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Pragmalinguistics: Corpora and Discourse Studies

Guest Editors
Franck FLORICIC and Olga V. SOKOLOVA

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Aims and Scope

The Russian Journal of Linguistics is a peer-reviewed international academic journal publishing research in Linguistics and related fields. It is international with regard to its editorial board, contributing authors and thematic foci of the publications.

The aims of the journal:

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♦ to disseminate theoretically grounded research and advance knowledge pertaining to the field of Linguistics developed both in Russia and abroad;

♦ to publish results of original research on a broad range of interdisciplinary issues relating to language, culture, cognition and communication;

♦ to cover scholarly activities of the Russian and international academia.

As a Russian journal with international character, it aims at discussing relevant intercultural/linguistic themes and exploring general implications of intercultural issues in human interaction in an interdisciplinary perspective. The most common topics include *language and culture, comparative linguistics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, cognitive linguistics, pragmatics, discourse analysis, intercultural communication, and theory and practice of translation*. In addition to research articles, the journal welcomes book reviews, literature overviews, conference reports and research project announcements.

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Цели и тематика

Журнал Russian Journal of Linguistics – периодическое международное рецензируемое научное издание в области междисциплинарных лингвистических исследований. Журнал является международным как по составу редакционной коллегии и экспертного совета, так и по авторам и тематике публикаций.

Цели журнала:

♦ способствовать научному обмену и сотрудничеству между российскими и зарубежными лингвистами, а также специалистами смежных областей;

♦ знакомить читателей с новейшими направлениями и теориями в области лингвистических исследований, разрабатываемых как в России, так и за рубежом, и их практическим применением;

♦ публиковать результаты оригинальных научных исследований по широкому кругу актуальных лингвистических проблем междисциплинарного характера, касающихся языка, культуры, сознания и коммуникации;

♦ освещать научную деятельность как российского, так и международного научного сообщества.

Будучи международным по своей направленности, журнал нацелен на обсуждение теоретических и практических вопросов, касающихся взаимодействия культуры, языка и коммуникации. Особый акцент делается на междисциплинарные исследования. Основные рубрики журнала: *язык и культура, сопоставительное языкознание, социолингвистика, психолингвистика, когнитивная лингвистика, прагматика, анализ дискурса, межкультурная коммуникация, теория и практика перевода*. Кроме научных статей публикуется хроника научной жизни, включающая рецензии, научные обзоры, информацию о конференциях, научных проектах.

Перечень отраслей науки и групп специальностей научных работников в соответствии с номенклатурой ВАК РФ: Отрасль науки: 10.00.00 – филологические науки; Специальности научных работников: 10.02.01 – русский язык, 10.02.04 – германские языки, 10.02.05 – романские языки, 10.02.19 – теория языка, 10.02.20 – сравнительно-историческое, типологическое и сопоставительное языкознание.

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Pragmalinguistics: Corpora and Discourse Studies

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Obituary / Некролог

Istvan KECSKES
September 20, 1947 – February 24, 2025

A great loss in 2025 was the sad passing of Istvan Kecskes, Honorary Editor of the *Russian Journal of Linguistics* and Professor at the State University of New York at Albany, USA.

Istvan Kecskes was a renowned linguist who made undeniable contributions to the development of cognitive linguistics and pragmatics, laid foundations for the field of intercultural pragmatics, and explored issues of bilingualism and foreign language acquisition. The results of his research are reflected in numerous articles and several books, including *Intercultural Pragmatics* (Oxford University Press, 2014), *Explorations in Chinese as a Second Language* (Springer 2017), and *English as a Lingua Franca: The Pragmatic Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, 2019). Kecskes was President of the American Pragmatics Association (AMPRA) and the Association for the Study of Chinese as a Second Language (CASLAR).

Beyond his academic work, he was active in publishing. He was Editor-in-Chief and founder of the journals *Intercultural Pragmatics* and *Chinese as a Second Language Research*, founder of the *Mouton Series in Pragmatics*, and Honorary Editor of the *Russian Journal of Linguistics*.

Kecskes had close academic ties with Russia. He visited Russia many times and actively collaborated with Russian scholars. He always remembered with great fondness his Russian teachers and colleagues, particularly Elena A. Zemskaya, who, as he believed, had played a significant role in his professional growth. Kecskes was a member of the International Expert Council at the Peoples' Friendship University of Russia, where he read a series of lectures and took part in conferences. He also collaborated fruitfully with Tomsk State University. He generously shared his knowledge with both colleagues and students, inspiring them with his enthusiasm and ambitious plans.

His dreams of returning to Russia would never come true, but we will remember and honour him and will continue to build bridges of friendship and cooperation, as he did throughout his life.

Rest in peace.

Editorial Board

Иштван КЕЧКЕШ
20.09.1947–24.02.2025

Большой потерей 2025 года стал уход из жизни почетного редактора журнала *Russian Journal of Linguistics,* профессора Университета штата Нью-Йорк, Олбани, США, Иштвана Кечкеша.

И. Кечкеш был лингвистом с мировым именем, который внес неоспоримый вклад в развитие когнитивной лингвистики и прагматики, заложил основы такого исследовательского направления, как межкультурная прагматика, разрабатывал вопросы билингвизма и изучения иностранных языков. Результаты его исследований отражены в многочисленных статьях и ряде книг, среди которых *Intercultural Pragmatics* (Oxford University Press, 2014), *Explorations in Chinese as a Second Language* (Springer 2017), *English as a Lingua Franca: The pragmatic perspective* (Cambridge University Press, 2019).

И. Кечкеш был президентом Американской ассоциации по прагматике (AMPRA) и Ассоциации по исследованию китайского языка как иностранного (CASLAR). Помимо науки, он активно занимался издательской деятельностью. Был редактором журналов *Intercultural Pragmatics* и *Chinese as a Second Language Research*, основателем серии *Mouton Series in Pragmatics*, почетным редактором журнала *Russian Journal of Linguistics*.

И. Кечкеш любил Россию, многократно бывал здесь и активно сотрудничал с российскими учеными. Он всегда с большой теплотой вспоминал своих российских учителей и коллег, в частности Е.А. Земскую, которая, как он считал, сыграла большую роль в его профессиональном становлении. И. Кечкеш был членом Международного экспертного совета в Российском университете дружбы народов, выступал с лекциями, участвовал в конференциях. Плодотворно сотрудничал с Томским государственным университетом. Щедро делился своими знаниями как с коллегами, так и со студентами, вдохновлял их своим энтузиазмом и грандиозными планами.

Его мечты снова приехать в Россию не успели сбыться. Но мы его будем помнить и будем продолжать строить мосты дружбы и сотрудничества, как он это делал всю свою жизнь.

Вечная память.

Редколлегия

Introductory / Вступительная статья

Pragmalinguistics: Corpora and discourse studies

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Abstract
Pragmalinguistics is a dynamic field of study that combines insights from pragmatics, discourse analysis, and corpus linguistics to examine how speakers use language to achieve communicative goals and construct meaning in various social and cultural contexts. This field has seen significant growth over the past few decades, due to methodological innovations and a growing interest in analyzing real-world language data. The relevance of this issue is due to the increasing interest in using corpora and discourse analysis to study "language in use" and "language in action". The volume aims to discuss the current state of pragmalinguistic research and its connections with other linguistic methods, contributing to the innovative and promising field of corpus pragmatics. This issue presents a range of theoretical and empirical studies that use corpus-based methods to investigate language as a means of communication, social interaction, and intercultural understanding. It emphasizes the significance of corpora in exploring various aspects of pragmatics, including discourse, intercultural, social, cognitive-inferential, and historical perspectives. It also highlights the potential of an interdisciplinary approach to enhance corpus pragmatics by providing fresh insights into the structure, function, and variation of pragmatic units across languages and discourses and discusses the prospects for future research in the field.
Keywords: *pragmalinguistics, corpus pragmatics, discourse analysis, pragmatic units, qualitative and quantitative methods*

Прагмалингвистика:
корпусные и дискурсивные исследования

Ф. ФЛОРИЧИЧ[1] ⊠, О.В. СОКОЛОВА[2]

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Аннотация

Прагмалингвистика — динамично развивающаяся область исследований, сочетающих прагматику, дискурс-анализ и корпусную лингвистику. Данная область лингвистики изучает, как носители языка используют язык для достижения коммуникативных целей и конструирования смысла в различных социальных и культурных контекстах. В последние несколько десятилетий прагмалингвистика активно развивается, благодаря методологическим инновациям и растущему интересу к анализу использования языка в реальном мире. Актуальность данного спецвыпуска обусловлена растущим интересом к использованию корпусного и дискурсивного анализа, применяемого для изучения «языка в использовании» и «языка в действии». Его цель — обсудить современное состояние прагмалингвистических исследований и их связи с другими лингвистическими методами и внести вклад в инновационную и многообещающую область корпусной прагматики. В нем представлен ряд теоретических и эмпирических исследований, в которых используются корпусные методы для изучения языка как средства коммуникации, социального взаимодействия и межкультурного взаимопонимания. Показана важность корпусов для изучения различных аспектов прагматики, включая дискурсивный, межкультурный, социальный, когнитивно-логический и исторический. Подчеркивается потенциал междисциплинарного подхода, который способствует развитию корпусной прагматики и позволяет по-новому взглянуть на структуру, функции и вариативность прагматических единиц в разных языках и дискурсах. Намечаются перспективы дальнейших исследований.

Ключевые слова: *прагмалингвистика, корпусная прагматика, дискурсивный анализ, прагматические единицы, качественные и количественные методы*

1. Introduction

Pragmalinguistics, the study of language use in context, is a dynamic field that combines insights from pragmatics, discourse analysis, and corpus linguistics as well as philosophy, psychology, human ethology, sociology, among others (Senft 2014). It is no coincidence that the term "pragmatics" was used in various disciplines (Kotorova 2019). Linguistically oriented pragmatics or pragmalinguistics examines how speakers use linguistic resources to achieve communicative goals, construct meaning and manage interaction in various social and cultural settings. Over the past few decades, research in this area has grown significantly, reflecting broader methodological innovations in linguistic research

and a growing interest in analyzing real-life language data. Charles S. Peirce, Charles W. Morris, Alan H. Gardiner and Karl Bühler laid the groundwork for pragmatics by analyzing linguistic means in relation to the speaker and the communication situation. A major breakthrough in linguistic theory of the second half of the twentieth century was the "performative turn" in the philosophy of language, which became a new stage of the broader "linguistic turn." This shift was grounded in the reconceptualization of the utterance as an action capable of transforming the circumstances of the world and communication. Ludwig Wittgenstein's emphasis on the use of language laid the foundation for a move away from a purely structural view of language toward one that highlights its pragmatic and social dimensions. The 1960s saw the emergence of an anthropocentric paradigm, influenced by John L. Austin's theory of performatives, John Searle's theory of illocution, Paul Grice's theory of cooperation and Émile Benveniste's concept of "subjectivity in language".

Very soon pragmatics has broadened its boundaries and is no longer limited to a single utterance. Scholars have proposed a dialogical, "wide pragmatic" approach (Kecskes 2016), emphasizing that it can help better understand the complexities of communication. Thus, pragmatics is inextricably linked with discourse analysis and, according to researchers, is an "indispensable source for any discourse analytic study" (Alba-Juez 2016: 43).

The inclusion of a cultural context in pragmatic research has led to the development of Ethnopragmatics (Wierzbicka 2003/1991, Goddard 2006), Cross-Cultural Pragmatics (Gladkova 2023) and Intercultural Pragmatics (Kecskes 2014, Senft 2020), which aim to explain cultural differences in communication and bridge gaps in understanding caused by these differences. This volume aims to discuss the current state of research in pragmalinguistics, in connection with the most relevant linguistic methods, paving the way for such an innovative and promising field as corpus pragmatics.

This journal issue focuses on the theoretical and practical challenges of pragmatically oriented corpora and discourse studies, and presents their recent ramifications, which open up new opportunities for in-depth analysis of pragmatics as "Dark Matter" using S. C. Levinson's metaphor (2024: 3).

2. Corpus pragmatics as an integrative linguistic area

By combining qualitative and quantitative methods, corpus pragmatics allows linguists to analyze discourses from the perspective of corpus-based discourse analysis, corpus-assisted discourse studies, etc. (Romero-Trillo 2008b, 2013, 2014). Within the framework of Ch. Morris's triad, corpus linguistics has long been more concentrated on syntax and semantics, studying the formal relations of one sign to another and the relations of signs to objects, while pragmatics, as the relation of signs to those who interpret the signs, the users of language, long remained beyond the corpus analysis. From the point of view of corpus tools, corpus studies of syntax and semantics are more equipped with different types of linguistic annotation,

including lemmatization, tokenization, stemming, parsing, etc. Weisser claimed that pragmatic annotation is more complex than other types of annotation due to the fact that it "almost always needs to take into account levels above the individual word and may even need to refer to contextual information beyond those textual units that are commonly referred to as a 'sentence' or 'utterance'" (Weisser 2015: 84).

The methodological issue of pragmatic analysis goes back to the philosophical origins of pragmatics, which grew out of the semiotic and logico-philosophical studies. Pragmatics maintains a close relationship with philosophy: it "not only takes into account empirical investigations based on language use, but also takes advantage of a more philosophical approach to language" (Capone 2019: 1). Explaining the relationship between pragmatics and philosophy, Senft (2014) states that one of the central questions of philosophy is how we generate meaning and one of the most important tools we use to do this is language (Senft 2014: 11).

Corpus pragmatics offers new opportunities to complement "real data" with "big data" by developing a holistic approach that shifts from analysis to synthesis and views language as a natural biological and social phenomenon (as set out in the works of Sapir and Whorf; see also Pike 1967). Studying language "from the perspective of language users embedded in their situational, behavioral, cultural, societal and political contexts" (Senft 2014: 3) is based upon a broad variety of methodologies and interdisciplinary approaches.

The main task of corpus pragmatics was to bridge the gap between pragmatics and corpus linguistics, which "not only helped each other in a relationship of mutualism, but, they have also made common cause against the voices that have derided and underestimated the utility of working with real data to elucidate the patterns of language use" (Romero-Trillo 2008a: 1). Corpus pragmatics "integrates the horizontal (qualitative) methodology typical of pragmatics with the vertical (quantitative) methodology predominant in corpus linguistics" (Rühlemann & Aijmer 2014: 1).

The relevance of this special issue is due to the significant interest of linguistics in the use of corpora and discourse analysis to explore 'language-in-use' and 'language-in-action'. Both theoretical and methodological questions have a strong place in modern linguistics. To date, corpus pragmatics has earned recognition as one of the fastest growing methodologies in contemporary linguistics, as evidenced by a large number of research, conferences and journals: *Journal of Pragmatics*, *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics and Pragmatics*, and *Corpus Pragmatics*.

Corpus pragmatics, as a technology-based linguistic field grounded in the use of "big data", focuses not only on pragmatic phenomena as tools of discourse organization, but also on the research of the role of the subject in providing the language forms with pragmatic functions. On the one hand, the departure from the principle of "subjectivity in language" distinguishes the data-based approach from the anthropocentric one; on the other hand, it opens up perspectives for the interaction of "big" and "small" data, technological and human-oriented approaches.

3. Modern fields of pragmalinguistics research

In current pragmatic studies the social dimension of communication is actively explored in the areas of Intercultural Pragmatics, Sociopragmatics, and Discourse studies. Crossing disciplinary boundaries, Intercultural Pragmatics contributes to the study of intercultural interactions using established methods and innovative techniques (Kecskes 2014). Kecskes argued that intercultural pragmatics examines how the language is used in social encounters between people who have different first languages and represent different cultures (Kecskes 2014: 14). Exploring the issues of communication in the globalized world, intercultural pragmatics employs corpus tools that form "a perfect alliance to describe language use in real intercultural contexts" (Romero-Trillo 2022: 510).

Sociopragmatics addresses how everyday interactions and relationships with others help to construct our social worlds (Haugh et al.2021). Linguistics of emotion, which is a rapidly growing field within linguistics, is actively developing in conjunction with sociopragmatics and discourse analysis. The sociopragmatic and discourse-pragmatic approaches to the study of emotion (Alba-Juez & Larina 2018, Alba-Juez & Haugh 2025, Mackenzie & Alba-Juez 2019) contribute to a broader scholarly understanding of emotions and their role in social life. As Alba-Juez and Haugh (2025) argue, "a systematic understanding of emotions cannot be achieved without approaching them through a sociopragmatic lens that takes into consideration the evaluative, relational, and moral dimensions of emotions in discourse and social interaction" (Alba-Juez & Haugh 2025: 4).

The use of databases of national corpora, such as the International Corpus of English, the Australian National Corpus, etc. "offers theoretically motivated explanations for the pragmatic effects" (Jaszczolt et al. 2016: 253). The socio-cognitive approach to communication and pragmatics deals with intercultural communication and communication in a second language, attaching the same importance to the social and cognitive individual factors in pragmatics (Kecskes 2023). Pragmatically oriented corpora such as the Corpus of English Dialogues 1560–1760 (CED), the Corpora of Early English Correspondence (CEEC), the Corpus of Early English Medical Writing 1375–1800 (CEEM) etc. can benefit from both socially oriented and historical pragmatics. The latter explores changes in the field of pragmatics from a diachronic perspective, focuses not only on the pragmatic phenomena themselves, but also on the processes of grammaticalization and pragmaticalization (Suhr & Taavitsainen 2012, Landert 2024).

Covering topics from pragmatic phenomena in colloquial speech to the pragmatics of different types of discourse, corpus pragmatics interacts with discourse analysis (Baker 2023; Gillings et al. 2023). Corpus-based discourse analysis focuses on investigating discourse phenomena through the systematic examination of linguistic patterns and frequencies within large corpora (Flowerdew 2023), while Corpus-assisted discourse studies (Ancarno 2020) combine corpus techniques with qualitative discourse analysis to explore how language constructs social and ideological meanings. The study of the pragmatics of artistic discourses,

which interact with colloquial language in contemporary contexts and often reveal a pragmatic experiment, plays a special role in corpus pragmatics research (Person et al. 2022, Sokolova & Feshchenko 2024).

Among the main trends in corpus pragmatics is the investigation of different types of pragmatic phenomena, such as illocutionary verbs, discourse (or pragmatic) markers, and deictics, using corpus data (Aijmer & Rühlemann 2014, Rühlemann 2019, Stoica 2021, Zolyan 2021).

Discourse markers are among the most extensively researched pragmatic units. Contemporary studies often draw on multilingual corpora, contributing to cross-linguistic and typological research (Andersen 2015, Inkova & Kruzhkov 2016, Fedriani & Sansò 2017, Bonola & Stoyanova 2020; Traugott 2022; Hansen & Visconti 2024; Floricic 2023). A wide range of corpora and subcorpora provide data for different research purposes, including pragmatic issues: Corpus of Early English Medical Writing 1375–1800 (CEEM), German Political Speeches Corpus, Corpus of British Parliament speeches, etc. These studies also make use of corpora of colloquial speech in different languages, such as COCA (Spoken), SEC, KiParla, Val.Es.Co, Stories about Dreams and Other Spoken Speech Corpora, ORD Corpus, and Pragmaticon (Davies 2010, Kibrik & Podlesskaja 2009, Mauri et al.2022, Dobrushina & Sokur 2022, Bychkova & Rakhilina 2023). The corpus pragmatics approach makes it possible to explain crucial issues of discourse markers studies and to trace the derivational links of contemporary discourse markers to the primary unit (Auer & Maschler 2016); to explore the development of discourse markers and to explain their similarities and differences across a typologically wide range of languages (Heine et al.2021); to distinguish between strategic vs. symptomatic uses of DM on the basis of their combination, function and distribution across different registers in English and French (Crible 2018); to compare discourse markers in different languages and examine how they function in discourse from a syntactic and semantic-pragmatic perspective (Lansari 2020), etc. The recent study of discourse connectors provides an up-to-date study of discourse relations, incorporating synchronic, diachronic, cross-linguistic, and corpus methodologies (Zufferey, Degand 2024). The special issue of the *Russian Journal of Linguistics* 28 (4) and Heine, Yang & Rhee (2024) examine the rise of discourse markers from earlier lexical units of Chinese origin in Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese and Thai.

Furthermore, theoretical and methodological aspects remain some of the most pressing issues in corpus pragmatics. State-of-the-art corpus pragmatics methods offer a combination of theoretical, qualitative, quantitative, statistical approaches, analysis of multimodal data, and respond to the demand for the development of new corpus methods (Cienki& Iriskhanova 2018, Põldvere et al. 2022, Landert et al. 2023).

4. The contributions to this special issue

This volume brings together a wide spectrum of studies on issues such as the status of the subject in pragmatics, negation as a shifter category situated between

grammar and pragmatics, pragmatemes operating at the boundary between semantics and pragmatics, and the search for fundamental pragmatic elements. It also covers diverse topics such as interjections and formulaic expressions, as well as providing detailed investigations of individual pragmatic markers. The papers address terminological and methodological issues relating to minimal and universal units of pragmatic analysis, such as pragmatic units, pragmatic markers, discourse units, pragmatic particles, pragmatemes and speech formulas. These units are examined from various perspectives, including discourse and corpus studies, prosodic analysis, phraseology, constructional-pragmatic frameworks and semantic enquiry. Synchronic and diachronic approaches are also employed. The research spans different discourse types, ranging from political and poetic to cinematic and artistic, in both spoken and written forms. The volume concludes with case studies focusing on specific items, offering detailed analyses of markers such as *bueno*, *uno*, and *one*. The materials draw on a broad set of languages, including English, Spanish, Italian, Greek, French and Russian, as well as typological data from Australia, Africa and the Americas.

In his opening contribution, **Suren T. Zolyan** addresses a fundamental question in pragmatics: how to identify the subject of communication. Although pragmatics is often reduced to the relationship between the speaker and the sign system, this perspective is insufficient for cases of suprapersonal or impersonal communication, in which institutions or imagined communities act as interlocutors. Zolyan revisits the development of pragmatics and the distinction between micro- and macropragmatics, touching upon branches such as intercultural, cross-cultural and sociocultural pragmatics. Furthermore, the paper puts forward a significant refinement: the distinction between macropragmatics and megapragmatics.

Having considered shifter categories operating at the intersection of grammar and pragmatics, the next question addressed in the special issue is how to identify the fundamental elements of pragmatic analysis. The contribution by **Olga V. Sokolova** introduces the umbrella term "pragmatic units" to encompass deictics, discourse markers, illocutionary and modal verbs. By examining poetic discourse alongside everyday speech, the study highlights the importance of integrating discourse and corpus approaches in order to understand how pragmatic units vary in different contexts. Based on a three-million-word poetic corpus in Russian, Italian, and English, together with spoken corpora, the analysis focuses on the inferential markers *sledovatel'no* (*следовательно)*, *quindi*, and *therefore*. While these markers primarily signal logical-semantic relations in conversation, in poetry they often appear in unconventional positions, undergo resemantization, and disrupt coherence. A cross-linguistic comparison shows that Russian and Italian use them more frequently to make logical and structural links in speech more explicit, and to treat them as the objects of metalanguage reflection in poetry, whereas English displays much lower frequencies overall. Yet American poetry shows a marked experimental tendency compared to everyday English.

Building on the exploration of pragmatic units in different types of discourse, the next issue turns to political communication, in which pragmatic markers play a crucial, albeit distinct, role. The topic of the fourth contribution, by **Péter Bálint Furkó,** is the strategic use of pragmatic markers in parliamentary discourse, focusing on how markers such as *of course*, *well*, *but*, and *you know* contribute to ideological positioning and manipulative intent. Drawing on the Europarl corpus of European Parliament debates and employing corpus-based critical discourse analysis, the study demonstrates that pragmatic markers extend beyond cohesion and interactional management to function as tools of populist and strategic discourse. The analysis highlights the interplay of evidential markers, modal adverbs, and general extenders, showing how their co-occurrence patterns reflect broader socio-political dynamics and strategies of legitimation. Continued examination of these subtle mechanisms contributes to a more nuanced understanding of how language, power, and ideology intertwine in discourse.

The study by **Antonio Hidalgo Navarro** and **Noelia Ruano Piqueras** argues that the traditional notion of the "sentence" is insufficient for analyzing spontaneous conversation, which is characterized by interruptions, ellipses, and non-canonical word orders. Given the limitations of laboratory-based approaches, it proposes a pragmaprosodic segmentation model designed to capture the authentic dynamics of colloquial discourse. The analysis draws on a conversational fragment examined acoustically with Praat and framed within the convergence of Hidalgo's (2019) interactive-functional model and the structural framework developed by the Val.Es.Co. group. Findings reveal a systematic correspondence between discourse units (act and subact) and prosodic principles such as pitch declination, hierarchy/recursivity, and integration. On this basis, the study demonstrates that intonation serves as the most reliable criterion for segmenting colloquial speech. Moreover, it underscores the methodological rigor of an approach that not only accounts for melodic organization but also provides a more accurate representation of the functional structure of oral discourse.

Interjections occupy a special place at the intersection of grammar, discourse, and pragmatics, and the article by **Dionysis Goutsos** investigates their functions in Modern Greek. Rather than treating interjections as marginal or peripheral, the study highlights their fundamental role in structuring interactions, managing speaker-hearer relationships, and expressing emotional states. Drawing on both spoken and written data, the analysis identifies the range of forms and meanings conveyed by Greek interjections, from basic exclamations of emotion to markers of discourse organization. Particular attention is given to their multifunctionality, and to how they bridge the boundary between lexical items and pragmatic markers. By situating Greek interjections within broader typological and pragmatic frameworks, the article demonstrates their relevance for understanding formulaicity, discourse coherence, and the dynamics of interpersonal communication.

In her study, **Irina V. Zykova** investigates the role of formulas in cinematic discourse, paying particular attention to contact-terminating means such as

farewells, apologies and requests. Drawing on cinematic and literary corpora, the analysis identifies such means in films and classifies them into twelve pragmatic types. A comparative study of three farewell formulas across corpora reveals that, unlike in films, they are often used for other communicative functions in literary discourse and display limited variability. This highlights the colloquial nature of cinematic language and its divergence from other artistic discourses. The data show that the contact-terminating means employed in cinematic and artistic discourse possess a certain pragmatic specificity. They modify or deviate from conventional conversational closure and use formulas creatively.

Moving from general categories of pragmatic units to the fine-grained study of individual markers, the article by **Araceli López Serena** and **Santiago García-Jiménez** offers a constructional-pragmatic analysis of the Spanish discourse marker *bueno*. Challenging item-based approaches that treat *bueno* as a lexical unit with inherent pragmatic functions, the study argues that its discursive values emerge from participation in broader discourse patterns. Drawing on the Val.Es.Co. corpus, the authors identify and formalize patterns such as topic resumption, topic shift, reformulation, and online planning support. The conclusion highlights the importance of avoiding both functional overmultiplication and excessive abstraction: many values traditionally attributed to *bueno* derive from underlying discourse patterns rather than the marker itself. By emphasizing a pattern-level approach, the study contributes to more precise definitions of macro- and microfunctions and demonstrates the methodological relevance of discourse patterns for crosslinguistic description, grammaticalization studies, language teaching, and translation.

Elena L. Vilinbakhova and **Oksana Yu. Chuikova** examine the generic uses of the impersonal pronouns *one* in English and *uno* in Spanish within parliamentary debates. The analysis employs a parallel corpus approach with Europarl data and contrastive pragmatics methodology to investigate how these pronouns express generalizations, applying the theoretical distinction between rules (established norms) and inductive generalizations (inferences from observed facts). While both pronouns show comparable frequency of generic use, their distribution differs markedly: English *one* strongly prefers encoding rules, whereas Spanish *uno* shows no significant bias, being used equally for both types of generalizations. The cross-linguistic comparison reveals that in functionally equivalent contexts, first-person forms are underrepresented for generic *one* in Spanish, while second-person *you* appears less frequently for non-generic *uno* in English.

