọ sí ibè]  
 [<sub>TP</sub> He det foc he conj go-pst prep there]  
 “He is the one that went there”

Figure 10. A focus construction showing in sÌ not conjoining any clause.

It should be noted that Awobuluyi is the first scholar who observed and thus rejected the ideal that sÌ is a sentence conjunction. However, the reason for grouping the item with pre-verbs is unknown. The grouping is not enough to say that the item not a conjunction.

**Ilori’s (2010) View on SÌ**

<sup>3</sup> Awobuluyi (2008) still maintains his initial stance concerning sÌ when he says that HTS, ó occurs after some pre-verbs in the language. For more of discussions on the HTS and the form of 3rd person pronoun (subjective case), traditionally called ó see Awobuluyi (1992, 2001, 2006, 2008), Oduntan (2000) and Ajongolo (2005). In this paper, we assume that ó is 3rd:sg subject DP.

According to Ilorio, the structural position occupied by sÌ within two sentences or clauses conjoined together seemingly questions the traditional or popular view. Ilori observed that sÌ regularly occur after the subject of clause2 of such compound clauses. As evident in Figure 11 below:

[<sub>TP</sub> Adé jẹun ó sÌ yó bàmú]  
 [<sub>TP</sub> Ade eat-thing he sÌ full to-the-brim]  
 “Ade ate and he was filled to the brim”

Figure 11. An illustration of the position of sÌ after the subject of the second clause.

His view is, however, unlike most of his predecessors. He claimed that sÌ is a kind of adverb, “that adjoins to the pre-VP adjunct position in the second IP of the compound clause. It is from that position that the subject raises across sÌ/dè to spec-IP to derive the surface syntax in which the subject of the clause2 linearly precedes sÌ/dè”.<sup>4</sup> His view corroborated Awobuluyi’s (1978) view that sÌ is a pre-verbal adverb which indicates “consecutive action”. In view of this claim he proposed the following architecture in Figure 12 below;

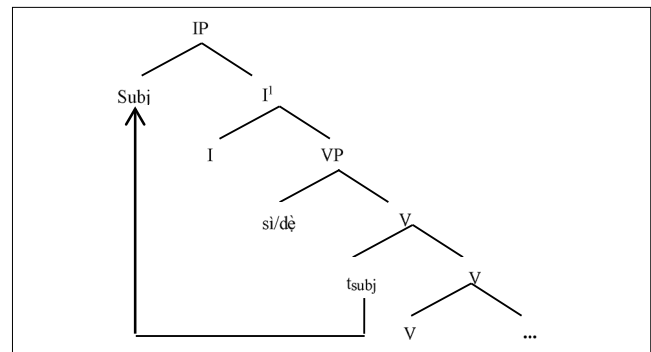


Figure 12. Ilori (2010) derivational schema.

Inactive elements are not accessible for further operations.

His claim assumes that sÌ occurs as syntactic adjunct, i.e. adverb, which originates in pre-VP or pre-ASP within the second clause.<sup>5</sup>

Ilori (2010, p. 176) concluded that Yorùbá does not have clausal co-ordinating conjunction similar to disjuncts like àmó and sùgbón “but” which structurally occupy the central position between the clause1 and clause2 in the language. We disagree with Ilori (2010) on this claim that although it may not be possible

<sup>4</sup> He observed that the so-called conjunction has a variant; dè, which is similar to the dè found in Eko dialect of Yoruba as used in this example here, Adé jẹun, ó dè yó bàmú “Ade ate and he was filled to the brims”. Another example is Mí dè lọ sí ibè yèn, “and I was at the place”. The form dè can substitute sÌ in all its occurrences in the dialect; in fact sÌ is never used in Eko dialect.

<sup>5</sup> cf. Ilori (2010, p. 192) the diagram presentend as Fig.12 here is data (226) in his work.

to have overt realisation of the conjunction marker between clause1 and clause2, a non-overt counterpart is realised in the structure by virtue of its feature.

One may quickly want to jump to a conclusion based on Ilori (2010) that truly Yorùbá does not have a clausal conjunction as he opined. But there are some notable shortcomings in his view notable as follows: (i) from the theoretical view, the Minimalist Program does not allow for traces<sup>6</sup>, movement is specified by the need of a Lexical Items (LIs) to satisfy some features otherwise it is frozen as Activity Condition specifies as Figure 13 below; (ii) adjunction as used in Ilori’s work is theoretically anomalous. Before adjunction of constituents can take place the item must have: (a) at one time being adjoined in the lower level of the tree before it could be raised to spec-VP (as he assumes), which is suggestive of the fact that there is a fusion or merger of two different theoretical models in his work; (b) adjunction extends a MaxP into another MaxP, but this is never the case in his representation. As evident in the work, he assumes *sì/dẹ̀* is adjoined to spec-VP as if it is DP or a MaxP, whereas it is not. That point shows that the item was merged at spec-VP. *sì/dẹ̀* did not originate from anywhere in the derivation but merged at spec-VP which shows that *sì/dẹ̀* cannot enter the derivation there because it does not have MaxP projection. (iii) The assumption that there is no conjunction in such clauses is unacceptable. There is actually a connective abstract/ non-overt element which connects TP<sub>1</sub> to TP<sub>2</sub> as shown below in Figure 14.

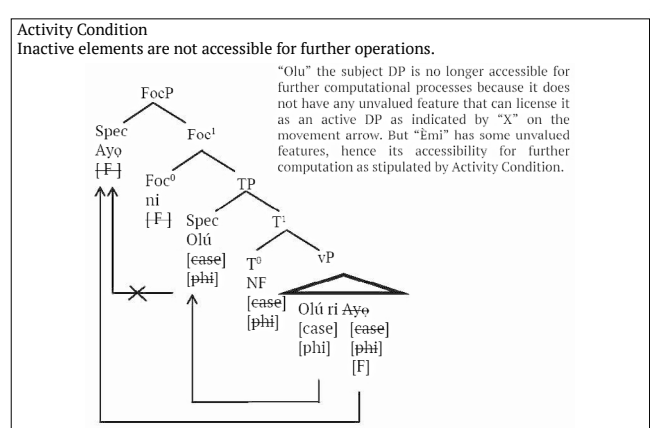


Figure 13. Definition of activity condition: Nevins (2004, p. 295).

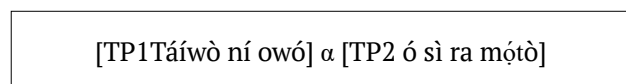


Figure 14. α- the position of an abstract conjunction marker.

<sup>6</sup> This is an assumption in government and binding theory. See Haegeman (1991) for more details.

<sup>7</sup> The alpha sign ‘α’ is used all through this paper to show the abstract form, which connects the clauses together in compound clauses like this in Yorùbá.

We draw cross-linguistic evidence and present theoretical evidence from the Minimalist point of view on conjunctions and *sì*.

As one could have observed so far, assuming the previous version of generative theory is problematic towards ascertaining the function of *sì* but the problem becomes more vivid as mere over generalization of meaning carried over from the traditional view to the generative theory. Yet the earlier generative version cannot handle the derivation of such constructions accurately which is why it is comfortable to assume (even with GB) lowering of the clausal conjunction. The question one is likely going to ask is this, ‘what actually connect the two clauses?’ Is it the case that there is no connective morpheme/ Lexical Item (LI) as assumed and shown by Ilori (2010) and implicit Awobuluyi’s (1978) claim? In the next section we present the various readings of *sì* in Yorùbá.

### Status of *Sì* in Yoruba Grammar

In this section we examine the various meaning of *sì* in Yoruba and also to ascertain among other things: (i) if *sì* does not conjoin any constituents in Yoruba, (ii) if there are other meanings associated with the item and finally (iii) is the item homophonous?

- Yoruba scholars have overlooked one important function of *sì*, which is emphasis in some sentence structures. In such constructions, we could delete or optionally leave out *sì* and the construction would still converge. Only the emphasis placed on the sentence would be left out. Consider the following:

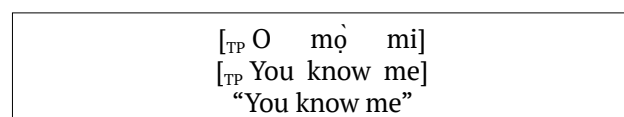


Figure 15. A simple sentence in Yoruba.

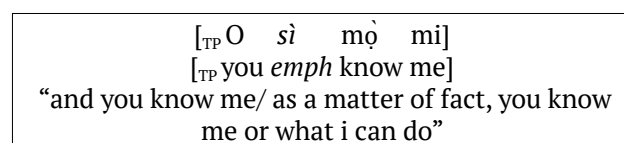


Figure 16. *Sì* as an emphatic marker.

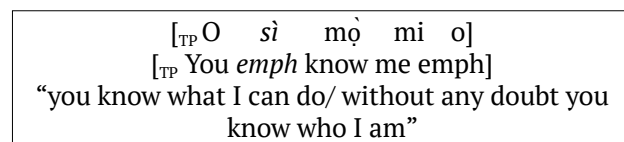


Figure 17. *Sì* - an emphatic and sentence final emphasis.

<sup>8</sup> Emphasis is abbreviated as “emph” and it is used all through this paper.

[<sub>TP</sub> Ó lọ sí ibẹ̀]  
 [<sub>TP</sub> He/she went prep there]  
 “He went there”

Figure 18. A simple sentence without *sì*.

[<sub>TP</sub> Ó sì lọ sí ibẹ̀]  
 [<sub>TP</sub> he/she *emph* went prep there]  
 “the fact is, he went there”

Figure 19. A simple sentence with emphatic *sì*.

In Figure 15 above, the sentence does not overtly mark any emphatic reading as did Figures 16 and 17. Figure 15 is just a simple declarative without any other information exerted in it. The addressee is actually aware of what the speaker is talking about before he stressed the point in the information. There is nothing else marking emphasis in Figure 16 except *sì* and nothing seems to be connected to that sentence as clause 2. In essence, Figure 15 is not adjoined to any sentence. Figure 18 is a simple declarative sentence, which does not exert any emphatic force compared to Figure 19 where it is as a matter of fact that the said action was carried out by the *ó*, the Ex-DP (subject). The addressee is unaware of the fact that the person being talked about actually did what was done.

- As observed earlier, Awobuluyi (1978, pp. 73-74) notes that *sì* function is not according to the traditional view rejecting that *sì* is a conjunction in Yorùbá<sup>9</sup>, he claims that *sì* marks consecutive action as against the conjunction in linking two clauses together. Consecutive actions denote that events in a given sentence occur in succession or one after the other. One action occurs in precedence to the next in sequence and order of the time of occurrence without interruption. For examples: II

[<sub>TP</sub> Tópé ra aṣọ tuntun, ó sì wò ọ́]  
 [<sub>TP</sub> Tope buy-pst clothe new, he CA wear it]  
 “Tope bought a new clothe and wears it”

Figure 20. A compound sentence showing consecutiveness in action expressed.

[<sub>TP</sub> Ó gé ẹran, ó sì sè é]  
 [<sub>TP</sub> He cut-pst meat, he CA cook it]  
 “He cut the meat and cooked it”

Figure 21. A compound sentence with consecutive action.

<sup>9</sup> Although Awobuluyi did give any explanation regarding such claim in his work. It is however the focus of this paper to show how such constructions has consecutive actions and also shows the conjunction linking the two clauses together.

<sup>10</sup> CA denotes “Consecutive Action”.

[<sub>TP</sub> Ó mu ọ́tí, ó sì yó kánrin]  
 [<sub>TP</sub> He drink:pst wine, he CA brim excess]  
 “He drank wine and he was drunk a lot”

Figure 22. Consecutive action in compound sentence.

In Figure 20, the action of the buying of clothes, which is in clause 1, precedes that of wearing it signified by *sì* in clause 2.<sup>12</sup> Similarly the action in clause 1 of Figure 21 occurred before that of clause 2 invariably, the events thereof occurred in succession. There is no way where the cooking of the meat could occur before the buying of the same meat. Also, the events in described in Figure 22 were in sequence. The event of clause one, i.e. drinking of wine, occurred before the man got drunk. He could not be drunk before drinking of the same wine, which got him drunk. Nothing else informs this sequential ordering of events denoted in Figure 22 than *sì*. From the foregoing, one could conclude that which conjoins the two clauses is overtly not marked in Figures 20, 21 and 22 above. The question arising from this is, if *sì* is not conjoining the two clauses what is the conjunction? We shall come back to this question in the next section.

- Although the pool of evidence raised from the last two points could actually make one jump to a conclusion that *sì* is not a conjunction in Yorùbá. There are some expressions where one would be missing words to look further for the conjunction other than *sì*. For example:

[<sub>TP</sub> Ó sanra, ó sì tóbi]  
 [<sub>TP</sub> He be-fat, he conj be-big]  
 “He is fat and he is big”

Figure 23. A compound sentence with *sì* as conjunction.

[<sub>TP</sub> Ó jáde, ó sì sunkún]  
 [<sub>TP</sub> He go-out he conj cry-pst]  
 “He went out and he cried”

Figure 24. Another compound sentence with *sì* as conjunction.

<sup>11</sup> You can have the same sentence rendered without consecutiveness in the action expressed like: Ó mu ọ́tí, ó yó kánrin where the clauses are only just conjoined together with an abstract conjunction, orthographically represented with that ‘comma’.

<sup>12</sup> *Sì* in sentences of this sort could be replaced with *nítórí* “because” or consequence of what has happened then, another event also occurred. For instance, Figure 20 Tópé ra aṣọ tuntun, ó sì wò ọ́ could be Tópé wò aṣọ tuntun, *nítórí* ó rà á (aṣọ tuntun) “Tope wore a new clothe because he bought a new clothe”. It is a case of one event bringing about the occurrence of another in succession. Consider this other example; Èmi yóò dídè, èmi yóò sì tọ baba mi lọ, èmi yóò sì wí fun pé bàbá..., “I will arise and go to my father, and tell him father ...” (Diglot Bibeli mímọ́ elédè méjì, Luke, 15:18, p. 1684). The order of event came sequentially. The first thing is getting up, followed by going to the father and telling him that ..., getting up cannot be preceded by going to the father or telling the father all that has happened. Nothing else is responsible for the ordering of the event other than *sì*.

[<sub>TP</sub> Ó pupa, ó sì lẹ̀wà]  
 [<sub>TP</sub> He be-fair, he conj be-beautiful]  
 “He is fair and he is beautiful”

Figure 25. A compound sentence showing *sì* as a conjunction.

The sequences of events in Figures 23, 24 and 25 above are not in sequential or consecutive order; rather the events were completed and not related to, overtly, the next event. It is not a consequence of being “fat” that leads to being big. It is quite relative to the individual who is fat. One that is fat does not necessarily have to be big. In Figure 24, one could go out without crying and one could stay indoors without crying. Invariably, neither of the two clauses could trigger emphasis nor consecutive actions. Similarly, one could be fair without being beautiful and one could be beautiful without being fair. Neither of clause1 nor clause2 is taking precedence, which informs why there is no consecutive reading in the events. There is no emphasis placed on the clauses, therefore *sì* is not in any way connected to emphasis and consecutive actions rather it is conjoining the clauses together.

The two clauses linked together in Figures 23, 24 and 25 above are linked by overt conjunction marker *sì*. But how is it that *sì* is a conjunction in some expressions, emphatic marker in some others and consecutive action marker?

It is logically plausible to assume that there are three different *sì* in the language, which have the same occurrence position from the Minimalist point of view. MP assumes that LIs are fully specified in the Lexicon with all the required syntactic, phonological and semantic properties needed for LIs in the derivation. If a lexical item is identical with another LI but different functionally, then they are two different lexical items specified in the lexicon. Variants are treated as individual lexical items in the Lexicon. From a logical point of view, there is a *sì* which marks emphasis, another one marks consecutive action, while the third denotes clausal conjunction. The three lexical items are specified in the lexicon with their features.

### Discussion

#### The Form of the Conjunction. The Abstract Clausal Conjunction in Clauses with *Sì* as Emphasis or Consecutiveness Marker

As noted earlier, in some constructions *sì* often marks consecutiveness and/or emphasis which invariably implied that there is a conjunction present in them, overt or not. In such constructions, a non-overt clausal conjunction conjoins clause1 and clause

2 together and as a functional head it has the ability to project maximally. In such compounds, the non-overt conjunction is the head of the ConjP contrary to Yusuf’s (1980) assumption. Using Figure 11 above as Figure 26 and Figure 27:

[<sub>TP1</sub> Adé jẹun ] α [<sub>TP2</sub> Ó sì yó bàmú]  
 [<sub>TP1</sub> Ade eat-pst-something] Conj  
 [<sub>TP2</sub> He CA fill-pst to-the-brim]  
 “Ade ate the food and He was filled to the brim”

Figure 26. A sentence showing the abstract conjunction marker between two clauses.

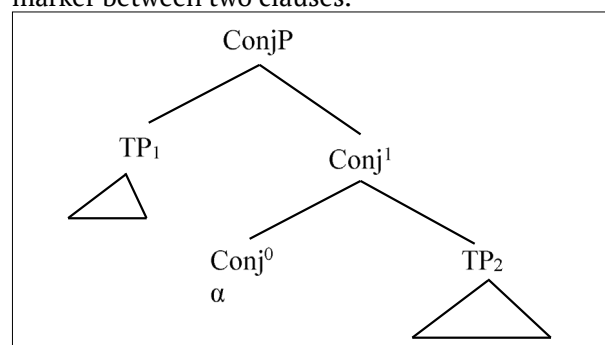


Figure 27. A proposed ConjP schema.

Figure 27 above shows that the head of the projection is the Conj<sup>0</sup> represented by “α”. The Conj<sup>0</sup> selects into its complement position TP<sub>2</sub>, and selects TP<sub>1</sub> into its spec position. Both TP<sub>1</sub> and TP<sub>2</sub> are convergent TPs which have been computed before been selected here and merged to Conj<sup>0</sup> in the narrow syntax. As said earlier, Conj<sup>0</sup> is headed by a strong non-overt in the ConjP. This is why it is able to select the two clauses into its complement and spec positions. This is further illustrated on the schema in Figure 28.

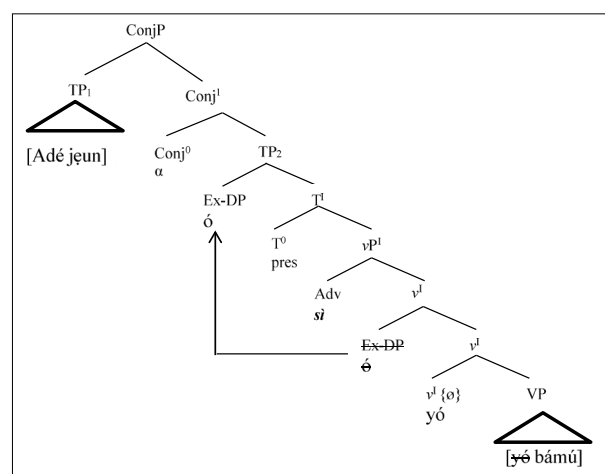


Figure 28. A structural illustration of a construction showing the abstract conjunction where *sì* denotes emphasis or consecutive action.