In their final contribution **Olga A. Solopova** and **Natalia N. Koshkarova** aim to explore the metaphorical modelling of the BRICS in the mass-media discourse of one of its member states, the Republic of South Africa. Using the News on the Web Corpus they compiled the corpus of 521 metaphors based on thematic, chronological, and frequency principles with the help of computer-assisted and manual processing. Drawing on the theory of image schemas by M. Johnson and G. Lakoff they studied the metaphors through quantitative estimation, metaphorical

modelling, cognitive, discursive, linguistic and cultural analysis. The findings suggest that despite a relatively low metaphor density in South African media discourse, the BRICS image is structured by more than 10 source domains. The frequency of similar image schemas underlying the metaphors is linked to their ability to reflect fundamental characteristics of groupings: multipolarity, national sovereignty, equality, and mutually beneficial cooperation. Family, game and sport, body, and animal metaphors, based on social and biological archetypes, were found more culturally marked than those based on universal physical laws. This study contributes to media linguistics, specifically the study international relations from a linguistic perspective.

5. Conclusion

This special issue presents a variety of theoretical and empirical studies that employed corpus-based methods to examine language as a tool for communication, social interaction, and intercultural understanding. The contributions explore the intersection of various linguistic methods, demonstrating how qualitative and quantitative approaches, manual and automatic analyses, and distant and close reading can complement each other when studying pragmatic phenomena.

The issue emphasizes the importance of corpora in addressing the various dimensions of pragmatics, such as discourse, intercultural, social, cognitive-inferential and historical perspectives. Ultimately, the collective studies showcased the capacity of an interdisciplinary approach to enrich corpus pragmatics, offering fresh insights into the structure, function, and variability of pragmatic units across languages and discourses.

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Research article / Научная статья

Who is to be considered a speaker in macropragmatics

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Abstract
Pragmatics is typically understood as the study of relationship between the subject and the sign system. Therefore, identifying the subject is a crucial issue that influences the development of this field. However, it is still common to limit the concept of the subject in pragmatics to observable entities, primarily the speaker. The limitations of this approach become particularly evident in the study of suprapersonal communication, where institutions or imaginary communities serve as communicators. This paper aims to identify the pragmatic characteristics of interlocutors in suprapersonal communication. Consider the formation of pragmatics, and the further distinction between macro- and micropragmatics as well between branches of pragmatics such as intercultural, cross-cultural, and socio-cultural pragmatics. As a result of the analysis of these concepts, supported by the consideration of specific cases of non-personalized communication, I conclude that it is necessary to change the approach to the subject by introducing the concept of "imaginary communicant". This can be seen as a development of Charles Pierce's approach to semantics as a result of the interaction of a quasi-speaker and a quasi-interpreter *welded within the sign*. Additionally, I suggest a new distinction between macro- and megapragmatics. The term *macropragmatics* can be applied to situations where communication agents are identifiable with specific institutional entities acting as "speaking persons". This makes it possible to transcend back to real individuals. This concept should be distinguished from "megapragmatics," which pertains to global imagined entities endowed with semiotic selves, such as nations, cultures, or societies. The study contributes to a better understanding of how the concept of the interlocutor applies to suprapersonal levels of intercultural and sociocultural communication and what semiotic characteristics it can be endowed with on the macropragmatic level.
Keywords: *pragmatics, macropragmatics, speaker, imaginary speaker, semiotic selves, intercultural pragmatics*

Кого считать «говорящим» в макропрагматике

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Аннотация

Прагматику принято определять как отношение между субъектом и знаковой системой. Тем самым проблема идентификации субъекта является ключевой, определяющей развитие этой дисциплины. Однако до сих пор понятие субъекта в прагматике принято сводить к наблюдаемым сущностям, а именно к говорящему. Неадекватность такого подхода становится особо заметной, когда предметом изучения является надперсональная коммуникация, в которой в качестве коммуникантов выступают институты или воображаемые сообщества. Цель статьи — выявление прагматических характеристик субъектов-коммуникантов в надличностной коммуникации и на этой основе — разграничение между микро- и макропрагматикой. В статье рассматривается становление прагматики и возникшее разграничение между макро- и микропрагматикой, а также дальнейшее выделение таких ветвей макропрагматики, как социокультурная, межкультурная и кросскультурная прагматика. Как результат анализа этих концепций, подкрепленного рассмотрением конкретных случаев неперсонализованной коммуникации, делается вывод о необходимости изменить подход к субъекту путем введения понятия «воображаемый коммуникант», что может рассматриваться развитием подхода Чарльза Пирса к семантике как результату взаимодействия спаянных внутри знака квази-говорящего и квази-интепретатора. Кроме того, предложено разграничение на новых основаниях макро- и мегапрагматики. Термин «макропрагматика» может быть оставлен для описания тех феноменов, при которых агенты отождествляются с некоторой конкретной институциональной сущностью, действующей как «говорящее лицо». В этих случаях, по крайней мере теоретически, возможно проследить связи до реальных говорящих. Данный уровень следует отличать от того, что можно назвать «мега-прагматикой», где субъекты являются глобальными воображаемыми конструктами (нациями, культурами, обществами и т.д.). Сделанные выводы позволяют расширить представление о том, каким образом понятие «субъект-коммуникант» применимо к надличностным уровням межкультурной коммуникации и какими семиотическими характеристиками оно может быть наделено в макропрагматике.

Ключевые слова: *прагматика, макропрагматика, говорящий, воображаемый говорящий, семиотическое «Я», межкультурная прагматика*

1. Introduction

The enduring problem, dating back to Saussure's time, is the reconciliation of language as a universal social phenomenon (langue) with its individualised mode of functioning as a social event (speech). This tension has been manifested also in the field of pragmatics. Almost fifty years ago, Stepanov identified the issue of the subject as central to pragmatics (Stepanov 1981: 220). Regarding the socio-cultural

characteristics of language, one can identify two different approaches. The first approach describes how language functions and treats speakers merely as necessary conditions for this process. In this view, speakers are seen as the environment and channels through which language operates. The second approach emphasizes the use of language and views the speaker as a user of language as one of many tools to achieve their intentions. As a result, linguistic factors are intertwined with a variety of extra-linguistic mechanisms (felicitous conditions, principles and maxims, implicature, politeness, etc.).

The above-mentioned distinction becomes particularly evident when we look at the origins of pragmatics with its two main approaches: those of Charles Morris (1938) and Ludwig Wittgenstein (1958). While Morris's perspective focuses more on the concept of language use, Wittgenstein's approach emphasizes its functioning. However, these approaches have considerable intersections and can be seen as complementary to each other with Morris's approach forming the foundation of this field. Moris stated that "Pragmatics itself would attempt to develop terms appropriate to the study of the relation of signs to their users" (Morris 1938: 33). However, this general notion of users says nothing, as it does not specify any mode of usage. It is still unclear who these users are. Morris adopted the concept of the sign from Peirce, who viewed it as a triadic relationship between an object, an interpreter, and the sign itself. Morris enhances this idea by introducing the fourth concept of the "interpreter." (Morris 1938: 30).

The limitations of this approach are particularly evident in the study of suprapersonal communication, where institutions or imaginary communities act as communicators. In this paper we aim to identify the pragmatic characteristics of interlocutors in suprapersonal communication. We put forward the concept of "imaginary communicants" and explore how the notion of the interlocutor can be applied to the transpersonal levels of intercultural and socio-cultural communication, in order to identify interlocutor's semiotic features in macropragmatics.

2. The birth of a speaker

In Moris's paradigm, the interpreter is not a speaker in the commonly understood sense. Morris proposed various definitions of an interpreter, and at least three distinct approaches can be identified. According the first one,

> "The interpreter of the sign is the mind; the interpretant is a thought or concept; these thoughts or concepts are common to all men and arise from the apprehension by mind of objects and their properties" (Morris 1938: 30).

This view suggests the existence of a universal human mind. However, Morris did not rely on mentalistic concepts and attempted to eliminate them, therefore he suggested defining the interpreter not as a mind, but as an organism: "The interpreter of a sign is an organism; the interpretant is the habit of the organism to respond" (Morris 1938: 31). Morris interpreted the concept of "biotic aspects" very

broadly, extending it to include social relations as well, "it is a sufficiently accurate characterization of pragmatics to say that it deals with the biotic aspects of semiosis, that is, with all the psychological, biological, and sociological phenomena which occur in the functioning of signs" (Morris 1938: 30). In this way, Morris diverges from his basic definition and concludes that pragmatics is the study of a multitude of heterogeneous phenomena accompanying the *functioning of signs*. When Morris refers to a human user of signs, he does not mean any specific speaker engaged in a particular speech act. Instead, he is alluding to a universal human thought expressed through the rules of language, though the sounds conveying these thoughts differ across various languages (Morris 1938: 30). Notably, this perspective extremely limits the scope for comparative or intercultural pragmatics, as the differences between languages are reduced solely to phonetics.

The second principal approach can be associated with the conception of the late Wittgenstein. Although he did not use the term "pragmatics," his central theme focused on language in action. He stated: "Language is an instrument. Its concepts are instruments" (Wittgenstein 1958: 291). From this perspective, meaning is associated with language use. Nevertheless, the primary focus shifts from users to language as a tool in various *language-games: "the whole, consisting of language and the actions into which it is woven"* (Wittgenstein 1958: 5). However, paradoxically, Wittgenstein avoids the question of who plays these games. The rules determine the behavior of the player, just as the rules of chess do not depend on the player's abilities in any way. This highlights a surprising overlap between Wittgenstein's concept of "language game"and Morris's idea of "linguistic structure." Rather than referring to a human interpreter, this perspective assumes the existence of an operator embedded within the semiotic system that converts structural relationships into behavioral patterns: "Considered from the point of view of pragmatics, a linguistic structure is a system of behavior" (Morris 1938: 32). This approach became the basis for the most influential version of pragmalinguistics, at least in the period of its formation[1].

The two approaches share some common ground, particularly in the theory of performatives, where both lexical (intrasystem) semantics and the speaker's contextual factors are crucial. The first approach tends to overlook the language itself, while the second approach tends to overlook the speaker. When these two approaches are combined, pragmatics may lose its role as a distinct subject of study. Studying language in context, which is sometimes defined as pragmatics, following Stalnaker (1972) can be seen more as a methodology than as a separate field of research (cf.: Capone 2019, Kotorova 2019).

In Morris's and Wittgenstein's theories, the subject (or "interpreter") is a construct necessary for a system of rules to function. Moreover, for Wittgenstein, reference to the individual use of language leads to the notion of a private language that is inaccessible to external description and observation. However, the very

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[1] Cf.: " Pragmatics is the study of those relations between language and context that are grammaticalized, or encoded in the structure of a language" (Levinson 1983: 9).

introduction of the concept of the speaker significantly alters the approach. As a result, the new toolkit related to the theory of speech has been developed. These new methods of description assign speakers a new role: rather than being passive *rule-following* users, speakers are viewed as active and creative interlocutors endowed with the ability to influence the system, at least its semantics. It was shown that a dichotomy arises between the meaning in the language and the speaker's meaning. In addition, the theory of performatives highlights the subject of the speech act which must fulfill specific "felicitous" conditions. In all these conceptions, the speaker is associated with a particular speech act performed within peculiar socio-cultural circumstances, but not with the language she uses. Then the speech act theory was expanded through the concept of pragmeme, as Jacob Mey introduced the new triad — pragmeme — pract — allopract (Mey 2016). It aims to provide transcending from the level of constructs to the level of observable phenomena:

> "The emphasis is not on conditions and rules for an individual (or an individual's) speech act, but on characterizing a general situational prototype, capable of being executed in the situation; such a generalized pragmatic act I will call a *pragmeme*. The instantiated individual pragmatic acts, […] *practs*, refer to a particular pragmeme in its realizations" (Mey 2001: 221). See also: Capone 2005, Allan et al. 2016, Capone & Graci 2024.

The advancement of the theoretical framework of pragmatics necessitates addressing the dual nature of interlocutors, this notion comprises both speaker's and hearer's perspectives (Kecskes 2016). Besides, there are substantial dichotomy: on the one hand, they are real speakers who produce specific utterances and discourses, which can be described; on the other hand, they perform functional roles determined by language and society:

> "The focal points in this representation are the utterer (U) and the interpreter (I). Without them, and the functioning of their minds, there is no language use. For the purposes of a theory of pragmatics, they are functional entities or social 'roles' rather than real-world people, though they usually are that too." (Verschueren 1999: 76).

In an ideal situation, real-world speakers should act according to their designated functional roles, serving merely as representations of these functions. Conversely, these functional roles should be understood as abstractions extracted from the actual speech behavior of the real-world speakers. [2] However, these two aspects are based on different models and influenced by different factors, making their coincidence impossible in principle: a speaker in flesh and blood can never become a theoretical construct, and vice versa. It is another matter that the

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[2] Cf.: "The pragmeme captures a *function* from user to user, from user to the world, and vice versa; as such it is a pragmatic function, establishing and warranting a particular *pragmatic act*. The pragmeme is thus the embodied realization of all the pragmatic acts (or 'allopracts') that can be subsumed under it" (Mey 2016: 139)

description of possible transcendences — the correspondences between them — can and does constitute the focus point of pragmatics.

The opposite point of view presupposes that "the interpreter role is simply incorporated into the world of the utterer, even if at a later stage a flesh-and-blood language user may take on that role (e.g. the readers of the novel, an actual audience for the performance, or the unexpectedly diligent bureaucrat" — (Verschueren 1999: 76)). Verschueren did not take into account that in the cases he referred to, a particular interpreter is not at all the addressee of a given message — for example, a particular reader of "*Eugene Onegin*" is neither a model reader of Pushkin's text, nor the image of the addressee for which this text was intended.

The question arises: what should be done in cases where it is impossible or pointless to identify interlocutors and associate them with specific individuals. However, if one chooses not to identify them, then the very use of pragmatic tools for suprapersonal communication becomes questionable. For that, we intend to consider such a dilemma. For us, a solution may be neither to reject the notion of the speaker, nor to extrapolate the characteristics of real interlocutors onto it. Rather, it seems to be a special functional level in this type of communication, when the role (or function) of the speaker lies within the message itself.

3. Micro- and Macropragmatics

Face-to-face communication may be considered as a primary and prototypical case: it makes it possible to substantiate the social role or function of the speaker in a real-world person. However, pragmatics has to deal with such types of communication, where the place of actual speakers is taken by social institutions or collective identities. Firstly, Leech (1983) has distinguished between psychopragmatics and sociopragmatics. This further led to a demarcation between micropragmatics and macropragmatics (Verschueren 1999, Mey 1993), as well as metapragmatics, in one of its possible interpretations (Mey 2001, 2006, Fairclough 2016).).

This distinction is based on the discrepancy between the abovementioned approaches: understanding language as a universal social phenomenon (langue) versus viewing its individualized mode of functioning as a social event (speech). The lines separating these perspectives are often linked to a contrast between the Anglo-American tradition, which focuses on speech acts theory, and the continental tradition, which emphasizes a broader socio-cultural context (Ariel 2012, Yucker 2012, Félix-Brasdefer 2017). The attempt to combine these approaches was more mechanical than substantive; pragmatics was divided into two parts: micropragmatics and macropragmatics (Verschueren 1999, Mey 1993, 2001).

It was believed that individual activities contribute to the formation of supra-individual entities (Mey 2007). However, pragmatic operations—such as inference, illocution, perlocution, and implicature—are typically defined with reference to specific speakers and are difficult to generalize to collective identities, such as social, ethnic, or regional groups, etc. Additionally, the challenge of correlating

common linguistic and socio-cultural models with individual speech acts has been acknowledged:

> "From an analytic point of view, it makes it difficult on the one hand to substantiate links between culture and behaviour, and on the other to use individual encounters to make claims about the (lack of) validity of the existence of general cultural patterns" (McConachy & Spencer-Oatey 2021: 747).

Nevertheless, the notion of the speaker has been connected with the representation of actual object, but not with some theoretical entity. As a result, the division of pragmatics an into micropragmatics and macropragmatics did not alter or challenge the status of communicants within these theories. Pragmatics bypassed the solutions that had already been developed in the theory of literature and the philosophy of discourse, namely, to separate the real speaker (or author) from the author as a textual function. Instead, the quantitative criteria rather than substantive ones, with permanent reservations about the lack of strict boundaries between them, were proposed due to the fact that micropragmatics is impossible without considering a broader context, and vice versa. The original distinction between micropragmatics and macropragmatics is based on concepts borrowed from text linguistics. Mey differentiates between co-text, which refers to the immediate linguistic context of a word or sentence, and context, which encompasses both the text itself and the extralinguistic circumstances surrounding it. Micropragmatics focuses on co-text at the level of isolated utterances, while macropragmatics pertains to conversations or fragments of coherent text (or discourse) (Mey 1993: 181–182).

While Mey removed this explanation in later revised editions, the distinction itself remained and was evident in the composition of his monograph. Verschueren, though based on another premise, also maintains the distinction: "between *micro-processes*, taking place in the day-to-day context of communication between individuals of small groups of individuals, and macro-processes transcending (though still reflected in) those day-to-day communication" (Verschueren 1999: 202). At the same time, he immediately stipulates that such a distinction is artificial: "since all forms of communication strictly confined to a face-to-face context, are embedded in a wider social realm, the influence of which can always be traced" (Verschueren 1999: 227).

The distinction between micro- and macropragmatics has not been further developed. One can only point to the works of Cap (2010, 2011), who introduced clarifying details into Mey's approach to link micro pragmatics with a speech act, and macropragmatics with a series of utterances within a discourse.). Cap adds the concept of the speaker's intentionality: individual utterances are "seen as carriers of global intentionality of the speaker (i.e. the intentionality resulting from different speech act configurations, often referred to as speech events), and as producers of complex effects (whether on a single hearer or on a class of hearers)" (Cap 2010:

199). Also of interest is the circular procedure for multiple correlation between macro- and microlevels proposed instead of the single transition:

"(i) There is no micropragmatic analysis that would not provoke a macropragmatic extension of scope; (ii) there is no macropragmatic study that would not question, retrospectively, its micropragmatic components, thus prompting revision or modification of the original analytic track. Altogether, we arrive at a bottom-top-bottom cycle of upgrades "on the explanatory power of both micropragmatic and macropragmatic concepts" (Cap 2010: 199)

This introduces a hermeneutic dimension to the distinction discussed. Therefore, it is necessary to introduce the concept of a speech macro-act, which has been explored also in different areas of pragmatics, including performative theory (cf.: Zolyan 2024).

Among the latest developments in this area, we highlight the idea to establish a macropragmatic framework based on van Dijk's concept of macrostructures of discourse (Khafaga 2022, Nodoushan 2025). Additionally, it was proposed to introduce the notion of intentionality that connects micropragmatics with rethorics and dialectics (in the classical sense) and to integrate it into macropragmatics, alongside its cooperative, or dialogical intentionality.

This distinction becomes especially evident when discussing varieties such as intercultural, cross-cultural, socio-cultural, and cultural pragmatics. The branches of macropragmatics—sociopragmatics, crosscultural pragmatics, and intercultural pragmatics—not only focus on language but also address constructs such as culture, society, the collective mind, and linguistic collectives (cf. Kecskes 2012, 2018, 2021, 2022, Culpeper 2021, Haugh et al. 2021, Gladkova 2023). Although Mey's and Verschueren's ideas were later reflected in the intercultural, cross-cultural and socio-cultural pragmatics, another approach has become the dominant one. It does not concentrate on changing the scaling, but considers the qualitative changes that occur in various types of communication. Consequently, instead of focusing on micro- and macropragmatics, the concept of various types of pragmatics was introduced. This entails distinguishing different levels of communication and necessitates a revision of the notion of the speaker. In Mey's and Verschueren's versions of micro- and macropragmatics, it is one and the same speaker who operates with language, and only what she produces is extended from utterance to discourse. The prefixoids "micro" and "macro" do not pertain to specific pragmatic areas; rather, they refer to different methods of description. The objects of description in this context can include socio-cultural *norms and patterns*[3] or *cultural schemas*[4]. Nevertheless, in the field of intercultural, cross-cultural and

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[3] Cf.: "Another positive outcome of research in intercultural pragmatics can be the attempt to reconcile micro and macro perspectives on language, culture, and interaction. The micro perspective includes the study of interactions between individuals, and the cognition underlying those communicative encounters. The macro perspective deals with establishing norms, patterns, and expectations about language use in speech communities". (Kecskes 2017: 47).

[4] Cf.: "Within the framework of cultural cognition cultural schemas also have a collective life at the emergent level of cognition that characterizes a speech community. I refer to that level as the *macro-*

interlanguage pragmatics, instead of elucidating the substantial features of communication between some institutional macro-entities, the return to the level of observable has occurred. As a result, the class of various pragmatics has emerged based on differentiating of speaker's linguistic profiles, but not fundamental properties of the relationship between speakers and language system.

4. Intercultural and cross-cultural pragmatics

The very names—*intercultural* and *cross-cultural pragmatics*—suggest a focus on the relations between cultures. However, these disciplines have diverged, as one of the leading experts in this field specifically noted:

> "The term "cross-cultural" refers to exploring how natives speak and act in their native language and within their own cultural context and comparing how native behavior in one culture compares with that in another culture. This definition of cross-cultural therefore does not refer to the exploration of issues relating to people conversing across cultural boundaries—as the literal meaning of the term suggests—but rather the exploration of issues pertaining to intracultural communication" (Stadler 2018: 2).

Despite the literal meaning of the term, the conception of intercultural pragmatics is fundamentally grounded on the notion of empirical speakers. It is assumed that only the concept of the speaker can be reduced to an observable entity. A widely accepted definition by Kecskes (2017) emphasizes that cultures and languages are merely characteristics of speakers rather than definitive factors of speech acts:

> "Intercultural pragmatics was defined as an inquiry that is about how the language system is put to use in social encounters between human beings who have different first languages, communicate in a common language, and usually, represent different cultures. The communicative process in these encounters is synergistic in the sense that it is a blend in which pragmatic norms of each participant are represented to some extent, and blended with the elements co-constructed by the interlocutors in the process of interaction." (Kecskes 2017: 401).

This is a key property that distinguishes cross-cultural pragmatics from intercultural pragmatics:

> "Intercultural pragmatics focuses on interactions among people from different cultures, speaking different languages. Cross- cultural pragmatics considers each language and culture separately and analyses the differences and similarities between various entities". (Kecskes 2017: 400).

However, this distinction seems to be more operational than substantial. Kecskes distinguishes these varieties of pragmatics based on principle *who*

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level. Although speakers usually operate on the basis of shared cultural schemas, in reality (at the micro-level) they may share some but not all components of a cultural schema". (Sharifian 2017: 508)

communicates with whom, — and it also points to the empirical speaker, since dependence on cultural and linguistic predispositions can be questioned:

> "Recent work in intercultural pragmatics no longer accepts the essentialist assumptions that speakers belong to or have a particular culture and as such are at the mercy of the peculiarities of this culture. Cultural assumptions are constructions that are jointly created and re-created by large groups of people" (Jucker 2012: 508).

Maybe, it might be understood that the difference lies in presumption that speakers in intercultural pragmatics are not bound by linguistic and *cultural assumptions*, while in cross-cultural pragmatics, they can only represent the established patterns of their own language and culture. However, there are no distinct speakers for intercultural and cross-cultural pragmatics; these disciplines use different modes to describe the same pragmatic entities, regardless of whether speakers of different languages are communicating within their own community or with foreigners.

The same question may be raised regarding the separation of interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) as a discipline; it aims to be focused *on social linguistic and non-linguistic actions* (i.e. speech acts. — *S.Z.*) when using non-native language[5],

At the present stage, macro pragmatics has been divided into its different varieties, where the difference of macro- and micro levels was abandoned. The current fragmentation of macropragmatics into varieties like intercultural, cross-cultural, interlingual, and sociocultural pragmatics (Kecskes 2012, Marmaridou 2023) may undermine the integrity of pragmatic theory. The primary distinction from conventional pragmatics seems to be merely the assumed non-nativeness of the language used. The different varieties of pragmatics can only be empirically distinguished if an observer is capable of identifying the cultural and linguistic background of the speakers. However, interlocutors may come from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds, but this diversity may not be the constitutive focus of pragmatic theory.

Efforts to represent the theoretical concept of the subject of speech acts through real-world speakers can be helpful for addressing applied problems, but they lack true modeling power. Kecskes rightly highlights the dynamic nature of pragmatic patterns; these patterns can be transformed based on specific communicative intentions and goals. However, the possibility for such changes presupposes the existence of relatively stable norms. As we intend to demonstrate later, the speaker's factor turns out to be relevant or irrelevant only insofar as it is manifested in the message itself, it is not the biography and linguistic profile of the interlocutors that are important, but their images as derived from the message.

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[5] Cf.: "It <ILP> examines linguistic action considering cognitive and sociocultural aspects for the production and understanding of social action in an L2 or FL setting, such as degrees of impoliteness, interpretation of implicature, and directness or indirectness. It examines functional knowledge—specifically, the pragmatic meaning of linguistic and non- linguistic action produced and interpreted by L2 learners in institutional and non-institutional settings. (Félix- Brasdefer 2017: 435).

5. The gentle art of making oneself disagreeable in a foreign tongue

Mey (2016) analyzed an episode that happened to him during a tour of the temple complex in Japan. He asked: *Is there a toilet around here?* As he expounds, "To my great surprise, my indirect request to show me the restrooms (which posed as an English question) was parried by the Japanese lady's reply in the guise of an English counter-question! The temple attendant's "Do you want to use?" did not seem to be the proper answer to what I thought was a simple informative question, covering up for an indirect request; but even so, the only reasonable answer in this particular situation seemed for me to be a simple affirmative, so I answered "Yes." (Mey 2016: 28) Of course, the situation when a visitor would like to inspect the toilet as one of the attractions of the temple looks absurd. Meanwhile, such a situation is quite typical when the speaker follows the instructions that are supposed to be followed by a native speaker. Such a situation was parodied and ridiculed by Jerome K. Jerome, in his novel *Three Men on the Bummel.* (the chapter: *The gentle art of making oneself disagreeable in a foreign tongue)*. Wanting to understand how much one can trust the German language tutorials before travelling to Germany, the three gentlemen decided to follow the instructions for Germans in the UK. This causes either mockery or is perceived as an insult. Thus, the desire to conduct a polite conversation and observe the rules of politeness leads to the fact that it makes a laughingstock of travelers.

The discrepancy between the ideas of the authors of phrasebooks about the rules of speech behavior and real interaction leads to a sarcastically described tragic picture: "Some educated idiot, misunderstanding seven languages, would appear to go about writing these books for the misinformation and false guidance of modern Europe." The situation with self-teaching manuals may be improved over time, but the fundamental problem has not been solved by this — it is a fundamental incongruity between the *speake*r as a construct, from one side, and the empirical *participants* of speech acts, from the other.

Intercultural communication can occur even within the same language group and within the same text, often highlighting different "imaginary" speakers. We aim to illustrate this concept through an analysis of a notable example: the inscription on the signboard of a children's development centre located in the heart of the small town of Svetlogorsk, Russia (picture 1).

An English translation is available online, but the phrase "family school," which is used as an epithet for the *Rauschen Bridge School*, has been lost in translation.

While deciphering the expressive and appellative meanings behind this self-designation, one can identify two distinct deviations from standard Russian. Both deviations aim to foreignize the text.