Figure 28 above shows the representation of the ConjP clause structure, where Conj<sup>0</sup> selects TP<sub>2</sub>. Conj<sup>0</sup> and TP<sub>2</sub> were the first to enter the derivation under merge and both of them project Conj<sup>1</sup>. TP<sub>1</sub> was selected into spec position, such that Conj<sup>1</sup> and TP<sub>1</sub> were merged together to project ConjP. SÌ enters the derivation at spec- vP for either “emphasis” or “consecutive actions”. But the Ex-DP has to value its unvalued features, it is a goal. The Probe head is T<sup>0</sup> which has to value its φ-features. It probes down its domain and found a matching goal ó at spec- vP. It attracts the goal to its spec and values its φ-features which explains the ordering of sÌ after the Ex-DP in clause2.

Only the highest copy of the Ex-DP was linearized.<sup>15</sup>

### The Clausal Architecture of Clauses with SÌ as Conjunction Marker

Normally, sÌ often occur after the Ex-DP in clause 2<sup>14</sup> and this actually informs the perspective from which scholars have been looking at it since the 1980s. It should be noted that sÌ does not occur in between the conjoined clauses but rather in another position, which makes it difficult for some early generative theories and their adherents to capture its behaviors. A conjunction is a functional head linking two or more items/constituents of equal properties together. We shall use Figure 23 for our illustration (repeated here for convenience as Figure 29). The projection is given as Figure 30 below.

<sup>15</sup> As observed clearly, the T0 precedes sÌ, and so are aspectual markers in Yorùbá. For example. Olá á si ló, “Ola will still go” where á preceds si. “á” combines both the tense of the expression and the future marker. Invariably, the Ex-DP raises above sÌ to value its features.

<sup>14</sup> This assumption is over-simplified, majority of the items listed in Awobuluyi (1978, pp. 68-69) may appear between the Ex-DP and sÌ in clause2. Items like future marker: yóò and á, uncompleted action marker; ì, sentence negative markers; kò/ò, and bá/báà which denotes “may/might” and some others may come between the external DP of clause2 and sÌ. For example:

1. Olá yóò sÌ ló ola will sÌ go “still, Ola will go”
2. Olá ì bá sÌ ló ola should-have sÌ go “and Ola should have gone”
3. Olá á si ló (... bí iwò ò bá ló) Ola will sÌ go (if you neg conditional go) “and Ola will go..( if you will not go)”
4. Olá ò sÌ ló ola neg sÌ go “and ola did not go”
5. (he) kò sÌ ló (he) neg sÌ go “and he did not go”

All of these items are grouped under the pre-verbal adverb in his work. He further maintains in Awobuluyi (2001) that they co-occur together because they are pre-verbs in the language. It should be noted, however, that the split-Infl hypothesis has shown that this view is not so. In the decomposed Infl, some of the listed items (i.e. on Awobuluyi, 1978, pp. 68-69) are actually functional heads of various projections like the TP, AspP, NegP, etc. Similarly, the decomposed Infl would not allow the treatment of Ilori’s (2010) analysis because his work overgeneralized the function of sÌ in Yorùbá. Consequently, his analysis only assumes that sÌ is a pre-verbal adverb which is adjoined to VP (and not even the light vP). For further reading, see Ilori (2010). It is noteworthy here for us to emphasize here that pre-verbs can be serialized one after the other. One could have one, two, three or even four of them in a sequence. One could do this for sÌ denoting emphasis and sÌ marking consecutiveness without resulting into non-existence derivation.

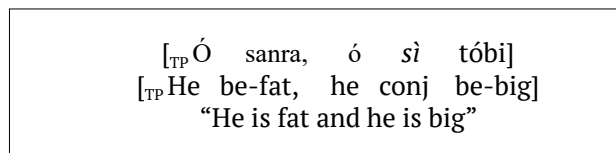


Figure 29. A sentence for demonstration of sÌ as a conjunction.

In Figure 30 above, TP<sub>2</sub> enters the derivation before TP<sub>1</sub>, which enters the derivation as the spec – ConjP. Ignoring all the details at the vP layer, the derivation proceeds with the merging of the Ex-DP argument with T<sup>0</sup> pres, to project T<sup>1</sup>. T<sup>0</sup> is a probe head and it has unvalued features. It probes down its domain and finds a goal ó with matching features, it attracts the goal to its spec, where the φ-features were valued and deleted. Consequently, the Nominative case feature of ó was also valued and deleted. The Conj<sup>0</sup> overtly marked by sÌ, is merged with the derivation thus projecting Conj<sup>1</sup>. SÌ at Conj<sup>0</sup> has some edge feature which must be satisfied thus projecting in multi- spec order. i.e. multiple spec which holds that [X<sup>n...-1</sup>] could project a multiple number of specs which reduced by immediate projection below it. To be precise, multi-specs from the top of the tree to bottom reduces by one. Thus, ó at spec- TP<sub>2</sub> bares unvalued features, i.e. emphasis. By virtue of being raised to spec of Conj<sup>0</sup> it become prominent in TP<sub>2</sub>. The same person who has performed the event in TP<sub>1</sub> is also performing event depicted in TP<sub>2</sub>. The entity is singled out as the topic of the discussion while the rest of the clause is the comment about the same entity.<sup>15</sup> ó which now has two copies is occupying the spec- Conj<sup>1</sup>. Only the highest copy is linearized at PF. Conj<sup>1</sup> is merged with an already converged TP<sub>1</sub> and thus projects ConjP.

The results demonstrate that in the Yorùbá Lexicon there are three main sÌ: one which denotes “emphasis”, the second one marks “consecutive action” and the third is used as “clausal conjunction”.

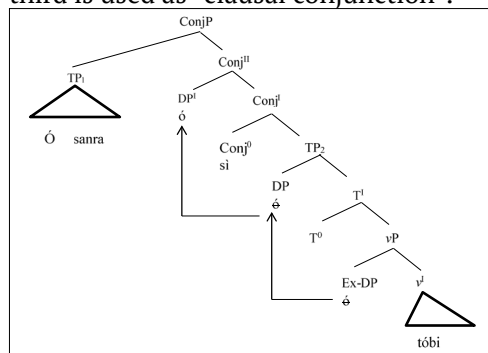


Figure 30. A structural representation of constructions where sÌ functions as a conjunction.

<sup>15</sup> It should be noted that clause<sub>1</sub> i.e. TP<sub>1</sub> would also have projected in similar order if there were to be another extended projection above it. Also, by swapping the event order in Figure 29 and similar clauses like it, ó tóbi, ó sÌ sanra, for instance, the external DP would also have been given prominence by being raised to spec – Conj<sup>1</sup> which will also be projecting in multiple spec layer.

## Conclusion

From the Yorùbá traditional grammarians, there is a clausal conjunction which does not behave according to every other conjunctions in the language whereas, scholars like Awobuluyi (1978, 2001), Ilori (2010) have assumed that the traditional view is wrong. Their assumptions polarized the view on Yorùbá clausal conjunction; hence, the status of *sì* is unknown. In this article, however, we have established that there may be three instances of *sì* in Yorùbá differentiated by their individual functions present in the Yorùbá lexicon. We also submit that contrary to Ilori's (2010) claim that *sì* enters the derivation through as an adverb in the light vP layer and concludes that when the *sì* that denotes conjunction is selected from the lexicon, it enters the derivation as a head. Additionally, it has a strong edge feature, which triggers the Ex-DP of TP<sub>2</sub> to move to its spec position thereby projecting multi-spec for Conj<sup>0</sup>. When *s<sub>i</sub>* which denotes "emphasis" or "consecutive action" is selected, the item will enter the derivation through the edge of the light vP as an adverbial item.

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# Textual and Prosodic Features of an Oral Academic Text

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Discourse is the way that language – either spoken or written – is used for communicative effect in a real-world situation. Thornbury considers the text as the product and the discourse – as a communicative process that involves ‘language and the record of the language that is used in this discourse, which is ‘text’. Although presentations are generally categorized as spoken text types, an academic presentation is a compromise between spoken and written text types: on the one hand, it is given in a classroom as an oral text; on the other hand, it is thoroughly prepared as a home assignment in the form of a written text. This article focuses on the analysis of such linguistic features of students’ presentations as cohesion, coherence, and prosody. For this analysis, data were collected from 60 2<sup>nd</sup> year students of the International College of Economics and Finance (ICEF) presentations on various economic topics which were recorded and examined (the time limit for each of the presentations was 10 minutes); out of 60, 10 presentation texts were selected for auditory analysis, and thematic centers (TCs) were examined using acoustic analysis. Measurements of prosodic parameters such as pitch, intensity, and duration (rate of utterance) were obtained using the computer programs Speech Analyzer 3.0.1 and Praat (v.4.0.53). The results of these analyses show that students’ presentations are cohesive, coherent and contain TCs, which are characterized by specific prosodic parameters that have a certain effect on the comprehension of these texts, their expressiveness and pragmatic value.

*Keywords:* EAP, accuracy, pronunciation, intonation, grammar, vocabulary

The term “text” has more than 300 definitions, depending on the approach to its analysis. In semiotics, text is treated as a sequence of various signs, any form of communication; in linguistics, any text is a sequence of verbal signs. From the point of view of psycholinguistics as the science of text creation and text production a text is generally described as a way of representation of reality built with the help of elements of the language system (Leontiev, Belyanin). In text linguistics, text is treated as a sequence of sentences connected with each other through coherence within the concept of the author (Blokh, Nickolaeva, Moskalskaya).

Nowadays scholars in Russia follow a number of approaches to text analysis: psycholinguistic (Vygotsky, Leontiev), derivational (Kubryakova, Murzin), communicative (Bolotnova, Zolotova), pragmatic (Baranov), stylistic (Nechaeva, Kozhina,

Odintsov), and text approach (Galperin, Moskalskaya, Solganik).

This study is based on the use of textual approach according to which the analysis takes into account thematic, contents, structural, and communicative features of text formation. This paper aims to explore these features in students’ academic presentations in a Russian university.

## Materials and Methods

### Text Features

According to Galperin, “text” is defined as a result of text creating process which is characterized by the following features: completeness, specific genre, a title and a number of units (paragraphs) connected

with each other through various types of connections – lexical, grammatical, logical, stylistic – and a communicative and pragmatic purpose (Galperin, 2005, p. 18) (translation by author).

It is important to mention that I. R. Galperin referred this definition to a written text even though both written and spoken academic types of text are characterized by similar features. The first text feature is *informational content* of the text which is realized through nomination of facts and events revealing text content and meaning. Galperin reveals three kinds of information: factual, conceptual, and subtextual. Text delimitation features are usually associated with text informational content. The biggest segment of the text, according to Galperin, is a paragraph even though some other authors (Blokh, for example) name it a *dicteme* which links it to the theme as the main characteristic feature of it, nominalization and predication being the other essential features that help to distinguish the dicteme (Blokh, 2000, pp. 56-67). Blokh calls the dicteme the main text unit and the minimal thematic unit, and the whole text (a combination of dictemes) – a result of mental and verbal activity of a person in a particular situation. The major criteria in dicteme determination are thematic and compositional (referring to the composition of the text).

Next important text feature introduced by Galperin is *cohesion* as a specific kind of text logical connection which ensures continuum of the text. This category is realized in the text at the level of words, sentences, and dictemes. *Continuum* is another essential text feature which Galperin considers as a sequence of facts and events which develop at a particular time in a specific context. It is natural that a text is divided into episodes, but cohesion makes it possible to look at the text as a whole. *Modality* (another text feature) is treated by Galperin and other linguists as the speaker's attitude to reality. Lyons and Quirk admit the fact that any text is characterized by modality, and Vinogradov finds it an important constructive feature of a sentence (Vinogradov, 1975, p. 55). Galperin thinks modality is revealed differently in various text types: it is more explicit in poetic texts and less explicit – in academic texts, and it becomes an inherent feature of the text as a whole (Galperin, 2005, p. 122). *Coherence* as a text feature refers to semantics and integrates different parts of a text to achieve its integrity. Integration makes parts (dictemes) of a text 'subordinate to the main idea of the text' (Ilyenko, 1989, p. 72). 'It is integrity (coherence) which provides consecutive comprehension of factual and contextual information (Galperin, 2005, p. 124). It builds itself both on cohesion means and associative and presuppositional relationships. *Text completeness* is the last feature identified by Galperin and is the

function of its concept which is the basis of the text and which develops in various text types such as descriptions, analysis or narrations. 'When the result is achieved through progressive movement of the theme the text is completed (Galperin, 2005, p. 131).

All of these textual features are important, but only two of them – cohesion and coherence – were selected for the analysis since students got familiar with them in the course of their 1<sup>st</sup> year study.

### Cohesion

Thornbury claims that a text can be treated as a text if it is self-contained, well-formed, cohesive, coherent, has a clear communicative purpose, is recognizable as a text type, and is appropriate to its context of use (Thornbury, 2005, p. 19). According to Thornbury, the main cohesive devices are lexical repetitions, the presence of thematically related words, synonyms and words which demonstrate grammatical cohesion – pronouns, substitution words (*so, not, are cases in point, Will it snow? – I think – not (one, ones)*), ellipsis (For instance, *It needs to, The ones that don't*). The author also adds to this list of cohesive devices such linking words as *however, but, although*, the conjunctions *and, but, or, because*. They have a sentence-integral function – connect clauses inside sentences. Sequencing expressions, for example, *first, lastly, furthermore, what is more, on the other hand* are also included in conjuncts. Summarizing the ways which make texts cohesive Thornbury classifies cohesive (linking) devices at the level of lexis, grammar and discourse into:

lexical cohesion:

- direct repetition, word families, synonyms and antonyms
- words from the same semantic field, lexical chains and lists
- substitution

grammatical cohesion:

- reference – pronouns, articles
- substitution of clause elements using *so, not, do/does/did*, etc.

rhetorical cohesion:

- question- answer
- parallelism

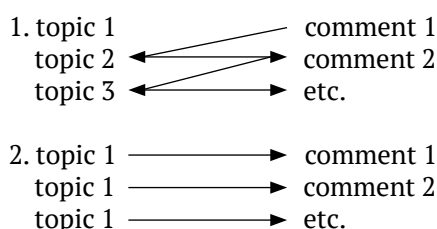
(Thornbury, 2005, pp. 21-23)

All these devices help to connect elements in the text to each other and the text to its context.

### Coherence

A text makes sense if it is coherent which is understood by writers as sense-making quality. Thornbury approaches coherence from the micro-

level (sentence-by-sentence level) and macro-level (topics). At micro-level, theme and rheme (topic of the sentence and comment), or given information and new information are analyzed. New information is usually placed in the latter part of the sentence which very often makes it the given information of the next sentence. This pattern of text formation can be represented in the following way:



(McCarthy, 1991, p. 55-56)

Another way to evolve and achieve argument coherence in a text is to use nominalization and, specifically, such key words as *way*, *problem*, *answer*, *situation*, *process*, etc. (Thornbury, 2005, p. 40). Key words are words which are either frequently used in the text or which explain what the text is about carrying the topic of it. Key words play an equally important role at the macro-level in order to achieve coherence. Thornbury also claims that key sentences play a big role in identifying the topic. These are the sentences which begin the text and other key sentences, repeat or paraphrase at least two or three elements of that first key sentence (Thornbury, 2005, p. 55). What can be added to his pattern is the presence in every text of *a thematic or information centre*, being text elements concentrating the main idea of the text, expressed in a concise form, bearing the major 'semantic burden' in relation to a particular theme and intellectual information of the whole text. Thematic centers contain *lexemes* and *phrasemes* which are semantically included in the compositional/thematic and semantic structure of the text through key words (Velikaya, 2009, p. 74).

As it was mentioned earlier, the method of analysis of linguistic features of students' presentations consisted of two stages: at the 1<sup>st</sup> stage 60 presentations were recorded, examined and 10 of them were chosen for thorough analysis. Out of 10 presentation texts, two were selected for a detailed textual and prosodic analysis. At the 2<sup>nd</sup> stage, these presentations were examined for identification of textual features (informational content, cohesion, coherence, continuum, modality, completeness, thematic relevance, and presence of TCs) and prosodic features, such as melody (tone modification), loudness (intensity), and tempo (rate of utterance). Prosodic (acoustic) analysis was performed with the

use of two computer programs: Praat (v.4.0.53) and Speech Analyzer 3.0.1. Both of these programs help a researcher to obtain maximum and minimum pitch levels in Hz, absolute results of duration parameters of a speech segment in sec and intensity figures in dB. It was also taken into account that absolute parameters are usually irrelevant in research, so the absolute pitch and intensity results of speakers were related to average figures. The obtained parameters included pitch and range figures in semitones, average intensity within one intonation group, and average rate of utterance in syllable/sec. (Blokina & Potapova, 1982). This made it possible to perform research without reference to male or female speech realizations. The use of *acoustic analysis* allowed the researcher to obtain the following parameters: the movement of the tone, pitch range of the stressed syllable, rate of nuclear tone change in the TC, average pitch level in the TC, the maximum pitch level and average pitch level in semitones, pitch range in the TC and the rest of the intonation group (background). With the use of *auditory analysis* the following data were obtained: the analysis of the setting, the composition of the presentation, the place of the TC, pitch level, pitch range, type of the nuclear tone (Low (Medium) Fall, High Fall, Low Rise, High (Medium) Rise, Rise-Fall, Fall-Rise, Rise-Fall-Rise, Mid-Level), range of the nuclear tone (narrow, medium, wide), type of the Head (Stepping Head, Falling Head, Sliding Head, Rising Head, Climbing Head, Level Head) (Sokolova et al., 1997, p. 164), loudness (low, medium, high), tempo (low, medium, high), and type of the pause (very short, short, medium, long, extra long). The usage of these analyses made it possible to obtain an objective picture of textual and prosodic features used in students' presentations (prosodic prominence) and their relevance for comprehension.

## Results

### Textual Features

#### 1<sup>st</sup> presentation

1. The text of the presentation is self-contained and well-organized: it is about one particular topic – the history of financial crises – and has three distinct parts (introduction, main part and conclusion).
2. The text of the presentation is cohesive:
  - Lexical cohesion:
    - a) direct repetition of the word *crisis* (*crises*, *financial crisis*) – 18 times, *bank* (*banking*) – 11 times;
    - b) words of the same word family (*crisis-crises*, *bank-banking*) and words that are thematically related: *banking crisis*, *assets overpriced*,

*economic crisis, bank crash, stock market, budget surplus, financial market, earn profit;*

- c) substitution: one for economic crisis (in paragraph 3).

Grammatical Cohesion:

- a) Reference: pronouns. In paragraph 5: *'Introduced the New Deal Program ... In addition to this, This helped a little, ...'*. In paragraph 6: *'Another crash happened in 1987. It was provoked by...'* *'The system ..., it was stopped'*. In paragraph 7: *'LTCM was saved: it was liquidated ...'*. In paragraph 8: *'The crisis that has happened ... It was a result ...'*. In paragraph 9: *'... the last crisis ... This crisis ...'*. In paragraph 10: *'... the recent crisis was predicted, nothing was done to prevent it;*
- b) Conjuncts (linkers):
- *so* (paragraphs 4, 6, 9, 10), *thus* (paragraph 7), *however* (paragraphs 5, 7), *also* (paragraph 10);
  - *firstly*, *next* (paragraphs 2, 10), *lastly* (paragraph 2), *to start with* (paragraph 4), *as a result* (paragraphs 4, 7, 9), *in addition to this* (twice in paragraph 5), *at first* (paragraph 7);
- c) Tenses: present, past, past perfect, future-in-the past.

Rhetorical Cohesion:

No question-answer technique (were not taught), no parallelism: the text is built up as a narrative which does not imply questions and answers.

### 3) The Presentation is Coherent:

- a) It demonstrates logical relations (theme and rheme relationship) (topic – comment, given and new information). For example: In paragraph 1 *'This presentation will be quite useful'*. In paragraph 3 *'There are four basic types of crisis: banking, bubbles, wider economic crises'*. In paragraph 4 *'The government of Great Britain introduced the new role for the Central Bank'*;
- b) Key words (basing on frequency and semantic value): *financial, crisis, bank, economic, deposits, funds, lender of last resort, investment, collapse, mortgage, interest rate, borrower, buying, selling, loans*).

As for other textual features, this presentation is informative since it contains factual information about the history of financial crises, it demonstrates implicit modality and shows completeness. Nominalization is revealed with the help of the noun *situation* (paragraphs 5 and 9), which nominalizes some particular actions and events (For instance, *'... a large speculative rise in the stock markets and loans defaults'*). The composition of the presentation text was built up according to the following scheme: context - interpretation

(description, analysis) – deduction (comment). The TC is represented by four sentences in the conclusion.

2<sup>nd</sup> presentation

1. The text of the presentation is self-contained and well-organized: it is devoted to the explanation of one economic issue – price discrimination. It is well structured and has a clear introduction, main part and conclusion.
2. The text of the presentation is cohesive:

Lexical Cohesion:

- a) Direct repetition of the words: *price* (5 times in the 1<sup>st</sup> paragraph and 13 times – throughout the text), *discrimination* (5 times in the 1<sup>st</sup> paragraph, 14 times – throughout the text);
- b) Words that are thematically related: *price discrimination, perfect, price charged, consumer surplus, producer surplus, elasticity of demand, higher price, price equal to;*
- c) Substitution: In paragraph 6 *the one – for the person*.

Grammatical Cohesion:

- a) Reference: pronouns, articles. For example, *'I believe this is a very interesting topic (this – for price discrimination)*. *'This is used to trade goods' (lowering prices)* (in paragraph 6). *'This is where the name comes from. He also managed to sell ...' – he – for the owner of the auction* (paragraph 6). *'The person who desperately wants it' (it – for the statue)* (in paragraph 6). *It – for price discrimination* in paragraph 7. The definite article *the* also makes connections: it implies a previous mention of the noun it determines. For instance, in paragraph 5 – a liter bottle – the bottle;
- b) Conjuncts (linkers): *so* (paragraphs 1, 4, 5, 7), *and* (paragraphs 3, 6), *but* (paragraphs 3, 5, 6), *because* (paragraph 6). *'Today I am going to speak ...'*; *'Then examples, finally'* (in paragraph 1), *'... as I mentioned earlier'* (paragraph 2), *'... as a result'* (paragraph 3).
- c) Tenses: present tense prevails, future tense.

Rhetorical cohesion:

Question-answer techniques: in paragraph 1 – three times, in paragraph 6 – one time.

### 3. The presentation is coherent:

- a) It demonstrates logical relationships (theme and rheme) in the following examples: *'Regardless of the type of price discrimination the firm gets part of consumer surplus'* (in paragraph 3); *'The firm can distinguish between them'* (in paragraph 4);

'Price discrimination is used almost everywhere, and we cannot avoid it' (paragraph 7).

b) Key words:

price, discrimination, charge, consumer, surplus, demand, elasticity, buying, selling, discounts, trade, goods, auction, benefit.

As for other textual features, this presentation text is informative because it provides factual information about one important economic issue – price discrimination. Due to the presence of rhetorical devices, it demonstrates explicit modality and shows completeness. Nominalization is revealed with the help of the noun *topic* (paragraph 1), which nominates the economic issue of *price discrimination*. The TC appears in paragraph 3 and is repeated at the end of paragraph 6 (frame composition scheme).

**Prosodic Features**

For the purpose of this paper, the two presentations reported in the previous section were analyzed for their prosodic features.

1<sup>st</sup> presentation

According to the *auditory analysis*, there was a variety of tempo, pauses and tone modifications in this presentation. This variety occurred due to the purpose, the target of the presentation and the setting. The purpose of the presenter was to inform and persuade the audience; the presentation was given in a specific environment with an examiner and other students present as audience. The TC, which at the same time serves as a conclusion of the presentation, consists of 12 intonation groups, 9 of which are meaningful for the analysis since they contain both the nucleus and the background. The types of nuclear tones used are *while* – Rise-Fall, *globalization* – Mid-Level, *frequency* – Mid-Rise, *spread* – Mid-Fall, *crises* – Mid-Fall, *because* and *have experienced* – Mid-Level, *crisis* – Mid-Rise, *they're* – Mid-Level, *within* – Mid-Fall. It was pronounced in a narrow (2 semitones) to medium (4-5 semitones) tone range with one single nucleus said in a wide range (*globalization* – 13 semitones), with a medium loudness and varied from low to medium and high rate of utterance. The only type of head used was Mid-Level head. The TC is characterized by a number of pauses the length of which vary from very short to extra long in the middle and at the end of the phrase.

The *acoustic analysis* of the TC showed that the prominence of the nucleus *globalization* and the background is 13 semitones which corresponds to 2.6 in relative numbers. The nucleus is not prominent in any of the parameters. The rate of the nuclear tone change is 5 times higher in the background. The nucleus *frequency* prevails in average pitch level, pitch range and the rate of nuclear tone change. The nucleus *spread* is prominent only in the parameter of the rate

of utterance and nucleus *crises* is not prominent in any of the parameters. The nucleus *didn't* is less prominent than the background in the average pitch level, pitch range and the rate of utterance where the background prevails. This acoustic picture is dissimilar to the nucleus *crisis*, which prevailed in three parameters: average pitch level, pitch range and rate of utterance. In the last intonation group, the nucleus *within* is also pronounced not distinctly and the background dominates. The prominence of the TC (pitch range parameter) is 5 semitones (similar to the background), which can be classified as medium but at the lowest extreme of it. It is more prominent at the beginning of it in average pitch level, pitch range and rate of nuclear change (*frequency*) and at the end of it in pitch level, pitch range and rate of utterance (*crisis*). The results of this acoustic analysis are given in Table 1.

Table 1  
*Correlation of prosodic parameters of nuclear tones and the background (1<sup>st</sup> presentation)*

	Average pitch level	Pitch range	Rate of nuclear tone change	Average intensity	Rate of utterance
1	globalization – 200 background – 197	13:5=2.6 13:5=2.6	1 5.6	1 1	1:2.7=0.37 0.54:2.7=0.2
2	frequency – 299 has increased - 248	11:5=2.4 6:5=1.2	11 0.18	0.9 1	0.09:2.7=0.03 21.66:2.7=8
3	spread – 287 and – 294	2:5=0.4 2:5=0.4	0.04 4.3	1 0.9	22.99:2.7=8.5 0.23:2.7=0.08
4	crises – 253 financial – 250	2:5=0.4 1:5=0.2	5.3 9	1.07 0.9	0.19:2.7=0.07 0.44:2.7=0.16
5	didn't – 237 the severity – 291	4:5=0.8 10:5=2	4 1	1.0 1.0	0.25:2.7=0.09 1.01:2.7=0.37
6	crisis – 276 background - 227	5:5=1 2:5=0.4	2 5	0.9 0.9	3:2.7=1.1 1.3:2.7=0.1
7	within – 222 spreading – 235	4:5=0.8 4:5=0.8	4 4	1.0 1.0	0.2:2.7=0.07 0.6:2.7=0.2

The graphic representation of tempo and intensity in this TC is illustrated in Figure 1.



Figure 1. The intonogram of the TC in the 1<sup>st</sup> presentation.

*'While globalization has increased the frequency and spread of financial crises – er – the severity didn't increase because we have experienced quite the same type of crisis but they're now just –er – er – spreading within countries.'*

## 2<sup>nd</sup> presentation

It can be seen from the *auditory analysis* of this presentation that tempo, pauses and tone parameters varied. This variety was justified by the purpose, the target of the presentation and the setting. Similarly to the 1<sup>st</sup> presentation, the purpose of this one was to inform and persuade the audience; the presentation was given in a similar environment as the 1<sup>st</sup> one. The presentation was built up with the use of frame type of composition when the TC appears at the beginning of the text and is repeated at the end of it summarizing (or restating) the main idea.

The TC contains three intonation groups. The types of nuclear tone used are: situation – Mid-Fall, piece – Mid-Level, pay – Low-Fall. The most typical types of head are High head and Stepping head – this is regular for academic speech. It was pronounced in a medium tone range, with medium loudness and from medium to high rate of utterance. The most commonly used types of pauses were either very short or long.

The *acoustic analysis* showed the prominence of the nucleus *situation* is equal to 19 semitones in contrast to the background of 6 semitones (which corresponds to in relative numbers, respectively). This demonstrates the prominence of the nucleus in the parameter of the pitch range. It was also prominent in the rate of nuclear tone change; the average intensity and the rate of utterance are similar in numbers. The nucleus *price* is prominent against the background only in the average pitch level. In fact, background parameters dominate. The parameters of average intensity are similar. The nucleus *pay* is not prominent in any of the acoustic parameters: the background prevails in the average pitch level, the pitch range, the rate of the nuclear tone change and more significantly in the rate of the utterance. The average prominence of this TC is 9 semitones against 8 of the background (pitch range parameter), which can be classified as medium. At the beginning of this center, the pitch range and the rate of nuclear change were more relevant for the nucleus; in the middle of it – only the average pitch level was more important and at the end of it - the background was more prominent. The results of these acoustic measurements are given in Table 2.

The graphic representation of tempo and intensity in this TC is illustrated in Figure 2.

Table 2  
*Correlation of prosodic parameters of nuclear tones and the background (2<sup>nd</sup> presentation)*

	Average pitch level	Pitch range	Rate of nuclear tone change	Average intensity	Rate of utterance
1	situation – 153 background – 197	19:9=2.1 6:8=0.75	5 3.7	1 0.9	0.2:1.03=0.9 1.08:1.03=1.04
2	price – 192 background - 175	4:9=0.4 9:8=1.1	2.3 4.4	1.0 1.09	0.4:1.03= 0.4 1.6:1.09=1.6
3	pay – 121 background – 163	6:9=0.6 10:8=1.25	6 6.4	1 1	0.17:1.03=1.16 2.66:1.03=2.5

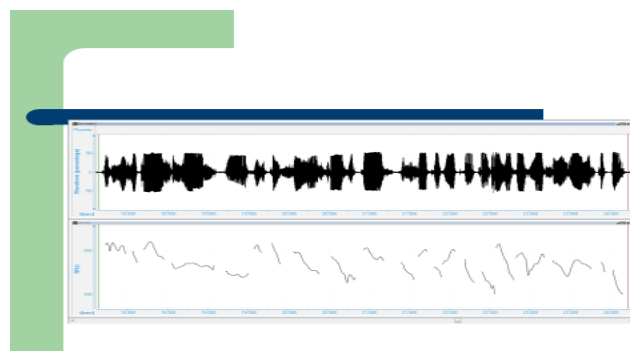


Figure 2. The intonogram of the TC in the 2<sup>nd</sup> presentation.

*'It is a situation when –er – each consumer is charged a price exactly equal to his or her willingness to pay.'*

## Discussion

The *textual analysis* of both the presentations showed that the texts are self-contained and well-organized. Both texts are characterized by lexical, grammatical and rhetorical cohesion. They are coherent: demonstrate logical theme and rheme relationships and possess key words which build up a lexical frame of semantically meaningful words. Both presentations are informative, explicitly demonstrate modality and show completeness of the texts. They are also characterized by nominalization. Each of the presentations has its own TC: the 1<sup>st</sup> text composition scheme places it at the end of it in conclusion; the 2<sup>nd</sup> text composition places it at the beginning of the text and repeats it at the end of it (frame composition scheme).

The *phonetic analysis* included *auditory* and *acoustic analyses*. The auditory analysis of the 1<sup>st</sup> presentation showed that chunking of it resulted in the presence



of 11 dictemes (a dicteme is a minimal thematic unit) and a large number of intonation groups which were not complete logically and semantically. Intonation groups very often did not correspond to potential syntagms. The main tool of delimitation was pauses which varied from very short to extra-long in the middle and at the end of the TC (It is tonality) (Wells, 2007, p. 6). The TC contained 12 intonation groups 9 of which were meaningful for analysis. The main accent was placed on content words (*globalization, frequency, spread, crises*) and function words (*didn't, they're, within*) (Tonicity). The types of nuclear tones used were *Rise-Fall, Mid-Level, Mid-Rise, Mid-Fall*. (Tone parameter). The only type of head used was Mid-Level head. The acoustic analysis showed medium prominence of this TC (similar to 5 of the background). This TC was pronounced in a narrow to medium range, with medium loudness and varied from low to high rate of utterance.

The auditory analysis of the 2<sup>nd</sup> presentation showed the presence of 8 dictemes. Phrases were almost always complete logically and semantically, and intonation groups very often corresponded to potential syntagms. The main tool of delimitation was pauses which varied from very short to long (This is tonality). The main accent (nucleus) was placed on content words (*situation, price, pay*). (This is tonicity). The types of tone used in the TC were Mid-Fall (*situation*), Mid-Level (*price*) and Low-Fall (*pay*) (This is tone parameter). The types of head used were High head and Stepping head). The acoustic analysis showed that the average prominence of this TC accounted to 10 versus 8 of the background, which can be classified as medium. The TC was pronounced with medium loudness, in a medium tone range and from medium to high rate of utterance.

The purpose of this phonetic research was not to detect intonation patterns only, but to infer the linguistic meaning and the pragmatic effect intended by the presenters. The overall effect (the students were interested in what the presenters were saying, followed their presentations, asked questions, elicited short discussions) was achieved even though the prosodic organization of both presentations demonstrated a lack of knowledge of rules of chunking, accentuation of nuclear tones and their types and meanings. Basically, this lack of knowledge can impede understanding and decrease expressiveness and comprehension. The blurred prosodic picture of the TCs, however, remained unnoticed by the listeners, as they mentioned after the exam, mainly due to the fact that the audience was not phonetically trained either, and the TCs were detected and perceived only semantically.

## Conclusion

A student's presentation is an oral text, which is given in a classroom with a particular purpose. It possesses a number of linguistic (textual and prosodic) features. The analysis of textual features showed that ICEF students may be able to build up a text in English, which is well-organized and well-structured, cohesive, coherent, informative, complete and possesses a certain degree of modality. The presentation texts have TCs, which summarize the main idea of the texts. The location of the TC in the presentation text varies and depends on students' logic of thinking. The analysis of prosodic features demonstrated that students underestimate the significant role of prosody or suprasegmentals (Wells, 2007, p. 2) in an oral academic text which provide listeners with various intonation combinations mastering of which can lead to oral communicative competence. Since they are unaware of proper chunking, nucleus placement, types of nuclear tones ('Three Ts') (Wells, 2007, p. 6) and intonation patterns of English they produce texts which may be difficult to comprehend by listeners.

These findings have been obtained from only one experience that is why the conclusions made are preliminary. What ought to be done further is to analyze students' needs, monitor their performance and develop strategies for training in the area of communicative competence with a focus on better English pronunciation, which can become part of 'Making presentations in English' course taught in the 2<sup>nd</sup> year.

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# Comparative Study of English and Russian Phraseology: Component Theory of Identity and Difference of the Seme Organization

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This research is aimed at a comparative study of English and Russian phraseology and semasiology. It provides a new scientific approach to the solution of one of the most complex problems of comparative study of the phraseological material of different languages on the semantic level. This work is of great importance as it helps to define similarities and distinctions in the language picture of the world and reveal the peculiarities of different languages. It also allows for an investigation into ways of reflecting on the reality in language, providing an opportunity to study language picture of the world. Our research suggests that the component analysis method, based on the criteria of identity and difference of seme organization of phraseological units, provides a more complex and in-depth analysis of the description of the semantic structure of phraseological meaning in English and Russian. Over 1,750 phraseological units have been analysed from monolingual and bilingual phraseological dictionaries, English and Russian explanatory dictionaries to describe the structure of English and Russian phraseological units, identify stable semantic correlations between them. We further reveal three types of interlingual phraseological compliances / non-compliances: *semantic equivalentents*, *semantic analogues* and *partial semantic analogues*. The results show a strongly expressed quantitative prevalence of *semantic analogues* over *semantic equivalentents*. The quantity of *semantic analogues* exceeds the quantity of *semantic equivalentents* by 0.5%, which can be explained by the peculiarities of the development of the two remotely related languages. Further study could address the comparative investigation of ways of the translation of phraseological units with no direct equivalentents (culture-specific vocabulary) in other languages, which would enable translators to provide the interpretation which is more or less adequate and close to the original meaning.

*Keywords:* comparative research, semantic equivalentents, semantic analogues, interlingual phraseological compliances, semantic structure, component theory

A characteristic feature of the present stage of development of linguistics is the intensification of comparative research. The problem of determining the types of interlingual relations is one of the most important in comparative studies of English and Russian phraseology. Current interlingual comparisons aimed at identifying phraseological compliance provide a basis for the theory and practice of phraseography. Comparative research could be an effective solution both to translation problems and defining the types of interlingual correlation of phraseological units of the compared languages. Moreover, such studies help

to define similarities and distinctions in the language picture of the world to further investigate ways of reflection of reality in different languages.

In our research we refer to the fundamental works focused on studying the typology of interlingual phraseological relations of two or more closely related or remotely related languages: A. V. Kunin (1972), E. M. Solodukho (1977), A. D. Raykhstein (1979), V. G. Gak (1977), Yu. A. Gvozhdarev (1981), N. Yu. Pyatnitskaya (1987), Yu. P. Solodub (1997), V. N. Telia (1995; 1996), B. Fraser (1970), A. Makkai (1972), U. Weinreich (1974), J. Strässler (1982), W. Welte (1990), L. Lipka (1992).

Lately there have appeared a considerable number of new works by M. L. Kovshova (2008), E. F. Arsenteva (2006), L. R. Sakaeva (2013), R. A. Ayupova (2004; 2013), F. Chitra (1996), A. P. Cowie (1998; 2004), R. Moon (1998), C. Chang (2004), and D. Liu (2008).

The main feature of phraseological equivalence in relation to multilingual comparative-typological analysis as E.M. Solodukho believes is the coincidence of the content aspect of correlated phraseological units (Solodukho, 1977). Such an approach to the definition of phraseological equivalence allows one, in his opinion, to extend this concept to a large number of phraseological units that are not recognized by most researchers as interlingual equivalents, that is, as not having full formal similarity. According to E. M. Solodukho, phraseological units coinciding in meaning and (in case of polysemy) in stylistic connotation are *full equivalents*. Those having partial divergences in semantic structure and/or not coinciding stylistically in one of the meanings in case of polysemy are called *limited equivalents*.

However, a significant role when determining the degree of equivalence is also played by lexical structure, figurativeness, and grammatical form of the correlated units. E. M. Solodukho proposes a classification of equivalent phraseological compliances and non-equivalent compliances, including the following categories: identical equivalents, direct equivalents, synonymous equivalents, and interlanguage phraseological homonyms. Accordingly, identical, direct and synonymous equivalents are characterized by upper, middle and lower threshold of equivalence.

In the works of Yu. P. Solodub the characteristic of equivalence of the phraseological units is limited by aspectual structural and typological orientation of the research (Solodub, 1997, pp. 43-54). According to Yu.P. Solodub, when determining the concept of interlingual phraseological equivalence based first of all on the components of the content plan, namely the meaning, the stylistic coloring and phraseological image, it is possible to deeply investigate the phenomenon itself by the analysis of the components of the expression plan. In this case all specific features of the grammatical and lexico-semantic organization of any particular language or group of related languages are manifested.