Picture 1. The signboard.
"Раушен Бридж" *Семейная (не) школа*
"Rauchen Bridge" Family (non) school

Picture 2. The embleme
(ENA, November 17, 2025)[6]

1. The text departs from traditional Russian orthography by using brackets to denote the negative particle, as *(не) школа (non) school*, rather than writing it separately as *не школа* (not a school) or using a hyphen as *не-школа (non-school).* This approach allows for two interpretations. It suggests that the place functions as a school since children are taught there, while also indicating that it is not a school in the conventional sense. In fact, it is not a school in a legal sense; it operates as an educational center. This distinction allows it to bypass state standards. Additionally, it indicates a special, family-like atmosphere, suggesting that there is no obligation, discipline, or routine typically associated with formal schooling. Nevertheless, learning is not chaotic; it follows a certain order that relates to the concept of family. The word "*семья*" *(family)* is the only term used in Russian, highlighting how learning is organised within that (non)school setting. Furthermore, there is a notable opposition to state schools. The English translation on the site, however, misses these nuances, suggesting that the intended audience is not English-speaking parents, but rather Russian individuals.

2. The school's name, *Rauschen Bridge*, while written in Russian letters, represents a blend of English and German. *Rauschen* refers to the town's name before the war, while *Bridge* evokes associations with prestigious English educational institutions, particularly Cambridge. This combination effectively transforms the German name into something that sounds more English, almost creating a new identity for the town. Moreover, the school's emblem is styled similarly to those found in British and American universities, featuring only the Latin lettering *"R.B.S."* This design further emphasizes the school's alignment with the English educational tradition.

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[6] https://vk.com/rauschen_bridge_school

The author of this text appears to be an imaginary character representing the school itself, emphasizing its connection to foreign language and culture through specific indicators. The intended audience is also imaginary, created by the text[7]. It reflects those for whom the message is meant—specifically, neither English speakers nor German-speaking former inhabitants of Raushen. Presumably, the target audience consists of high-status parents who value not only material advantages but also their intellectual and cultural superiority. In the 1990s, this group included wealthy but uneducated "new Russians." However, since the 2000s, a group referred to as "*Euro-Russians*" has begun to emerge as the new elite. The discussion around Euro-Russians as a distinct group has already led to significant conflicts in the region, as highlighted in the article: "*Why Did the 'Euro-Russians' Insult the Kaliningrad Governor?*" (ENA, June 9, 2018)[8].

In Russian, such common *Eurocentrism* has led to the productive morpheme (prefixoid) "*euro*." This morpheme is used in two distinct ways. First, it refers to anything specifically related to Europe, as seen in terms like *евробарометр (Eurobarometer), евроскептик (Eurosceptic)*, and *евробюрократ (Eurobureaucrat)*, etc. Second, in its quasi-European (or new-Russian) meaning, the stem "euro" can also denote consumer products that, regardless of their actual origin, are presented as European or claim to meet European standards*: евроремонт (Euro renovation), евромойка (euro wash), евромед (Euro medicine), еврообувь (Euro shoes), еврообои (Euro wallpaper), евротакси (Euro tax*i) and even *евроштакетник (Euro picket fence) and еврораскладушка (Euro folding bed)*, etc

In the case being discussed, the homegrown Eurocentric orientation has taken on a more sophisticated form through self-naming. It is important to note that Svetlogorsk is one of the leading and most expensive tourist destinations, not only in the Kaliningrad region (formerly known as Königsberg and part of East Prussia) but throughout Russia. This appeal is not solely due to its seaside and forested areas; it is also attributed to the preserved pre-war buildings that lend a unique charm to the site. Unlike many other towns of the region, Svetlogorsk did not experience heavy battles during the war. In the center of Svetlogorsk, where real estate prices are quite high, a significant number of residents are newcomers, often from other regions of Russia. The town positions itself as a small center of the Russian West, with a children's educational facility at its heart that identifies as European, aiming to attract potential consumers.

From the perspective of intercultural pragmatics, this case falls outside its typical scope since the communicants operate within the same language. However, they employ language variations that aspire to be perceived as foreign. The texts

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[7] We are based on Benedict Anderson's distinguishing between these two concepts: "*imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion". — (Anderson 1991: 6–7).

[8] https://regnum.ru/article/2429651

they produce are crafted as representations of another culture, and even another language. The social and cultural characteristics of the communicants can be inferred from the text. The focus is not on real-world individuals who "actually" might have coined the name "*Raushenbridge*," or who wrote the inscription on the signboard, or attended school. Instead, the subject matter revolves around the phantom of Europe, as imagined by a subgroup of Russian society, constructed and represented through a language and culture as fictional as their speakers. This can be compared to the characters created by Jerome: *"In every town in Europe there must be people going about talking this sort of thing… but fortunately nobody understands them. This is, perhaps, as well; were they understood they would probably be assaulted.*"

6. Non-personalized communication: invisible speakers and visible signs

Before discussing other specific cases, let's clarify a few preliminary points which were justified through the previous analyses. Languages and cultures do not communicate directly; it is individuals acting as speakers who facilitate communication. However, in the absence of face-to-face communication, it becomes a textual function performed through imagined actors. Social roles, as described in sociology (Goffman 1981), interact within texts, and cultural differences further complicate these interactions, which are attributed to those social roles. Uttering may be viewed as merely an extension of the text, making the presence of a real speaker irrelevant. As a result, the primary means of identifying the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of the communicants is through the language used in the message, rather than from the individuals' biographical profiles.

Advertising exemplifies depersonalized communication between imagined interlocutors. For example, a restaurant acts as the sender of a message, inviting visitors and promising to serve something special. The advertisement creates an image of the restaurant, sometimes it may include a photo of a chef or maître d'hôtel. In multimedia advertising, a real speaker might read the text aloud. However, the nature of this communication remains fundamentally the same; it merely pretends to be personalized. The menu is perhaps the most typical way a restaurant communicates with its customers. It assumes that visitors will understand the offerings without needing further explanation. Similarly, the bill presented at the end of the meal is also impersonal; it consists of a narrative detailing what has been consumed and a performative element indicating the total amount due to be paid. Although the bill may include the name of the specific person who served the customer, the restaurant itself seems to be an actual author endowed with benefits and responsibilities within this communication.

This phenomenon is particularly evident in advertising and informational messages. A sort of quasi-subject is established, discussing the restaurant and highlighting the reasons why the recipient should consider visiting it. Consequently, the recipient is personalized through an image that represents the type of person for

whom the restaurant is ostensibly intended. The name of the restaurant often carries cultural associations while catering to the tastes of potential customers (examples include "Venice Pizzeria," "Tacos Snack Bar," "Academy of Beer," and "Moscow Restaurant"). The interaction between the restaurant and its visitors considers the multilingual needs of potential customers. Bilingual menus have become standard practice. Various approaches address translation challenges, but the most common method is a hybrid solution: dish names remain untranslated while their ingredients are described.

Multilingualism extends to advertising as well; messages are often duplicated in English or another lingua franca of the region, and online information is typically provided in multiple languages. In some instances, intercultural communication takes place in a manner where the actual participants are less significant. Instead, communication is structured through predefined textual roles that have specific linguistic and socio-cultural attributes. This is not merely a theoretical concept; it represents a mask endowed with idealised (and in reality — stereotyped) characteristics as Erving Goffman has categorized this phenomenon of social self-presentation (Goffman 1956). However, unlike the cases Goffman described, these masks are not worn by real people but by social institutions, specifically a restaurant. They are "imaginary" entities, or more precisely, imagined constructs, even if a real chef may appear in the advertisement. The relationship between the signified and the signifier shifts; the real chef we see in the video embodies the ideal construct that aligns with the consumer's expectations of what an imaginary chef should be.

Consider an example of non-personalized communication that takes into account the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of potential visitors. At the "Ethnograph Beer Academy", a beer restaurant located in Yerevan, the same message appears on signboards in three languages. The owners have likely developed a plan to accommodate visitors during the morning hours. Since 2022, there has been a significant increase in Russian guests, leading to the introduction of a new type of breakfast, as indicated by the announcement (picture 3):

> Похмельные завтраки. 9.00 — 13.00 Первая помощь для тех, кто вчера был слишком уверен в своих силах. (Hangover breakfasts 9.00 — 13.00. First aid for those who were too confident in their abilities yesterday)

After a while, the English version has appeared (picture 5): *Hungover brunch and lunch. Because sometimes you need to hit 'refresh' last night.* In this revision, breakfast was replaced with brunch and lunch, which shifted the serving times.

From the perspective of existing theories, this case does not fit into any specific variety of pragmatics. There is no clear identification of either the speaker or the addressee, nor can we determine their native languages. Regarding the author, there is no evidence to suggest that any specific language should be considered her native tongue. While one might assume that a restaurant located in Yerevan would communicate as if it had an Armenian mother tongue, this assumption is not essential for understanding the type of communication taking place. Three different

texts convey the same offer: to visit a restaurant after experiencing a hangover. The variations in these texts do not stem from the personal preferences of the hypothetical communicators, but rather from specific behavioural stereotypes associated with the imaginary recipient with differing cultural backgrounds.

Picture 3

Picture 4

Picture 5

Although it is unusual for local Armenians to go to restaurants to get breakfast, it was also required to have an Armenian version for symmetry. However, its text turned out to be completely different: ՍԹԱՓԵՑՆՈՂ ՆԱԽԱՃԱՇ: 09–13 ՔԱՆԻ ՈՐ ԱՌԱՎՈՏԸ ԱՎԵԼԻՆ Է ՊԱՀԱՆՋՈՒՄ, ՔԱՆ ՍՈՒՐՃԸ (picture 4) SOBER BREAKFAST. 09–13 BECAUSE THE MORNING REQUIRES MORE THAN COFFEE (picture 4). In Russian drinking culture, hangovers are quite common, as excessive consumption is accepted and, in some subcultures, even considered prestigious. As a result, the causes of hangovers are

framed as a socially acceptable deviation. In contrast, while drinking is prevalent, excessive consumption that leads to a loss of self-control is seen negatively. Publicly acknowledging this fact is also frowned upon. As a result, the term *опохмелиться*, which means "to *sober up*," is absent from the Armenian version. This is not due to a lack of vocabulary, but rather because the term carries undesirable connotations. In Armenian, the phonetically expressive word *խումար (or խումհար)* is primarily associated with unpleasant physiological effects, which is something that is typically not acknowledged in public.

It is noteworthy that the Russian word "*похмелье*" *(pakhmelje*) has made its way into colloquial Armenian, where it is used only in a figurative sense combined with the word "*чужой*" *(chuzhoj),* meaning "alien" or "someone else's." The expression "*чужой похмел*" *(chuzhoj pakhmel*) clearly derives from the Russian proverbial saying "*в чужом пиру похмелье*," which translates to "*hangover at someone else's feast.*" Thus, the Armenian text does not specify the reasons for a hangover, but simply states the fact that coffee does not help to sober one up. *Սթափիլել* (Sober) in modern Armenian is used mainly in a figurative sense, as a rational view *(sober look, sober view)*. (The dialect word "*օյանման*" is typically used to convey a literal meaning related to physiology). This allows the Armenian text to be understood in a purely positive light, without any association with excessive alcohol consumption. Instead, it reflects a desire to achieve a rational mental state. In the English version, the suggestion is made to reschedule breakfast for a later time. A computer metaphor is employed here—moving to a new state or starting a new life. The quotation marks around "refresh" imply a figurative, somewhat ironic interpretation (cf. with the interpretation we encountered on the Internet: *In real life it is basically saying that the person saying it is going to start a new life and become a new different person. If you're talking about electronics though, hitting the refresh button is to reload something like* a website) (ENA, November 17, 2025)[9].

The practice has made certain changes. Probably, expectations on Russian relocants did not come true, in the restaurant, as you can judge from the ads, at the moment when I am finishing the article, they no longer serve *Sobering breakfasts*, only *Sobering brunches and lunches*. The signboard in Russian has also disappeared, and the ad in Armenian translates the English version of the advertisement. However, not literally, instead of a computer metaphor, as in English, a pharmaceutical one is used: *The best recipe for forgetting about yesterday's adventures*. Probably, it seemed more suitable to the reality than the desire to gain a rational view of things. Moreover, cognitively it corresponds to the call expressed in English to start a new life. Personally, it seems to me that the result of these recodings was the rejection of any linguistic or cultural specifics, the transition to an extremely average and therefore generally understandable and not annoying anybody touristic Koine in its English version.

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[9] https://hinative.com/questions/18612482

This is especially evident in the following case. To explore the possibilities of further variations and a deeper understanding of the hangover topic, one can visit Zagreb, where among the numerous museums is the Museum of Hangovers, featuring an emblem that requires no translation (picture 6).

Picture 6

While the text is presented solely in English and does not specify the language or nationality of potential visitors, it typically accompanies icons with corresponding explanations. In this context, a hangover is portrayed as a unique adventure, creating a distinctive experience even for children, who are generously offered a special discount:

The only Museum of Hangovers in the world is a fun place to experience the best hangover/drunk stories. Enjoy interactive exhibits like drunk driving and drunk walking simulators, plus plenty more cool stuff! Tickets: €9 for adults online (€10 at the entrance), €9 for students and seniors, €7 for children. Come and experience an unforgettable place of forgettable happenings! — (ENA, November 17, 2025)[10]

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[10] https://www.museumofhangovers.com

The website features comments from visitors of various nationalities, all in English. In this situation, the communicants come from different native languages and cultures, but this difference is ultimately insignificant. It can hardly be considered a manifestation of the Croatian culture. This is more about a peculiar culture of tourism that prioritizes the pursuit of extravagant experiences, with English serving as its lingua franca.

7. Discussion

The review of existing conceptions, as well as an analysis of cases, demonstrates that modern pragmatics lacks a clear understanding of who the subject of sign operations is. Starting from Ch. Morris and L. Wittgenstein, the very origin of pragmatics, there has been an opposition between two approaches: according to the first, the speaker uses language; according to the second, language itself functions through speakers.

The study have explored various approaches to understanding what constitutes a subject in the context of communication, particularly in situations lacking direct interpersonal interaction. The limitations of current approaches become particularly evident when communication occurs not in face-to-face settings, but between different social institutions. The desire to simplify the problem by focusing on observable phenomena is understandable. However, this approach overlooks the fact that communication can also occur between imagined interlocutors. They may be represented as a peculiar configuration generated through textual linguistic and cultural markers and features, which reflect the linguistic and socio-cultural norms and stereotypes that are accepted and constructed by society.

With the advancement of pragmatics, it has become essential to consider forms of communication without direct interpersonal interaction, or it is not relevant even if it happens. Therefore, it seems worthwhile to revisit the distinction between micropragmatics and macropragmatics, albeit on slightly different grounds. A key characteristic of macropragmatics can be seen not only in the sequence of speech acts, as proposed by J. Mey and J. Verschueren, but also in the unique suprapersonal status of the communicants involved. The suprapersonal and latent status of interlocutors, created through semiotic means, appears to be the foundation for the primary distinction between macro- and micropragmatics. In this context, the prefix "micro" is unnecessary, as this level of communication can be simplified into a single speech act between two (or more) individuals[11]. This may be considered within the realm of conventional pragmatics.

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[11] As for the term micropragmatics, in our understanding it is applicable not to linguistics, but only to semiotics. For us, the level of the speech act is the basic, or primary level of pragmatics, therefore it seems to be preferable to reserve the term *micropragmatics* to describe processes when communication takes place between non-cognizant agents, reminiscent of Peirce's quasi-minds. Thus, in biosystems, up to the molecular level, there are numerous regulatory codes which control the informational processes and set *felicitious conditions* for communication (for more details, see Zolyan 2025a,b).

Therefore, it is possible to propose a solution to the issue of the subject in macropragmatics; it should not rely solely on identifying whether speakers are native or non-native speakers of a language. Instead, it should focus on the hermeneutics of the text and the reconstruction of the images of interlocutors based on the semantic and pragma-semantic connections between the text, language, and culture. This approach does not deny the importance of considering the specific characteristics of real speakers; rather, these aspects can complement one another, similar to the relationship between ethnography and ethnology (or cultural anthropology)[12].

The methodological foundation can be found in the ideas of the late Peirce, which Morris overlooked. This includes the concept of the sign as a quasi-mind and the understanding of its semantics as a manifestation of the dialogical interaction between a quasi-utterer and a quasi-interpreter *welded in the Sign:*

> Admitting that connected Signs must have a Quasi-mind, it may further be declared that there can be no isolated sign. Moreover, signs require at least two Quasi-minds; a Quasi-utterer and a Quasi-interpreter; and although these two are at one (i.e., are one mind) in the sign itself, they must nevertheless be distinct. In the Sign they are, so to say, welded" (Peirce 1906: 523).

The thesis presented by Peirce can be further developed and clarified using concepts from poetics and semiotics. We can draw parallels to Foucault's idea of the author as a function, which "characterizes the existence, circulation, and operation of certain discourses within a society" (Foucault 1977: 124). Similar to this, we can consider Umberto Eco's notion of the reader as a textual strategy and Yuri Lotman's concept of the semiotic "I" (in his other terms, *thinking semiotic structures,* or *monads*). — (Lotman 1990).

8. Conclusions

This paper aimed to identify the pragmatic characteristics of interlocutors in suprapersonal communication. It further distinguished between macro- and micropragmatics. The term macropragmatics can be left to describe those phenomena where agents are identified with some specific institutional entity (e.g., restaurants, books, public organizations, state bodies, social groups) that act as "speaking persons" (Kaverin 1973: 78). In these cases, it is at least theoretically possible to trace communication back to real individuals such as writers, speechwriters, managers, waiters, directors, etc. These situations were the focus of our paper.

Thus, we use the term "macropragmatics", proposed by Jacob May and Jeff Verschuren, but with a different meaning. We proceed from the assumption that the basic level of analysis should be the one at which communicating parties can be

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[12] Cf.: "Ethnology is highly theory driven, using a comparative approach with the writings of ethnographers to search for commonalities that may underlie all cultures or human behaviours". — Flemming 2010, 153.

identified with real speakers. Therefore, macropragmatics refers to communication between suprapersonal entities, such as institutions, communities, groups, etc.

Probably, another, a higher level of communication should be envisaged. This could be labelled as "megapragmatics". This is a speculative level of communication, where suprapersonal constructs act as imaginary interlocutors. The characteristics of these constructs may be derived from texts and messages. Language, nation, and culture, as well as the semiosphere in general could be considered such entities. They could be seen as discursive mega-communities based on certain metanarratives in the sense of Baudrillard.

The distinction between pragmatics in its pure linguistic form and macropragmatics is based on the different types of interactions between interlocutors. However, these are not separate areas of pragmatics, as the same principles can be applied in all cases. Interlocutors at all levels of pragmatics are semiotic forms that can be represented through non-semiotic entities. It is therefore possible, at least metaphorically, to manifest imaginary interlocutors to those speakers in flesh and blood. Thus, even the most abstract entities such as cultures and civilizations can be metaphorized and communicate with. However, the reverse procedure — to deduce macropragmatic characteristics from observable entities — does not seem to be correct, even if it is possible to identify the real author or speaker. It should be noted that at all levels, the status of the interlocutors differs, and therefore, extrapolating the characteristics of real speakers to forms of intercultural or socio-cultural communication can lead to confusion in terms of functions and levels. Consequently, it may not be a reliable criterion for delineating the spheres of macro-pragmatics based on the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of the speakers.

Macro- and megapragmatics regulate aspects of semiosis that influence interaction between the context and sign system. In this interpretation, pragmatics may not necessarily involve an external subject, but rather pertains to the same sign system, but is viewed within the context of its actualization process (cf.: Zolyan 2023). At the same time, intermediate correlation functions inevitably arise in order to describe and personify that interaction: these are various semiotic 'selves', quasi-speakers and quasi-interpreters, collective minds, native speakers, etc. This correlation between the internal semiotic "I" of the sign system and its external representation in communication can be seen as a reflection of the fundamental dualism of language and speech as it applies to pragmatics.

The study contributes to a better understanding of how the concept of interlocutor applies to suprapersonal levels of intercultural and sociocultural communication, and what semiotic characteristics it may have on the macro-pragmatic level.

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Research article / Научная статья

Metatextual discourse markers as pragmatic units: A corpus-based analysis of poetic discourse and colloquial speech

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Abstract
Researchers typically examine metatextual discourse markers as linguistic tools that promote cohesion and logical coherence. Therefore, their functioning beyond these traditional roles remains insufficiently explored. This article analyses the use of inferential markers *следовательно*, *quindi* and *therefore* across different communicative practices, comparing poetic discourse with ordinary language to trace the expansion of their functional potential. A comparative analysis of these units demonstrates how different types of discourse reorganize logical, pragmatic and semantic relations. In order to address the various and overlapping definitions of discourse and pragmatic markers, this study adopts the concept of pragmatic units, which encompasses deictics, discourse markers, illocutionary verbs and modal verbs. Analyzing these linguistic elements in terms of pragmatic markers enables a thorough investigation into how they perform communicative and metalinguistic functions, express the speaker's stance, indicate the coordinates of the communicative act, structure discourse and organize interaction. The goal of this study is to identify the functional and pragmatic modifications of metatextual discourse markers in poetic discourse compared to ordinary language. Drawing on a Poetic Corpus of three million words in three languages (Russian, Italian, and English), the research compares these markers with those found in Spoken Language Corpora, such as the Russian National Corpus (Spoken), KiParla (L'italiano parlato e chi parla italiano), and the Corpus of Contemporary American English (Spoken). The results provide deeper insight into the mechanisms of the pragmatic dimension of language, define the pragmatic specificity of contemporary poetry, and demonstrate how metatextual discourse markers expand their functional potential, display multifunctionality, and undergo context-driven resemantization.
Keywords: *pragmatic units, discourse markers, inferential markers, poetic discourse, colloquial speech, corpus pragmatics*

Метатекстовые дискурсивные маркеры как прагматические единицы: корпусный анализ поэтического дискурса и разговорной речи

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Аннотация
Исследователи анализируют метатекстовые дискурсивные маркеры преимущественно как средства обеспечения текстовой когерентности и логической связности, однако их функционирование за пределами этих традиционных ролей остается недостаточно изученным. В статье анализируется использование причинно-следственных маркеров *следовательно*, *quindi* и *therefore* в разных коммуникативных практиках — в поэтическом дискурсе на фоне их употребления в обыденном языке — с целью проследить расширение их функционального потенциала. Сопоставительный анализ этих единиц показывает, каким образом логические, прагматические и семантические отношения перестраиваются в различных типах дискурса. С учетом разнообразия определений дискурсивных, прагматических маркеров и других близких понятий в исследовании используется более широкое понятие прагматических единиц, включающее дейктические элементы, дискурсивные маркеры, иллокутивные и модальные глаголы. Анализ этих языковых элементов как прагматических единиц позволяет глубже изучить, как они выполняют коммуникативные и металингвистические функции, выражают позицию говорящего, указывают на координаты коммуникативного акта, структурируют дискурс и организуют интеракцию. Цель исследования — выявить и описать функциональные и прагматические сдвиги, которым подвергаются причинно-следственные дискурсивные маркеры в поэтическом дискурсе по сравнению с обыденным языком. На материале поэтического корпуса объемом три миллиона слов на русском, итальянском и английском языках проведено сопоставление этих маркеров с данными устных корпусов: Национального корпуса русского языка (устный подкорпус), KiParla (L'italiano parlato e chi parla italiano) и Корпуса современного американского английского (COCA, Spoken). Полученные результаты позволяют глубже понять механизмы прагматического измерения языка, определить прагматическую специфику современной поэзии и показать, как метатекстовые дискурсивные маркеры расширяют свой функциональный потенциал, проявляют полифункциональность и подвергаются контекстуальной ресемантизации.
Ключевые слова: *прагматические единицы, причинно-следственные маркеры, поэтический дискурс, разговорная речь, корпусная прагматика*

1. Introduction

Although some studies explore discourse markers in relation to cohesion and coherence, their role in shaping pragmatic meaning in poetic discourse, as compared with ordinary language, has not yet been systematically analyzed. This study examines this contrast in order to reveal the broader functional range of discourse markers in different communication practices.

The foundations of pragmatics as the study of linguistic means in relation to the speaker and the communicative situation were laid by C.S. Peirce, C. Morris, and A. Gardiner. In the 1960s, J. L. Austin, J. Searle, H. P. Grice, and others conceptualized utterances as actions capable of altering extralinguistic circumstances. This perspective has influenced linguistics, the humanities, and the arts. In the mid-20th century, linguistic theory shifted from structuralism to an anthropocentric perspective, largely due to Benveniste's notion of "subjectivity in language" (1971: 293–294), later extended by Stepanov's "anthropocentric principle" (1974: 14).

Despite advances in big data methods, corpus-based research on pragmatic phenomena remains one of the most challenging areas, given their contextual dependence and multifunctionality of such phenomena. Yet recent studies (Aijmer & Rühlemann 2014, Rühlemann 2019, Landert, Dayter et al. 2023, Heine et al. 2024) demonstrate considerable potential, particularly in cross-linguistic analyses of discourse markers (DMs) (Fedriani & Sansò 2017, Lansari 2020, Park 2024).

Today, linguistics increasingly adopts a data-centric rather than anthropocentric orientation, encouraging the integration of "big" and "small" data and of subject- and technology-oriented perspectives. In this context, corpus-based studies of specific discourse practices, particularly artistic discourse, provide new insights into pragmatic phenomena.

This article examines metatextual discourse markers (MDMs) in both poetic discourse and colloquial speech. Poetry serves as the main object of analysis because it fosters linguistic experimentation, particularly in the pragmatic realm, and emphasizes the metalinguistic function. These features enable a wider range of pragmatic functions to emerge in poetry compared to colloquial speech. The choice also reflects current communicative conditions, including the erosion of the boundaries between everyday and poetic utterances, which frequently trigger linguistic experimentation in poetry and intensify its pragmatic dimension. The interplay between contemporary poetry and everyday speech reflects Fairclough's concept of "conversationalization", whereby public and private discourse merge (2003). However, while public discourse uses colloquial elements to appear

approachable, poetry reworks them to enrich meaning and make the ordinary more complex.

The goal of this study is to identify the functional and pragmatic modifications of metatextual discourse markers in poetic discourse compared to ordinary language, and to determine how these transformations reveal the potential of pragmatic units across communicative practices.

The research seeks to answer the following questions: How do metatextual discourse markers in poetry differ from their usual argumentative and cohesive roles in everyday speech? What types of pragmatic shifts and resemantization processes occur in poetic discourse? In what ways do these shifts contribute to a better understanding of pragmatic phenomena in different discourses and languages?

2. Theoretical and terminological framework

This study draws on classical approaches to linguistic pragmatics (Leech 1983, Levinson 1983, Verschueren 1999). Reflecting on subjectivity in language, Benveniste distinguishes between lexical items like *tree*, and the unit of "individual discourse" like personal pronouns *I*: "The «I», then, does not denominate any lexical entity <…> The reality to which it refers is the reality of the discourse. It is in the instance of discourse in which *I* designates the speaker that the speaker proclaims himself as the «subject»" (1971: 226). He includes deictic markers and illocutionary verbs among the categories that refer to the speech act itself, accrue additional meanings, and function as forms of subjectivity in language (Ibid.). Levinson similarly defines "pragmatics" as the study of "context-dependent aspects of linguistic structure and the principles of language use and understanding" (1983: 9). Thus, DMs can also be seen as pragmatic units.

Given the variety of definitions for "DMs", "pragmatic markers", "pragmemes", etc. (Fraser 1999, Capone 2005, Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen 2011, Ghezzi & Molinelli 2014, Bogdanova-Beglaryan 2014, Fedriani & Sansò 2017), the broader term "pragmatic units" (PUs) is proposed here, encompassing deictics, DMs, illocutionary and modal verbs.

In Sokolova and Feshchenko (2024), PUs were defined as linguistic elements that perform communicative and metalinguistic functions, express the speaker's stance, indicate the coordinates of the communicative act, structure the discourse, and organize interaction[1]. From a pragmatic perspective, deictics, DMs, illocutionary verbs, modal verbs, modal predicative expressions, imperatives and appellatives are united by their relationship to the speaker and the communicative situation. They indicate the parameters of the situation and address the recipient (deictics and appellatives), referring not to the extralinguistic sphere, but to the

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[1] It should be specified that the study by Sokolova and Feshchenko (2024) uses the term "pragmatic markers". However, we adjusted the term to avoid homonymy, as in linguistics, "pragmatic markers" have a more specific meaning of "discourse markers" (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen 2011, Beeching 2016, among others). Therefore, we propose using the term "pragmatic units".

communicative act itself; structure the utterance and realize intersubjective relations between its participants (DMs); express speaker's attitude (DMs and modal verbs; and perform the utterance as an action directed toward the addressee (illocutionary verbs and imperatives).

While most DMs studies focus on everyday speech, some investigate discourse specific uses in political, media, medical, and other discourses (Simon-Vandenbergen 2000, Maschler, Dori-Hacohen 2012). Although some works examine DMs in classical poetic texts (Bonifazi 2009, Dardano 2012), the role of PUs in contemporary poetic utterances compared with colloquial use remains underexplored.

Within corpus-based discourse analysis (CBDA; e.g., Furkó 2020, Baker 2023), particular attention should be paid to the discourse-specific features of PUs. Literary texts often dominate DM corpora, unless specialized subcorpora (colloquial, newspaper or academic) are selected. This highlights the importance of considering poetic material in its own right.

According to Jakobson (1960), the poetic function dominates artistic discourse. Thus, consideration should be given to the specifics of how linguistic phenomena function in literary texts[2]. Everyday discourse primarily describes external realities, whereas poetic discourse integrates emotive and perceptual dimensions into the communicative act itself (Kraxenberger 2014: 14–15). Capone (2023: 3) describes a poem as a "pragmeme," a context-bound speech act whose meaning emerges from the interplay between language and social setting, aiming to transform readers' interpretative engagement.

3. Data and methods. Algorithm of corpus-based discourse analysis

In this article, we employ CBDA to study MDMs, which are words that express causal-consecutive relations, signal contrastive relations, elaboration or addition, temporal sequencing, etc. We focus on the words, which belong to the group of inferential DMs[3]: *следовательно* (*sledovatel'no*) 'therefore' in Russian, *quindi* 'therefore', 'thus' in Italian, and *therefore* in English. The algorithm incorporates both quantitative and qualitative methods to provide an overview of the use of these units in different types of discourse and to identify their functional features[4].

(I) The first stage was to compile a Poetic Corpus (PC) of Russian, English, and Italian poetry (approx. 3 million words, 1 million per subcorpus), covering the 1960s–2020s. The focus on contemporary poetry is motivated by the aim to compare poetic discourse with spoken data available only from the second half of the 20th century onward. For this comparison, the study also uses spoken corpora: the Russian National Corpus (RNC, spoken subcorpus), KIParla (L'italiano parlato

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[2] For a project focusing on a parametric study of linguistic creativity in various discourses, including artistic ones, see (Zykova 2021).

[3] Although there are different terms used to describe this group, such as "causal markers" and "causal-consecutive", we will use the term "inferential DMs" (Fraser 2005: 196).

[4] See Sokolova & Feshchenko (2024) for a more detailed description of the CBDA stages.

e chi parla italiano), and Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA spoken subcorpus).

(II) The second stage involved selecting PUs, relevant for cross-linguistic analysis, including illocutionary verbs, deictics and DMs. Since this article focuses on the MDMs *следовательно, quindi*, and *therefore*, it is necessary to establish their place within the classification adapted for poetic discourse.

Drawing on Halliday & Hasan's endophoric/exophoric distinction (1976), Bazzanella's triadic model (2005), and Molinelli's taxonomy (2018), three groups are proposed:

1. **Metatextual DMs** organize coherence and logical relations[5]: inferential markers (e.g., *следовательно, итак, таким образом, dunque, quindi, therefore, so, thus*); contrastive markers (e.g., *однако, с другой стороны, invece, d'altra parte, anyway, on the other hand*); elaborative markers (*другими (иными) словами, например, in altre parole, per esempio*, *in other words, for example*), etc.

When used in poetic discourse, MDMs acquire a distinctive function due to the evolving role of the metalinguistic function. Traditionally responsible for regulating language use, they are increasingly acting as elements of "metalanguaging", i.e. "using language in order to communicate about the process of using language" (Maschler 2009: 1). In this framework, DMs no longer refer to external reality, but rather to the text itself, the interaction among its speakers, or the cognitive processes underlying verbalization (Ibid).

In poetic discourse, elements of metalanguaging acquire self-referentiality. They operate as markers of intensified metalinguistic reflection, combining their primary role, reference to the utterance itself, with participation in a "pragmatic experiment." They expose points of tension within structural and logical links, highlighting their instability and the potential for generating new connections. This dual function reinforces the interpretive complexity of poetic discourse, as the DMs simultaneously comment on and reshape the communicative framework in which they occur.

For example, DM *следовательно* 'therefore' occurs in the center of poetic reflection appearing at the end of the line and stanza without introducing a subsequent proposition in the fragment (1): *Собака ест птицу следовательно* 'The dog eats the bird therefore'. In this fragment, *следовательно* is at the center of metalinguistic reflection, merging its basic function of providing commentary on discourse with the poetic function of drawing attention to the utterance itself (for further analysis see below):

(1) Он бросил собаку что неожиданно
Собака ест птицу **следовательно**

Она парит в воздухе kua kai he kuli emanu
Ты съешь собаку без перевода (A. Dragomoshchenko)

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[5] See E. Traugott's (2021: 20) claim that MDMs are essential to the negotiation of meaning in "communicative discourse".

<He threw the dog, which was unexpected / The dog eats the bird **therefore** // She hovers in the air kua kai he kuli emanu / You will eat the dog without translation>

2. **Contextual DMs** convey the speaker's stance toward the communicative situation and often mark epistemic modality (e.g., *возможно, конечно, maybe, of course, forse, magari, davvero*). In poetic discourse, they acquire specific functions linked to self-referentiality, which can be interpreted through Bühler's concept of *deixis ad phantasma* (1965 [1934])[6]. Instead of pointing to external reality, such markers typically refer to the intratextual situation, reinforcing poetry's orientation toward its own communicative framework[7].

3. **Interpersonal DMs** reflect the bidirectionality of poetic auto-communication (Lotman 2000), as they may address either an internal or an external addressee. These group includes reactive items (e.g., *да, нет, хорошо, sì, no, va bene, ok, yes, no, yeah*); phatic or etiquette DMs (e.g., *спасибо, здравствуйте, grazie, buongiorno, ciao, thank you, hello*); hesitation markers (e.g., *ну, allora, beh, well*); and attention-getting markers (e.g., *видишь, постой, guarda / guardi, un attimo, you see, you know*). In poetic discourse, they emphasize the dialogic and relational aspects of the utterance while also shaping its self-addressed nature.

(III) At the third stage, the corpus was annotated using PUs tagging. Quantitative analysis (via AntConc) measured frequencies per million words, while qualitative analysis examined the specific uses of PUs in poetry compared to spoken language.

4. Results

4.1. Selection criteria for pragmatic units

The selection of comparable PUs in a cross-linguistic study poses a significant methodological challenge due to the inherent multifunctionality and context-dependence of such elements, as well as the lack of strict lexical equivalence across languages. For instance, the Italian marker *quindi* may correspond to a variety of Russian units, such as 'следовательно', 'значит', 'итак', 'поэтому', or 'потому', or to English counterparts such as 'therefore', 'so', or 'thus', depending on the communicative context. Conversely, each of these Russian or English markers may have multiple translations into Italian, making a purely semantic or formal alignment unfeasible.

In this context, a functionally and pragmatically oriented selection criterion proves particularly relevant. Rather than relying on surface-level lexical

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[6] See Feshchenko and Sokolova (2023) for more information about the specifics of deixis in contemporary poetry.

[7] Units marking parameters of the communicative act, such as time (e.g., *еще, уже, still, already, then, ancora, già*) and space (e.g., *вот, вон, here, there, qui, lì, là*), are multifunctional and often serve as temporal and spatial deixis.

equivalence, this approach focuses on the discourse role and pragmatic function of the markers in organizing textual cohesion and expressing causal or inferential relationships. All three selected markers (*следовательно*, *quindi*, and *therefore*) belong to the same functional class of inferential MDMs, whose primary role is to signal cause-and-effect relationships between propositions, structure discourse progression, and introduce conclusions or logical outcomes.

This criterion allows for meaningful comparisons despite differences in the degree of grammaticalization, syntactic distribution, or multifunctionality. By prioritizing pragmatic function in context over formal similarity, it becomes possible to investigate both cross-linguistic commonalities and language-specific patterns of discourse structuring in poetic discourse and colloquial speech. This focus aligns with the study's broader aim of exploring how these markers operate in poetry compared to everyday speech and revealing their extended functional range in contexts of linguistic experimentation and metalinguistic reflection.

4.2. Results of quantitative analysis

The main quantitative results on the use of MDMs, based on PC data and spoken corpora of Russian, Italian and English, are summarized below (for more detail, see Table 1).

Table 1. **Frequency of MDMs use in PC and national corpora**

PU (Ru)	PC (Ru)	RNC	PU (It)	PC (It)	KIParla	PU (En)	PC (En)	COCA
inferential DMs								
следовательно	17	24	quindi	120	521	therefore	63	48
итак	51	91	dunque	302	74	thus	131	12
contrastive DMs								
однако	207	64	tuttavia	74	4	however	60	68
тем не менее	36	141	nondimeno	6	0	nevertheless	21	10
с одной стороны	4	65	da una parte	3	27	on the one hand	2	11
с другой стороны	6	89	dall'altra (d'altra) parte	32	41	on the other hand	12	35
напротив	18	15	al contrario	24	13	on (to) the contrary	10	4
elaborative DMs								
другими (иными) словами	6	7	in altre parole	8	1	in other words	8	43
например	277	562	per (ad) esempio	101	569	for example	72	116
короче (говоря)	43	56	in breve	6	1	in short (brief)	6	4
кроме того	21	65	inoltre	42	16	moreover	6	3

The table shows the total number of MDMs occurrences in the PC (1795) and in national spoken corpora (2719). Figure 1 shows the overall distribution of MDMs across the analyzed corpora. While spoken language displays a higher number of

occurrences, the data also reveal a widespread use of MDMs in poetic discourse. This indicates that metatextual structuring and inferential functions remain highly relevant beyond everyday communication.
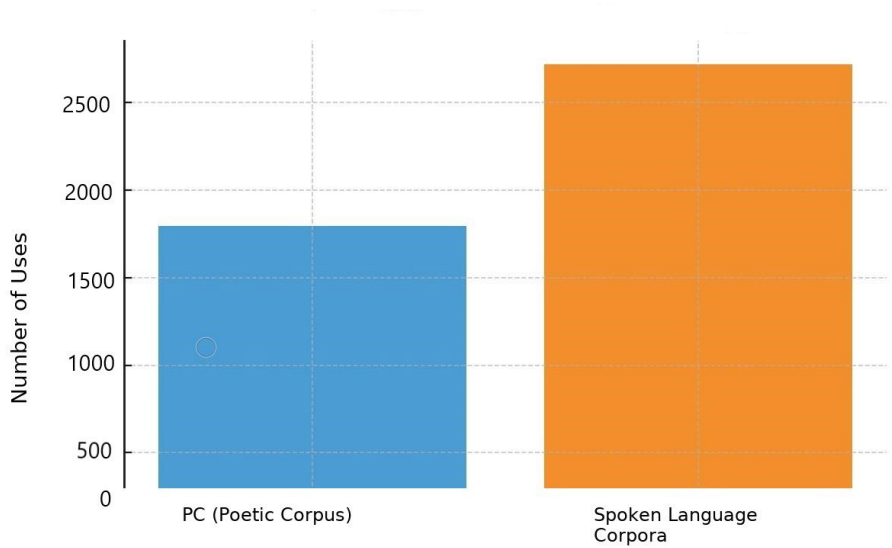
Figure 1. Total number of MDMs occurrences (per million words, ipm)

Figure 2 draws parallels between the frequency of MDMs usage across Italian, Russian, and English corpora. According to the corpora, Italian uses MDMs more frequently than Russian and English, as evidenced by the KiParla corpus (1191) and the PC (718). The second most frequent use of these units is in Russian: RNC (1179) / PC (686), and the third is in English: COCA (349)/PC (391).
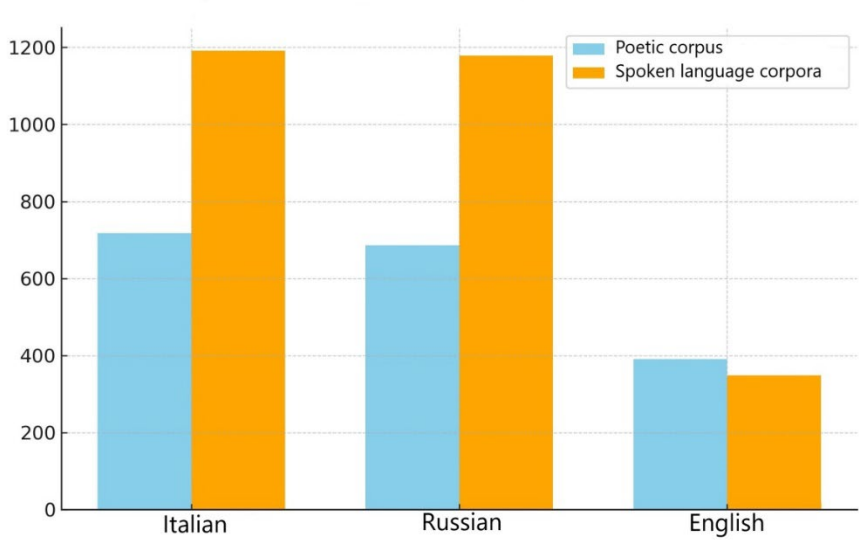
Figure 2. Frequency of MDMs usage in Italian, Russian, and English (ipm)

The revealed correlations result from the specific structures of the compared languages and historical processes. The variation in the data between Russian and Italian is minimal, whereas the difference between these two languages and English is significant. According to PC data, contemporary Italian poetry demonstrates a marked tendency to use MDMs. The difference from Russian-language poetry is more significant than from everyday language: 718 (Italian PC) and 686 (Russian PC).

In general, English-language poetry uses MDMs less often than Italian and Russian poetry. However, it uses these units more often than American everyday language: 391 (PC) and 349 (COCA, Spoken), which reflects the metalinguistic reflection of the pragmatic phenomena of language in American poetry. The marker *thus* is indicative in this regard. Poetry uses it ten times more often (131) than everyday language does (12). The large number of occurrences of *thus* in PC compared to COCA (Spoken) is due to its presence in academic discourse, with which contemporary poetry interacts[8]. In colloquial language, there is a tendency to use *thus* less frequently, replacing it with more "conversational" markers (*so, therefore, then*)[9].

Figure 3 presents the most frequent MDMs found in the Poetic Corpus. According to the PC, the most frequent PUs in Italian poetry are *dunque* (302), *quindi* (120), *per (ad) esempio* (101), and *tuttavia* (74), in Russian: *например* (277), *однако* (207), and *итак* (51), and in American: *thus* (131), *therefore* (63), and *for example* (72).
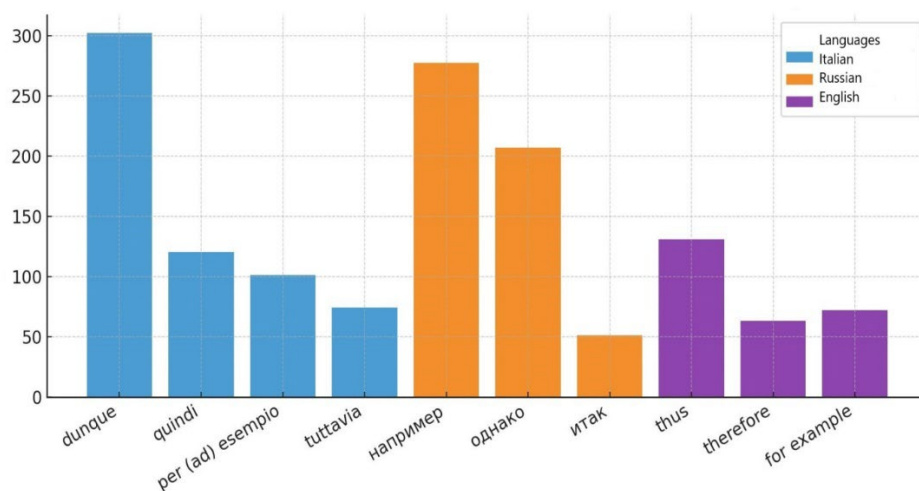
Figure 3. Most frequent MDMs in the Poetic Corpus (ipm)

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[8] See Feshchenko (2023) for more on the connections between linguistic theory and poetic experimentation.

[9] Statistical data on the use of *thus* in different types of discourse show that academic discourse utilizes it most frequently (488 times) compared to ordinary discourse (13 times) (see Serpil & Ceyhun 2017: 66).

Figure 4 shows the frequency of MDMs in the Poetic Corpus compared to Spoken Language Corpora. Poetry uses some words more often than everyday communication: *dunque* (poetic discourse) 302 / (colloquial speech) 74; *tuttavia* 74 / 4; *nondimeno* 5 / 0; *однако* 207 / 64; *напротив* 18 / 15; *thus* 131 / 12; *therefore* 63 / 48; *nevertheless* 21 / 10, and *on (to) the contrary* 10 / 4. Poetic and everyday language utilizes the following words with similar frequency: *dall'altra (d'altra) parte* 32 / 41; *следовательно* 17 / 24; *короче (говоря)* 43 / 56, and *however* 60 / 68.
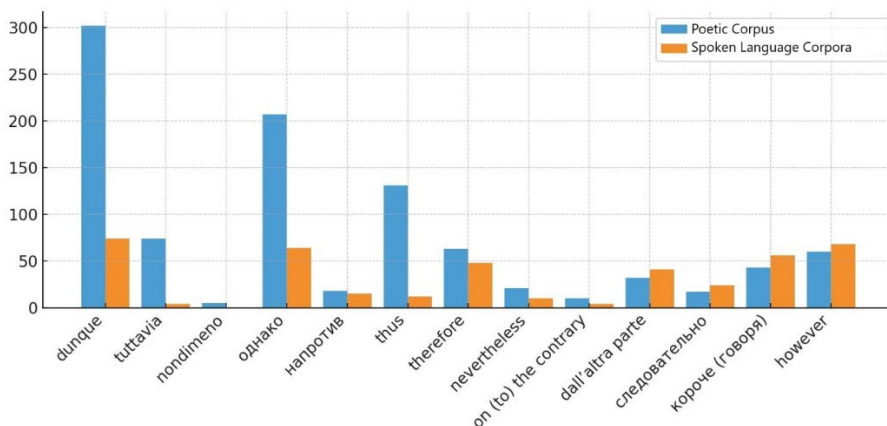
Figure 4. Comparison of MDMs usage: Poetic Corpus vs. Spoken Language Corpora (ipm)

4.3. Results of qualitative analysis

4.3.1. The lexical meanings and discourse functions of inferential markers

The inferential markers *следовательно, quindi,* and *therefore* establish a logical connection between the basis of a judgment and its conclusion in argumentative discourse. The selected units operate within the framework of narrow causality. Their use presupposes a discourse structure consisting of two components: P, representing the premise, argument, or condition, and Q, representing the inference or consequence. In constructions such as *P (следовательно/quindi/therefore) Q*, the inferential DM explicitly encodes the logical relationship between P and Q. This indicates that Q is not merely a subsequent event but rather the logical outcome or conclusion derived from P.

Unlike the abstract logical formula $P \rightarrow Q$ ("If P, then Q" or "Q follows from P"), these markers have additional pragmatic and semantic functions in discourse, including epistemic stance and the speaker's subjective evaluation of the situation.

According to lexicographic sources, it is possible to define the following meanings[10]:

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[10] The definitions drawn from Morkovkin (2003: 319–320) s.v. *следовательно*; (Treccani online, Sabatini e Coletti online) s.v. *quindi*; (Merriam-Webster online, Collins online) s.v. *therefore*.

СЛЕДОВАТЕЛЬНО
Synonyms: значит; итак; получается; иначе говоря; отсюда следует, что
1. **Causal-inferential value**: indicates a conclusion drawn from real-world circumstances or factual premises: *Она почему-то не пришла — Следовательно, она не получила нашего письма* <She didn't come for some reason — **Therefore**, she didn't receive our letter>
2. **Argumentative (deductive) value**: marks a logically structured inference derived from a stated argument or condition: *Свет у них в окнах не горит, на звонки никто не отвечает, следовательно, они действительно уехали в отпуск* <The lights in their windows are off, and no one answers the phone, **therefore**, they really went on vacation>

QUINDI
1. **Locative value** *(archaic):* indicates a spatial origin or reference point: *E **quindi** giù nel fosso vidi gente attuffata* (Dante) <*And **from there**, in the ditch, I saw people submerged*>
   Synonyms: di qui, da questo luogo o punto.
2. **Temporal-sequential value**: expresses succession or progression in time, typically with future orientation: *Percorri la strada fino in fondo, **quindi** gira a sinistra* <*Go all the way down the street, **then** turn left*>
Synonyms: da ora, da quel momento, da ultimo.
3. **Causal-inferential value**: *Il torto è tuo, **quindi** sta a te chiedergli scusa* <It's your fault, **therefore** it's up to you to apologize>
*Synonyms (for **causal-inferential and argumentative values**): perciò, dunque, per tal motivo, di conseguenza.*
4. **Argumentative value**: *Se non ha risposto al messaggio, quindi non è interessato* <If he/she didn't reply to the message, **then** he/she is not interested>

THEREFORE
Synonyms: thus; so; hence; consequently; accordingly; as a result; it follows that
1. **Causal-inferential value**: *Those people have their umbrellas up: therefore, it must be raining.*
2. **Argumentative value**: *The government failed to act quickly. Therefore, it cannot be trusted.*

4.3.2. The functioning of inferential markers in poetic utterances

One of the defining features of poetic discourse is its structural non-linearity, resulting from vertical (line-by-line) typographical segmentation, in contrast to linearity typical of prose, as well as its self-referentiality and autocommunicative nature[11]. In poetry, MDMs regularly play the uncharacteristic role of disorganizer of logical-semantic and syntactic connections. For this reason, they can be considered as "disconnectives" when they carry an additional pragmatic load to

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[11] For the definition of poetic discourse and fundamentals of poetic pragmatics, see Sokolova & Zakharkiv (2025).

express inference procedures and attract the addressee's attention to the utterance itself. It is important to emphasize that these units can act as both connectives[12] and "disconnectives" in poetry, which allows us to identify a wider range of their functions than in ordinary language. Acting as "disconnectives," they do not cease to function as linking markers, but rather trigger metalinguistic reflection on logical, syntactic, and discursive relations, while enhancing the degree of speaker's subjectivity present in their use.

The tendency to violate the logic of a statement is similar to the logical error known as a «non sequitur»[13], which is used as a literary device. However, contemporary poetry does not use it to create a comic effect; rather, it is used as part of a pragmatic experiment to identify the stability and unidirectionality of logical connections and the boundaries of objective and epistemic modality. At the heart of this experiment are metatextual inferential markers that index the presence of logical connections. According to PC, contemporary poetry creates various forms of such violations.

4.3.2.1. A violation of the structure of an argumentative statement

A violation of the structure of an argumentative statement can occur through the omission of one of the judgment's components (argument or conclusion), as in examples (1 and 2), or through an absence of a correlation between the argument and conclusion, as in examples (3, 4, 5, 6, and 7).

The conclusion is either missing or lacks a direct logical connection to the argument, as in the example (1), where the logical structure of the utterance is disrupted: the causal link introduced by the discourse marker *следовательно* appears at the end of the line and stanza without introducing a subsequent proposition (*Собака ест птицу следовательно* 'The dog eats the bird therefore'). Even assuming that the following stanza serves as the conclusion, the causal-consecutive relationship between the two propositions remains unclear. A more logical inference from the premise would be a statement such as: *The dog is eating the bird; therefore, the dog is a predator.* Additionally, the phrase contains referential ambiguity in Russian because the pronoun *она* ('she/it') in the following phrase *Она парит в воздухе* 'She is floating in the air' could refer to either the dog or the bird, both of which are feminine in Russian.

When **the argument is absent or fails to establish a direct logical connection to the conclusion,** the interaction of DMs may generate functionally divergent effects. In example (2), the combination of *quindi* and the interpersonal DMs *ciao ciao* ('bye-bye' or 'goodbye') forms "clusters"[14] of DMs with different

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[12] According to O. Inkova, connectives are units with a connecting function, consisting of several elements, whose composition can differ (2016: 38).

[13] Non sequitur (Latin: does not follow) — in logic, this term refers to an irrelevant argument or logical fallacy in which the provided argument is not related to the conclusion.

[14] Bazzanella (2006: 466) uses the term "cumuli".

functions, producing the effect of overlapping discourses, contrast, and violation of logic in example (2):

(2) che dorme... i vermi a torme... nella cassa...
dentro le ossa... nel sangue...che passa...
quindi ciao ciao sugli ossi... tutto passa...
la vita passa... il sangue passa... passa... (P. Valduga)
<that sleeps… the worms in swarms… in the coffin… / inside the bones… in the blood… that flows… / **therefore, bye-bye** on the bones… everything passes… life passes… the blood passes… passes…>

Another case involves **an absence of a direct correlation between the conclusion and the argument**, as in example (3), where *quindi* expresses the logical operation of reformulation *il passato e quindi il pensato*, but it indicates an absence of strict dependence between the antecedent and consequent. Since there is no obvious logical connection between the past and the thought, their unification through *quindi* lacks a strict logical basis, violating the logical implication:

(3) il passato e **quindi** il pensato
il passato in quanto corrisponde alla parola
il pensato in quanto corrisponde alla parola
il pensato che va in direzione opposta (M. Zaffarano)
<the past and **therefore** the thought / the past insofar as it corresponds to the word / the thought insofar as it corresponds to the word / the thought that moves in the opposite direction>

Fragment (4) demonstrates the same principle of breaking logical connections:

(4) Sympathy requires terrific optimism, bravado, and **therefore** paranoia.
Already I regret having singled the woman out (L. Hejinian)

Inferential markers index logical coherence, which is actually violated in the following fragments (5, 6). The speaker expresses doubt about the reliability of the information he communicates in example (6), which leads to a violation of inferential relations in the sphere of epistemic modality:

(5) I do not know English, and **therefore** I can have nothing to
say about this latest war, flowering through a night-
scope in the evening sky (M. Palmer).

In this example, one of the meanings of the polysemous verb *say* is 'to speak authoritatively; to declare; to have an opinion'. However, the indication of *English* in the argumentative part *P* allows the statement to be interpreted from the speaker's point of view regarding their ignorance of the language: *I do not know English*. Thus, the unfamiliarity with the language leads to the conclusion about the refusal of self-expression: <*I*> *have nothing to say*. Moreover, the very expression of the impossibility of speaking brings this statement closer to illocutionary suicide (according to Z. Vendler), since the subject denies the act of speech itself.

The modal indicators (*невозможно мочь* 'it is impossible to be able') in the fragment (6) demonstrate the modal-ontological limit of the utterance, where the marking of the logical connection serves as a tool for poetic criticism of this kind of relationship:

(6) Расщепление письмом стирает ненасытную
субъективность <…>
Она есть причинение ничто,
неприемлемый дар такого беспамятства, которое
позволяет, не приближаясь, приблизиться к точке,
где больше уже невозможно мочь, невозможно
превозмочь и схватить и, **следовательно**, помыслить (A. Skidan)
<The splitting by writing erases insatiable / subjectivity <…> / It is the causing of nothing, an unacceptable gift of such oblivion that / allows, without approaching, to get close to the point / where it is no longer possible to be able, impossible / to overcome, to grasp, and, **therefore**, to conceive>

The denial of the ontological modality *невозможно мочь* 'it is impossible to be able' serves as an argument for the conclusion: *и, **следовательно**, <невозможно> помыслить* 'and therefore <it is impossible> to think'. This marks a weakening of the epistemic position, as the subject acknowledges a loss of capacity for judgment, thought, and the formulation of knowledge.