Considering a phraseological image as a necessary component of semantics of a considerable part of phraseological units, Yu. P. Solodub conducts structural and typological research of phraseological units having the meaning of qualitative evaluation of a person, revealing not only the fact of figurative proximity of units in different languages, but also defining the degree of this proximity as the degree of structural and typological convergences and divergences of Russian phraseological units with phraseological units in the compared languages. In the classification of Yu.

P. Solodub interlingual phraseological equivalents of four degrees and interlingual phrase-semantic compliances of two degrees of similarity are allocated.

The concept 'interlingual phraseological equivalents' is specific in relation to the concept 'typologically identical phraseological units'. The above indicated are phraseological units the semantic structure of which is integrated on the basis of a general model of phrase construction and so both multilingual and monolingual phraseological units can be found. Interlingual phrase-semantic compliances of the second degree of similarity are characterized only by a community of phrase formation model at various concrete and figurative forms of its implementation in each separate language.

In her PhD thesis N. Yu. Pyatnitskaya analyses several types of relations of interlingual equivalent phraseological units such as: completely coincident in the structure and semantic and stylistic properties, partially coincident in the structure, but identical in meaning and stylistic colouring, and different in structure, but identical in semantic and stylistic qualities. The observations of N. Yu. Pyatnitskaya on the impact of tarnish on phraseological images and lack of their national colouring on the interlingual equivalence of phraseological units are of great interest (Pyatnitskaya, 1987). If multilingual phraseological units, coinciding in meaning differ from national phraseological figurativeness, they belong to interlingual synonyms.

The classification of types of interlingual relations proposed by A.D Raykhstein is also of great interest (Raykhstein, 1979, p. 7). The author distinguishes the following quality types of interlingual relations: identity (full coincidence of the aspect organization and cumulative meaning); lexical variation or structural synonymy (full coincidence of cumulative sense and syntactic organization at incomplete identity of component structure); ideographic synonymy (incomplete identity of cumulative significative value due to the presence of specific semantic features in both multilingual phraseological units regardless of the aspect identity). A.D. Raykhstein also highlights the hyper-hyponymy (incomplete identity of cumulative significative meaning due to the presence in one of the compared phraseological units of additional, specifying semantic features regardless of the aspect identity), stylistic synonymy (incomplete identity of cumulative sense due to the differences in the stylistic value), homonymy and polysemy (identity of the aspect organization in case of greater or smaller differences in the cumulative sense), enantiosemy (identity of the aspect organization in case of the opposition of cumulative meaning). This detailed classification takes into account all possible divergences both in formal and semantic organization of phraseological units, and in their cumulative content. Particularly valuable

(in relation to our research) is the identification of such types of the interlingual relations as ideographic synonymy and hypero-hyponymy where we take into account the existence of additional differential semes in significative and denotative meaning of phraseological units.

In his article 'The Typology of Translation Compliances in the English-Russian Phraseological Dictionary' A. V. Kunin points out different types of translation for achieving maximum adequacy while transferring phraseological units from English into Russian (Kunin, 1984). The author points out equivalents, analogues, antonymic translation, the descriptive translation, loan translation, combined translation, as well as occasional or situational equivalents and clarifying translations used in the translation of illustrative examples.

A. V. Kunin's definition of phraseological equivalents and analogues is of great value. We agree with the author, that a Russian phraseological unit is thought to be equivalent when it coincides with the English unit in meaning, on a figurative basis and stylistic colouring. 'The equivalent is a monoequivalent, i.e. the only possible translation by means of the phraseological unit' (Kunin, 1967, p. 122). When the meaning, the stylistic colouring and close figurativeness all coincide, lexical and grammatical divergences can be observed. The term 'analogue' is used by A. V. Kunin for the definition of the Russian phraseological unit which in meaning and stylistic orientation is adequate to the English one, but differs from it in figurative value.

Thus, the semantic criterion is the cornerstone of terminological definition of the two types of interlingual compliances of phraseological units, which is the basis for the differentiation of the allomorphic and isomorphic phenomena. The classification of phraseological equivalents and other types of the translation offered by A. V. Kunin is considered multilateral and comprehensive both for the solution to translation problems and for defining the types of interlingual correlation of phraseological units of two compared languages.

We can conclude that the majority of studies, while determining the types of interlingual phraseological compliances / discrepancies, use as a basis such parameters as the coincidence of semantics, of grammatical (syntactic) organization and component (lexemic) structure of multilingual phraseological units at an unconditional primacy of semantic identity / difference or the plan of content. However, the plan of content is characterized in different ways: as cumulative content of phraseological units, as meaning, as stylistic colouring, as phraseo-logical images; as cumulative sense of the compared units; as semantic and stylistic properties of phraseological units, etc.

A component analysis method, based on the criteria of identity and difference of some organization of phraseological units, provides a more complex and in-depth analysis of the description of the semantic structure of phraseological meaning in English and Russian. The study of interlingual phraseological compliances / non-compliances on the semantic level can help to elicit some new and useful information on the description of the structure of English and Russian phraseological meaning, identify stable semantic correlations between them and define similarities and distinctions in the language picture of the world.

## Materials and Methods

### Theoretical Background

Defining the types of interlingual phraseological compliances / differences in this research we focus primarily on *complex criterion* which includes semantics coincidence, grammatical (syntactic) organization and component (lexical) structure of multilingual phraseological units (at an unconditional primacy of semantic identity / difference or content plan). Semantic identity or difference of multilingual phraseological units means the identity or difference of their seme structure, of a simplified set of minimum semantic components of significative and denotative, and connotative components of phraseological meaning. The coincidence of seme structure of significative and denotative macrocomponent means the coincidence of integrated and differential semes in the structure of phraseological meaning of the English and Russian phraseological units. *Semantic equivalence* in our research means full coincidence of seme structure of significative and denotative macrocomponent and the four components of connotation: the estimating, emotive, expressive seme and the functional and stylistic component.

Some distinctions can be characteristic of component structure of phraseological meaning of multilingual phraseological units. First of all they concern a connotative macrocomponent, namely such components as functional and stylistic, and emotive components, which can differ as identical seme structure of significative and denotative macrocomponent. Very often, however, partial differences in seme structure of significative and denotative whole are observed (an ideographic synonymy and hypero-hyponymy, according to A. D. Raykhstein's classification), i.e. the existence of differential additional seme (or semes) in one of the compared phraseological unit or in both. In this case both coincidence and difference of the three components of connotation can be observed: of emotive, of expressive and of functional and stylistic component. Similar partial divergences with close

similarity are characteristic of *semantic analogues*.

Analysing the extensive phraseological material it was revealed that the allocated types of semantic equivalents and analogues do not incorporate all phraseological units which are outside phraseological lacunarity. Comparing similar units, certain semantic divergences concerning, first of all, their significative and denotative macrocomponent are found. These divergences which are observed not only in the differential, but also in one integral seme are characteristic of *partial semantic analogues*. In our research, allocation of such a group is therefore dictated by the needs of phraseography and, to a certain extent, is rather conditional and rarely applicable. In *partial semantic analogues* the connotation components (except for the estimating one) can either coincide, or differ.

Thus, the primacy of semantic identity / difference as identification of the types of interlingual phraseological compliances / non-compliances means that the component theory which is based on the component analysis method serves as the organizing theory when determining these types. Such an approach to the solution of the problem of criteria of identity and difference between phraseological units of the compared languages is justified when considering that, in numerous monolingual and multilingual studies of the phraseological material, the method of the component analysis is used.

## Research

The objective of this research consists in the description of the structure of phraseological meaning in the English and Russian phraseological units as well as in identifying and analyzing stable semantic correlations between them. On this basis, the research aims to define certain characteristic types of English-Russian phraseological interlingual compliances / non-compliances, to identify characteristic English-Russian phraseological equivalents and analogues.

Defining the types of interlingual phraseological compliances / differences in this research we focus primarily on *complex criterion* which includes semantic coincidence, grammatical (syntactic) organization and component (lexical) structure of multilingual phraseological units. For our analysis, over 1750 phraseological units have been extracted from monolingual and bilingual authoritative English and Russian phraseological and explanatory dictionaries. Comparing phraseological units of the two languages the main attention has been given to the seme structure of significative and denotative macrocomponent including the four components of connotation (the estimating, emotive, expressive seme and the functional and stylistic component of phraseological meaning).

## Methodology

Comparing phraseological units of the two languages, special attention in this regard has been given to their meanings, their seme structure, significative and denotative as well as macrocomponents. The semantic identity or difference of multilingual phraseological units means the identity or difference of their seme structure, of a simplified set of minimum semantic components of significative and denotative, and connotative components of phraseological meaning.

For the analysis we have compared over 1,750 English and Russian phraseological units extracted from monolingual and bilingual phraseological and explanatory dictionaries. Defining the types of interlingual phraseological compliances / differences in this research, we focused primarily on *complex criterion* which includes semantic coincidences, grammatical (syntactic) organization and component (lexical) structure of multilingual phraseological units (at an unconditional primacy of semantic identity / difference or content plan).

The primacy of semantic identity / difference at identification the types of interlingual phraseological compliances / non-compliances means that the component theory which is based on the component analysis method serves as the organizing theory when determining these types. Such an approach to the solution of the problem of criteria of identity and difference between phraseological units of the compared languages is justified upon consideration that, in numerous monolingual and multilingual studies of phraseological material, the method of component analysis is used.

The methodology of identification of semantic identity / difference of phraseological units of the English and Russian languages is divided into the following stages:

1. Representation of phraseological meaning of the English phraseological unit (or phrase-semantic option) as a set of the minimum semantic components;
2. Search for the semantic compliance in Russian;
3. Representation of phraseological meaning of the found Russian phraseological unit (or phrase-semantic option) as a set of the minimum semantic components;
4. Measurement of component (seme) structures of the English and Russian phraseological units (phrase-semantic option or options) in order to determine the identity or difference of phraseological units.

Thus, the use of component analysis in comparative studies and, especially, in the identification of the types of phraseological compliances can be justified by such realities as the universality of categories of human thinking, the known community of human experience

in the process of knowledge of the surrounding world. Being a language semantic category, a special way for human consciousness to reflect on the phenomena of surrounding reality, phraseological meaning of multilingual units is quite comparable and measurable.

### Results

According to our research, three types of interlingual phraseological compliances / non-compliances have been elicited: *semantic equivalents*, *semantic analogues* and *partial semantic analogues*.

*Semantic equivalents* fully coincide in the seme structure of significative and denotative macrocomponents and the four components of connotation: the estimating, emotive, expressive seme, and the functional and stylistic components. The coincidence of seme structure of significative and denotative macrocomponents means the coincidence of integrated and differential semes in the structure of phraseological meaning of the English and Russian phraseological units. The first type of phraseological compliances is illustrated in Table 1 below:

Table 1  
*Semantic equivalents*

English Phraseological Units		Russian Phraseological Units
1 significative and denotative macrocomponent	=	significative and denotative macrocomponent
2 estimating component	=	estimating component
3 emotive components	=	emotive components
4 expressive component	=	expressive component
5 functional and stylistic component	=	functional and stylistic component

*Semantic equivalents* can be presented in the following examples: the English phraseological unit *cast (throw) a stone (stones) at smb* and its Russian compliance (*brosat (kidat) kamnem v kogo*). Both phraseological units in this example belong to interstyle units as having a general hyperseme of 'people', the semantic components of 'personal action', 'interpersonal relations', the semes characterizing similar actions ('to condemn, to accuse', 'to blacken, to discredit'), also having a negative estimating seme, an emotive of 'disapproving relation' and lack of expressivity seme. Thus, these phraseological units are *semantic equivalents*.

The English phraseological unit *not to believe one's ears* and its Russian equivalent *ne verit' svoim usham* are also semantic equivalents. First of all, they are included in the macrogroup of the conceptual zone

of "Mental processes and personal behaviour". They both belong to interstyle units having the general hyperseme of 'people', 'people's emotions'. They also have neutral estimating seme, and they both are characterized by the lack of an emoseme in their connotative meaning.

The following examples correspond to the same component structure:

- *offer smb one's hand (and heart) and predlagat' ruku (i serdce) komu;*
- *the salt of the earth and sol' zemli;*
- *second nature and vtoraja natura;*
- *feed the fishes and kormit' ryb;*
- *Promethean fire and prometeev ogon';* etc.

As a rule, according to their functional and stylistic characteristic *semantic equivalents* tend to be either interstyle or bookish.

The second type of phraseological compliances, *semantic analogues*, are characterized by some distinctions in the connotative macrocomponent (namely emotive, expressive and functional and stylistic components) which can differ in terms of the identical seme structure of significative and denotative macrocomponent. Very often, however, partial differences in the seme structure of significative and denotative whole are observed, i.e. the existence of differential additional seme (or semes) in one of the compared phraseological units or in both. Thus, both coincidence and difference of the three components of connotation can be observed: of emotive, of expressive or of functional and stylistic components. *Semantic analogues* are presented in Table 2 below:

Table 2  
*Semantic analogues*

English Phraseological Units		Russian Phraseological Units
1 significative and denotative macrocomponent	= or ≈	significative and denotative macrocomponent
2 estimating component	=	estimating component
3 emotive components	= or ≠	emotive components
4 expressive component	= or ≠	expressive component
5 functional and stylistic component	= or ≠	functional and stylistic component

To illustrate the second type of compliances, we are going to study the following examples. The English phraseological unit *take (lay) smth to heart (or to take something very much to heart)*, i.e. 'to strongly endure something', and phrase-semantic option of the Russian phraseological unit *prinimat blizko k serdtsu* ('to strongly endure something') in their structure both have the seme of "people", "emotions of a person", "endurance". At the same time, they differ in their functional and stylistic components (the English example belongs to the interstyle unit whereas the

Russian belongs to colloquial phraseological unit). Thus, in this example we observe identity of significant and denotative components and of three components of connotive meaning of macrocomponents except for the functional and stylistic.

The English phraseological unit *Johnny Head-in-(the)-Air* and the Russian phraseological unit *ne ot mira sego* are also semantic analogues. We conclude it owing to the presence of the additional seme ‘being unpractical’ (‘fail to adapt to life’) in the significant and denotative macrocomponent of meaning in the Russian phraseological unit. This means that the hypero-hyponymic type of the language relations is characteristic of these examples.

The following examples correspond to the same component structure:

- *take (the) bread out of smb’s mouth and otbivat’ khleb u kogo;*
- *pop the question and delat’ predlozhenie komu;*
- *hit smb where it hurts and nastupat’ na mozol’ komu;*
- *cry on smb’s shoulder and plakat’ v zhiletku;*
- *recover one’s temper and овладеть собой;*
- *speak (talk) smb’s (the same) language and najti obshhij jazyk;*
- *soft (touched, weak) in the head and mozgi nabekren’ u kogo;*
- *get one’s monkey up and metat’ ikru (to rage, make noise, to swear, quarrel), etc.*

It should be noted that, if *semantic equivalents* are presented mostly by monoequivalents (there is only one possible translation of the phraseological unit), *semantic analogues*, on the contrary, can be interpreted in many ways, i.e. a Russian phraseological unit may have two or more English compliances. For example:

- *otpravljat’ na tot svet kogo and send smb to his account; send smb to glory;*
- *moloko na gubah ne obshlo u kogo and wet behind the ears; still green; still in swaddling clothes (swaddling-clothes);*
- *dva sapoga para and birds of a feather; nothing /not much/ to choose between them; there is nothing to choose between them; there’s/not a pin to choose between them; they make a pair.*

The third type of phraseological compliances, *partial semantic analogues*, are characterized by distinctions in the seme structure of significant and denotative macrocomponent and in the emotive, expressive and functional and stylistic components. Comparing similar units, certain semantic divergences concerning, first of all, their significant and denotative macrocomponent are found. These divergences are observed not only in the differential, but also in one integral seme. *Partial semantic analogues*, the third type of semantic compliances of the English and Russian phraseological units are presented below in Table 3:

Table 3  
*Partial semantic analogues*

English Phraseological Units		Russian Phraseological Units
1 significant and denotative macrocomponent	≈	significant and denotative macrocomponent
2 estimating component	=	estimating component
3 emotive components	= or ≠	emotive components
4 expressive component	= or ≠	expressive component
5 functional and stylistic component	= or ≠	functional and stylistic component

The English phraseological unit ‘*carry the ball*’ (‘to be active, to work, play the major role, to bear the main responsibility’) and the Russian phraseological unit ‘*igrat pervuyu skripku*’ (‘to be the main thing in any business’) have a coinciding hyperseme ‘people’, the seme ‘position of a person in any business’ and concretizing seme ‘the main situation’. The English unit also has an integral seme of ‘action’, differential semes of ‘image of action’ (actively) and ‘responsibility’ (the main situation or role in this case). Differences in the functional and stylistic component (i.e. phrase-semantic option of the phraseological unit ‘carry the ball’ is colloquial) can also be observed.

The English phraseological unit *shut, (stop) of smb’s mouth* (“to make someone silent; to make someone stop talking”) and Russian unit *ne davat’ rta raskryt’ komu* (“not to allow anyone to talk, to express one’s opinion”) are also considered to be *partial semantic analogues*. The English example includes a specific seme of verbal influence of one person on another “to make someone stop talking” in the significant and denotative macrocomponent, whereas this seme is absent in the Russian phraseological unit. We observe here that the coincidence of the functional and stylistic component in both units is colloquial.

The ambivalent neutral estimating seme is presented in the connotation of both units: on the one hand, one may not allow someone to tell the truth, something valuable, on the other hand, one may “shut someone’s mouth”, to make the traitor silent and thereby save someone’s life.

The following example also corresponds to the same component structure:

*dip into one’s pocket (purse)* “to spend money; show a bit of generosity” and Russian unit *ne schitat’ deneg (rublej)* “to have a lot of money, to spend money, without thinking or counting it”.

In determining the levels of semantic compliance of multilingual phraseological units semantic scaling must also be addressed. The level of semantic compliances taking into account the increasing component divergences is characteristic of each type of interlingual compliances, as illustrated below in Table 4:



Table 4  
*Semantic scaling*

Types of interlingual phraseological compliances	The level of semantic compliances
1 semantic equivalents	upper level of semantic compliances
2 semantic analogues	middle level of semantic compliances
3 partial semantic analogues	lower level of semantic compliances

## Discussion

A comparative analysis is of great importance today as it helps to define similarities and distinguishing features in the English and Russian language picture of the world. Consequently, it enables an investigation into different ways of reflecting on reality in language and reveals the peculiarities of different languages and cultures.

Defining the types of interlingual phraseological compliances / differences in this research, we focus primarily on *complex criterion* which includes semantics coincidence, grammatical (syntactic) organization and component (lexical) structure of multilingual phraseological units (at an unconditional primacy of semantic identity / difference or content plan).

*Semantic equivalence* (identity of the seme organization of phraseological meaning of the English and Russian phraseological units) means full coincidence of seme structure of significative and denotative macrocomponent and the four components of connotation: the estimating seme, the emotive seme, the expressive seme and the functional and stylistic component. As a rule, according to their functional and stylistic characteristics, semantic equivalents are either interstyle or bookish, and they are characterized by *upper level of semantic compliances*.