4.3.2.2. Transforming lexical-semantic relations

The antithesis is expressed as a conclusion, as in the fragment (7), which compares two concepts that are usually perceived as opposites: *Где лето, там зима / А где зима, там следовательно лето* 'Where there's summer, there's winter, / But where there's winter, therefore, there's summer':

(7) Гипнотизирует сама
Идея что где лето там зима
А где зима там **следовательно** лето (D. Davydov)
<The idea itself hypnotizes / that where there's summer, there's winter, / But where there's winter, **therefore**, there's summer>

On the one hand, *winter* and *summer* are contextual or relational antonyms, contrasted within the system of seasons. On the other hand, they participate in forming a causal connection that enhances the contrast.

Categorical error: in example (8), the subject *I* assumes the plural property of *we*, reflecting a deictic shift between singular and plural that violates standard logic:

(8) Then the singing man, whose doom had yet to come, spoke. "Darkness, we are two and **therefore** I am two" (L. Hejinian)

Violating hyper-hyponymous relations results in the blurring of the logical and ontological hierarchy of time units, as seen in fragment (9):

(9) У часов есть циферблат, но отсутствуют стрелки:
даже при самом пристальном изучении циферблата
мы все не узнаем определенный час суток,
а следовательно, мало кто догадывается, какой сейчас <u>век</u>:
каменный или не каменный, что ли (V. Sosnora)
<A clock has a dial but no hands: / even when studying the dial very closely / we still cannot tell the exact hour of the day, / **and therefore**, few people know what century it is: / the Stone Age or not, or something like that>

Therefore links a particular observation (the absence of arrows: *У часов есть циферблат, но отсутствуют стрелки* 'The watch has a dial but no hands') with an inappropriate generalization (the uncertainty of the century: *мало кто догадывается, какой сейчас век* 'few people know what century it is'), emphasizing the semantic uncertainty of both temporal and logical categories.

4.3.2.3. Using DMs in a non-standard distribution

Fragmentation intentionally violates linear logic due to incomplete constructions that are syntactically separated as independent fragments, as seen in examples (10, 11):

(10) And am not surprised, in the possessive case, that there's no land there. Not for me. Though I went at random and **therefore**. Could not ever hope to stop (M. Waldrop)

(11) Here a Dying Song shells obdurate **therefore**. Consequently a criminal lineup makes an arrangement cut on the bias of mass incarceration (C. Harryman)

Another distributional deviation occurs when **the DM is inserted within a modal construction**, as in example (12; see also 16), where *therefore* occupies a marked position between the modal verb and the main verb:

(12) Would you note
the pretty poem
I might (**therefore**) of wrote? (R. B. DuPlessis)

The phrase *I might (therefore) of wrote* is a non-standard form of *might have written*. The construction *of wrote* (instead of *have written*) marks a morphological anomaly: while the standard form requires the perfect infinitive (*have* + past participle), here the auxiliary *have* is reduced to *of* and the participle is replaced by the simple past form *wrote*, reflecting a common colloquial reduction in everyday speech. Placing *(therefore)* inside the compound modal verbal predicate violates the statement's syntactic coherence, blurring the logical argumentation.

Similarly, in example (13), square brackets indicate the optional nature of the word *[therefore]*. This leads to a shift between the objective nature of the utterance and the speaker's subjective attitude toward reality:

(13) I am **[therefore]** studying the substance of illusion, that
which is allowed to the infant, and which in adult life is inherent in
art and religion <...> (S. Howe)

4.3.2.4. Expansion of multifunctionality

Unlike in everyday speech, where multifunctionality is contextually resolved as a prerequisite for efficient communication, poetry tends to activate and foreground multifunctionality. The expression of additional functions may occur through the repetition of DMs (as in examples 14, 15, 16) or their use in conversational-style contexts. These strategies lead to a convergence of metatextual and interpersonal functions (see examples 18, 19).

The repetition of DMs in one statement can be literal (in examples 15 and 16), or it can be expressed in different forms, like "chains" (or "catene" as designated in (Bazzanella 2006: 455)) (see example 16):

(14) **Therefore** the real, an irreducible pattern by which this real presents itself
in experience, is what anxiety signals. This is the guiding thread . . .

Therefore an absent cause is what remains of the irreducible in the complete operation of the subject's advent in the locus of the Other . . .

Therefore is a purpose to all things. The billboard telegraphs its message, you have a stake in this outcome. It would be happy to think so (B. Watten)

(15) Nothing is hidden. **Therefore** cannot see. **Therefore** a view of the world unimportant. Even though according to it. Every day. I brush my teeth (K. Waldrop)

(16) ora, se non sono nessuno,
resto però un modesto e appassionato collezionista di autografi: (e può
quindi
(capirmi,
dunque, spero, il perché adesso Le scrivo): (con molti ossequi ecc. dal Suo):
(E. Sanguineti)

Unlike in ordinary language, the repetition of PUs in a poetic utterance is not a tautology. In this case, *therefore* begins to perform not only a logical-argumentative, but also a poetic function. DMs become an element of rhythmic and semantic progression, participating in the structuring of the unfolding meaning and redefining the subject's position. Thus, *therefore* turns into an instrument of semantic increment rather than repetition.

The use of DMs in speech acts combines metatextual and interpersonal functions, and in isolated positions, *therefore* loses its copula function and becomes

an indirect speech act that merges basic illocutionary functions with the inference function:

> (17) <…> for one second you didn't
>   watch where you were going
>   and look what you got.
>   **Therefore**:
>
>   Au vers!
>   Need someone?
>   *a pronominal volunteer*
>   who "translates" *of*
>   *arcs stars* "stones" *wrecks acts strings notes dots* <…> (R.B. DuPlessis)

In terms of speech act theory, *therefore* marks a multifunctional speech act that combines the metatextual function of inference with the other functions: representative function (asserting a logical connection), expressive function (expressing the speaker's inner experience), and declarative function (meaning 'I conclude that').

In example (18), similar to the use of a speech act, *quindi* creates an **effect of violating a pragmatic implicature:**

> (18) Troppa luce risulta accecante, superfluo ricordarlo
>   – **quindi**, occhio agli occhi, fratellini. Ché questo è un paese,
>   e lo è veramente e in verità, da vivere come immersi
>   in una grande foresta (M. Lunetta)
>   <Too much light proves blinding, superfluous to recall it / — **therefore**,
>   keep an eye on your eyes, little brothers. For this is a country, / and it
>   truly is, in truth, to be lived as if immersed / in a great forest>

After declaring the reminder to be redundant, *superfluo ricordarlo* 'it is unnecessary to remind', the author moves on to the speech act of reminding: *quindi, occhio agli occhi, fratellini* 'therefore, keep an eye on your eyes, little brothers'.

4.3.2.5. Contextual resemantization

The semantic "bleaching", or desemantization, typical of DMs formation, a process involving the reduction or loss of the original lexical content[15], becomes an object of contemporary poetic metalinguistic reflection. As Traugott (2021: 10) notes, "nearly all pragmatic markers in English originate historically in discoverable lexical expressions," a claim that holds true for many European languages. Although tracing such etymologies is not always straightforward, the historical source is often recoverable. Contemporary poetry often exploits this by engaging in a process that can be described as "contextual resemantization",

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[15] For more details on the mechanisms of grammaticalization in different languages, see Heine (2003: 579) and Heine, Yang & Rhee (2024), the special issue of *Russian Journal of Linguistics* 28 (4).

whereby the pragmatic phenomenon is re-actualized as a semantically loaded unit. This strategy restores components of the original lexical sense and foregrounds etymological and semantic links, thereby enriching the interpretive potential of the poetic text. Resemantization differs from lexicalization, which is a semantic transition of a linguistic unit into a separate meaningful word. Lexicalization has a diachronic character, as in the case of *tout-à-fait* (Bally 1944: 148)) and «offers new semantic contours that separate and distance themselves from those represented by the constituent parts of the unit», as F. Floricic shows using the example of *altroché* (2023: 60).

Resemantization involves restoring etymological connections through transposition, the use of cognate words or fragmentation, leading to the restoration of the lost lexical meaning of the DMs. Through processes like substantiation (see example 19: *a time of therefore*), the unit can shift from functioning as a logical connector to acquiring nominal status, referring to the semantic domain of temporality. In this case, it is not the single marker *therefore* that becomes substantivized, but the entire construction *a time of therefore*. Here, the DM is reinterpreted as a noun modifier within a nominal phrase, denoting the ideas of 'time of conclusion' and 'time of logical consequence':

> (19) Constantly offered as a time of **therefore** but with a feeling of as (J. Clover)

In example (20), the reactivation of the etymological root ***sled*** (Old Russian *sled*, Proto-Slavic *slĕdъ*) foregrounds the polysemy of the Russian noun *следователь* "investigator" and the discourse marker *следовательно*:

> (20) и **следователь** говорит
> и **следовательно** <не> существуешь (A. Skidan)
> < and the investigator says / and **therefore** you <do not> exist >

Poetic resemantization occurs through the graphic and morphemic fragmentation of the word *there-fore* in example (21), where the etymology of the word is revealed: "Middle English *ther-fore*, from Old English *þærfore*; from *there* + *fore*, an Old English and Middle English collateral form of for" (OED).

> (21) The words, as I write them, are larger, cover
> more surface on this two-dimensional picture plane. Shall I, there-
> fore, tend toward shorter terms — impact of page on vocabulary?
> (R. Silliman)

Various methods of resemantization make it possible to restore the etymology of discourse markers, attaching them the status of semantically loaded units. Consequently, the marker functions as a key element of the utterance, expressing the process of meta-reflection about language, communication, and the boundary between everyday and poetic utterance.

5. Discussion

Examining PUs across different communicative practices, particularly in poetic discourse against the backdrop of their use in spoken language, reveals a broader range of functions, shaped by poetry's orientation toward linguistic experimentation, polysemy, and multifunctionality. In poetry, MDMs may integrate functions of structuring discourse and guiding the interpretive process with additional roles that intensify their multifunctionality. Unlike in everyday utterances, this multifunctionality is not reduced but rather heightened, fostering the emergence of new meanings. Statistical analysis showed a high frequency of use of metatextual markers in poetry in all three languages. Notably, the Poetic Corpus uses the following units more often than the spoken corpus: *dunque, tuttavia, однако, напротив, thus, therefore*.

While the primary objective of this study was to identify general tendencies in the use of inferential DMs in Russian, Italian, and English based on poetic and spoken corpora, the analysis also revealed notable differences. According to data from both Spoken and Poetic Corpora, Italian and Russian display a particularly rich system of discourse markers, reflected in their higher frequency of use.

Corpus data shows that Russian and Italian have a richer system of DMs, which aligns with Coseriu (1980) and Heinrichs (1981) typology of particle density. English, by contrast, reduced its DMs inventory due to historical restructuring: the shift from inflectional Old English to more isolating Middle English increased the functional weight of all syntactic positions and salience of structural elements in clause. This also determined the communicative specificity when changes and transpositions of existing linguistic means contribute to achieving communicative goals (van Kemenade & Links 2020: 1).

Comparative studies of Russian and Italian connectives and MDMs offer different perspectives: Govorukho (1998: 44–45) interprets Russian sentences as more explicit in marking logical-syntactic links, while Pecorari and Pinelli (2024: 299) emphasize a stronger tendency toward such explicitness in Italian.

Corpus data show that, in both spoken language and poetic language, there is a greater tendency toward the explication of cause-and-effect relationships in Italian than in Russian. However, given the minor variation in the quantitative data, it would be beneficial to conduct a corpus analysis of additional discourses characterized by the use of inferential markers in order to draw more general conclusions about the pragmatic dimensions of Italian and Russian. These discourses could include academic, prose, drama, and so on.

Poets' attention to this group of PUs can be attributed to their high frequency of use in Italian and their ability to organize not only exogenous connections in discourse, thereby structuring it, but also endogenous ones, thereby participating in the organization of interaction. For example, the unit *quindi* expands the sphere of functioning in dialogic speech and varies discourses. According to Govorukho (1998: 73), *quindi* is more prevalent in journalism, academic prose, and other genres of non-fiction literature, as well as in colloquial speech, compared to *dunque,* which

is more prevalent in fiction. Camugli Gallardo (2017) compares *quindi* and *dunque*, arguing *quindi* specializes in strict, expected and external consecution (factual sequences and metadiscourse comments), whereas *dunque* reflects speaker-related inferences and functions as a parenthetical connector. Recent studies (Mascherpa 2016, Alfano & Schettino 2023) have observed an expansion of *quindi*'s functions in spoken language, where it combines its basic metatextual role with a range of interpersonal uses. These functions include demarcation changes in communicative roles, serving as a pause filler, or hedge, and maintaining and planning discourse.

Sweetser (1990: 31) distinguishes three types of causality: sociophysical (one event causes another), epistemic (evidence leads to a conclusion), and conversational (a causal link between speech acts). Generalizing this typology, Traugott (2021: 6–7) claims that these three domains could be 'the basis of cognitive work on DMs': socio-physical (real world); epistemic (world of reasoning and belief); and speech act (textual/discourse world). The researcher proposes the following general classification of DMs: social, epistemic, and discourse (Ibid.: 4). Kroon (1995) applies Sweetser's classification to Latin particles, mapping *quia/quod* to sociophysical, *quoniam* to epistemic, and *nam/enim* to epistemic + conversational causality.

Grounded in this approach, we can conclude that in modern Italian, the strict division of markers into different groups becomes fuzzier. Initially, *quindi* was a logical-argumentative marker that expressed a conclusion or consequence, frequently performing an epistemic function. However, in modern colloquial speech, *quindi* increasingly performs the interpersonal functions of 'well', 'so', serving as a hedge when the logical connection is not the main focus (e.g., *Quindi, che facciamo stasera?*). Thus, *quindi* relates to both epistemic and conversational types of causality[16].

The KiParla corpus data confirms this tendency (see Table 1). There are 5216 total occurrences of *quindi*, 4770 of which are used in the interpersonal function as a hesitation or demarcation marker ('well', 'so', etc.) and 445 of which are used in the metatextual function as a logical connection marker ('therefore', 'so', etc.). This demonstrates the high degree to which these units participate in the organization of spontaneous speech.

English corpora show a frequency of MDMs that is approximately three times lower. This pattern is attributable to historical developments of English as an analytic language. Although the English Poetic Corpus overall contains fewer MDMs than the comparable Russian and Italian corpora, it still shows higher frequency than COCA (Spoken), reflecting a contemporary American poetic inclination toward experimentation with metatextual units.

Due to its grammatical analytism, the English-language poetry shows a stronger tendency toward syntactic experimentation and shifts in normative distribution. This is particularly evident in the experimental insertion and placement

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[16] See Traugott (2021: 15) for more information on the semantic and pragmatic changes in MDMs: from the emergence of metatextual discourse functions to the subsequent hedging function.

of DMs within a verb group, a phenomenon also observed in the Italian PC. Contemporary Italian poetry, in turn, often uses inferential markers in speech-act contexts to increase multifunctionality. It also uses them in structures where the logical outcome contradicts the epistemic stance. Russian poetic discourse engages more frequently in lexico-semantic experimentation, such as presenting antithesis as a logical conclusion and disrupting hyperonym-hyponym relations. Across all three Poetic Corpora, diverse strategies of contextual "resemantization" aim to restore the original semantic motivation of DMs, moving them beyond the role of purely logical connectors. Placed at the center of pragmatic experimentation, metatextual markers thus foreground metalinguistic reflection on language itself, the communicative act, and the boundaries between poetic and everyday discourse.

6. Conclusions

This study highlights the significance of combining corpus-based and discourse approaches in examining pragmatic phenomena. As artistic discourses (including prose, poetry, drama, cinematic, etc.) differ fundamentally from everyday language, foregrounding the form of the utterance rather than communicative efficiency, its inclusion in corpus research requires close attention to its specific properties. The analysis of metatextual discourse markers in poetic discourse compared to spoken language demonstrates their expanded pragmatic potential and contributes to understanding the mechanisms of pragmatic meaning-making across communicative practices. Metalinguistic reflection on PUs in contemporary poetry seeks to reveal how they participate in the very process of using language, or metalanguaging, thus making it possible to speak of a poetic form of pragmatic experimentation. The growing "conversationalization" of contemporary poetry, evident in the frequent use of discourse markers, illustrates this experimentation by expanding their functions and altering their meanings within poetic discourse. These findings broaden the perspective on the interaction between linguistic form, function, and context, and point to the importance of integrating artistic discourse into cross-linguistic pragmatic studies.

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Research article / Научная статья

Pragmatic markers and ideological positioning in EUROPARL: A corpus-based study

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Abstract
Political persuasion in institutional contexts often relies on subtle linguistic cues rather than overt argumentation. While Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has extensively examined macro-level ideological strategies, the micro-pragmatic mechanisms through which everyday expressions shape political meaning remain underexplored. This study addresses this gap by analysing how pragmatic markers contribute to the implicit manipulation and ideological positioning of speakers in European parliamentary discourse. The aim of the paper is to provide tools for the analysis of manipulation and to show how micro-level pragmatic markers can reveal implicit persuasive strategies such as presupposing agreement or invoking shared knowledge. Drawing on the EUROPARL corpus of European Parliament debates, Critical Discourse Analysis, and Furkó's (2019, 2020) critical-pragmatic approach, it analyzes markers such as *of course, well, but,* and *you know*. The study shows that while traditionally linked to cohesion and interaction management, these markers also play pivotal roles in populist and strategic discursive practices. The interplay of evidential markers, modal adverbs, and general extenders reveals how they jointly background information, reinforce polarization, and recontextualize arguments. Their frequency, distribution, and co-occurrence patterns reflect broader socio-political trends and manipulative strategies of legitimation. Far from being ancillary, pragmatic markers are integral to authority enactment, ideological contestation, suppression of alternative viewpoints, and consensus-building. In addition to corpus methods, the study explores AI-assisted tools for identifying and categorizing pragmatic phenomena in large political corpora, highlighting both their potential and limitations. By integrating pragmatics, corpus linguistics, and CDA, it advances an interdisciplinary approach to language, power, and politics in parliamentary settings.
Keywords: *pragmatic markers, parliamentary discourse, critical discourse analysis, ideological positioning, corpus linguistics, manipulative strategies, populist rhetoric*

Прагматические маркеры и идеологическое позиционирование в EUROPARL: корпусное исследование

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Аннотация

Политическое убеждение в институциональном контексте часто опирается не на открытую аргументацию, а на неявные лингвистические сигналы. Несмотря на то, что критический дискурс-анализ (CDA) широко исследовал идеологические стратегии на макроуровне, микропрагматические механизмы, посредством которых повседневные высказывания формируют политический смысл, остаются недостаточно изученными. Данное исследование устраняет этот пробел, анализируя, как прагматические маркеры способствуют имплицитной манипуляции и идеологическому позиционированию спикеров в европейском парламентском дискурсе. Цель статьи — предложить инструменты для анализа манипуляции и показать, как прагматические маркеры на микроуровне могут раскрывать имплицитные стратегии убеждения, такие как предположение о согласии или использование общих знаний. Опираясь на корпус материалов дебатов Европейского парламента EUROPARL и критико-прагматический подход Фурко (2019, 2020), анализируются такие маркеры, как *of course, well, but* и *you know*. Проведенный критический дискурс-анализ показал, что, хотя эти маркеры традиционно рассматриваются как средства организации текста, они также играют ключевую роль в стратегических дискурсивных практиках. Взаимодействие доказательных маркеров, модальных наречий и общих расширителей совместно формируют фоновую информацию, усиливают поляризацию и реконтекстуализируют аргументы. Частотность употребления прагматических маркеров, их распределение и паттерны совместной встречаемости отражают более широкие социально-политические тенденции и манипулятивные стратегии. Исследование показало, что прагматические маркеры являются важным средством демонстрации власти, идеологической борьбы, подавления иного мнения и достижения консенсуса. Помимо корпусных методов, в исследовании рассматриваются инструменты с поддержкой ИИ, используемые для выявления и категоризации прагматических феноменов в крупных политических корпусах. Отмечается как их потенциал, так и ограничения. Интеграция прагматики, корпусной лингвистики и критического дискурс-анализа развивает междисциплинарный подход к изучению взаимодействия языка, власти и политики в парламентской среде.

Ключевые слова: *прагматические маркеры, парламентский дискурс, критический дискурс-анализ, идеологическое позиционирование, корпусная лингвистика, манипулятивные стратегии, популистская риторика*

1. Introduction

Language is a fundamental tool of politics, shaping power relations not only through explicit propositions but also through subtle cues. Among these, pragmatic markers have often been dismissed as minor fillers, yet research shows they can carry significant ideological weight by guiding interpretation, projecting stance, and managing interpersonal alignment (e.g., Aijmer 2013: 42, Fischer 2006: 118). In parliamentary debate, where persuasion and legitimacy are continually negotiated, markers such as *well*, *of course*, *you know*, or *but* can influence perceptions and ideological positioning. The present paper is informed by CDA-pragmatic studies that demonstrated how subtle linguistic cues such as modality and evidentiality construe ideological bias under the guise of neutrality (e.g., Larina et al. 2019).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has examined how language enacts power and ideology, but has largely focused on semantic and rhetorical strategies. Pragmatic linguistics, meanwhile, has richly described markers' roles in coherence, politeness, and stance-taking without linking these to ideology. This study bridges these strands by analysing pragmatic markers as instruments of ideological positioning in European Parliament (EP) debates. It explores how they naturalize viewpoints as common sense, challenge opposing stances, and foster rapport with audiences.

The study aims to provide tools for the analysis of manipulation, to show how micro-level markers like *of course* or *you know* can reveal implicit persuasive strategies such as presupposing agreement or invoking shared knowledge. It also provides interdisciplinary insight by demonstrating the value of integrating CDA and Critical Discourse Theory with descriptive pragmatics to explain how markers sustain or contest power relations, while also recognizing that AI itself has been framed as an ideology reshaping social institutions through power, manipulation, and domination. It integrates AI tools by assessing the potential of large language models (e.g., ChatGPT) to detect and interpret pragmatic markers in large corpora, noting both their added value and limitations.

Following this introduction, the paper reviews the relevant literature, outlines a corpus-based methodology, presents quantitative and qualitative findings, and interprets them in light of ideological positioning and manipulative discourse strategies. The discussion also considers AI's role in complementing the analysis, before concluding with the study's contributions and directions for future research on language, ideology, and pragmatics in political discourse.

2. Literature review

Pragmatic markers (PMs) are linguistic items that do not alter propositional content but serve crucial textual and interpersonal functions. Classic studies (Schiffrin 1987) identified their role in organizing discourse, while Fraser (1996: 168) defined them as expressions shaping pragmatic interpretation rather than truth-conditional meaning. Subsequent approaches — from Conversation Analysis to Relevance Theory and interactional sociolinguistics — have shown that PMs manage turn-taking, mitigate face threats, and signal stance (Fischer 2006, Aijmer 2013).

More recently, PMs — traditionally viewed as non-ideological — have been re-evaluated as carriers of ideological meaning. Following Rocher's (1969) classic sociological perspective, ideology can be understood as a structured system of ideas and judgements that both explain and justify the position of a group, drawing on shared values and orienting its future course of action. Wodak (2007: 203) urged integrating pragmatics into CDA, noting that hedges, fillers, and turn initiators can index power and stance. This aligns with Fairclough's (1995: 136ff) concept of the "conversationalization" of public discourse, where institutional talk adopts colloquial features to appear relatable. Historical corpus research on British parliamentary debates (Hiltunen & Vartiainen 2024) confirms increased informality, with markers such as *you know* and *well* projecting solidarity and aligning with populist appeals.

In political contexts specifically, PMs support persuasion within formal norms. They can naturalize stances as self-evident (*of course*), downplay specifics (*and so on*), or manage interpersonal relations (*well* as a mitigator). Furkó (2019, 2020) showed that evidential markers, general extenders, and stance markers often serve manipulative ends, aligning with van Dijk's (1993) concept of "ideological work." Other studies highlight how boosters (*indeed*, *clearly*) reinforce authority, while adversatives (*but*) pivot from concession to preferred stance, foregrounding one view over another. Engagement markers such as *you know* can build in-group solidarity, a hallmark of populist rhetoric (Wodak 2015: section 4.1).

From a critical perspective, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) traditionally focus on overt rhetorical devices, but micro-level features like PMs also contribute to power dynamics. They can reinforce the "ideological square" (van Dijk 1993: 249), naturalizing in-group virtues and problematizing the out-group (*We, of course…* compared with *They, well…*). Subtle markers of attitude (*frankly*, *honestly*) may lend unwarranted credibility, while general extenders (phrases such as *and so on*, used at the end of lists to mark the list as incomplete) can obscure contentious details (de Saussure 2007: 152, Taubayev 2015: 254). Recent cross-cultural research (Ponton et al. 2025) expands this perspective, showing how pronouns and 'we-strategies' enact consensus and ideological alignment across political systems.

Methodologically, Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) have enabled large-scale analysis of PMs, revealing frequency spikes that correlate with

ideological confrontation or political strategy shifts. This evidence reinforces qualitative descriptive (e.g., Stubbs 1996) and critical (e.g., Flowerdew & Richardson 2017) studies by demonstrating that PMs are used systematically in the construction of ideology.

In sum, PMs are polyfunctional resources operating at the intersection of cohesion, stance-taking, and ideological positioning. This study builds on Furkó (2019, 2020) and others by examining their role in European parliamentary discourse through a corpus-based CDA approach, connecting micro-level language choices to broader political strategies.

3. Data and methodology

This study uses the English-language subset of the EUROPARL corpus (ENA, August 15, 2025)[1] with a view to avoiding translation issues and focussing on original utterances. We compiled a 1-million-word sub-corpus of parliamentary debates from the past two decades, selecting sessions with high ideological contention (e.g., immigration, sovereignty, economic policy) to capture strategic language use across parties, countries, and political alignments.

PMs were identified through a combined automated and manual process. An initial list — based on Furkó (2020: 151, 196) — included discourse markers (*well, now*), stance markers (*I think, you know, frankly*), evidential/modal items (*of course, surely*), conjunctive connectors (*but, however*), general extenders (*and so on, or whatever*), and fillers. We searched the corpus using Sketch Engine as well as AntConc and Python scripts, then manually excluded non-pragmatic uses (e.g., *well* as an adverb of manner). Each occurrence was annotated for one or more functional categories: Evidential/Certainty, Contrast/Counterargument, Interpersonal/Engagement, Hedging/Qualification, Filler/Pauser, and General Extender.

Analysis followed a corpus-based CDA framework (Wodak 2015, Hart 2018), combining quantitative measures (frequency, dispersion, collocation) with close qualitative reading. Collocational patterns (e.g., *of course we*, *but I*) and PM clusters (e.g., *well, frankly*) were examined for rhetorical effects and compared with the British National Corpus (BNC) as well as the Hansard Corpus (ENA, August 15, 2025)[2] as reference points. We aligned PM usage with five manipulative strategies from CDA: suppression, polarization, recontextualization, conversationalization, and ambiguity.

An exploratory AI-assisted component tested whether GPT-4 could reliably identify and interpret PMs taking possible hallucinations and confabulations into consideration. We provided short corpus extracts (150–200 words) and prompted the model to highlight PMs and comment on their function. Outputs were compared to manual coding for insight into the model's utility and limitations, echoing recent

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[1] https://www.statmt.org/europarl/
[2] http://hansard-corpus.org

computational work (Wise & El Barj 2023: 3) on machine learning detection of hedges and authority markers.