In the group of *semantic analogues* those phraseological units which differ only in the connotative macrocomponent have much higher semantic compliances. It should also be noted that there are divergences in the terminological designation of the types of interlingual relations, as well as in highlighting various aspects of coincidences of phraseological units in the course of interlingual comparisons, which leads to a certain ambiguity in the definition of phraseological equivalents and analogues. According to our analysis, *semantic analogues* are distinguished by the most various range of compliances / divergences in their structural-grammatical organization and lexemic structure. In this semantic group either full coincidence or approximate similarity of the structural-grammatical organization can be observed. Their lexemic structure can either coincide or completely differ. Therefore,

*semantic analogues* are characterised by a *middle level of semantic compliances*. Moreover, if *semantic equivalents* are presented mostly by monoequivalents (there is only one possible translation of the phraseological unit), *semantic analogues*, on the contrary, can be interpreted ambiguously; i.e., a Russian phraseological unit may correspond to two or more English compliances.

The allocated types of *semantic equivalents* and *analogues* do not incorporate all phraseological units which are outside phraseological lacunarity. Comparing similar units, certain semantic divergences concerning, first of all, their significative and denotative macrocomponent are found. These divergences are observed not only in the differential, but also in one integral seme.

Allocation of a similar group of *partial semantic analogues* has therefore been dictated by the needs of phraseography and to a certain extent is rather conditional and rarely applicable. The connotation components (except for the estimating one) can either coincide, or differ. It should be also noted that there are divergences in the terminological designation of the types of interlingual relations, as well as in highlighting various aspects of coincidences of phraseological units in the course of interlingual comparisons, which leads to a certain ambiguity in the definition of phraseological equivalents and analogues. Partial semantic analogues are characterised by low level of semantic compliances and therefore it is necessary to emphasize that this group of phraseological compliances is quantitatively rather limited.

Considering *semantic equivalents*, *semantic analogues* and *partial semantic analogues* as well as levels of semantic compliances of multilingual phraseological units, we have further developed semantic scaling (*upper, middle and lower levels*) which is characteristic of each type of interlingual compliances. Naturally enough the given scale represents the schematic model to a certain extent simplifying the real situation. The research has shown that it is sometimes difficult to draw a line between *semantic analogues* and conditionally allocated type of *partial*.

## Conclusion

Using the component analysis method we have analysed over 1,750 English and Russian phraseological units from monolingual and bilingual phraseological and English and Russian explanatory dictionaries. Three types of interlingual phraseological compliances / non-compliances have been elicited: *semantic equivalents*, *semantic analogues* and *partial semantic analogues*.

*Semantic equivalents* fully coincide in seme structure

of significative and denotative macrocomponent and the four components of connotation: the estimating seme, the emotive seme, the expressive seme and the functional and stylistic component. *Semantic analogues* are characterized by some distinctions in the connotative macrocomponent (namely emotive, expressive and functional and stylistic components) which can differ in terms of identical seme structure of significative and denotative macrocomponent. Very often, however, partial differences in seme structure of significative and denotative whole are observed; i.e., the existence of differential additional seme (or semes) in one of the compared phraseological unit or in both. In this case both coincidence and difference of the three components of connotation can be observed: of emotive, of expressive or of functional and stylistic components. This group includes the largest number of compliances: *semantic equivalents* are presented mostly by monoequivalents (there is only one possible translation of the phraseological unit), whereas *semantic analogues* can be interpreted ambiguously, i.e. a Russian phraseological unit may correspond to two or more English compliances. *Partial semantic analogues* differ in the seme structure of significative and denotative macrocomponent, fully coincide in estimating components but have some differences in the emotive, expressive and functional and stylistic components.

According to the component analysis method, based on the criteria of identity and difference of seme organization of phraseological units, we have elicited certain divergences concerning, first of all, the *significative* and *denotative macrocomponent* of phraseological units. The *connotation components* (except for the estimating one) can either coincide, or differ.

In determining the levels of semantic compliances of multilingual phraseological units we have developed a semantic scaling (*upper, middle and lower levels*) which is characteristic of each type of interlingual compliances. Thus, according to this scale, we conclude that *semantic equivalents* are characterized by the upper level of compliances, *semantic analogues* by the middle level and *partial semantic analogues* by the lower level of semantic compliances.

It should be noted that, as a rule, *semantic equivalents* are presented by monoequivalents (there is only one possible translation of the phraseological unit), whereas *semantic analogues* can be characterised by ambiguous compliances, i.e. one Russian phraseological unit may correspond to two or more English units.

Considering the three types of interlingual phraseological compliances / non-compliances, we elicit strongly expressed quantitative prevalence of *semantic analogues* over *semantic equivalents*. Thus, the

quantity of *semantic analogues* exceeds the quantity of *semantic equivalents* by 0.5% which can be explained by the belonging of the two languages to different groups as well as by peculiarities in their historic development.

The results of the research further the development of a new scientific approach to solving one of the most important problems of comparative study of the phraseological material of different languages by taking into account the latest achievements in the field of semasiology and phraseology.

The findings of this study have applied value for future practice and theory. They could be used in drawing up textbooks, workbooks, tutorials and reference books, as well as solving translation problems. They could also be helpful for students of philological departments of universities and teacher training colleges, institutes of foreign languages, and those developing training courses. The corresponding fragments of work can serve as theoretical and practical material for special courses on English and Russian phraseology. Additionally, the methodology of identifying the types of interlingual semantic compliances can be used in comparative studies in relation to any language.

A further study could address the comparative investigation of ways of translating phraseological units with no direct equivalents (culture-specific vocabulary) into other languages which would enable translators to provide an interpretation which is more or less adequate and close to the original meaning.

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# Lexical and Grammatical Means of Distancing Strategy Performed in American Political Discourse

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This article provided a survey of the English lexis and grammar constructions that serve to realize communicative intention of request aimed at distance enforcement in the American political discourse. The research method was the discourse analysis and the statistics data analysis and its interpretation. As a result, the most common and effective lexical and grammatical language means expressing the communicative intention of request were singled out and their choice explained. The results showed that in the course of the political discourse the opponents used those linguistic means that helped to minimize the pressure and save the face, thus having discussed topical disputable issues. Moreover the study showed the importance of further investigations in order to explain how communicative intentions will be received by its targets and thus how it may succeed (or fail) as a form of persuasion and influence.

*Keywords:* political discourse, briefing, distancing strategy, politeness, request

The process of communication with a foreign partner is a well-known difficulty, which is frequently associated with lack of proficiency in etiquette models use, existing in the language of communication. This article is focused on the need to build knowledge of etiquette models for solving specific communicative tasks in the political discourse with a clear definition of the pragmatic meaning of used models and the possibilities of further effect on the interlocutor. It is also necessary to formulate ways of application of the communication models in political discourse in the resolution of a particular situational problems.

During the presentation a politician must not only inform the audience about any aspect of public life, but also achieve the audience attention, convince listeners to accept a particular position, and enlist the support

of the citizens – it is a struggle for power and obtaining the confidence of listeners.

It is not possible to form and memorize the behavioral strategy for the resolution of a particular communicative problem in the discourse of any type, so the most productive way would be the analytical approach to strategies in our case, it is the strategy of (polite or negative) distancing that has its own national-cultural specificities and pragmatic ways of implementation. Within this article we turn our attention to the strategy of polite and negative distancing in political discourse, which used both lexical and grammatical means.

The topicality of political discourse from the point of view of the category of politeness, and from the perspective of the research of the verbal

implementation of distancing strategies is defined by the fact that in modern society the importance of political communication and the study of political discourse is one of the most rapidly developing areas of communicative linguistics.

Polite verbal behavior, as noted by V.M. Glushak, “is based on speech rules observance” and can be “distancing in case of asymmetrical interaction in the context of various social and hierarchical status of participants” (Glushak, 2009). In order to follow these speech rules speakers use various distancing strategies.

Speech strategies are seen as a complex of the following communicative intentions:

- those aimed at supporting already existing relationships with the interlocutor;
- intentions aimed at distancing with an addressee;
- intentions aimed at solidarity with an addressee;
- intentions aimed at distancing enforcement with an addressee conditioned by communicative course of events;
- intentions aimed at solidarity enforcement with an addressee conditioned by communicative course of events (Larina, 2009).

Demonstrating solidarity and keeping distance is the essence of polite behavior. According to politeness theory every participant of a communicative event has their face which is not only the territory but mostly cognitive space.

A. P. Chudinov mentions distancing as a characteristic feature of the language of politics (Chudinov, 2008). This feature is realized with the distancing strategy.

The main goals of the distancing strategy are achieved by implementing the linguistic means of distancing: modal verbs, modal modifiers, subjunctive mood, interrogative constructions, passive voice and time shift (Larina, 2003).

The distancing strategies may be realized through special language means expressing the communicative intention of request. Due to this fact request obtains polite conventional form, which lets the interlocutor show respect to the cultural, linguistic and personal environment of the communicators (Karnyushina, 2010).

## Materials and Methods

### Political Discourse as Object of Linguistic Research

Many studies devoted to the analysis of text and discourse are based on the attempts to give the

distinctive characteristics of these two categories:

1. A category of discourse is regulated by the area of sociolinguistics, whereas text relates to linguistics (Kress, 1985, p. 30). Text is defined as a verbal presentation (“verbal writing”) of a communicative event (Mikhalskaya, 1998, p. 432), and discourse as a text in the event-driven aspect, speech immersed in life (Arutyunova, 1990, p. 137), the functioning of a language in real-life communication, language assigned by the speaker (Benvenist, 1974, p. 296).
2. Text and discourse are connected by realization relations: discourse finds its expression in the text; according to G. Kress, a discourse occurs and can be detected in the text and through the text. At the same time, this relation is not unambiguous: any text can be an expression of realization of multiple, sometimes competing and contradictory discourses. Each specific text, as a rule, has the features of several varieties of discourse (Kress, 1985, p. 27).
3. Discourse and text are contrasted in the binary, “actuality / potentiality”. Discourse is seen as a real speech event, as “the coherent text created in the speech” (Koneckaya, 1997, p. 106). Text is deprived of rigid attachment to real time, it is an abstract mental construct that is realized in the discourse (Schiffirin, 2001, p. 470).

A significant feature of discourse is its nondiscreteness, which is understood as the irreducibility of discourse to individual communicative events. The discourse is continual, having no time boundaries for the beginning and end – it is impossible to determine when one discourse has ended, and when another one has started. At the same time, of course, the discourse is discrete in the sense of dividedness – the units of dividedness and of discourse analysis are communicative course, remark, change, transaction (Makarov, 1998, p. 30). In this regard, the study of discourse is the most obvious method of investigating social phenomena; at the core of the discourse there is a certain structure of human experience. Fragments of reality find reflection in the discourse, when reality is an external situation, which is a substantial subject, topic of discussion and communicative environment or situation constituting the subject of interlocutors’ environment in time and space during the process of language interaction.

Modern society is characterized by extreme politicization and increasingly growing interest of the general population is directed to the language of politicians, to their speech behavior. Due to the wide spread of media, the most open and accessible form of political process is the political dialogue, so the language of politics is of great interest not only among professional politicians, but also among researchers of

language.

Political processes are carried out on the basis of the accumulated mental material and actively influence on society, speeding up or slowing its development. Politics is born, develops in society, in the process of human activity. By its nature politics is reflected in the language, as society and social life cannot exist without language (Grushevskaya, 2002, p. 13). Thus, “language is a particular extremely important component of policy: perception of political realities is formed with the help of means and figurativeness of language” (Gorbacheva, 2007, p. 143). Language serves the policy as its main tool, i.e. political communication is based on language system (Litovchenko, 2003, p. 3).

A feature of political language (according to E. I. Sheygal, as well as other researchers) is its availability to understanding by practically all members of the language community as a result of despecialization of political terms (Sheygal, 2000, p. 20). It means that not only professional politicians, but also the people who do not have political education can speak language of policy.

As characteristic features of political language A.P. Chudinov highlights the semantic ambiguity (politicians often prefer to express their opinions in the most generalized form), phantom (many signs of political language have no real denotation), irrationality (reliance on the subconscious), esoteric feature (the true meaning of many political statements is understandable only to the elite), distancing and theatricality (Chudinov, 2008, p. 20).

Language personality can be described from the standpoint of linguistic consciousness and verbal behavior, i.e. from the standpoint of linguistic conceptology and discourse theory. The concept of language personality gets the particular interest and a visual manifestation in the political discourse because it is the most influential concept on the public consciousness and is widely distributed in mass communication (Shapochkin, 2012, p. 84). According to A. P. Chudinov, the term ‘political discourse’ has a composite structure with plenty of elements that provide a multi-level structure of this concept and bring a certain difficulty in the description and interpretation (Chudinov, 2001, p. 50).

A system of attitudes, beliefs, opinions and knowledge of the recipient is of particular importance in the political discourse. Therefore, a special role is played by such strategy. The speaker differentiates between assertions of knowledge and opinion: first, the facts matter, then there is a turn to conclusions, and finally interpretations are spotted. The aim of the speaker is to convince, give evidence of positive or negative development of the situation. The existence of the real world is objective reality, that is, the real world acts as a criterion of the truth of propositions.

The truth or falsity of indicative statements is determined by the complex representations of the addressee about the real world and his communication willingness to agree with the speaker. Therefore, if the addressee has knowledge contrary expressed by the proposition, then the truth of the statements may be subject to question. This moment is significant for political discourse. The effectiveness of oral speech, obviously, will also be determined on the basis of what evidence leads the speaker to prove personal point of view, and how true is the contained information.

From the standpoint of politeness category political discourse research, namely its distancing strategies verbal realization aspect, is topical today due to the growing significance of political communication in society. Therefore, political discourse research is one of the progressing trends in communicative linguistics. The problems of political discourse study were discussed in the works of A. N. Baranov, A. P. Chudinov, E. I. Sheygal, V. N. Bazylev, P. B. Parshin, O. L. Mikhalyova and others.

The following definition is taken as a basis for our research: political discourse is a corpus of all speech acts used in political discussions as well as public politics regulations formed by tradition and experience. The most important goal of the political discourse is power race (Baranov, 1997).

E. I. Sheygal figured out the following main functions of political discourse (Sheygal, 2004, p. 15):

- integration and differentiation of group agents of policy;
- agonistic function and harmonization of relations of participants of political process;
- action function (in politics “to speak” means “to do”);
- interpretation function (creation of “language reality” of the field of policy);
- supervisory and regulatory functions (manipulation of consciousness and control over the actions of politicians and the electorate).

Political discourse almost always has a pragmatic basis, that is, focused on achieving certain goals. The speech of the politician is directed to affect the addressee.

The task of political discourse analysis is primarily to investigate the relationship between linguistic and political behavior. The syntax and lexis in the discourse are interesting as means of expression of complex meanings by the speaker. The conduction of discourse analysis is focused on separate words and expressions as the subject of study, as they embody the values that are decoded and interpreted by the listener, due to the correlation with life values and beliefs (Maximov, 2006, p. 51).

The intention of the struggle for power is a specific

feature of political discourse, presented in such genres as campaign speech, debates, discussion, political interviews, and briefings which are the central object of consideration in our research. Briefings aim at covering the topical issues and events of the country as well as expressing attitudes about some issues. It usually lasts for 30 minutes; during a briefing a politician is trying to answer questions on a particular topic expresses his point trying to convey it to his voters as well as his ideas, all is done to influence the public. Therefore, a briefing can be considered an instrument for a politician even if it does not always help to achieve the goal set (Rusakova, 2004).

So, summing up, different approaches to the study of the concept of discourse are noted, as the essence of discourse can be subdivided into many different types that attract the attention of researchers. Political discourse is the totality of all speech acts used in political discussions, as well as rules of public policy, "consecrated by tradition and proven by experience" (Baranov, 1997, p. 88). This is a special sign system of any national language, designed for political communication.

### **Distancing Strategy as a Phenomenon of Language Communication**

As a characteristic sign of the language of policy A. P. Chudinov highlights the dissociation (Chudinov 2008, p. 20). This characteristic is achieved through the implementation of distancing strategy.

Strategy in its broad sense is a common, non-detailed way to achieve challenging goals covering a long period of time. There is another meaning for a strategy as a model of behavior.

A verbal strategy refers to the situationally determined system due to the gradual actions of the communicant, which has a specific purpose, intentions for your partner in communication, which are implemented by a particular tactic or set of tactics (Glushak, 2010, p. 28).

In "The Category of Politeness and Communication Style" T. Larina gives the following definition of verbal strategies as "a complex of the speech act aimed at achieving communicative goals" (Larina, 2009, p. 169).

Verbal strategies can be based on one of the following complexes of intentions:

- Intentions to maintain the existing relationship with the recipient;
- Intentions to distancing from the recipient;
- Intentions to rapprochement with the recipient;
- Intentions to enhance the distance with the addressee due to the course of communication;
- Intentions to strengthen convergence with the addressee, due to the course of communication.

In scientific literature many attempts to systematize the strategies of politeness in two subtypes are described. According to tradition, ascending to the work by P. Brown and S. Levinson "Politeness: some universals in language usage" (1987), and supported by some Russian researchers (R. Rathmayr, E. Zemskaya, and N. Formanovskaya), there are two kinds of politeness: 'negative' and 'positive' politeness, determined by two main desires: by the desire not to experience interference in personal actions and by the desire to obtain approval. These desires determine the overall behavioral strategies to mitigate threats to the self-esteem of a person.

'Positive' politeness serves to strengthen the positive image of the interlocutor: the speaker expresses his sympathy and solidarity with the addressee. The manifestation of attention, compliments, creating an atmosphere of intra-group identity, the desire to avoid controversy are the examples of 'positive' politeness.

'Negative' politeness serves to preserve the independence of the individual, and the necessity of the inviolability of individual territory and borders. It presupposes the existence of social distance and awkwardness in communication. Restraint, formality and an expression of respect are examples of 'negative' politeness (Brown & Levinson, 1978, pp. 135-137; Holmes, 1995, p. 154).

'Positive' and 'negative' politeness reveal the basic mechanism of human relations based on opposite actions committed by communicants in the process of communication: closeness and distance. It is necessary to bring closer the interlocutor and to reduce the separating distance when coming into contact and trying to support it further. For this purpose, the strategies of positive politeness are used. At the same time it is impossible to come nearer or too close; the partners resort to distancing strategies to demonstrate mutual respect for the independence. In other words, politeness is the maintenance of a balance between demonstration of solidarity and distancing of relations.

Rapprochement and distancing can be called hyperstrategies of courtesy used to achieve the most common communicative goals, which define these two types of politeness. Each of them in turn, is achieved by means of a system of more specific strategies, some of which it would be better to call tactics, as they represent one private action that contribute to the implementation of a more general strategy.

Different types of strategies are associated with different speech acts. The strategies of 'positive' politeness, which are aimed at bringing interlocutors together, a demonstration of mutual sympathy, are associated primarily with expressive units which main function is to express the speaker's relationship to the events (greeting, gratitude, assess, compliment, etc.).



The strategy of ‘negative’ politeness, which main goal is a demonstration of respect for personal autonomy of the recipient, associated with directive speech acts in which the speaker has the communicative pressure on the interlocutor.

The basic language means to implement the distancing strategy are:

- modal verbs (a large number of modal verbs, which available to the English language, allows to convey a variety of shades of meaning of the modals, thereby to convey different degrees of politeness);
- modal modifiers (units of subjective modality). Markers of modality can perform the function of downgrading, and upgrading. To implement the distancing strategies mainly downgraders are involved;
- the subjunctive mood (the verb in the subjunctive mood expresses assumption and hypothesis on the part of the speaker, which are absent in the indicative verbs, and thus can reduce the directness of the statement. In a motivation situation the recipient is given a great choice, and the speaker at the same time expresses a fraction of a doubt in the ability or desire of the addressee to perform the action: *If you could very kindly leave a note on his door to explain this. Thanks.* Subjunctive is widely used in the statements that contain request. The questions with *could/would* sound more polite than *can /will-questions*, as they express even a greater share of doubts about the ability or desire of the addressee to perform an action, with the result that he is given even a greater choice, which reduces the impact on it);
- interrogative structures (may express doubts of communicant, thereby reducing the pressure upon him);
- the passive voice (the passive voice allows to represent the expected action from the side of recipient not as a duty, but as a general rule, which is another strategy of distancing. Due to this, the speaker avoids any direct pressure upon the addressee, necessity and prohibition are transmitted mostly in indirect way);
- shift of time plan (the use of past or future tense instead of the present makes the statement less direct. There is a gap between the action named in the statement and reality. That is the communicative frame “I-you-here-now” is disturbed. As a result, the intention of the speaker seems to have lost its relevance, and the caused action is obligation of execution) (Larina, 2003, pp. 190-192).

P. Brown and S. Levinson call ‘negative’ politeness “*heart of respective behavior*” (Brown, Levinson, 1987,

p. 129). It is a well-developed set of conventional strategies to demonstrate to the communicant the recognition of independence, personal autonomy, to assure the absence of intentions on the part of the speaker to violate existing borders between him and the addressee, and if necessary, to minimize an imposition or the impact on the addressee in case of assassination on the freedom.

Therefore, the ways of keeping the distance are quite numerous and can be expressed by both lexical or grammatical means. The most important part of the distancing strategy is ‘negative’ politeness, as it is the foundation of respectful behavior. ‘Negative’ politeness is achieved in various ways, such as indirect expression, giving to the listener the opportunity not to perform an action, evasiveness in case of questions. It is important to maintain harmonious and equitable social relations, despite the need to transmit messages that would impair the dignity of the interlocutor.

### Method

The article represents a part of the materials collected by continuous sampling from January to April 2015. The total of 368 examples from 8 briefings published on the US Department of State was studied. The total length of all briefings is 5 hours and 40 minutes which makes up a transcript of 236 pages. The United States Department of State is an executive department in the US government functioning as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs headed by US Secretary of State.

This research includes the US Department of State briefings run by Marie Harf. Marie Harf was an official representative of the US Department of State, former official representative of CIA, took part in Barack Obama’s election campaign in 2012.

Briefings under discussion were thoroughly studied in order to find and analyze all the examples of verbal distancing strategies realization. As a result all the examples were grouped according to their grammar structure and lexis usage. Afterwards the results were provided with their statistics shown in the form of diagram.

The variety of methodological approaches suggests that the political discourse cannot be considered in without taking into account the interpenetration of separate discourse elements. As research method we have selected the elements of discourse analysis by T. van Dijk, M. L. Makarov and H. Rehbock.

The analysis of the pragmatic context involves introspection from the listener, which must have a clear understanding of the nature of their activities, as well as be aware of their knowledge, desires, relationships, emotions. In addition to the information extracted from the pragmatic context, the text itself

provides a clue to determining the illocutionary force of the utterance. Thus, from the point of view of T. A. van Dijk, it makes sense to start the analysis of the text from the semantic level where the following parameters can be highlighted:

- Reference: identification of the participants of communication;
- The designation of the existing objects;
- The designation of the characteristics of the pragmatic context and the relationships between the parties;
- The designation of states, events, actions;
- The designation of modalities, time, possible worlds, obligations, etc.;
- World knowledge (frames).

At the syntax level, the following settings can be allocated:

1. Types of sentences (declarative, interrogative, imperative).
2. Word order; the structure of complex sentences. They are associated with the topical structure.

The syntactic functions (subject, indirect object, etc.) are closely connected with the semantic features and the distribution of participants in a pragmatic situation. Then in the next stage of the analysis it becomes possible to determine:

3. The time will show, when has or will have effect.
4. The category of the type and method steps related to method of action.
5. The order of sentences, which fixes the boundaries of speech acts (van Dijk, 1989, pp. 31-32).

In addition to the knowledge gained in the course of such detailed analysis, there is also some information identified to characterize the discourse as a whole.

To build presuppositions about the further course of events with the same accuracy for all types of discourse is impossible. But even when individual sentences cannot be predicted in detail, the theme of many discourses is more or less stereotyped and so predictable. Consequently, the majority of types of discourse, has limitations on the range of possible topics, which can be called "thematic repertoire" of a certain type of discourse. Such thematic repertoires are also associated with specific culture or subculture, a communicative context or situation, roles, functions, or status of members of the society and, finally, gender, age or personal characteristics of interlocutors. Moreover, the choice of certain topics is influenced by goals, interests, opinions, or attitudes of participants of communicative action.

In this phase, it is possible to systematize various blocks of the contextual information used for determination of possible topics of discourse or its fragments. User of the language, however, can jump

through the most common cultural levels, depending on the communicative context and individual cognitive base of the communication parties. The following table presents, followed by T. A. van Dyck, possible topics for speakers:

General cultural knowledge.

- Normal for this group activities and goals.
- Specific events, actions (rituals).
- Specific biophysical circumstances (e.g., climate, landscape and so on).
- Specific objects (for example, industrial tools)

Socio-cultural situation.

- The types of situations (Breakfast, ride the bus, marriage, and the like).
- Categories of participants:

Functions (judge, doctor);

Role (mother, friend);

Social characteristics (sex, age);

Individual characteristics (personality, interests, goals).

- Typical events and interactions (to help, to advise, to pay).
- Convention (laws, rules, habits)

Communication situation.

- General or communicative interaction.
- Global or local speech acts.
- Relevant referential context (presence of people, objects) (van Dijk, 1989, p. 51).

After a detailed discourse analysis the examples of lexical and grammatical language means used by the political discourse interaction participants to form the communicative distance were thoroughly parsed and categorized.

## Results

The speech is means of the strongest impact on audience, and such property is fully manifested in political discourse. Properties of speech and political discourse provide ample opportunities for exposure. Political discourse as a kind of persuasive discourse marked by manipulative characteristics, which is expressed in the provision of speech influence on the addressee with the aim to make the cognitive changes in his world view, which will entail the regulation of the dispositions and activities of the recipient in favor of the addressee. Under the term of 'persuasiveness' researchers treat the impact of the author's oral or written messages to his target to convince of something, the call to commit or not to commit the certain actions. In persuasive communication a person deliberately produces statements that are intended to cause a certain reaction in the recipient.

Speech influence is exercised through

communicative strategies and tactics, which essence is in the operation on the knowledge of the addressee, on his value categories, emotions and will. The communicative strategy can be called a set of measures on realization of the communicative intentions of the speaker, taking into account the conditions in which communication occurs.

The implementation of a particular strategy occurs due to tactics, which represent a specific stage of the implementation of a communication strategy characterized by a certain set of techniques governing the use of certain linguistic means.

The main objectives and tasks of the distancing strategy is achieved through the use of language means of realization of distancing strategy. In our research we use six basic techniques that are the most effective in the implementation of the distancing strategy: the use of modal verbs, modal modifiers, the subjunctive mood, interrogative constructions, the passive voice and shift in time plan. Further we will also consider the distancing techniques together to prove that for the achievement of objectives and tasks of the distancing strategy in political discourse it is not enough to use only one method.

The article represents the sampled examples from 8 the US Department of State briefings run by Marie Harf from January to April 2015. Briefings under discussion were thoroughly studied in order to find and analyze all the examples of verbal distancing strategies realization. As a result, all the examples were grouped according to their grammar structure and lexis usage. Afterwards the results were provided with their statistics shown in the form of diagram.

The current study examined briefings in order to find lexis and grammar constructions that serve to realize communicative intention aimed at distancing enforcement. Moreover, the research explored the factors that affected the choice of verbal instruments.

As is known, in English there are many verbs that can show different shades of modality. The majority of them in a varying degree express extents of obligation, these are such verbs as must, have to, should, to be to, ought to, and modal verbs with a shade of permission or requests: can, could, may, might.

Indeed, basing on the examined material, such modal verbs are used for the implementation of the distancing strategy in the American political briefing.

For example, the Marie Harf's statement in a situation when she seeks to finish the briefing, calling to ask the last question: *Last one, guys. I really have to go.* In this case, the modal verb expresses a shade of emergency, the speaker is trying politely but firmly to express the fact that a briefing has come to an end.

The following situation of distancing with the use of less obligatory verb: *Marie, could I ask on the UN part of this? <...> Can I ask what your understanding is of the*

*kind of mechanism that might – you might be thinking of putting in place for a snapback.* The example verbs play a major role in distancing politeness, positioning the addressee to the speaker without encroaching on addressee's territory and exerting any pressure.

Most of modality markers in the studied examples function as mitigation for the distancing strategies. They are the most important means of engaging in political speech. The most frequently used markers are: *I think /I suppose /I am wondering.*

In the following example, the distancing strategy is implemented by means of a marker that expresses the orientation to the speaker.

*MS HARF: Well, again, we are sort of unclear on what basis it issued the warnings to the U.S. military plane that's been referenced in a lot of these reports. As I think you know, Secretary Kerry in Beijing raised the issue of China's land reclamation, the pace and scope of it, with Chinese leaders across the board, and our concerns about that and the possibility that this could lead to tensions in the region. So it's an issue we're very focused on.*

The marker *I think you know* in this case is a modal modifier, as it expresses the commutation of the speech act, while minimizing the intrusion of the speaker into the area of independence, thus, distancing from the interlocutor, and thereby reducing the directness of the statement.

*I think* consists of the subject *I* and the predicate expressed by a verb in the present tense *think*, consists of subject and the predicate expressed by a verb in the present tense *think*, which semantics is expressed in the assumption, in a mental act that expresses the assumption that, in turn, softens the directness of the speech and thus gives to the expression *I think* the function of a modal modifier, assisting the distancing strategy to be achieved.

Further, it is worth considering the use of minimizers *little, a little, a bit, small*, which reduce the degree of an impact on the recipient by reducing pressure on the execution of the request.

**QUESTION:-** *they're going to be released very, very soon. Like, in the next 30 seconds or so? (Laughter.) Can you be a little bit more specific?*

**MS HARF:** *Well, if it's released in the next 30 seconds, then I'm just going to run away from this podium.*

According to its syntactic structure «*Can you be a little bit more specific?*» is a simple interrogative sentence. As the subject there is the plural second person pronoun – *you*, as the predicate there is a compound verbal predicate of *can* in the present with the verb *be* in the form of an infinitive. By means of the distancing function of language it is possible to issue the request without violating the speech etiquette.

The journalist uses the minimizer «*a little bit*» in order to alleviate the pressure on the addressee in the request. Using a following technique, the reporter reduces the possibility of a negative reaction from the opponent.

It is necessary to mention the fact that the lexical fillers of pauses (*well, now well, so*) are widely spread among representatives of the US State Department, and among journalists. In our opinion, all these lexical fillers of pauses play a general role as easing the pressure in answering the question.

**MS HARF:** *Well, I think this is a situation – again, and I’m not a military expert – but where on the battlefield things ebb and flow.*

**QUESTION:** *Well, I mean, look --*

**MS HARF:** *Well, they’re not, I think, technically a part of the coalition.*

**QUESTION:** *Correct. So I just wanted to make sure that there is a concern.*

There is another example of the consideration of the distancing strategy implementation, built by the lexical fillers of pauses.

**MS. HARF:** *Those are just categorically different things, Matt. And you’re buying into the Russian propaganda if you equate them, quite frankly.*

**METTEW LEE:** *Well, no. I’m just trying to --*

**MS. HARF:** *Well, you are, actually, I think.*

The situation between the speakers is quite tense, and the journalist is trying to remove this strain using a marker of modality, while the speaker, putting forward an accusation, is trying to distance herself by means of a modal modifier «*I think*».

It is noted that in the selected examples, the technique of constructing the distancing strategy with modal modifiers is used quite often. The reason for such tendency is in the modal modifiers’ characteristics that they are essentially clichéd phrases of politeness as well, thus, they provide an opportunity to the speaker to show both politeness and distance.

Distancing is also productively expressed by means of the subjunctive mood, which allows to express assumption and hypothesis on the part of the speaker, thereby reducing the directness of the sentence. Inducing to any action, the speaker provides more choices and expresses the element of doubt in the ability or desire of the addressee to perform the action.

The subjunctive mood is one of the fundamental factors of indirect expression of statements. In the following speech situation, the journalist resorts to the subjunctive mood to build a polite request. He begins the phrase with a modal modifier «*I just wondered*» and continues the request using the subjunctive mood.

**QUESTION:** *Okay. I just wondered if you could talk – I’m sorry, I’m a little bit underprepared – the – we’re reporting that there are some U.S. advisors*

*who have landed in Ukraine to help with –*

**MS HARF:** *The National Guard training?*

In this situation, the request is subject-oriented, i.e. it contains an indirect question about the possibility of performing actions that, as noted by T. Larina, is extremely polite.

A means to shift a time plan is involved in order to reduce the straightness of the statement. In our research, there is a hypothesis that in the English language it is possible to notice quite often the shift from the present tense to the past. Here are a few examples of this phenomenon.

**MS HARF:** *We’re still working on Iraq, actually, I think.*

**QUESTION:** *Sorry, I thought that a visit --*

**MS HARF:** *No, I think it’s the visit to Iraq, right?*

**QUESTION:** *My apologies.*

The use of the Past Simple of the verb *think* helps to the journalist to ask his question as politely as possible, according to the requirements of etiquette. It is worth noting that he also does not forget about such an admission as ‘apology’, the reporter apologizes, once he has convinced of the infidelity of his judgment.

As a result of the shift of time plan, the intention of the speaker seems to have lost its relevance, and the encouraged action seems to have lost its enforceability.

**QUESTION:** *It seems – I wondered if I could just ask one, because it seems one of the issues or one of the problems might be that the Iranians are asking for a 24-day delay for authorized visits from the –*

The verb *wondered*, which is in the form of the past tense helps to construct a request using the subjunctive mood. The use of the Past Simple helps to achieve greater unreality, thereby to provide the listener a greater choice of responses to the request. One of the most important criteria of communicative behavior in English-speaking countries is the understatement of the will imposition.

Also, in the English language, the Progressive tense is used instead of the Simple Present to reduce the pressure on the interlocutor:

**QUESTION:** *But then you also said that you’re looking – reviewing the strategy. How far along is that review of the strategy and –*

In the dependent clause the predicate is expressed by means of the *Present Progressive*. In the dependent clause the predicate is expressed by means of the *Present Progressive* time. In our opinion, the journalist used a similar linguistic means to express the duration and incompleteness of the action, thus, he reduces the pressure on the U.S. State Department Spokesperson, elaborating the transformation of new strategies.

Having studied a number of examples of the passive voice use, it was found out that the speaker really got the opportunity to remove the addressee

from the discourse, and, thus, to realize the distancing strategy. In this case the described effect is impersonal in its nature, and it sounds the least dangerous to the recipient.

In a communication situation when the journalist asks M. Harf a question about arms supplies the passive voice is used, mitigating the statement: *So what is the decision to send in more arms to the coalition – what kinds of weapons are we talking about? **How quickly can they be delivered?** And is it envisioned that at some point the U.S. might be joining the air war against the Houthis?*

The question is formed by the interrogative pronoun *how* and the adverb *quickly*, followed by the modal verb *can*, the subject expressed by the pronoun *they*, and the passive voice expressed by the verb *to be* and the past participle form of the verb *deliver*. Thus, it is seen that, instead of a direct question, for example, «*How quickly are you going to deliver the weapons?*», the speaker shifts the focus from the recipient to an impersonal appeal, making the speech less categorical, thereby successfully implementing the distancing strategy.

As another example can be presented the following question: *Is that list actually to be negotiated?* Grammatically, the question consists of the verb *to be* in the form of third-person, Present tense, the subject expressed to be expressed by a noun *list*, and by a predicate *is negotiated* in the passive voice, which, in turn, is formed by the auxiliary verb *to be* and the form of the Past Participle of the verb *negotiate*. The Passive voice in this example is used to divert attention from the agent, i.e. from the person, who should perform the action, not being included in this action, what is also the implementation of the distancing strategy. The speaker avoids to get pressure on the recipient.

It can be concluded that the use of the Passive voice is one of the effective means of the removal of the addressee from the discourse and implementation of the distancing strategy. However, such a language means is used less frequently than modal verbs or modal modifiers that according to the above-mentioned statistics are the most used means. Based on the analysis of all examples, one can conclude that the most frequent and effective linguistic means of realization of the distancing strategy are modal verbs. 40% of all researched examples are the examples of the use of modal verbs. Also there is the extensive use of modal modifiers, allowing us to affirm that this method is not less effective because it covers 32% of all researched examples. It is interesting that in the structure of different tense forms in the English language, the shift of time plan is the least common, this method has gained only 6%.

All the researched briefings can be described according to M. L. Makarov (Makarov, 2003, p. 207) and

H. Rehbock (Rehbock, 2001), as follows:

1. The kind or genre of conversation
  - 1.1. prepared;
2. The space-time relationship (situation)
  - 2.1. communication 'face to face': at the same time and being close;
3. The participants of the conversation
  - 3.2. the conversation in small or large group;
4. The degree of formality of the conversation
  - 4.1. official communication;
5. Social relationships of the interlocutors
  - 5.1. symmetric (social distance between the speaker and recipient);
6. Direction of communicative actions in the conversation
  - 6.1. discursive, argumentative;
7. The degree of familiarity of the interlocutors
  - 7.1. strangers, unfamiliar people;
8. The degree of preparedness of communicants
  - 8.1. specially prepared for the dialogue;
9. The fixity of the topic
  - 9.1. the particularly fixed specific topic;
10. Communication relation to practical activities
  - 10.1. included in the practical activities;
11. The purpose of the communication;
  - 11.1 the official conversation with the officer.

It is necessary to consider a fragment of one of the briefings with analytics of several techniques. The following speech situation takes place between Matt Lee, the Associated Press representative, and Marie Harf, the US Department of State representative. The topic of the briefing is Russia providing weapons to the Ukrainian separatists. The journalist is asking to provide proof. M. Harf would not be able to do it and switched to another topic while Matt Lee increased pressure on the speaker to attain the correct proof to the declared above.

*METTEW LEE: I would like to know what you're basing this new evidence that the Russians intend to send any heavier equipment.*

*MS. HARF: It's based – uh-huh. It's based on some intelligence information. I can't get into the sources and methods behind it, but I was able to be able to tell you that.*

*METTEW LEE: Is there a YouTube video or something that you can point us to --*

*MS. HARF: Do you have any other Mettew Lees?*

*METTEW LEE:– that would show? I'm just wondering if you – what it is. I mean --*

*MS. HARF: I just said I wasn't going to give you the underlying source for it.*

*METTEW LEE: Marie, did you --*

*METTEW LEE: But that --*

*METTEW LEE: So look, it's not – the Mettew Lee is --*

*MS. HARF: So if you prefer – if you prefer I don't*

give you more information and just say nothing if I can't give you the source –

**METTEW LEE: I'd prefer –**

**MS. HARF: No, I'm actually asking you a Mettew Lee here. If I can't give you the source and method, would you prefer I not give you the information?**

**METTEW LEE: Marie, I think that it would be best for all concerned here –**

**MS. HARF: Are there any other Mettew Lees?**

**METTEW LEE: – if when you make an allegation like that, you're able to back it up with something more than just "because I say so."**

**MS. HARF: Okay. That's not what I said. It's based on intelligence, it's not because I said so.**

**METTEW LEE: Well, it's not me that's making these allegations. I mean, you guys get up at the UN Security Council and make these allegations. The Secretary gets on the Sunday shows to make these allegations. And then when you present your evidence to back up those allegations, it has appeared to, at least for some, fall short of definitive proof. Do you --**

**MS. HARF: I would strongly disagree with that.**

The sentence "I would like to know what you're basing this new evidence that the Russians intend to send any heavier equipment" request is expressed with construction "I would like". As to T. Larina "in cases the speaker makes addressee act to his own interest the implied impulse expression is preferred in English, therefore, it is followed by subjunctive mood "I'm just wondering if you" to distance from the speaker as much as possible.