Reliability was ensured through double-coding of a subset of data by an additional analyst, resolution of disagreements via established pragmatic criteria, and statistical checks (e.g., dispersion plots) to avoid skew from single debates or speakers. Example excerpts included in the paper were selected for representativeness, while all identifying political details were anonymized.

The aim of the mixed-method design — quantitative corpus analysis, qualitative CDA interpretation, and exploratory AI-assisted review — was to enable both breadth and depth in tracing how pragmatic markers contribute to ideological positioning in European parliamentary discourse.

4. Results of the analysis

In this section, we report the findings of our corpus-based analysis, illustrating how pragmatic markers operate in parliamentary discourse to reinforce or challenge ideological positions. The analysis is structured around several functional categories of pragmatic markers, although overlaps are common since a single marker instance can serve multiple functions. For each category, we highlight quantitative trends (frequency or distributional patterns) and qualitative insights (illustrative examples and their discursive effects).

4.1. Evidential and certainty markers: Asserting common ground

Evidential or certainty markers include items that convey the speaker's assessment of a statement's truth, obviousness, or shared acceptance. Examples from our data include *of course, indeed, obviously, clearly, in fact, surely*, as well as certain uses of phrases like *I believe* (when used assertively rather than tentatively). These markers were found to be pervasive in parliamentary speech. Quantitatively, *of course* was among the most frequent multi-word pragmatic markers in the corpus, appearing on average 5.89 times per 10,000 words (henceforth tpttw). Its usage spanned speakers from different political groups, but the analysis revealed a common thread: *of course* often prefaced statements that the speaker wanted to present as uncontested or taken for granted.

(1) *Of course, we want a strong Europe that protects its citizens.* (ENA, August 15, 2025)[3]

Here, *of course* is used to frame the proposition (*we want a strong Europe that protects citizens*) as something beyond doubt or debate. The effect is twofold: it posits unity and consensus (implying that *everyone* in the chamber, or at least the speaker's in-group, must agree on this goal) and it implicitly marginalizes any dissent (anyone not wanting that would seem unreasonable). This aligns with the strategy of *naturalization* of ideology — making an ideological commitment

[3] https://www.statmt.org/europarl/

(support for a strong protective Europe) appear as common sense. Such usage corroborates Simon-Vandenbergen et al.'s (2007: 31) point about presupposition: *of course* presupposes agreement. In our corpus, right-leaning and left-leaning speakers alike used *of course* to preemptively close debate on core values (e.g., "Of course we care about human rights," "Of course national security is paramount"), even if they subsequently diverged on the means of policy implementation. This evidential marker thus serves as a face-saving and consensus-building device: challenging an "of course" statement risks positioning the speaker outside the presumed consensus.

Other certainty markers like *indeed* (2.94 tpttw) and *clearly* (3.58 tpttw) were also frequently used to strengthen claims. *Indeed* often appeared in supportive follow-ups: e.g., "Our economy is improving. Indeed, unemployment has fallen to record lows." This marker signals reinforcement or confirmation of a point, adding emphasis that the speaker's argument is grounded in reality or evidence. In ideological terms, *indeed* helps a speaker build authority, suggesting that facts are on their side (thus any opposing claims are implicitly less factual). *Clearly* and *obviously* serve a similar affirming function; however, they can carry a slightly confrontational undertone — *obviously* in parliamentary speech often came up in rebuttals: "*Clearly*, the opposition has not considered the full implications of this law," or "*Obviously*, what my colleague fails to mention is…". Here the pragmatic marker *clearly* casts the speaker's subsequent correction as self-evident truth, thus describing the opponent as either ignorant or deceptive for not acknowledging it. This is a subtle form of delegitimization through pragmatic phrasing. It resonates with van Dijk's (1993: 250) notion that elites in discourse establish their version of reality as the authoritative one, effectively dismissing others' versions as *clearly* misguided.

One interesting finding was how speakers modulated certainty markers to manage epistemic stance. When a speaker wanted to avoid appearing too dogmatic, they occasionally paired certainty markers with personal attribution: e.g., "*I believe, of course, that...*" or "*Of course, in my view,...*". By inserting "I believe" or "in my view," the speaker adds a slight hedge acknowledging personal stance, yet still retains *of course* to imply that their belief aligns with common sense. This interplay of hedging and certainty reflects Hyland's (2005: 138ff) notion of balancing boosters and hedges in academic writing, here manifesting in political discourse. It allows politicians to push a viewpoint as obvious while maintaining a veneer of humility or subjectivity ("it's just my reasonable opinion that happens to be obvious").

4.2. Adversative and contrastive markers: Managing counter-arguments

But (28.94 tpttw) is by far the most frequent adversative marker in our corpus — unsurprising, as argumentation thrives on contrast and rebuttal. However, its pragmatic role extends beyond that of a mere conjunction. In political speeches, *but* often serves to orchestrate a specific rhetoric: acknowledge something to appear

fair or thorough, then pivot to the main point which often undermines what was acknowledged. We observed a pattern where speakers would use *but* to navigate ideological safe ground before moving to contentious claims.

(2) *The proposal has some merits, but it is ultimately unacceptable to our group because it undermines national sovereignty.”* (ENA, August 15, 2025)[4]

In this example, everything before *but* is a strategic concession (“has some merits” is a mild positive). This concession may signal acknowledgement of a competing ideology or of a general principle (e.g., a proposal deemed socially progressive, hence “some merits”). However, the use of *but* indicates that the speaker’s principal stance follows—namely, rejection of the proposal on ideological grounds (c.f., national sovereignty, a typical concern of certain ideological camps). Here, *but* mitigates the preceding concession and steers the audience’s attention toward the subsequent argument. From a CDA perspective, this structure allows the speaker to appear reasonable and balanced (acknowledging both sides) while effectively prioritizing their partisan stance — a tactic of apparent concession that strengthens argumentative force. Such use of *but* is so routine in parliamentary dialectic that even listeners expect that any phrase before *but* might be perfunctory. It ties into the broader ideological strategy of framing: by structuring discourse as “Yes, X is true, but Y,” the speaker frames Y (their viewpoint) as the conclusion to be remembered, whereas X (the opponent’s point) is framed as subordinate or the exception to the rule.

Other contrastive markers identified include *however* (13.82 tpttw)*, yet* (12.72 tpttw) and *nevertheless* (5.3 tpttw), which tended to appear in more formal registers (often read from prepared speeches). These function similarly to *but* in indicating a turn to a counterpoint. We found that *however* is often sentence-initial in transcripts (e.g., “*However*, we must consider...”), reflecting written-style influence; whereas *but* is more common mid-sentence in spontaneous remarks (“... merits, *but* it is unacceptable ...”). Pragmatically, *however* can carry a slightly more polite or measured tone than *but*. For instance, in diplomatic exchanges on the floor, an MEP might say: “I appreciate the Commission’s efforts; *however*, I remain skeptical about the timeline.” The difference is subtle: *however* separates the clauses more cleanly, allowing the speaker to delineate the positive and negative clearly, whereas *but* blends them into one sentence, often for punchier delivery.

One particularly political use of adversatives is in managing face and mitigating direct confrontation. Instead of directly contradicting a fellow politician, a speaker might employ a pseudo-agreement followed by *but*. e.g., “I understand what my colleague is saying, *but* I think he is overlooking...”. The phrase “I understand” here is not a PM per se but works in tandem with *but* as a politeness strategy. It acknowledges the colleague’s perspective (saving their face) just enough before delivering disagreement. This relates to the distinction between impersonal

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[4] https://www.statmt.org/europarl/

and personal argumentation: PMs that distance the idea from the individual (e.g., "I understand him, but the idea…") frame the conflict as concerning ideas rather than personal competence. *But* can thus serve an important role in institutional politeness — it lets debate occur without overt personal attacks, adhering to parliamentary norms.

Interestingly, we noticed that some speakers, particularly those from more consensus-driven political cultures or parties, would sometimes avoid starting a sentence with *but*, opting for longer formulations such as "*That may be so; however,...*" or even breaking into a new sentence starting with *However*. In contrast, more combative debaters frequently used *but* in rapid-fire exchanges (e.g., interjecting "But that's not true" in heated moments). This pattern suggests a stylistic divide that may correlate with ideology or debating style: a more confrontational, populist approach might use 'but' to directly interject and refute, whereas a more technocratic or diplomatic approach tends to employ more elaborate constructions to maintain decorum.

4.3. Interpersonal and engagement markers: Building solidarity or control

Pragmatic markers that directly engage the audience or manage the speaker-hearer relationship were also prominent. Chief among these in our corpus is *you know* (4.001 tpttw in EUROPARL compared with 4.61 tpttw in BNC), a classic example of an interpersonal marker. *You know* appeared in our data both in its canonical use (seeking confirmation or indicating shared knowledge) and as a general filler. Quantitatively, *you know* was less common in the formal plenary speeches (which often are prepared or read out) but more frequent in spontaneous moments such as Question and Answer sessions or (counter-)interjections. It was also more likely to appear in speeches by certain politicians known for a plainspoken style. When *you know* is used in the European Parliament context, it often seems intended to bring listeners onto the same page, as if appealing to common sense or shared experience.

(3) *We've been negotiating this for years, and, you know, nothing has really changed on the ground.* (ENA, August 15, 2025)[5]

Here *you know* is used as a rhetorical device to invite the audience (fellow MEPs or the public via broadcast) to agree that the situation is obvious or familiar; it functions as a softener and inviter of concurrence. In doing so, *you know* can create a sense of camaraderie or in-group understanding between the speaker and audience, which is powerful in ideological alignment, at the same time feeding polarization: those who disagree are implicitly cast as outsiders.

Other engagement markers include tag questions (e.g., *isn't it?* or *don't we?*), which were relatively infrequent in our corpus, possibly reflecting the less dialogic nature of parliamentary speech compared with everyday conversation. Nonetheless,

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[5] https://www.statmt.org/europarl/

we found instances such as *"We can all agree that democracy is non-negotiable, can't we?"* uttered by a speaker trying to pressure a consensus. The tag *can't we?* is a strong engagement move, turning a statement into a collective agreement check. If no one objects, it creates the record that the assembly agrees. If someone did object, they risk appearing contrary to democracy itself in this example. Hence, such markers can put argumentative pressure on the audience to align.

Well (5.18 tpttw) deserves mention here too, as it often appears at the start of responses to questions or interjections, functioning as a conversational pivot. For example, when challenged, a minister might start their reply with "Well," — this indicates they are addressing the point but possibly disagree. In our notes we observed that *well* at turn-initial position frequently co-occurred with subtle shifts in footing, such as moving from defense to offense in argument, carrying the speaker over a potential moment of tension. It provides a brief pause and facilitates a transition into what could be a face-threatening act (e.g., contradicting a high-ranking official). This usage aligns with classic descriptions of *well* as a marker of dispreferred responses (e.g., Pomerantz 1984: 60). In parliamentary discourse, where open conflict is moderated by formal politeness, *well* thus shows up as a hedge, mitigator of an FTA, a function which we now turn to.

4.4. Hedges and discourse mitigators: Calibrating strength and ambiguity

In addition to expressing certainty or directness, a key function of PMs is to do the opposite — hedging or introducing ambiguity. Hedging functions of epistemic DMs such as *maybe* (0.9 tpttw)*, perhaps* (9.07 tpttw)*, sort of* (2.83 tpttw)*, kind of* (5.81 tpttw)*, I think (in a tentative sense)* (0.9 tpttw) were present in the corpus, though their distribution was skewed. They appeared more in deliberative contexts or when speakers were discussing complex, uncertain issues (e.g., economic forecasts, hypothetical scenarios) and less so when making ideological statements of principle. In parliamentary debates, showing uncertainty can sometimes weaken a position, so politicians often avoid too much hedging on core stances. However, we did observe a strategic use of hedges when dealing with facts or predictions that could be contested.

(4) *The reforms will probably yield results in a few years, but we cannot be entirely sure at this stage.* (ENA, August 15, 2025)[6]

Here *probably* and the phrase *cannot be entirely sure* serve to preempt criticism — the speaker acknowledges uncertainty proactively, which can build credibility by appearing honest and realistic. It is a way to prevent opponents from later saying "you promised X would happen." Thus, hedging in this case is a defense against future face threat.

In manipulative political discourse, ambiguity and vagueness may at times be deliberate (Bavelas 1983: 285). Such effects can be reinforced by pragmatic

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[6] https://www.statmt.org/europarl/

markers, for instance when speakers employ general extenders or placeholders. As noted, general extenders like *"and so on"* (1.54 tpttw), *"and things like that"* (0.01 tpttw), *"or whatever"* (0.17 tpttw) leave statements open-ended. In our corpus, these markers were infrequent, appearing in contexts where the speaker sought to avoid specifics or gloss over details.

> (5) *The opposition has obstructed, delayed,* **and so on,** *every attempt at progress.* (ENA, August 15, 2025)[7]

In this example, 'and so on' vaguely alludes to additional negative actions without naming them, creating a smear effect while withholding any concrete allegation the opposing side could directly rebut. Thus, this strategy is a way to imply a larger pattern of negative behavior indirectly.

Another interesting case is the use of *etcetera* (1.34 tpttw) in formal speech. Saying *"the policy covers health, education, infrastructure, etc."* in the middle of a speech may simply reflect brevity, but it can also obscure what exactly is being referred to. When used evasively, it may conceal a lack of detailed knowledge or omit contentious sub-items subsumed under "etc." Given the high manipulative potential of political discourse, the question arises why a speaker might trail off rather than provide a full enumeration.

We also found that some speakers employed the phrase *"if you will"* (0.25 tpttw), or its continental variant *"so to say"* (0.01 tpttw). *"If you will"* is a softener that suggests a formulation is not exact, allowing wiggle room.

> (6) *This plan is a reset,* **if you will***, of our economic model.* (ENA, August 15, 2025)[8]

The *if you will* signals to the audience that *reset* is a metaphor or an unconventional term here, inviting a certain interpretation but not insisting on it. In terms of toning down pragmatic force, this can make a bold claim more palatable by appearing tentative or colloquial ("if you'll allow me to use that word"). It serves as a hedge that also engages the listener's permission. Such moves may lessen immediate pushback, as the speaker appears self-aware and receptive to nuance.

4.5. Quotation and recontextualization markers: Distancing and legitimizing

Yet another category highlighted by previous research (Furkó 2020: 41ff) is quotation markers — phrases that indicate reported speech or a shift in voice, such as *"so-called"* (3.38 tpttw), *"quote ... unquote"* (0.001 tpttw), or even tonal quotes implied in the transcript. In our largely textual analysis, detecting the latter is, naturally, challenging. As for the former, when a politician refers to an initiative as *"the so-called 'Stability Pact'"*, the premodifier *so-called* casts doubt and distancing on the term *Stability Pact*. Pragmatically, *so-called* signals that the speaker does not endorse the legitimacy or accuracy of the quoted term, framing it

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[7] https://www.statmt.org/europarl/
[8] https://www.statmt.org/europarl/

as a misnomer or propaganda, delegitimizing the opponent's framing and recontextualizing it in a skeptical light. In the example given, saying *so-called Stability Pact* implies it might not bring stability at all, without directly saying "the Stability and Growth Pact is misnamed." Such markers allow an undercurrent of criticism while maintaining plausible deniability of outright attack.

We also found instances where speakers explicitly say 'quote' or use air quote around a term (this was sometimes indicated by the transcribers as *"quote, unquote"* around a word). For instance:

> (7) *...**the quote** 'green revolution' **unquote** the opposition touts.*(ENA, August 15, 2025)[9]

This usage clearly shows the speaker's disagreement with the term *green revolution*, insinuating that it is an empty slogan or misleading label. This constitutes metapragmatic commentary — commenting on other's language to undermine it. By doing so, politicians engage in discursive contestation, disputing not only ideas but also the terminology and framing used to present them.

Recontextualization also occurs when speakers use pragmatic markers to insert someone else's voice or a hypothetical voice. For example, rhetorical devices like *"they say"* or *"some claim that ... well, let me tell you"* were observed. *They say* acts almost like a PM introducing a reported viewpoint which the speaker then often refutes. It constructs a straw man or an opposing stance for the purpose of refuting it. While *they say* (0.65 tpttw) is not traditionally listed as a PM, its pragmatic role in these speeches is analogous to a quotation marker — it flags an upcoming perspective as attributed to others; often unspecified others, which can be rhetorically useful because it avoids naming and potentially legitimizing a specific opponent.

> (8) *They say we are spending too much, but look at the results — well, I say you can't put a price on social stability."* (ENA, August 15, 2025)[10]

In this example, *they say* introduces a criticism vaguely attributed to opponents. The speaker then uses *but* to counter it, and inserts the PM *well* in the reply *"well, I say you can't put a price…"*. Here *well* adds a colloquial assertiveness, a tone of *scoffing* at the referents of "they." It is as if the speaker takes a moment (*well, I say...*) to position themselves against the cited criticism, which dramatizes the contrast. This layered use of markers — *they say* (introduce opposition view), *but* (negate it), *well* (mark the speaker's own retort) — exemplifies how pragmatic markers can work together to structure a dialogic narrative
in a monologue, giving the impression of debate and refutation all within one speaker's turn.

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[9] https://www.statmt.org/europarl/
[10] https://www.statmt.org/europarl/

4.6. Co-occurrence highlights

Our quantitative analysis revealed that certain markers had strong co-occurrence tendencies, suggesting idiomatic political usages. For instance, *of course* frequently followed *and* (forming *and of course*), often when adding a point:

> (9) *We need to boost innovation and **of course** support our small businesses.* (ENA, August 15, 2025)[11]

This phraseology might reflect a rhetorical norm of including an obvious or agreeable addition after a more controversial main point, using *and of course* to frame it as an afterthought that everyone agrees on. Similarly, *but of course* appeared when speakers conceded something but then still emphasized inevitability: "We must reduce spending, *but of course*, not at the expense of the most vulnerable," blending contrast with an assurance of consensus on a value.

Markers like *you know* showed high collocation with personal pronouns (*I* and *we*) and cognitive verbs (*think, see*), which is expected as it often appears in phrases like *you know I think...* or *you know we can't....* This underscores its role in maintaining listener engagement in personal or collective reasoning statements.

Another pattern was the use of multiple markers in a row or in proximity, which we term pragmatic marker clustering. We saw sequences like: *"Well, you know, perhaps we should…"*. The layering of *well* + *you know* + *perhaps* at the start of a statement imbues it with interpersonal and hedging functions: *well* (I'm responding thoughtfully), *you know* (we share this understanding), *perhaps* (I won't assert too strongly). The result is a highly mitigated suggestion, appropriate for a tentative proposal or broaching a delicate topic. By contrast, *frankly* often co-occurred with *but*:

> (10) *Frankly, I wish we could support this, **bu**t we can't.* (ENA, August 15, 2025)[12]

The *frankly* serves as a marker of honesty or directness, attempting to lend credibility to the unpleasant message that follows after *but*. These combinations show that pragmatic markers can be stacked to achieve a nuanced tone. Politicians adeptly mix them to simultaneously address multiple pragmatic needs (e.g., sounding honest while disagreeing, without alienating the audience).

Lastly, we note an interesting frequency trend: during emotionally charged debates (e.g., following a crisis or a contentious vote), there was a spike in the usage of direct appeal markers and emotive emphasis conveyed by *indeed, truly* and *honestly*. In emotionally charged moments, some speakers relied on these markers to underscore sincerity or intensity:

> (11) *We are truly at a crossroads **indeed**, and honestly, our citizens expect leadership.* (ENA, August 15, 2025)[13]

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[11] https://www.statmt.org/europarl/
[12] https://www.statmt.org/europarl/
[13] https://www.statmt.org/europarl/

In the case of *truly* (2.69 tpttw) and *honestly* (0.36 tpttw) we can observe a fuzzy boundary between PMs and propositional lexical items, i.e. their repetitive use suggests semantic bleaching: they lose much of their original descriptive force ("truthful," "sincere") and instead function mainly as discourse devices to add emphasis or signal sincerity. (cf. Brinton 2017: 31) — with a function to persuade the audience of the speaker's earnestness. From a critical perspective, one could argue this is a discursive strategy of ingratiation, using language to align oneself with the people's supposed sentiment (as in authenticity claims: "honestly, I am just as frustrated as you are").

In sum, the data show that pragmatic markers permeate parliamentary discourse in patterned ways that correlate with argumentative moves and ideological strategies. The next section will discuss what these findings mean for our understanding of political communication and the subtle mechanics of manipulation and positioning in discourse.

5. Discussion

The above analysis reveals that pragmatic markers, often overlooked as mere fillers or connective devices, play a consequential role in shaping parliamentary discourse and the ideologies it conveys. In this section, we discuss the implications of these findings in light of the study's research questions and the broader theoretical frameworks introduced earlier. We also evaluate how the integration of corpus methods and AI tools contributed to these insights, reflecting on interdisciplinary implications for linguistics and political communication research.

5.1. Pragmatic markers as vehicles of ideology and power

One of the central findings is that PMs contribute actively to ideological positioning in parliamentary discourse. They do so by operating in the background of utterances to frame statements, align speakers with audiences, and preempt resistance. This supports and extends Furkó's (2020: 79ff) contention that discourse-pragmatic devices are integral to how authority and consensus are enacted in language. The evidence from the EUROPARL corpus shows that markers such as *of course* and *clearly* are not incidental; they help construct an *ideological common ground* where the speaker's views are the norm. This is a powerful subtle tactic. By the time a parliamentarian has said "Of course, we must do X," they have already set the terms of the debate: to disagree is to go against what is "of course." Van Dijk's work on ideology noted that ideologies often work through implicit assumptions and shared knowledge in discourse (van Dijk 2008: 233); here we see pragmatic markers as a linguistic means to inject those assumptions (the *taken-for-granted* truths) into the conversation.

Moreover, pragmatic markers facilitate the exercise of power by shaping the flow and tone of discourse. Strategic use of *but*, for instance, allows a speaker to steer the agenda so that attention shifts toward their counter-argument rather than

the original point. This represents a linguistic manifestation of power, as it determines which aspect of the argument is foregrounded. Similarly, markers like *well* and *you know* allow a speaker to manage interruptions or challenges gracefully, maintaining a position of composure and inclusivity. These moves accumulate to maintain what Bourdieu (1991: 170) would call *symbolic power*: the power to impose a vision of reality (in this case, through how issues are talked about). A politician who frequently says *"you know"* might give the impression that the public is on their side (since "you" presumably includes the public), thus exerting a subtle claim to speak *for* the people — a hallmark of populist authority claims.

Our findings also illustrate how pragmatic markers tie into populist discourse strategies as described by, for example, De Cleen (2019) or Musolff (2016). Populist rhetoric often involves constructing a dichotomy between the rational, honest common folk and the corrupt, deceitful elite. Pragmatic markers facilitate this in two ways: (1) Conversationalization — making political speech sound like everyday talk — was evident in the usage spikes of colloquial markers (*you know, well, just, kind of*). This aligns with the trend of colloquialization observed in British parliamentary discourse in the Hansard corpus (cf. Hiltunen & Vartiainen 2024), and in EUROPARL it was often the more populist or outsider voices that embraced it. By using informal markers, these speakers discursively downplayed the institutional distance, attempting to sound like "one of the people" rather than an aloof politician. (2) Polarization and Legitimization — markers helped polarize by reinforcing in-group knowledge (e.g., "we all know") and delegitimized out-group narratives (through quotation markers like "so-called"). When a representative says *"the so-called experts"*, that single marker *so-called* casts doubt on an entire group's credibility, resonating with an anti-elitist ideological stance.

Additionally, pragmatic markers were found to aid in the suppression or backgrounding of counter-arguments, which is a subtle form of exercising discursive power. By using general extenders or trailing off with *etc.*, speakers minimize what is left unsaid. This can intentionally or unintentionally suppress further detail or alternative viewpoints. If an MEP lists positives of a policy and ends with "and so on," they might be glossing over other benefits (or costs) that they choose not to articulate — effectively removing them from the immediate debate space. This connects to the critical concept of *agenda-setting* in discourse: not everything gets voiced or elaborated upon. Pragmatic markers can be a linguistic tool for trimming the agenda in one's favor. As Fairclough (2003: 55) noted, what is not said (and how it is omitted) can be as important as what is said in maintaining hegemonic narratives.

5.2. Interdisciplinary reflections: Bridging pragmatics and CDA

Our study underscores the importance of bridging pragmatic micro-analysis with critical macro-analysis in discourse. Through the literature review, we noted how CDA and CDT (Critical Discourse Theory) approach discourse at different levels — one being more empirically textual, the other more abstractly concerned

with discourse in social structure. Pragmatic marker analysis provided a concrete interface between these: it is empirical and textual, yet its import is only understood via ideological concepts. For example, identifying a spike in *of course* usage is empirical; interpreting it as a sign of naturalizing a certain ideology requires critical theorization about hegemony and common sense. In our discussion of results, we effectively linked specific linguistic evidence to discursive strategies such as *conversationalization, naturalization, polarization,* and *legitimation*. This demonstrates a methodological payoff of combining corpus pragmatics with CDA — it allows analysts to quantify and pinpoint *how* exactly those strategies manifest in language patterns.

This interdisciplinary approach also necessitated clarifying terminology, as we did in adopting the term pragmatic markers over discourse markers. This choice is not merely pedantic; it reflects an intent to capture these items' multifunctionality beyond discourse cohesion. The term pragmatic marker emphasizes their role in speaker stance and interaction, which made it easier to discuss their ideological roles. It also connects to critical pragmatics — an area that looks at how context and power relations affect pragmatic meaning. Wodak's (2007: 210) call for cross-theoretical inquiry is essentially answered by studies like this, which treat pragmatic details as crucial evidence of broader social meaning making.

5.3. The role of AI tools in analyzing pragmatic markers

One of the innovative perspectives of this study was exploring AI assistance in discourse analysis. The experiment with ChatGPT, though limited, provided revealing observations. On the positive side, the AI was quite adept at identifying common pragmatic markers (it reliably highlighted items like *well, but, of course, you know* in the input segments). It also generated plausible explanations for their functions, often consistent with established descriptions in pragmatics. For instance, for a sentence in our test excerpt, *"Well, we should consider the alternatives,"* the AI noted that *"well" introduces a suggestion, softening a potential disagreement.* This is essentially correct and matched our analysis. Such capability suggests that AI could be useful as a first-pass tool in scanning large volumes of text for potential pragmatic phenomena. It could flag sentences with PM clusters for in-depth human analysis, thereby expediting some of the labor-intensive aspects of corpus analysis.

However, the AI also displayed notable limitations. It struggled with more nuanced or context-dependent aspects. For example, when given a passage where *"of course"* was used ironically (the speaker was actually being sarcastic saying "*Of course*, the minister has answered everything — not!"), the AI did not catch the sarcasm; it interpreted *of course* straightforwardly as indicating obviousness. This suggests that AI, at present, lacks true pragmatic competence — it does not grasp tone, irony, or the extra-linguistic knowledge needed to see when a PM is used sincerely versus sarcastically. A human analyst immediately sensed the sarcasm from context (and perhaps tone, if audio were available), understanding that *"of*

course" in that context meant the opposite. The AI's misinterpretation in such cases is a cautionary tale: context is quintessential in discourse analysis, and large language models, while context-sensitive in a textual sense, do not have the real-world awareness or discourse situation awareness to fully emulate human interpretation.

Additionally, ChatGPT occasionally over-generalized its explanations. At times it ascribed a manipulative intent to a marker usage where a human would see it as routine. For example, it suggested that a particular use of *"well"* was to "stall for time and deceive the audience" — an overreach not supported by evidence (it was simply a typical conversational *well*). This hints at another limitation: AI might introduce bias or make assumptions that are not textually grounded, especially since it has been trained on myriad texts including possibly some with conspiracy or overinterpretation. It underscores the need for a critical human perspective: it is necessary for the analyst to confirm whether a purported function is fulfilled in a particular context.