Examining the context pragmatics we can assume that the expression analyzed is a request in the form of the subjunctive mood. Thus, the journalist using various speech strategies was trying to obtain specific data, but he did not meet any agreement to his request. As T. Larina notes, request is a verbal action traditionally examined within speaking etiquette formulae as a speaker tries to hold on to the rules of politeness in this exact communicative action, otherwise he might not reach his goal. The result of request is directed to benefit the I-speaker and I-appealing: *I am asking you to do this*. One has to be polite to achieve something "for himself" (Larina, 2009). The communicative event of request is complicated from the point of keeping communicative intentions as it is a face threatening act (FTA). It claims a detailed selection of lexical and grammatical means and strict following the speech etiquette, especially in public situations.

In situation described the distancing strategy is observed in the very first question. The journalist begins with "Would you...". Using the modal verb in subjunctive mood decreases pressure on the addressee. It should be noticed that M. Harf is trying to minimize

her being involved and answering indefinitely. The journalist is pressing down his interlocutor decreasing distance between them. He calls her name to do it and then speaks more freely: *you guys*. As noted by L. Visson this address is impolite. «Guys is a pretty familiar word which sounds abusive when addressed to educated and elderly people» (Visson, 2005).

It is an interesting fact that M. Harf is also using distancing verbal means showing her disagreement to the journalist. This distancing tactics is expressed by a phrase "I would strongly disagree". As to L. Visson "the argument participants try to lessen significant differences in opinions by many means, including compromise, and they show their respect to the opposite opinion..." (Visson, 2005). To characterize the choice of lexis in this phrase: pronoun *strongly* – highlights negative connotation of the word *disagree* and altogether with modal verb *would* helps the one who replies to distance from this situation.

The following situation takes place between M. Harf and journalists. The topic of the discussion is US giving Ukraine a billion dollars loan in case its government invests them to reform its economics. The journalist is asking questions to specify the US intentions.

**QUESTION: And given the violence that you mentioned, the bus attack and Donetsk Airport**

**MS. HARF: Yeah. Mm-hmm.**

**QUESTION:--does this make the Administration reassess in any way its opposition, up to now, to provide defensive military equipment to the Ukrainians?**

**MS. HARF: Well, our position on that hasn't changed. We obviously have an ongoing conversation with the Ukrainians about how we can help, but nothing new on that front. On the monetary side, though, today the Treasury Department did announce just – I want to draw people's attention to it – a loan guarantee of one billion dollars to the Government of Ukraine in the first half of 2015. If Ukraine continues making concrete progress on the economic reform side – I know that's not what you asked about – but on the economic reform agenda, we would be willing, working with Congress, to provide an additional one billion. So we think there are ways to assist Ukraine that doesn't include lethal assistance. Obviously, we continue talking to them, though.**

**QUESTION: So I'm just wondering – so you said there was the one billion, and then you're talking to Congress about giving an additional one billion.**

**MS. HARF :In late 2015, so if they – if Ukraine continues making concrete progress – excuse me, I was up a little late last night – progress on its economic reform agenda, we will consider giving them another one billion in the later half of**

2015. *We obviously work with Congress on that. They have to do things like continue to overhaul the energy sector, repair their financial system, tackle corruption, things like that, that if they keep making progress on, we will provide an additional loan guarantee.*

QUESTION: *And I would assume that additional money also would be contingent on a deal with the IMF?*

MS. HARF: *I can check on that. I know that on – what I have here is that our additional loan guarantee would be contingent on them meeting these conditions, but I can check on the IMF piece of that.*

QUESTION: *And then has there been direct contact or, say, between the – Secretary Kerry and Lavrov to express your anger at the continuing violence?*

MS. HARF: *Not – the Secretary has not spoken to Foreign Minister Lavrov in the past few days. I know other officials have been in touch with the Russians. I don't have specifics for you, though.*

QUESTION: *Since you mentioned the Russians, there were calls from Russia recently to restart counterterrorism working group or counterterrorism talks. Is that being – are you positive to that?*

MS. HARF: *I can – let me check with our team. We've talked to the Russians, including the Secretary with Foreign Minister Lavrov, about counterterrorism, just in their normal bilateral discussions. Certainly, the Russians are very focused on it, as are we. But in terms of that specific dialogue, let me check.*

Following the pragmatic context it looks obvious that the distancing strategy in the example described is built on the linguistic means used by the speaker. Such grammatical means as using modal verbs “*can, will, would*” is marked to convey the various tones of must and subjunctive mood to express supposition. At the same time there is the usage of such lexical means as fillers “*well, so*”.

The communicative event under study begins with direct and not distancing question “*does this make the Administration reassess in any way its opposition, up to now, to provide defensive military equipment to the Ukrainians?*”. M. Harf, however, begins her reply with “*well*”, which, following T. Larina, is one of the distancing strategy means used to soften the phrase. Then, the State representative is using the personal pronoun “*we*”. Many scientists note that pronoun “*we*” is commonly used to decrease distance and involve interlocutor in the common space. However, the State representative saying “*we*” means the government opposing it to “*they*” (Ukraine) trying to keep distance

and minimize her effect and the administration involvement in this situation (*how we can help, but nothing new on that front, if they keep making progress on, we will provide an additional loan guarantee*). The example of the subjunctive mood usage as “*if they keep making progress, if they – if Ukraine continues making concrete progress*”, minimizes the supposition about somebody to do action, thus, helping the speaker to relieve his responsibility.

As a matter of interest, M. Harf answering the direct questions is using strategy of going out of discourse. Thus, the first time she starts talks about finance, admitting, though, she switched the topic, and second time she shifts from business to personal facts: “*On the monetary side, though, today the Treasury Department did announce just – I want to draw people's attention to it – a loan guarantee of one billion dollars to the Government of Ukraine in the first half of 2015; excuse me, I was up a little late last night*”.

It is also necessary to indicate the usage of last names and titles in political discourse patterns. Referring to the talks with Russia the journalist is asking if secretary Kerry talked to Lavrov. M. Harf points to his position replying that *the Secretary* did not talk to the *Minister of the Foreign Affairs Lavrov*.

Therefore, we can see what language means M. Harf uses to follow the distancing strategy. She follows double distancing between her and journalists on the one hand and Ukraine actions on the other hand, because she is not aware of all information and she tries to minimize her involvement. The State Secretary uses these distancing strategy means to decrease the journalists' pressure on her as her declarations need to be rechecked.

The next speech situation occurs between the journalist Mathew Lee, the representative of Associated Press, and the Senior Advisor for Strategic Communications to U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry at the U.S. State Department Mary Harf. The representative of Associated Press asks her to comment on the maneuvers in the West of Ukraine with NATO military participation and on the alliance plan of creating the immediate reaction force with the command staff in Poland and the executive staff in Eastern Europe which are not far away from Russian Federation border. The journalist correlates the facts in return Mary Harf blames him for falling under Russian propaganda influence. It is an interesting fact that the journalist builds the distance and asks the questions as polite as he could but M. Harf reacts negatively in reply.

METTEW LEE: *Okay, and another one. Yesterday, if my memory serves me right, Wall Street Journal claimed in an op-ed that President Obama should listen to his own State Department and*

to send arms to Ukraine. **I'm not asking for a comment, but just to clarify: Is there anybody in State Department who supports sending arms to Ukraine?**

MS. HARF: The State Department is a very big place; I can assure you of that.<...>

METTEW LEE: **Sorry, you said that the – and you said this yesterday, and I believe Jen said it the day before, too** – that the exercises are not related to any current event.

MS. HARF: Correct.

MS. HARF: In part to – in part because of – wait, **let me rephrase this.**<...>

MS. HARF: **Wait, let me rephrase**, Matt, and then go on.<...>

MS. HARF: **Well**, I don't have – I'm not – I don't have anything like that to outline for you. Obviously, we're focused on Ukraine, which, as you said, is not a NATO member.<...>

MS. HARF: I'm not sure what you don't understand about this, Matt

METTEW LEE: **Well, it just seems to me that if it is true – if what you say is true about – and I'm not going to argue with it, but if what you say is true about Russia's escalatory actions in Ukraine**, I don't understand why it is that you say or why it is that NATO putting together a rapid reaction force to station close by so that it can respond to crises like this in the future --<...>

MS. HARF: Respond is the key term there. That's a defensive measure. Wait, wait. **Let me finish**, Matt.<...>

METTEW LEE: So I'm saying – and you didn't want to get into escalatory actions that you've seen Russia take with regards to countries that are members of NATO -

MS. HARF: Matt.

METTEW LEE: -- and which Article V would apply to, so that's --

MS. HARF: <...> There is nothing confrontational about it. It is not designed to confront anyone. That's not how it's being used. That's not how it's designed. I – in no way – I just don't understand logically how you can look at what – something NATO is doing to protect our countries and compare it in any way to Russia sending surface-to-air missile systems across the border into Ukraine, which are by definition an offensive weapon.

METTEW LEE: My --

MS. HARF: Those are just categorically different things, Matt. And **you're buying into** the Russian propaganda **if you** equate them, quite frankly.

METTEW LEE: **Well**, no. I'm just trying to --

MS. HARF: **Well**, you are, actually, I think.

METTEW LEE: No, I just --

MS. HARF: The tone of the question does.<...>

MS. HARF: You are. I actually think the tone of your questions on this – on these exercises has been a little bit.<...> No one's going to sit by and not stand up for our principles and say, "Go ahead, Russia. We're not going to take any steps to protect ourselves."

METTEW LEE: Marie, **you guys** object to other countries' objections about your military exercises all the time, and you think that they're perfectly legitimate. You say **they're perfectly – your concerns are perfectly – that their concerns are not** –

MS. HARF: Every case is different.

Studying this example we can underline the means the journalist uses in order to get an answer. The correspondent uses the subjunctive mood to minimize the pressure on the opponent: "if my memory serves me right», «I'm not asking for a comment, but just to clarify», «I'm not going to argue with it, but if what you say is true about Russia's escalatory actions in Ukraine". Furthermore it is worth to mention that M. Lee does not invade distance. One of the main means of expressing the negative politeness is an implied expression, consequently his politeness has a negative shade. According to T. Larina "The verb in the subjunctive mood expresses supposition, hypocritical character of the speaker, which is in the lack of verbs in the indicative mood and as the result mitigates the straightforwardness of the expression" (Larina, 2009). Also using the modal verb "would" tells us that the journalist's speech is indirect, so that he provides the answers choice. In spite of that the addressee has to perform the act (answer the question), there is a semblance created that he is provided with the possibility of choosing – weather to react to the question positively or negatively, weather to take steps or not. The effective mean of distancing strategy is the mean of minimizing the pressure on the opponent, because this speech pattern contains semantic option in situation, but intends no option indeed (Larina, 2009). By reference to the analysis of the pragmatic context it is possible to claim that different means of distancing strategy realization can operate together.

Matthew Lee uses another one distancing strategy as apology: "Sorry, you said that". The apology is the strategy of negative politeness. Moreover these types of situations are seen as an attempt to attack on the addressee's personal and cognitive space, but under various circumstances the speaker has to use it. He has to apology for committing the dangerous speech act to save his image having said it. It gives us the ground to prove that M. Lee saves the distance.

It is important to draw attention to the way



Mary Harf reacts to the journalist's questions. At the beginning of the communicative situation Mary Harf answers the question with a tone of sarcasm, which is not polite and respectful: *"The State Department is a very big place; I can assure you of that"*. It is also important to note that the representative of U. S. Department of State Mary Harf often uses negotiation. As the journalist correlates the facts and brings visible evidence there is little left to do to Mary Harf as to negotiate them: *"I don't have – I'm not – I don't have"*. In a substantial way it decreases the distance and causes the harm to the one who asks the question.

Further on she blames the journalist for falling under Russian propaganda influence, in other words going into personals, which is inexcusable if we speak about politeness. *"Matt. And you're buying into the Russian propaganda if you equate them, quite frankly"*. The sentence discussed is built up with the help of subjunctive mood, consequently it determines the distance during the speech, and nevertheless the situation appears to be vice versa. M. Harf uses the word *"equate"*, which means – to make equal or equivalent, to reduce to a standard or an average; equalize. For American people it is impossible as according to L. Visson: *"The USA just like other countries constitutes itself as the best country in the world"* (Visson, 2005). And she also adds personal attitude: *"quite frankly"*, *"I actually think"*.

The following sarcastic phrase is based on a hyperbole: *"Go ahead, Russia. We're not going to take any steps to protect ourselves"*. This kind of phrase is considered to be rude and diminishes distance.

After these words the journalist decreases the distance, which indicates his assertiveness to get the neat answer. He calls M. Harf by her first name and then speaks more freely: *you guys*. As noted by L. Visson this address is impolite. *«Guys is a pretty familiar word which sounds abusive when addressed to educated and elderly people»* (Visson, 2005).

The journalist uses the colloquial *"okay"* in his replies. Although as noted by L. Visson OK is not that popular among the Americans compared to the other countries. It is not informal in this case, though, colloquial. OK is not commonly used in formal communication (Visson, 2005). Ok is close to *"clear"*, which makes us suppose that the journalist knew most replies ahead, but went on to ask Mary Harf to spotlight the issue in the media as much as possible.

In the situation discussed there are the communicative situations with intention of request. According to T. Larina *"request is a motivational speech act influencing a listener to perform an action for speaker's interest and the performer is free to choose whether to execute this action or not. Request is more or less dangerous communicative act as it contains threat for both communication participants: threat to the*

*object, whose freedom is attempted and threat to the subject, who can get refusal. The speaker is to smooth request's inherent "impoliteness" by following the principles of politeness strategy. This "impoliteness" is connected with the fact that it combines the speaker's expression of will on the one hand and call to addressee to act on the other hand"* (Larina, 2009).

M. Harf repeated the request three times: *"Let me finish, Matt"*, *"Wait, let me rephrase, Matt, and then go on"*, *"Let me rephrase this"*. The request is expressed with the verb in imperative mood, but despite it we can assume it to be polite as far as the semantics of the word *"let"* lets us state that it is intended not to intrude in personal space of a journalist but to ask a permission for further explanations.

On the basis of the pragmatic context it becomes obvious that the expression analyzed is a request expressed as an imperative.

Thus, the removal of the addressee from the discourse is an important means of saving face and achieving the distancing strategy. One of such means are passive constructions. They help to make impersonal and less dangerous comments for the person. In our research, the passive constructions take 12% from all other linguistic means.

Despite the fact that the indirection of statements is the basis of the English politeness, the subjunctive mood takes only 10%. This can be explained by the fact that the allotted amount of time for the briefing are limited, so journalists and politicians prefer to use the shorter and faster language means as modal verbs and modal modifiers to achieve the distancing strategy.

In order to reduce the directness of the statements, the journalists and the US State Department representatives have dismissed the time plan from the present tense to the past or from the Present Simple for the Progressive tense. As a result there is a gap between the action, named in the statement, and reality. In our research, such tool takes 6% of the total number of all researched examples.

It was needed to analyze speech situations, to see how the distancing strategy realized in the set of all considered lexical and grammatical means.

## Discussion

Political discourse is one of the most famous and thoroughly analyzed varieties of discourse. The research of political discourse is complicated by the diversity and heterogeneity of the political sphere of society, which is a subject to the analysis in the studies of political discourse.

The objectives were to analyze what linguistic means are used to implement the distancing strategy.

The current study shows that the most common and effective linguistic means of distancing strategy realization were modal verbs, which made up 40% of all examples. A wide use of modal modifiers makes us conclude this means is effective too as it takes 32% of all examples. As a matter of fact, with the tense form structures in English so varied the time shift strategy is the least one used– 6% (see Figure 1).

The most frequent lexico-grammatical means were:

- **modal verbs** (total 158 cases of usage) – **should** (12%), **could** (15.8%), **would** (48.1%), **may** (1.8%), **can** (17%), **must** (0.5%), **might** (3.1%), **have to** (1.8%) (Figure 2)
- **modal modifiers** (total 118 cases of usage) – **think** (49.15%), **say** (0.85%), **wonder** (9.3%), **suppose** (0.85%), **believe** (3.39%), **be sure** (1.7%), **be aware of** (1.7%), **guess** (3.39%), **well** (13.56%), **perhaps** (0.85%), **probably** (5.08%),

**possibly** (0.85%), **specifically** (0.85%), **a little (bit) more** (4.24%), **maybe** (4.24%) (Figure 3)

As the figures show, the most popular lexical-grammatical means of expressing intentions in the briefings under discussion were modal verbs **would**, **can**, **could** and **should**, and modal modifiers **think**, **well**, **wonder** and **probably**. The greater variety of verbal realization is observed in the second group. The results prove that the speakers mostly prefer to use the same language means (*would*, *think*) in order to stay on the safe side of the discussion and save face. These linguistic signs can be referred to as conventional clichés of expressing intentions.

One of the major functions of political communication is to regulate human behavior, the influence of partners on each other to achieve the planned results. In the texts of political speeches the speakers widely use both messages with ascertaining of general truth, and the messages containing private

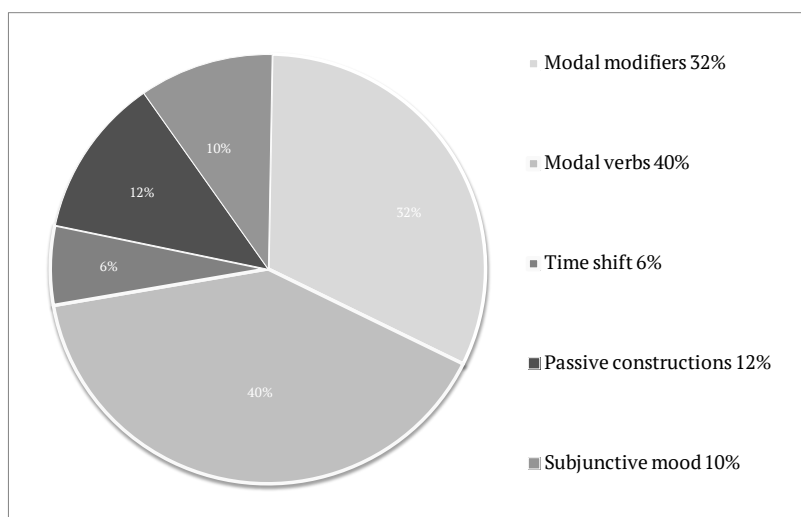


Figure 1. Grammatical means of distancing strategy realization.

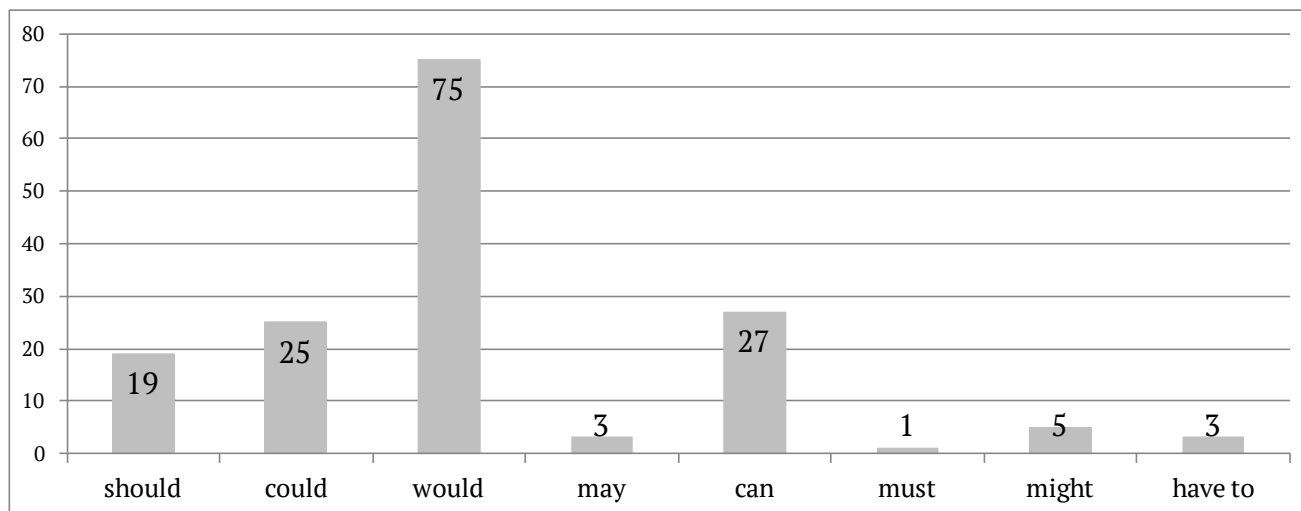


Figure 2. Comparative diagram of modal verbs usage in distancing strategy realization.

## LEXICAL AND GRAMMATICAL MEANS OF DISTANCING STRATEGY

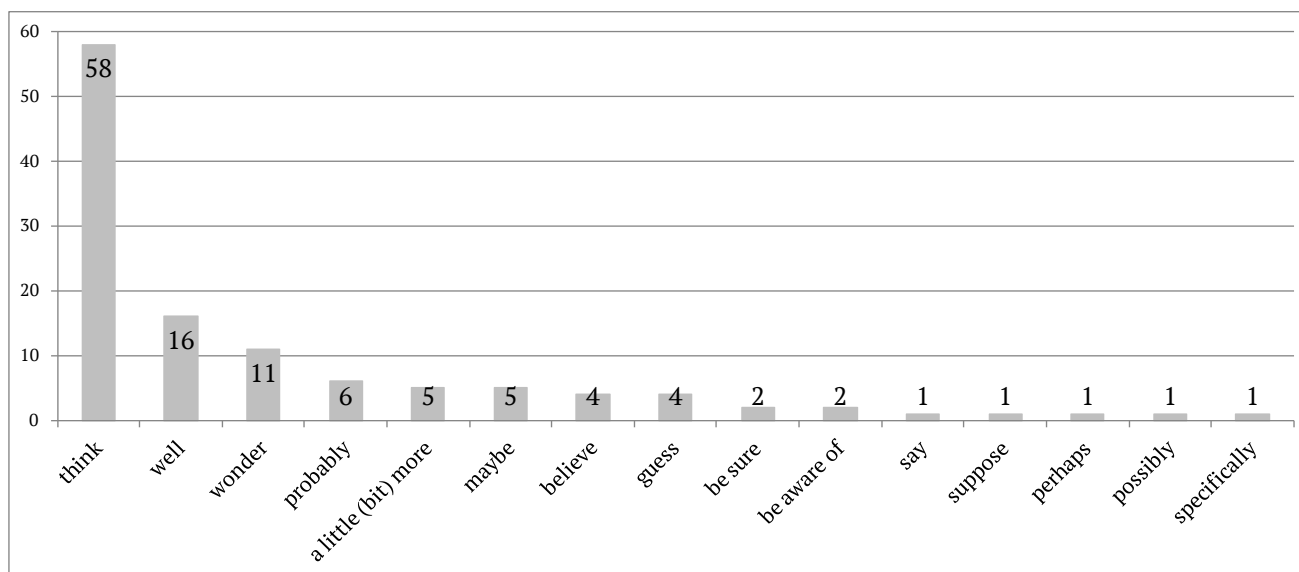


Figure 3. Comparative diagram of modal verbs usage in distancing strategy realization.

information.

The choice of lexical units in political speeches is mainly determined by their pragmatic focus on the goals of persuasion and creating a positive image of a politician. Rhetorical questions and exclamations are also a common means of expressive syntax. Through such questions, the addressee is involved in the reasoning or experiences, becoming more active. In political texts there are modal verbs, euphemisms, and other stylistic tools of indirect assessment as the techniques of disguised, alternative representations of reality by means of indirect estimation.

Modality of political discourse – is an ideological aspect that simulate a particular reality. Considering the category of modality from the point of view of cognitive linguistics, it can be concluded that objective and subjective modalities are not opposed, but presuppose and determine each other. The world is not given to a person directly, it is created and interpreted by him. The ability of language to create illusions and to design a specific reality based on objective and subjective factors.

It is necessary to emphasize the dependence of ‘the subjective’ from ‘the objective’ and critical ‘objective’ for understanding ‘the subjective’. So it is possible to figure out subjective and objective modality of political discourse.

### Conclusion

Studying verbal realization of distancing strategies in political discourse helps to explain how communicative intentions will be received by its targets and thus how it may succeed (or fail) as a form

of persuasion and influence. Moreover we may deduce the most effective verbal means that help to make communicative interaction successful in the field of politics. However, a study of this type also highlights ways in which a full understanding of distancing strategies in political discourse requires a broader research agenda. Future studies may need to examine other verbal strategies intended at persuasion via mass media or in the course of personal interaction, this work should include further distinguishing recipients perception and the consideration of some individual impact factors.

Summing it up the current study has demonstrated the importance of verbal realization of distancing strategies concerns and their effectiveness in the course of political discourse. Thus, the effectiveness of political discourse depends on how convincing the speaker was, whether he was able to impress upon the audience the necessity of certain actions and assessments, whether he prompted the audience to decisions and actions in the interests of the given political strength. Text modality is inherent to the whole text, separate statements are modal-painted so that the recipient is prepared to accept subjectivated values of the whole text. The centerpiece is the objective modality, which affects its subjective realization in the speech of the speaker. There is a forming process of the model of beliefs, the head of which – is the concept of objectivity.

In terms of possible cognitive deficits a politician simulates the reaction of the people both familiar and new, weird socio-political situation. For this purpose, the speaker resorts to the method of “objective statements”, that is, his personal evaluation is presented as objectively-existing, necessary, possible or desirable state of affairs. Therefore, the objective

modality can be defined as a tool of manipulative influence on people's minds.

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# **Celebrities: Media Culture and the Phenomenology of Gadget Commodity Life.**

## **Anthony Curtis Adler.**

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In this book, Anthony Adler (a full professor of philosophy at Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea) has brought together some of the philosophical aspects drawn from Heidegger, Marx, Althusser, and other influential thinkers in terms of their contributions to categories such as production and reproduction, commodities and consumption, being(s), values, and politics. Adler is well-acquainted with Martin Heidegger's studies and refers to those most often; in fact, Heidegger's influence on the scholar can be read throughout the entire book. That being said, the primary strength of this book is the ideological diversity of the represented philosophers whose papers were widely cited, compared with each other, and analysed from different dimensions.

The book is divided into two parts with fourteen separate chapters. Part 1 represents a phenomenological entity of different but well-connected definitions (the Gadget, the Celebrity, the Commodity). Part 2 practically analyses the number of TV shows, series, movies, musicals, and cartoons from the angle of their phenomenological interpretation. The first part contains eleven relatively short chapters that are linked to each other. This logical arrangement of allows readers to follow the chapters with ease. The three final chapters included in the book's second part are constructed in a slightly different way: a charmingly abrupt and jerky narration that appears vital, alive and intriguing. On the one hand, the second part is highly accessible to those who are not experts on Heidegger's phenomenology or even familiar with most of his corpus. On the other hand, from the general public's perspective, the first part might appear difficult to grasp by non-philosophers. However, I doubt that

philosophers will agree with me in this statement: the delicacy of the first part turns out to be its strength and the book definitely has its own unique audience.

The book starts with an autobiographical memory about television that Adler shares with his readers. This helps us feel the author's fondness for and engagement with the content. Chapter 1, "The Phenomenology of Television", introduces the historical background of Heidegger. Heidegger's time was the time when the concept of existence — *Dasein* ("existence" in German) — could appear in its new interpretation. An upgraded meaning of *Dasein* became visible at that particular time when reasons for it were undoubtedly identified: namely, the appearance of wired technologies. The telegraph, then the radio and television not only had utilitarian purposes but also changed the phenomenology of time and space interactions in everyday life. Radio listeners and especially TV watchers were able to be allegorically present or exist in different places at the same time: here and there. Heidegger was able to comprehensively reflect on the dramatic changes that technology had on social history, turning human beings in dubious ways into the creation of a new reality. Heidegger's fundamental work *Being and Time* reflected this vision of *Dasein*.

Chapter 2, titled "The Life Not Ours to Live," starts with an example of the extraordinary foolishness of the cartoon characters *Beavis and Butt-head*. Adler points out that those characters personify two forms of life: real and TV. These lives collide with each other; sometimes they are mixed together without the chance to distinguish or identify them. It is a projection of people who are required to choose and to live "only one life (...) which may be lived differently"

(p. 22), and the choice is more likely to be suggested by TV itself. Consequently, Adler suggests, the identity of a personage, real or fictional, might be lost or stolen. Changing the channels is a solution to obtaining a new identity, which will probably repeat the controversies and the problems of the previous one: ‘the life that we do not live’ (p. 27) but may choose. The solution to how to return or to restore somebody’s identity would be to destroy TV itself, but this option seems too radical. Choosing and changing life, both real and on TV, is an endlessly rotating *Carousel*.

Real life also gives us another decision — *gadgets*. Gadgets allow people to project their everydayness through nostalgic desires and dreams of past simplicity. This recycling, with the assistance of gadgets, has been relocated to the new field of the Internet. The Internet is not a panacea. While restoring our identity with digital images, it stores them chaotically, in clouds. This turns out to have a similar effect to the *Carousel*: the Internet replaces television life “with the absolute simultaneity of possibilities’ (p. 38). The *gadget-commodity life*, the key term the author proposes, is the new appearance of reality with the next round of changes and choices.

Chapter 3, “The Celebrity and the Nobody”, introduces a new player from the gadget-commodity life, which is the *Celebrity*. The category of the *Celebrity* opposes to the *Nobody*, while televisual *Dasein* provides the existence of both sides. The *Celebrity* — “they” — have been distinguished from the rest, while the *Nobody*, constantly passing by everyone else. The *Celebrity* and the *Nobody* both exist and live within *Das Man*. Addressing the question of why the *Celebrity* is so much more important than the *Nobody*, Adler suggests that *celebrities* are seen as children, who behave like children and the nostalgic memories of *nobodies* are rekindled by watching celebrities, the *Carousel* of *nostalgia*. Paparazzi, hunting the *Celebrities*, provide the link between them and the *Nobodies*. Echoing in the bundle of the television-*Celebrity*-paparazzi, those who exist for the sake of each other’s existence, *nobodies* become *somebodies*, *The One*. In his book *The Attention Merchants: The Epic Scramble to Get Inside Our Heads* (2016), Tim Wu uses almost the same words in describing the phenomenon of celebrities — “the Other, beyond us, yet at the same time like us.” Even though the concept of celebrities is not new (Wu refers to the Greek gods, the transcendence of the normal), yet since the 1970s, it has become manufactured to capture our attention, and has been commercialized.

Chapter 4, “Being(s)”, refers to Heidegger’s philosophical approaches toward “the history of being” (p. 52), that is the history of the matter of being. Otherwise, history without the matter of being does not make any sense. It is about making decisions

that distinguish human being(s) from plants and animals. The ontological question of decisions against decisions and decisions for decisions remains logically appropriate and indicates the rotation of the cycle. Penetrating the vicious cycle remains controversial and too vague for *being(s)*. The author notices that the difference between *being* and *beings* lays in the multitude of ontologies. *The commodity*, another key element of *the gadget-commodity life* now arrives on the scene. Adler refers to Lukacs’s *History and Class Consciousness* where we are given a detailed analysis of commodities fetishism, noticing that the commodity as a part of capitalist mode, needs to be produced and reproduced. Television produces the commodity and gives it its own life, allowing the commodity to penetrate society.

The transition from the commodity to “The Life of Things,” Chapter 5, smoothly connects Heidegger’s phenomenology — the history of being, with Marx’s historical materialism. This allows us to look at the commodity from different angles, such as the metaphysical one. The commodity produces metaphysics, while the essence of it is *ideology*. “Ideology and Truth,” Chapter 6, makes references to Heidegger’s educational course “On the Essence of Truth”, which means to teach about the nature of ideology. Adler recalls Heidegger’s perceptions of ideology and being in contrast Plato’s, Marx’s, Hegel’s, and Nietzsche’s philosophical implications about ideology.

Through Heidegger’s allegory of the cave, what is human history, Adler interprets that as history with many possibilities for a man in the relation in his historical age. Thus, *Dasein* is “the truth of being, the ecstatic openness to being” (p. 67), and it opens a question about ideology and its relation to *the truth*, or the truth of *the National Socialism*. The essence of the truth finds its continuous clarification in Chapter 7, “The Truth of the Commodity.” *The commodity*, which most likely relates to Marx’s materialism, was not mentioned in Heidegger’s lectures, and Adler admits that Heidegger’s suggestions regarding the commodity were not developed further than Marx’s. Adler concluded that the truth about the commodity is the production of the commodity *as* the commodity.

In Chapter 8, “Value, Publicity, Politics,” the author seeks to learn what the commodity is, beyond its metaphysical interpretation. Marx’s justification of the commodity is interpreted through Heidegger’s concept of *Dasein* — both concepts appear in their renewed forms, making them both too distant and too close to one another. *Dasein*, the existence, reflects in (human) being(s). The relationships between human beings are the relationship between *the things*. The things mirror back the commodity. Hence, human beings, through their relationships with each other, are reflected in the

commodity. Adler warns that Heidegger's academic philosophy, seen from this angle, might lead to nationalism and radical asymmetry.

The interpretation of the commodity does not intend to force a choice between Marx or Heidegger, as Adler notices, but brings up to the point of *undecidability*, which is the main idea of Chapter 9, "Reproduction". Following this path, Adler again puts his attention to an essay on ideology, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" by Louis Althusser, "to rethink ideology beyond the limits of the 'ideological conception of ideology'" (p. 101). Althusser's analysis of ideology as the question of the reproduction of the conditions of production, leads to an understanding of the force of the underground conjuncture of Marx and Heidegger. The author analyses Althusser's idealism through Marxism and Heideggerianism. Adler comes to the conclusion that the categories of *production* and *reproduction* are not only seen from their materialistic perspective but also from an ideological one.

The author rhetorically asks if there is a deeper, more primordial level of ideology where the reproduction of the conditions of production might possibly be discovered, and suggests that modern technology be considered as "a change in the mode of its alethic productivity" (p. 122). In Chapter 10, "The Gadget", Adler binds together the previously analyzed categories and the notions of *the commodity*, *being(s)*, *celebrity*, and *production*, drawing the profound analysis of those in their interaction and accumulation. The consequent shift is turned from production to consumption that happened in the time of post-ideological capitalism, where the conditions of production are rather more phenomenological than ideological. The shift is characterized by the emergence of television, which was a sight of something new: *the gadget*. The gadget, which was not particularly defined, is the commodity itself, that provides the way to (hyper)consumerism and changes *Dasein* to a *commodity-life*.

The turn to *the gadget-commodity life* is the quintessence of the book, its culmination. At this point, Adler qualifies the gadget-commodity life, enriches it with new labels such as *singularity*, *new being(s)*, and *new horizons*. Chapter 11, "To the Things Themselves", concludes the first part of the book. Here the author puts together the chunks of television, the celebrity, and the gadget-commodity and draws the contours of other possibilities of their interaction.

Adler states that "there can be no practice of production without a theory, no theory without a practice" (p. 125) and follows this statement throughout the book. If Part I might be considered as theory, grounded on a philosophical and phenomenological base, Part II is certainly praxis, or the crossroads from philosophy to media and communication studies. This is everydayness in the modern sciences, when

the sciences become more inter/multi-disciplinary, combining each other's achievements to arrive at unpredicted results. Television is a source of communication, which demands the audience's reflection and its determination.

Communication through self-identity reminds me of the article by Bent Fausing (2015) who observes the self-media. Fausing recapitulates the stages of the self-media, where the time of television begins in 1929, just two years before Heidegger's *Being and Time*. At this time, self-reflection and self-construction using media became dominant in society. The TV reality was replaced by the digital revolution of late modernity, approximately in 2006. Since then, the gadget-commodity life stepped on to the next stage with different guides and markers: YouTube, social media, selfies, etc. To comprehend the roots of the late-modern and its shift toward self-positioning, Adler's guidance throughout *Celebrities* is helpful and, as it can be seen now, was precisely predicted to some degree.

Chapter 12, "Methods", briefly introduces the methods that were used throughout the analysis of a number of television series, movies, and song/music videos. The methods, from a critic's perspective, as Adler projects himself, are represented allegorically as "Satanic Laughter," "Vita Contemplativa," or "The Raccoon Trap." The long read of Chapters 13, "Celebrity", and 14, "Television/Gadget", recall categories that were previously dissected and observed theoretically.

Considering all of the TV shows that are contained in the book, I believe any reader can find something that is familiar, touching or even disgraceful. Readers might recognize themselves in the patterns of how people react to and consume TV, how TV affects people, and what TV shows tend to deliver. Consequently, not all of the time spent unveiling the truth about ourselves through the gadget-commodity life is a relief, but rather a stress.

The second part of the book seems highly autobiographical, where the author openly reveals personal experiences, feelings, and emotions toward television. Whether Adler watches TV carefully and absently, being fully awake or falling asleep, having lucid dreams or thinking consciously, it is still about consuming TV. This is the case where and when reality mingles with mythology, when alive and died celebrities coexist and might be looked at through the lens of philosophy, where philosophical and theological classifications are applied to celebrities. All this together infinitely exists and can be applied to understanding the gadget-commodity life.

Concluding the review on a personal note, I have to admit that the book is a kind of saviour for me. I am, unlike the author, rather a sceptic more than



a critic or a dogmatist, a person who constantly absorbs information converting it into endless and, perhaps, infantile sounding questions: Do we project ourselves as someone we see on TV, on the Internet, or through social media? Do we compare celebrities to ourselves, or do we simply copy celebrities? Can we choose who we want to look like or who we want to be? Are celebrities unreachable as if existing on the mythological Mt. Olympus or are they the people next door? We may follow celebrities in real time on social media as stalkers. We even track them using the geo-locations they give us, but we still feel far away from them. At the same time, we, the real people, have already mis-mashed with celebrities as mythological characters: gods, nymphs, satyrs, and all that looks

normal, not strange.

The book is profound, raising more unanswered questions than providing readers with clear answers. And this is the beauty of the book.

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