Nonetheless, the integration of AI is promising for scalability. A tool such as the PragMaBERT model (Wise & Houda 2023) could process entire corpora and statistically highlight anomalies or patterns (e.g., a model could flag that *"frankly"* is unusually frequent in a certain politician's speeches relative to others, which might correlate with a certain persona or strategy). AI can also help in performing tasks such as clustering contexts of a pragmatic marker to see the common threads. In our case, manual analysis found patterns (e.g., *of course* often in initial position signaling assumed agreement); an AI might cluster all instances of *of course* and help quickly surface that pattern.

Importantly, the use of AI in critical analysis raises a meta-issue of whether algorithms can detect *manipulation*. As our study shows, markers contribute to manipulation in often subtle ways. Teaching an AI model what counts as manipulative use of language requires not just linguistic input but a theory of manipulation. Some progress is being made — for example, labeling instances of clear populist rhetoric or known propaganda techniques. Wise & El Barj (2023: 3) claim their fine-tuned BERT can identify context-dependent manipulative PM use to a degree. However, such models largely recognize patterns they have seen; they might not detect novel or highly context-specific manipulations. We therefore view AI as a tool for human analysts rather than a replacement. It can handle the "what" (finding markers, counting, basic function labeling) quite well; but the "so what" — the ideological significance — still requires human critical reasoning.

Our own brief trial suggests that a productive workflow could be *AI-assisted coding* followed by *human critical interpretation*. This resonates with the notion in digital humanities of "distant reading" (getting the big patterns via computational means) combined with "close reading" (interpreting specific instances in depth). In critical discourse studies, where the stakes include understanding propaganda and ideology, maintaining this human-in-the-loop approach is crucial to avoid missing cultural nuance or ethical implications. The commentary on AI usage in this paper

also contributes to the emerging discussion on critical algorithmic studies: just as we critically examine political language, we must also critically evaluate the AI tools used for that analysis—questioning their underlying motives, norms, and assumptions, much like Blodgett et al. (2020) recommend in their call for interrogating bias measurement methods in NLP.

5.4. Implications for political communication and public discourse

Understanding pragmatic markers in parliamentary discourse has practical implications beyond linguistics. It sheds light on how politicians achieve persuasive impact not only through grand rhetoric but through the *minutiae of language*. Media training for politicians often focuses on messaging and staying on point; our findings suggest that training could also usefully focus on pragmatic markers — for example, advising a speaker to use *of course* to project confidence, or cautioning that overuse of hedges like *maybe* can undermine perceived decisiveness. Conversely, from a media literacy or public awareness perspective, teaching citizens to spot these markers and reflect on their effect can be empowering. If voters recognise that *of course, indeed, truly,* etc. can function as prompts to accept a claim as true, they may respond with greater scrutiny to statements presented as self-evident.

Furthermore, this study's approach can inform analysis of parliamentary transcripts by journalists, fact-checkers, or analysts. For instance, identifying that a leader's speech relies heavily on *"we all know"* and *"of course"* might prompt an examination of what unspoken assumptions are being pushed. At the same time, it is important to acknowledge that frequent reliance on such markers may also reflect individual style or rhetorical habit rather than deliberate ideological bias. However, our approach also helps differentiate political styles: one politician's discourse full of *well, I think, perhaps* paints a different ethos (maybe more cautious or scholarly) than another's filled with *clearly, of course, in fact* (more assertive, authoritative). These stylistic differences influence how audiences receive messages. For example, an assertive style may convince some, whereas others prefer a more subtle approach. Moreover, each style can be portrayed by media in various lights (e.g., as confident as opposed to overconfident or cautious as opposed to weak), and each framing carries political consequences.

Finally, from a democratic discourse standpoint, awareness of these subtle linguistic strategies could lead to calls for more clarity and sincerity in politics. If overused, pragmatic markers can also be double-edged — for example, too many *honestly* or *frankly* can start to ring hollow, potentially eroding trust. At the same time, it can be risky to rely on such cues as straightforward indicators of sincerity or credibility, since their pragmatic force depends heavily on context, speaker style, and audience perception. This once again underlines the need to emphasize the complementary nature of different analytical tools and methodologies.

6. Conclusion

This study investigated how pragmatic markers contribute to ideological positioning and manipulative strategies in parliamentary discourse, employing a corpus-based CDA approach on European Parliament debates. The analysis confirms that pragmatic markers — words and phrases such as *of course, well, but, you know,* among others — function as linguistic hinges on which the framing of arguments and the management of interpersonal relations turn. Through these small pivots of language, speakers suppress dissent, invite agreement, construct in-groups and out-groups, and steer the interpretation of their statements in ways that align with their ideological objectives.

Several key insights emerge from the research. First, pragmatic markers are instrumental in making certain ideologies appear as common sense. By embedding presuppositions and shared assumptions into debate (e.g., "of course we all agree on X"), politicians can naturalize their viewpoints and subtly delegitimize opposing perspectives without overt confrontation. While it is true that similar strategies also occur in everyday dialogue and interaction, their use in parliamentary discourse is particularly consequential because of the heightened stakes of political communication and the potential to shape collective decision-making. Second, pragmatic markers facilitate *strategic maneuvering* in argumentation: they help speakers balance politeness with assertiveness (through hedges and boosters), manage counter-arguments (through adversatives like *but* and concessive structures), and maintain a persona of credibility or relatability (through engagement markers like *you know* and conversational tone). These micro-level tactics accumulate into macro-level persuasive and manipulative effects that are central to critical discourse concerns. In essence, the competition for public support in parliamentary debates is waged not by content alone but also through the cadence and pragmatic cues of language.

Methodologically, the study demonstrates the value of combining corpus linguistics with critical discourse analysis to study political language. The corpus approach provided empirical evidence of patterns (such as frequency trends and co-occurrences) that lend weight to our interpretations, moving the analysis beyond anecdotal observations to more robust generalizations. At the same time, the CDA perspective ensured that we kept sight of power relations and ideology when interpreting those patterns. The exploratory integration of AI (via a large language model) highlighted a frontier for future research — one where human expertise and machine assistance could jointly handle the analysis of ever-growing political text archives. While current AI tools have limitations in grasping nuance and context, they hold promise for preprocessing and highlighting potential areas of interest, thus freeing analysts to focus on deeper interpretative work. Future advancements might see more sophisticated models capable of detecting pragmatic and rhetorical strategies, but our findings suggest that human critical judgment will remain indispensable to correctly interpret and contextualize what the machines find.

For the fields of linguistic pragmatics and discourse analysis, this study reinforces that semantically bleached, extremely context-dependent elements such as pragmatic markers deserve a central place in analyses of ideology and power. It encourages further corpus-based pragmatic studies across different languages and settings — for instance, comparing how pragmatic marker usage in parliaments varies between cultures or political systems, or how it evolves over time with changing political norms. The fact that our data was from a multilingual institution (the EU Parliament) also invites cross-linguistic questions: the question arises if equivalent markers in other languages carry the same ideological functions, or if there are culturally specific pragmatic devices that play similar roles. Given the scope of EUROPARL, future research could expand into those directions, enhancing our understanding of pragmatics in a global political context.

In conclusion, by zooming into the "small" words of parliamentary debates, we gain insight into the dynamics of persuasion, consensus, and dissent in democratic processes. Pragmatic markers serve both cohesive and mitigating functions in parliamentary dialogue: they bind arguments into a coherent, seemingly commonsense narrative and smooth over disagreements and transitions. Recognizing their role enriches our comprehension of political rhetoric, reminding us that every *well*, *of course*, or *you know* in a political speech may be doing more covert work than meets the ear. Awareness of these cues can help both analysts and citizens engage more critically with political language. While it is often observed that citizens are increasingly positioned as passive consumers of political discourse, fostering such awareness can contribute to more active, reflective forms of participation. From a research perspective, continued examination of these subtle mechanisms contributes to a more nuanced understanding of how language, power, and ideology intertwine in discourse. The present study has aimed to contribute to this ongoing inquiry by offering an empirically grounded account of pragmatic markers in the service of political persuasion and ideological positioning.

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Research article / Научная статья

The segmentation of spontaneous speech from an interactive-functional prosodic approach

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Abstract
For a long time spoken language has been interpreted through the lens of written norms, often producing analytical models that are partial or distorted. Traditional approaches overlooked how prosody shapes discourse structure and meaning. The aim of the study is to develop a segmentation model that adequately represents the organization of spontaneous conversational speech. The analysis draws on an excerpt from a pragmatic corpus of colloquial speech, examined at the monologic level within the Val.Es.Co. framework (Briz & Val.Es.Co. 2014). Methodologically, it combines acoustic analysis with Hidalgo's (2019) Interactive-Functional Analysis (IFA) model. Using Praat software, pitch movement, melodic contours, and prosodic boundaries are examined to identify speech acts and subacts (smaller constituent units). Results show that prosodic features — pitch declination, hierarchical organization, and integration — effectively demarcate discourse units that syntactic criteria often miss. The case study confirms that the principles of Pitch Declination (PDP), Hierarchy/Recursivity (H/RP), and Integration (IP) align with the segmentation into acts and subacts, supporting intonation as a key cue for delimiting meaningful conversational units. By prioritizing prosody and aligning segmentation practices with the realities of oral communication, this research advances our understanding of the functional principles underpinning real-time construction and interpretation of meaning. The proposed model enhances the representation of spontaneous speech by providing a pragmaprosodic analytical framework that positions prosody as a central organizing principle and encourages a shift from static, syntax-based paradigms toward context-sensitive analyses that reflect the true dynamics of spoken language.
Keywords: *pragmatic corpus, colloquial conversation, discourse prosody, intonation functions, speech segmentation, syntax*

Сегментация спонтанной речи с помощью интерактивно-функционального просодического подхода

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Аннотация

Долгое время устная речь интерпретировалась через призму письменных норм, что часто приводило к созданию частичных или искаженных аналитических моделей. Традиционные подходы упускали из виду то, как просодия формирует структуру и значение дискурса. Целью данного исследования является разработка модели сегментации спонтанной разговорной речи, адекватно отражающей ее организацию. Для анализа взят фрагмент из прагматического корпуса разговорной речи, исследованного на монологическом уровне в рамках модели Val.Es.Co. (Briz & Val.Es.Co. 2014). Методологически он сочетает акустический анализ с моделью интерактивно-функционального анализа (Hidalgo 2019). Для выявления речевых актов и субактов (более мелких единиц) с помощью программного обеспечения Praat исследуются движение тона, мелодические контуры и просодические границы. Результаты показывают, что просодические характеристики — снижение высоты тона, иерархическая организация и интеграция — эффективно разграничивают единицы дискурса, которые синтаксические критерии часто упускают. Исследование подтверждает, что принципы снижения высоты тона, иерархии/рекурсивности и интеграции согласуются с сегментацией на акты и подакты и поддерживает идею о том, что интонация является ключевым ориентиром для выделения значимых разговорных единиц. Отдавая приоритет просодии и согласуя методы сегментации с реалиями устной коммуникации, данное исследование расширяет наше понимание функциональных принципов, лежащих в основе построения и интерпретации смысла в реальном времени. Предлагаемая модель улучшает репрезентацию спонтанной речи, предоставляя прагмапросодическую аналитическую структуру, которая позиционирует просодию как центральный организующий принцип и способствует переходу от статичных, основанных на синтаксисе парадигм, к контекстно-зависимому анализу, отражающему истинную динамику разговорной речи.

Ключевые слова: *прагматический корпус, разговорная речь, дискурсивная просодия, функции интонации, сегментация речи, синтаксис*

1. Introduction

In the study of spoken language — or, more precisely, of casual conversation as its most representative manifestation — the traditional[1] notion of the "sentence"

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[1] We refer to the 'traditional' sense as understood in Western grammatical tradition until approximately the first half of the 20th century, although more recent views such as structuralist, functionalist, generative, etc. may also be included in this perspective.

proves analytically inadequate. The frequent occurrence of interruptions, suspensions, ellipses, and non-canonical word orders in spontaneous speech might suggest a certain degree of incoherence or disorder. However, in actual language use (unplanned interaction), strictly "grammatical sentences" appear much less frequently than in planned and formal written language.

A more suitable framework for examining spoken discourse can be found in prosodic approaches. Nevertheless, research on intonation has predominantly relied on laboratory corpora, which are often composed of scripted utterances or speech elicited by the researcher, thus facilitating the isolation and categorization of the target prosodic contours (Cantero & Font 2009: 21). Consequently, the interdependence between syntax and other linguistic levels has been conceptualized in a rather limited way, focusing mainly on the analysis of "well-formed" or neutral sentences. This perspective, however, fails to capture the genuine dynamics of spoken language, offering instead a linguistically sanitized or "artificial" representation of discourse.

Therefore, the aim of this study is to propose the segmentation of discourse units in conversation from a pragmaprosodic perspective, with the goal of enabling, in the future, more extensive analyses based on conversational corpora (constructed pragmatically) that reflect the informal register of the language.

From this point, it is worth posing several fundamental research questions around which the present study is articulated:

• How does prosody contribute to the segmentation and organization of discourse in spontaneous conversation beyond the boundaries defined by traditional syntax?

• What analytical differences emerge between discourse segmentation based on syntactic criteria and that grounded in a pragmaprosodic perspective?

• How can the application of a pragmaprosodic approach improve the description and analysis of colloquial conversation compared to models derived from laboratory or scripted speech corpora?

• Which prosodic criteria or parameters are most relevant for delimiting meaningful discourse units in spontaneous conversation?

2. Discourse organization in conversation

The present work proposes an approach to the analysis of oral discourse based on intonational principles as a key tool for segmentation. In order to address this object of study precisely, it is necessary, first, to clarify certain notions related both to the informal register of the language (2.1) and to the structuring role of intonation in shaping syntax in "colloquial" contexts (2.2).

Of particular relevance in this regard are Bally's (1909) observations on the principles underlying discourse segmentation:

— Intonation and rhythm as primary delimiters. Bally gave special prominence to prosodic features—intonation, rhythm, and related cues—as central

in structuring expression. These elements provide natural boundaries in spoken discourse, often cutting across or diverging from syntactic divisions.

— The sentence as an expressive unit. Rather than viewing the sentence as a purely logical or grammatical construct, Bally conceptualized it as a communicative unit animated by expressive force. This perspective opens the way to considering discourse units that extend beyond the formal sentence.

— Subjectivity and segmentation. By foregrounding the expressive and affective dimension of language, Bally demonstrated that segmentation is shaped not only by linguistic structure but also by the speaker's need to articulate emotions and perspectives.

In sum, while Bally did not formulate a systematic theory of discourse segmentation, his emphasis on prosody as an organizing principle, alongside his insights on the expressive nature of the sentence and the role of subjectivity, anticipates later approaches that frame discourse segmentation as a phenomenon shaped by cognitive and communicative constraints as much as by grammar.

2.1. Syntax and colloquial conversation

When reference is made to "spontaneous oral discourse", it fundamentally alludes to the colloquial use of language in its oral form (Payrató 1988: 52, 1990:181, Lamíquiz 1989: 40–41), whose essence lies, above all, in the inherent need to establish and maintain interaction between interlocutors. It is the most direct and natural communicative modality, a faithful reflection of language in use, as it arises from the speaker's intention to be understood and to ensure the effectiveness of the communicative exchange (Muñoz Cortés 1958: 91, Criado de Val 1959: 217, Criado de Val 1980:13, Sandru 1988: 501, Lamíquiz 1989: 40–41, Payrató 1990: 181).

From this perspective, conversation — and, in particular, colloquial conversation — is configured as a register defined by the co-presence of interlocutors (situated discourse), its inescapable orientation towards the here and now, and the existence of a shared, immediate referential framework. These features give this type of interaction a strongly deictic character (Criado de Val 1966, Criado de Val 1980: 14, 17, 27, Lorenzo 1977: 173–175, Vigara Tauste 1980: 13, 1984: 29, Lamíquiz 1989: 40–41, Berschin 1989: 40, Bühler 2011). Added to this is the fact that, in conversational communication, speakers usually share experiences or maintain bonds of trust — whether affective, friendly, or simply familiar — which encourages the relaxation of certain social norms and gives utterances a more subjective and close tone (Moreno 1986: 354–355, Vigara Tauste 1980: 15, Vigara Tauste 1984: 29, Criado de Val 1980: 17, Cárdenas & Pérez 1986: 5).

Consequently, it is an informal speech style in which spontaneity, economy of expressive resources, and naturalness prevail over structural complexity or the selection of a careful or "elevated" lexicon. Ultimately, it is a communicative modality in which feedback is facilitated by a certain "communicative tension"

between participants, especially when accessible, non-specialized topics are discussed, a circumstance that enhances involvement and active participation by interlocutors (Moreno 1986: 354–355, Cárdenas & Pérez 1986: 5, Payrató 1990: 181).

In light of the above, the analysis of "colloquial" syntax requires that spontaneous conversation be considered an inexhaustible source of variation and exceptions to codified grammatical norms. Therefore, this type of discourse cannot be adequately understood through rigid normative frameworks, but rather requires flexible approaches that align with its real dynamics. This view has its roots in the first half of the 20th century. For example, Frei (1929) examined what he called 'marginal phenomena' in discourse: deviations from the norm (errors, colloquial forms, slang, and unstable or innovative uses, etc.). Rather than treating them as accidental deviations, Frei proposed that they be studied systematically under the label of français avancé, as they reveal the functional mechanisms of language evolution. In other words, he interpreted such phenomena in relation to the fundamental communicative needs that, in his opinion, govern linguistic change: the tendency towards assimilation versus differentiation, the search for brevity versus the need for stability, and the impulse for expressiveness. By embodying these conflicting pressures, marginal forms often anticipate developments that are later integrated into the grammatical system. In short, these phenomena offer unique insight into the dynamics of the linguistic system. For Frei, therefore, marginal phenomena are not peripheral curiosities, but a privileged window into the processes of change and a necessary object of study for descriptive and functional grammar.

2.2. Colloquial syntax and intonation: prosodic segmentation of conversation

Despite Karcevski's important observation (1931), in which he argues very convincingly that the sentence is a phonological unit in its own right, structured by intonation and prosodic segmentation, intonation has generally occupied a secondary place in grammatical studies (and Spanish grammar has been no exception to this). Karcevski's assertions have not been considered in the sense of demonstrating that prosody does not always align with syntax: while grammar divides discourse into syntactic units, intonation introduces its own articulation, marking modality, focus, and information structure. For Karcevski, this demonstrates the relative autonomy of prosody, which interacts with grammar but cannot be reduced to it, and therefore must be studied as a distinct system within language.

However, following a more general trend (different from Karcevski's previous one), the *Nueva Gramática de la Lengua Española* (2010) appears to relegate its structuring function to an accessory level in relation to syntax, as the following statement shows:

«Se ha explicado que cada función sintáctica se caracteriza por la presencia de diversas marcas o exponentes gramaticales. Estas marcas son, fundamentalmente,

la concordancia, la posición sintáctica, la presencia de preposiciones y a veces la entonación» (NGLE, 1.12r).

While this perspective may be partially valid in the realm of written language, various researchers have emphasized that, in spoken language, intonation plays a primary organizational role, far from being merely an accessory feature.

2.2.1. Background: a brief overview

In this regard, Narbona (1986: 247–249), when addressing suspended constructions, underlines that «la suspensión de muchas frases no obedece, como es lógico, a una voluntad de ahorrar esfuerzo lingüístico alguno, sino a una clara finalidad expresiva, que puede plasmarse de modo diverso». In his analyses, he shows examples in which suspension becomes an expressive device of an inquisitive, emphatic, or evaluative type, highlighting that «la línea melódica es, una vez más, marca decisiva».

Likewise, in a later work focused on improper adverbial clauses, Narbona (1990a) stresses the importance of extragrammatical elements for an adequate interpretation. Thus, in utterances such as *De no haberlo ocupado él, lo hubiera (o habría) ocupado yo*, he notes that «no hay relación condicional porque aparezca de + infinitivo (compuesto)...», since what actually determines the conditional reading is the interaction of the verb form, the arrangement of elements, pauses, and intonation. Moreover, when comparing concessive and adversative constructions, he observes that «las oraciones *le ha hecho la vida imposible, pero continúa queriéndola / aunque le ha hecho la vida imposible, continúa queriéndola* no significan "lo mismo"»», emphasizing the decisive role of melodic contour and pause in differentiating the semantic relationship between segments.

More broadly, Narbona (1990b: 1039) argues that «la organización de las secuencias coloquiales se halla en gran medida mediatizada por la estructuración temático-informativa…», and that prosody performs an organizing role that often proves more decisive than conventional syntactic-semantic resources. He maintains this line of argument in his later studies. In his reflections on word order in Spanish, he contends that «la discusión acerca de si el español es o no una lengua del tipo S[ujeto]-V[erbo]-O[bjeto] (...) no puede plantearse, pues, en general, sino en función de las condiciones enunciativas…», and concludes that «el poder demarcativo-integrador de los recursos prosódicos es el que acaba de moldear la estructuración sintáctica…», stressing the importance of the descending tonal declination as an organizing factor in colloquial speech. Silva-Corvalán (1984) expresses similar ideas based on a more theoretical study related to topicalisation and word order.

For her part, Fuentes Rodríguez (1998, 2013) has made significant contributions regarding the role of prosody in discourse. In her analysis of parenthetical structures, she interprets them as necessary interruptions to facilitate information processing, delimited by semicadences, in contrast to asides or parenthetical insertions, which are distinguished by semianticadences (2013: 80).

2.2.2. Towards a proposal for prosodic segmentation
of spontaneous oral discourse

From this perspective, adequately segmenting oral discourse requires starting from the actual phonetic flow, identifying those minimal units perceived as cohesive blocks from a prosodic standpoint, each of which features a main accent and its own melodic contour.

However, these prosodic units do not always strictly coincide with syntactic-semantic structures, although they can be described as intonation groups or minimal utterance units. In any event, the issue of terminology in discourse segmentation is far from straightforward, since different research traditions have introduced distinct labels to denote comparable units. Thus, for example, within the framework of Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST), Carlson, Marcu & Okurowski (2003) employ the term "elementary discourse units" (EDUs) to refer to the minimal segments that constitute the building blocks of rhetorical relations in a text. These units are formally and operationally defined, with the specific goal of ensuring consistent annotation during corpus development.

Adopting a different stance, Chafe (1994) examines the connection between language, consciousness and time in spontaneous speech. He proposes the concept of "intonation units", which represent the segmentation of the speaker's stream of thought into manageable portions. Such units are identified not only through prosodic features, but also by the cognitive constraints that operate in speech production. While Chafe's intonation units and the EDUs of RST rest on divergent theoretical grounds—one being rooted in cognitive processing and the other in text structure—both are intended to account for the fundamental building blocks of discourse organisation.

The approach we propose in this study, therefore, assumes that recognising the coexistence of multiple labels for similar constructs allows for a more transparent dialogue between different approaches and helps to situate the analysis within the broader landscape of discourse studies. Consequently, prosodic elements emerge as indispensable factors in determining the operational units in spoken discourse. Likewise, it is necessary to move towards segmentation models that take into account both monological and dialogical discourse (Narbona 2008: 558). This segmentation approach, however, poses notable difficulties: identifying melodic patterns from a phonetic perspective, systematically describing their phonological features, and organizing their functional repertoire are complex tasks. Although the perception of tonal groups seems intuitive to the listener, precisely delimiting their acoustic boundaries represents a considerable methodological challenge. Segmentation also varies according to factors such as communicative style, speech rate, information structure, or thematic nature. Moreover, there is still no consensus regarding which prosodic elements constitute the minimal units that generate linguistically relevant meaning contrasts, especially in conversational contexts, where semantics and pragmatics constantly interact. Likewise, pauses are not always a reliable indicator for locating tonal group boundaries, as spontaneous speech tends to display a

dynamic rhythm and brief pauses. In many cases, it is melodic inflection that unequivocally marks the transition from one group to another.

Therefore, there are solid arguments in favor of prosodic segmentation as an analytical strategy for the study of colloquial speech. If the intonation unit is conceived as a unit of meaning, it is logical that speakers articulate their discourse in coherent melodic fragments, which not only facilitate immediate comprehension but also enhance information retention and memorization, even when the order of information is altered — a common feature of spontaneous communication.

In this framework, intonation constitutes a highly complex parameter that requires precise analytical tools to avoid incomplete or chaotic descriptions. In this regard, the Interactive-Functional Analysis (IFA) model formulated by Hidalgo (2019) offers a valuable methodological perspective. This model posits that intonation operates along two functional axes — syntagmatic and paradigmatic — and manifests at two levels: monologic (single-speaker discourse) and dialogic (interaction between two or more interlocutors).

At the monologic level, Syntagmatic Monologic Functions (SSMMFF) and Paradigmatic Monologic Functions (PPMMFF) are identified. Prosody delimits intonation groups through local melodic patterns that fulfill demarcation and integration functions. Each communicative act is also structured around a global melodic contour associated with communicative values organized into:

— the Primary Modal Function (PMF), which corresponds to neutral patterns without major pragmatic implications (e.g., neutral assertion, direct question, etc.);

— the Secondary Modal Function (SMF), which includes more marked or expressive intonations, commonly recognized by members of a speech community.

At the dialogic level, intonation acts as an instrument of interactive coordination. Here, Syntagmatic Dialogic Functions (SSDDFF) are distinguished, such as topicalizations, as well as Paradigmatic Dialogic Functions (PPDDFF), which require an active response from the interlocutor, as is the case with exclamatory contours, ironic nuances, or cover mechanisms.

2.2.3. Units of oral discourse and prosody

As outlined above, prosodic segmentation must be applied to real discourse units, since conventional grammatical structures are insufficient to describe the complexity of colloquial conversation (see 2.2.1). To this end, this work adopts the structural model developed by the Val.Es.Co. group (Briz & Val.Es.Co. 2014), which distinguishes between dialogic and monologic levels, allowing for a more precise functional distribution of intonational resources.

At the dialogic level, the model establishes three units: the *dialogue*, understood as the largest unit; the *exchange*, which comprises a sequence of turns; and the *turn* or *intervention*, which is the minimal unit at this level. At the monologic level, the *intervention* is the main unit, capable of performing various functions, such as opening an exchange, responding to a previous contribution, or performing both actions simultaneously. Within this level, the *act* and the *subact* are identified as subordinate units, clearly delimited by prosodic and semantic cues.

As will be developed in section 3, the analysis proposed here focuses on the monologic level, both due to space constraints and because there is empirical evidence linking specific prosodic patterns to the act and subact (Briz & Val.Es.Co. 2003, Briz & Val.Es.Co. 2014, Hidalgo 2003, Hidalgo 2006, Hidalgo 2016, Hidalgo & Padilla 2006, Cabedo 2013, Pons 2016).

The act constitutes the minimal unit of communicative action, isolable through prosodic, semantic, and lexical indicators that delimit its scope and characterized by an identifiable melodic pattern. Each act can be internally broken down into subacts. The subact, in turn, is defined as an informational segment delimited by prosodic and semantic markers, which manifests as a succession of cohesive blocks within the continuous phonetic flow.

Section 3 will illustrate, through a case study, how prosodic segmentation contributes to representing monologic structure in conversation, and will outline a specific methodology to systematically apply this analytical approach.

3. A practical case of spoken discourse segmentation at the monologic level: The prosodic perspective

Below, we apply the modular approach of the IFA model to the segmentation of a conversational excerpt. This segmentation process adopts a prosodic perspective and also integrates the structural framework of the Val.Es.Co. model. However, due to space limitations and following the discussion in section 2.2.3, we do not develop the hypothesis of discourse boundary-marking in its entirety here. Instead, our practical proposal is restricted to the monologic level: we focus exclusively on segmentation phenomena within the domains of the intervention, the act, and the subact. A more complex analysis of intonational segmentation at the dialogic level remains outside the scope of this study.

3.1. Reference corpus

The corpus selected for the analysis is the following fragment of spoken discourse, specifically an intervention extracted from an authentic conversation:

> A: *preparas un trabajo entre varios↑/ y entonces↑ pues tienes que exponerlo/ luego al-/ y bueno/ luego el grupo↑ si quiere pues te hacee/ preguntas↑/ y eso↓// y nada y aquí↑/ creo que es todo más pues→ un poco más a la tuya/ también se hacen trabajos↑ pero noo se hacen tantas exposiciones→ no están tan encima de ti↓ por decirlo de alguna manera*
> (Translation: So you do a project with a few people↑ and then↑ you have to present it/ then the group-/ and yes/ then the group↑ if they want, they can like/ ask you questions↑/ and that's it↓// and yeah, here I think everything depends a bit more on you/ you still do projects but there aren't so many presentations→ they're not breathing down your neck/ or anything like that↓//)

This intervention consists of five acts[2], which can be identified by applying the Val.Es.Co. criteria discussed in section 2.2.3:

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[2] The transcription system used in the following excerpt can be consulted in the final Annex of this work.

1. *preparas un trabajo entre varios↑/ y entonces↑ pues tienes que exponerlo↓*
2. *luego al-/ y bueno/ luego el grupo↑ si quiere pues te hace preguntas↑/ y eso↓//*
3. *y nada y aquí↑/ creo que es todo más pues→ un poco más a la tuya↓*
4. *también se hacen trabajos↑ pero noo se hacen tantas exposiciones→*
5. *no están tan encima de ti↓ por decirlo de alguna manera↓//*

Translation:
1. So you do a project with some people↑ and then↑ you have to present it↓
2. then the group-/ and yeah/ then the group↑ if they want, they can like ask you questions↑/ and that's it↓//
3. And yeah, here I think everything depends a bit more on you↓
4. You still do projects↑ but there aren't so many presentations→
5. They're not breathing down your neck↓ or anything like that↓//

3.2. Internal prosodic-structural analysis of each act

Once the acts forming the turn have been structurally delimited, we conducted an acoustic analysis of the internal configuration of each act using *Praat* (ENA, November 29, 2025)[3]. Each act has been divided into its constituent Intonation Groups (IGs), and the initial and final F0 of each act have been indicated. Below, the internal prosodic structure of each act is presented, along with a stylised representation of the melodic contour for each of the five acts analysed prosodically (Figures 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5).

ACT 1

[Initial F0: 244 Hz] preparas un trabajo entre varios↑/ (1st IG/1st subact) y entonces↑ (2nd IG/2nd subact) pues tienes que exponerlo↓ (3rd IG/3rd subact) [Final F0: 204 Hz]. Figure 1 presents the stylised representation of the melodic contour for Act 1:

244 Hz → 1st IG / 2nd IG / 3rd IG → 204 Hz
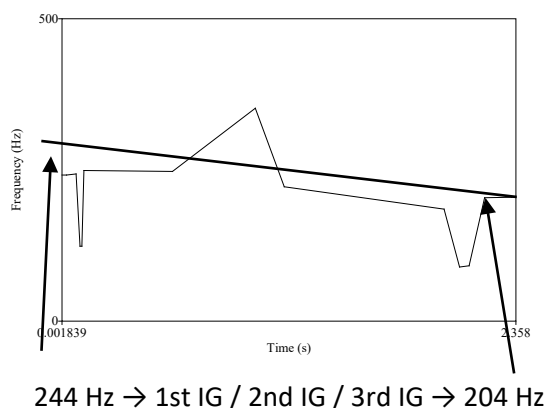
Figure 1. Stylised representation of the intonation contour of ACT 1

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[3] https://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/download_win.html

ACT 2

[Initial F0: 203 Hz] luego al-/ (1st IG / Self-repair) y bueno↓ (2nd IG / 1st subact) luego el grupo↑ (3rd IG / 2nd subact) si quiere pues te hace preguntas↑ (4th IG / 3rd subact) y eso↓ (5th IG / 4th subact) // [Final F0: 118 Hz]. Figure 2 illustrates the stylised melodic contour of Act 2:

203 Hz → 1st IG / 2nd IG / 3rd IG / 4th IG / 5th IG → 118 Hz
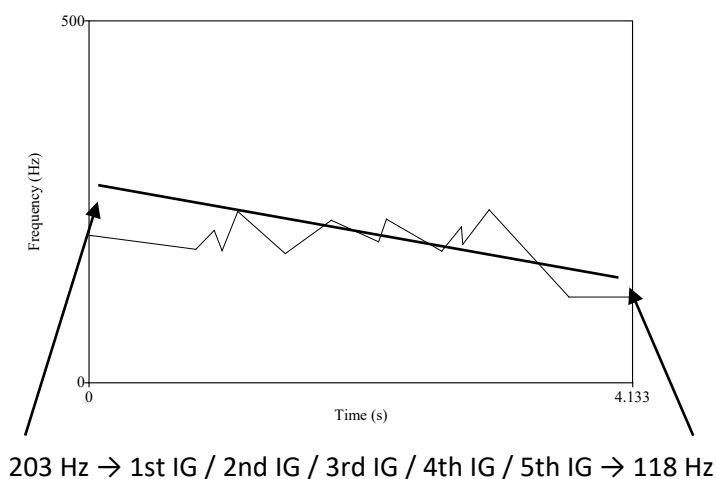
Figure 2. Stylised representation of the intonation contour of ACT 2

ACT 3

[Initial F0: 245 Hz] y nada y aquí↑/ (1st IG / 1st subact) creo que es todo más pues→ (2nd IG / 2nd subact) un poco más a la tuya↓ (3rd IG / 3rd subact) [Final F0: 193 Hz]. Figure 3 shows the stylised melodic contour for Act 3:

245 Hz → 1st IG / 2nd IG / 3rd IG → 193 Hz
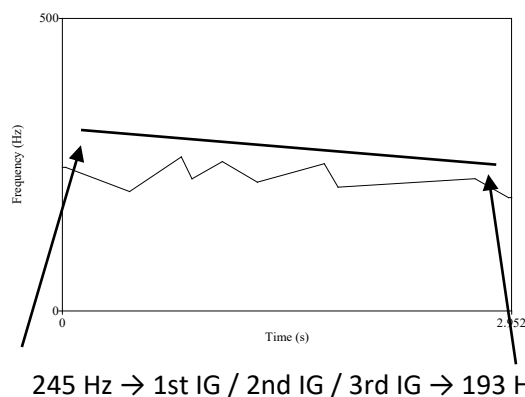
Figure 3. Stylised representation of the intonation contour of ACT 3

ACT 4

[Initial F0: 223 Hz] también se hacen trabajos↑ (1st IG / 1st subact) pero noo se hacen tantas exposiciones→ (2nd IG / 2nd subact) [Final F0: 222 Hz]. Figure 4 corresponds to the stylised melodic contour of Act 4:

223 Hz → 1st IG / 2nd IG → 222 Hz
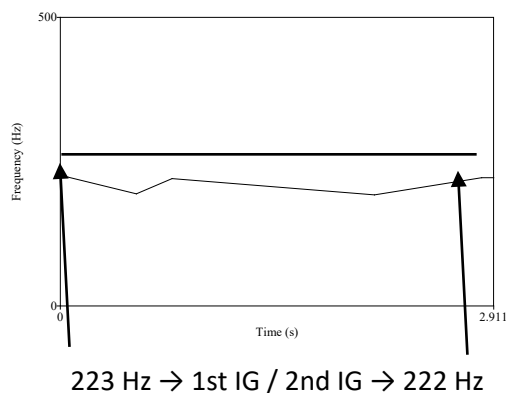
Figure 4. Stylised representation of the intonation contour of ACT 4

ACT 5
[Initial F0: 212 Hz] no están tan encima de ti↓ (1st IG / 1st subact) por decirlo de alguna manera↓// (2nd IG / 2nd subact) [Final F0: 183 Hz]. Figure 5 represents the stylised melodic contour of Act 5:

212 Hz → 1st IG / 2nd IG → 183 Hz
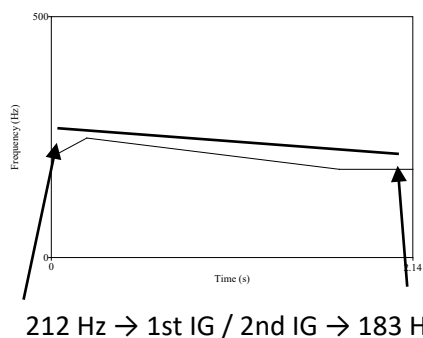
Figure 5. Stylised representation of the intonation contour of ACT 5

4. Discussion

This section of the results discussion addresses a central question: whether there is, in fact, a systematic correspondence between prosodic structuring and the segmentation into subacts. To explore this issue, the acoustic analysis is employed to reveal the precise nature of the prosodic relations established among the subacts or intonation groups that together constitute each act. Far from being a merely descriptive exercise, this analysis is designed to demonstrate how prosodic organization actively shapes discourse segmentation. The inquiry is firmly anchored in three prosodic-structural principles articulated by Hidalgo (2019: 128–136), which serve as the conceptual framework for evaluating the explanatory power of prosody in the structuring of discourse:

a) Pitch Declination Principle (PDP)

This principle refers to the gradual lowering of the fundamental frequency (F0) throughout an assertive act. It also considers that the two main tonal reference points (initial and final) within contiguous intonational groups tend to show progressively lower pitch levels in the subsequent group(s) compared to the preceding ones.

b) Hierarchy/Recursivity Principle (HP/RP)

This principle highlights the prosodic system's capacity to generate recursive tonal patterns, which allow for the hierarchical organisation of intonational units. Intermediate tonal segments may display prosodic reinitialisation, which does not substantially disrupt the overall prosodic flow, unless such interruption is pragmatically or contextually motivated by the act itself.

c) Integration Principle (IP)

This principle refers to the integration of successive intonational units, which may form a single act or a sequence of two (or more) consecutive acts that remain prosodically coherent.

The extent to which these principles are met (sections 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3) will offer insights into the feasibility of the proposed segmentation model.

4.1. Pitch Declination Principle (PDP)

Regarding the PDP, we observe that the majority of the segmented speech acts conform to this principle, as they exhibit a progressive decrease in F0 from beginning to end:
- Act 1: Initial F0 244 / Final F0 204
- Act 2: Initial F0 203 / Final F0 118
- Act 3: Initial F0 245 / Final F0 193
- Act 5: Initial F0 212 / Final F0 183

Act 4, however, displays a relatively stable melodic contour, with the initial and final F0 values being practically identical (223 and 222, respectively). This can be interpreted as an assertive act with low assertiveness — in other words, the speaker (a woman) appears reluctant to sound overly categorical. This allows us to interpret this contour as pragmatically functioning to soften the assertion.

Another manifestation of the PDP involves what Hidalgo (2019: 129) terms *supradeclination*, which occurs when the concatenation of successive declination lines across individual acts produces a progressive lowering of pitch over a broader stretch of discourse, such as an entire intervention. In the example analysed here, this suprasegmental structure is confirmed, since the final F0 of the last act is the lowest among all final F0 values within the intervention. Thus, the supramelodic contour across the entire intervention shows a gradual downward trend, temporarily interrupted in Acts 3 and 4 due to their high initial F0 values (245 and 223, respectively), but ultimately resuming the main downward tonal trajectory as described in the HP/RP.

In summary, we can affirm that the PDP is largely fulfilled throughout the intervention we have taken as a reference in our analysis.

4.2. Hierarchy/Recursivity Principle (HP/RP)

Examining the melodic structure of Acts 1, 2, and 3, we find certain fluctuations (sudden rises) in F0 within the different subacts that constitute each act. However, these fluctuations do not entail a break in the PDP; instead, the main downward tonal line of each act is restored by virtue of the HP/RP, so that in all these cases the final F0 is lower than the initial F0. The exceptional case of Act 4 has already been discussed in section 4.1.

As for Act 5, the melodic structure of its two subacts is relatively regular, since the aforementioned melodic fluctuations are absent, and the melodic line develops as a steady descent from start to finish. Therefore, we can state that the HP/RP is also met throughout the entire intervention.

4.3. Integration Principle (IP)

That the different acts constituting the analysed intervention form distinct discourse units can be demonstrated not only structurally (according to the Val.Es.Co. principles) but also prosodically. The presence of downward melodic inflections (↓) at the end of each act (except, as noted, Act 4) indicates that the prosodic-structural unit has concluded. The final F0 associated with these inflections is also — as we have seen — lower than the initial F0 of the respective acts. This behaviour confirms the effective fulfilment of the IP.

Ultimately, it can be stated in this section of reflection on the conducted analysis that examining these principles also permits methodological consideration. Prosodic investigation demands precise and replicable measurement of acoustic parameters, particularly F0, melodic inflection, and tonal alignment. Tools such as Praat, when combined with the IFA model, offer an empirically grounded and reliable segmentation approach, avoiding impressionistic pitfalls. Furthermore, the observed alignment between prosodic contours and structural segmentation raises theoretical questions about the nature of prosodic meaning: prosody not only signals boundaries but can also qualify speech acts independently of lexical-syntactic content, emphasizing the interaction between prosodic form and pragmatic function.

5. Conclusions

One of the most enduring challenges in contemporary research on spoken language is determining how to segment speech into analytically meaningful units. Unlike written language, where syntax and punctuation provide relatively clear boundaries, spontaneous discourse resists straightforward segmentation. Traditional grammatical categories, particularly the "sentence," fail to capture the

fluid, fragmented, and context-dependent nature of oral interaction, rendering syntax-based methods inadequate for rigorous analysis. This limitation underscores the need for approaches that integrate prosodic, pragmatic, and structural dimensions of speech.

In response, this study proposes a model that combines Hidalgo's (2019) Interactive-Functional Analysis (IFA) with the Val.Es.Co. Group framework, uniting melodic organization and internal discourse structure into a coherent segmentation strategy. By integrating prosodic and structural parameters, the model allows for the identification of discourse boundaries in a manner sensitive to both the rhythm and functional dynamics of conversation. Empirical analysis of a representative corpus demonstrates systematic alignment between structural units—intervention, act, and subact—and Hidalgo's prosodic principles: the Pitch Declination Principle (PDP), the Hierarchy/Recursivity Principle (HP/RP), and the Integration Principle (IP). This correspondence provides strong empirical support for the model and validates prosodic cues as reliable indicators of meaningful discourse units.

The findings highlight that prosodic segmentation is not only feasible but also methodologically advantageous for the analysis of spontaneous interaction. In colloquial discourse, where syntactic fragmentation and pragmatic fluidity dominate, intonation emerges as the most consistent and contextually grounded cue for delimiting discourse units. This observation implies a paradigm shift: moving from models grounded in syntactic ideals derived from written language toward frameworks based on observable patterns of language in use. By foregrounding prosody, this study contributes to a more nuanced understanding of coherence, structure, and meaning in oral interaction, emphasizing the functional role of melodic organization in shaping discourse.

A further strength of the proposed approach lies in its potential applicability across diverse communicative contexts. While the present study focuses on a specific conversational excerpt, the methodology—particularly the combined use of the IFA model and the Val.Es.Co. framework—can be systematically extended to other registers, including formal dialogue, institutional interactions, or media speech. This opens avenues for comparative research on intonational patterns across sociolinguistic contexts, offering insights into prosody as a flexible yet universal organizing principle of discourse. Such studies could clarify how prosodic patterns adapt to different pragmatic demands while maintaining structural coherence.

Methodologically, the study also demonstrates the rigor required for prosodic analysis. Accurate measurement of acoustic parameters—fundamental frequency (F0), melodic inflection, and tonal alignment—is essential for reliable segmentation. The combined use of Praat software and IFA-derived criteria ensures reproducibility and empirical grounding, overcoming the limitations of impressionistic analysis, which, though intuitively appealing, often lacks consistency and objectivity.

The results also provoke theoretical reflection on the nature of prosodic meaning. The alignment between prosodic contours and structural segmentation raises the question of whether prosody merely marks boundaries or whether it also conveys independent semantic and pragmatic content. The distinction between primary and secondary modal functions (PMF and SMF) within the IFA model supports the latter view: prosody not only organizes discourse but also qualifies speech acts in ways irreducible to lexical-syntactic content alone. Exploring this interface between prosodic form and pragmatic function constitutes a critical challenge for future research.

Finally, this study contributes to a broader reassessment of orality within linguistic theory. For too long, spoken language has been interpreted through the lens of written norms, often producing analytical models that are partial or distorted. By prioritizing prosody and aligning segmentation practices with the realities of oral communication, this research advances our understanding of the functional principles underpinning real-time construction and interpretation of meaning. Far from peripheral, prosodic segmentation emerges as a central concern for the study of spontaneous human communication, providing both methodological and theoretical foundations for future investigation.

CRediT Author Statement

Antonio Hidalgo Navarro: Conceptualisation, Data Collection, Data Analysis, Investigation, Validation, Writing — Original Draft, Writing. **Noelia Ruano Piqueras:** Conceptualisation, Methodology, Writing — Review & Editing, Visualisation.

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ANNEX (Transcription system proposed by Briz and the Val.Es.Co. 2002)

:	Turn-taking.
A	Turn of a speaker identified as A.
?	Unrecognized interlocutor.
§	Immediate succession, without noticeable pause, between two utterances by different speakers.
=	Continuation of a participant's turn during an overlap.
[	Point where an overlap or simultaneous speech begins.
]	End of simultaneous speech.
-	Restarts and self-interruptions without pause.
/	Short pause, less than half a second.
//	Pause between half a second and one second.
///	Pause of one second or longer.
(5")	Silence (gap or interval) of 5 seconds; the number of seconds is indicated for pauses longer than one second when particularly significant.
↑	Rising intonation.
↓	Falling intonation.
→	Sustained or suspended intonation.
^	Circumflex intonation (expressive, in declarative statements with rising-falling tone).
↓	Marked or emphatic pronunciation.
COCHE	Indecipherable fragment.
(( ))	Doubtful transcription.

((…))	Interruptions in the recording or the transcription.
((thing))	Reconstruction of a lexical unit incompletely pronounced, when necessary for comprehension.
pa'l	Syntactic phonetics phenomena between words, especially marked.
°( )°	Parenthetical. Fragment spoken in a lower, almost whispered voice.
h	Aspiration of implosive "s".
l·l	Phonetic assimilation.
(COUGHS)	When appearing in the margin of utterances. If laughter accompanies speech, the utterance is transcribed and a footnote indicates "while laughing".
aaa	Vowel lengthening.
nn	Consonant lengthening.
¿¡ !?	Rhetorical questions or exclamations (e.g., exclamatory questions: questions that do not seek an answer).
¿ ?	Questions. Also for tags like ¿no?, ¿eh?
Italic letters:	Exclamations.
Footnotes:	Reproduction and imitation of utterances. Direct style, typical of so called conversational narratives.
	Pragmatic notes providing information about the circumstances of the utterance. Additional features of the verbal channel. They add information necessary for the correct interpretation of certain words (for example, the foreign equivalent of a word transcribed in the text according to actual pronunciation), utterances or sequences in the text, some onomatopoeias, etc.

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Research article / Научная статья

Interjections as pragmatic particles in Modern Greek: Using diverse corpora in identifying pragmatic functions

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Abstract

The paper offers an overview of the frequency and functions of three basic interjections in Greek, the phonologically minimal α /a/ 'ah, huh', ε /e/ 'eh' and ω or ο /o/ 'oh', with the aim of identifying the full range of their uses that have not been dealt with in the literature, which mainly treats them as elements denoting emotions. The data comes from a variety of Modern Greek corpora, including the conversational and the literary sub-corpora of the *Corpus of Greek Texts* (CGT, 1990–2010), the *Corpus of Greek Film Dialogue* and, for reasons of diachronic comparison, the *Diachronic Corpus of Greek of the 20th Century* (CGT20, 1900–1989). The findings suggest that, although *a* and *e* are both found among the 50 most frequent items, *e* is three times more frequent that *a*, while *o* is almost non-existent in conversation, in contrast to literary data, especially from an earlier period. In addition, *a, e* and *o* have developed a range of functions beyond mere exclamation, which include indexing surprise or sudden realization, use in address or as attention signals, evaluation, intensification, the drawing of implicatures, as well as their use as filled pauses or invariant tags. On the basis of these extensive pragmatic uses, it is suggested that interjections like *a, e* and *o* function as pragmatic particles having a prominent role in both conversation and its literary and filmic representation. More generally, it seems that the category of "interjection" covers a wide range of actual uses that are more akin to *pragmatic particles* (Beeching 2002), *inserts* (Biber et al. 1999) or *interactives* (Heine 2023), that is elements with a rich contribution to interactive discourse, both in non-scripted and scripted conversation. Corpora can be instrumental in evaluating this pragmatic import and its diachronic development.

Key words: *interactive discourse, interjections, pragmatic particles, film dialogue, language change, Greek*

Междометия как прагматические частицы в новогреческом языке: использование различных корпусов для определения прагматических функций

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Аннотация

В статье представлен обзор частотности употребления и функций трех основных междометий греческого языка — фонологически минимальных *α* /a/ 'ah, huh', *ε* /e/ 'eh' и *ω,* или *o* /o/ 'oh', которые в основном рассматриваются в литературе как элементы, обозначающие эмоции. Цель данного исследования — выявить полный спектр употреблений этих междометий. Данные взяты из различных корпусов новогреческого языка, включая разговорный и литературный подкорпусы *Корпуса греческих текстов* (CGT, 1990–2010), а также *Корпус греческих кинодиалогов* и, для диахронического сравнения, *Диахронический корпус греческого языка XX века* (CGT20, 1900–1989). Результаты показали, что, хотя *α* и *ε* входят в число 50 наиболее частотных элементов, *е* встречается в три раза чаще, чем *a*, в то время как *o* практически не встречается в разговорной речи, в отличие от литературных текстов, особенно более раннего периода. Кроме того, выявлено, что *α, ε* и *o* развили ряд функций, выходящих за рамки простого восклицания, среди которых удивление или внезапное осознание, обращение или привлечение внимания, оценка, усиление, а также их использование в качестве заполнителей пауз или инвариантных тегов. На основе выявленных прагматических функций делается предположение о том, что междометия, такие как *α, ε* и *o*, функционируют как прагматические частицы, играя важную роль в разговорной речи, в том числе в ее литературном и кинематографическом представлении. В более общем плане, категория «междометие» охватывает широкий спектр употреблений, которые скорее схожи с прагматическими частицами (Beeching 2002), вставками (Biber et al. 1999) или интерактивными элементами (Heine 2023), то есть с элементами, вносящими значительный вклад в интерактивный дискурс. Исследование показывает, что корпусы могут играть важную роль в оценке прагматических значений и их диахронического развития.

Ключевые слова: *интерактивный дискурс, междометие, прагматические частицы, кинодиалог, изменение языка, греческий язык*

1. Introduction

Interjections across the world's languages have typically been treated as elements of emotional expression, whereas their pragmatic roles and functions have received comparatively limited attention. In Greek in particular, as the following section will discuss, the three basic interjections–α /a/ 'ah, huh', ε /e/ 'eh', and ω/o /o/ 'oh'–have not been extensively studied, despite their high frequency in everyday conversation (see evidence in 4.1). This paper seeks to address this gap by

examining the frequency, functions and distribution in text types of these items in a range of corpora consisting of extensive, authentic Greek data. As will be shown, corpus evidence is crucial for revealing the full scope of their usage patterns, especially the relative frequency–and therefore the pragmatic significance–of their various functions. The study's broader aim is to investigate how interjections evolve pragmatic functions in discourse that extend well beyond the mere expression of emotion.

2. Interjections and pragmatics

Interjections have been largely neglected in the linguistics literature, at least until the 1990s when the seminal Ameka (1992) is published,[1] among else, due to their intrinsic relation to emotion, which has been overlooked by the predominantly referentialist view of language in 20th century linguistics (Wilce 2009: 39). It is indicative that Sapir, for instance, believes that "[i]deation reigns supreme in language […] volition and emotion come in as distinctly secondary factors" (1921: 38–39) or that "the emotional aspect of our psychic life is but meagerly expressed in the build of language" (1921: 217). It was only in the last few decades that the full extent of linguistic devices related to emotion has become apparent (see e.g. Dewaele 2010, Foolen 2012, Wilce 2009: 39ff.) to the extent that Taboada, in full reversal of Sapir's pronouncement, finds that "the linguistic expression of emotions and opinions is one of the most fundamental human traits" (2016: 326).[2]

At the same time, the simplistic connection of interjections with emotion seems to have been taken as an endpoint in the related discussion, somehow associating them with pre- or non-linguistic material which is not amenable to further investigation, rather than as the foundation on which further uses and functions have been developed in the world's languages. For instance, Triandaphyllidis' standard grammar of Modern Greek defines interjections as monosyllabic, non-declinable words that denote feelings[3] and specifies that *a* relates to admiration and query, *e* to scorn, address, irony, regret and disgust and *o* (written either as *o* or *ω*) to query, pain, sorrow, and address (1949 [1976]: 203–204). Similarly, the three major Modern Greek dictionaries define the meaning of *a, e* and *o* as related to "intense emotion" (Charalambakis 2014), "several emotions" (Triandaphyllidis Dictionary 1998) or "several intense emotions" (Babiniotis 1998), ranging from joy to terror, although they also recognize uses such as vocatives, phrases of address or self-standing answers to questions.

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[1] The editors have rightly pointed out that this mainly holds true for Anglo-Saxon literature. Bobińska (2015), Buridant (2003) and Stange (2016: 5ff.) offer useful entry points to a rich, even if erratic, line of research on interjections.

[2] Certainly, this delay is related to the fact that the alternative lines of thinking introduced by Bakhtin/Voloshinov, Benveniste or Wittgenstein have not been sufficiently integrated into mainstream linguistic research.

[3] Greek does not distinguish between *emotion, sentiment, feeling* and *affect* in the same way as English; the word *συναίσθημα* 'sinésθima/ is the most frequent catch-all term.

There are two exceptions to this undifferentiated treatment of the interjections *a, e* and *o*, which both rely on the study of authentic data. The early Tzartzanos' grammar (1946 [1963]: 143–145) treats only *e* as an "interjectional particle" and, on the basis of mostly literary data, carefully distinguishes several uses, including a vocative use, pragmatic implications of contrast, conclusion or disagreement, an invariant tag use in commands and questions, that can also have ironic or disapproving overtones, and a self-standing use of surprise or disapproval. The second exception comes from three recent studies of *a* from a Conversational Analysis perspective, published in the same volume (Christodoulidou 2020, Karachaliou 2020, Pavlidou 2020), which all point to its use as a pragmatic marker of change-of-state, following the analysis of *oh* in English by Heritage (1984). Although these studies open up a new perspective for the treatment of such elements in Greek, due to the methodological framework followed, it is not easy to place the particular pragmatic function identified in the items' overall patterning and thus evaluate its contribution to their meaning. It is also not clear whether the roughly sixty examples discussed in all three studies were selected precisely for their exemplification of the meaning focused upon or are representative (and to what extent) of their broader use.

It is important to note that *a, e* and *o* are phonologically and morphologically minimal and produce syllable-like utterances consisting of one vowel sound. In fact, the corresponding vowel phonemes take up low (central) and medial (front and back) position in the five-vowel phonological system of Greek[4] and as such are formed by some of the most basic elements to be found in natural languages. They are thus potential candidates for manifesting universal properties through their prototypical uses in the sense of Dingemanse, Torreira & Enfield (2013) and, as a result, of further significance beyond the grammar of Greek. Their phonological and morphological simplicity is one among the features of the category of *inserts* in Biber et al.'s (1999) terms, *pragmatic particles* in Beeching's (2002) terms or *interactives* in Heine's (2023) terms.[5] Other features include (see Beeching 2002: 53, Biber et al. 1999: 1083 ff, Heine 2023: 12, 31, Heine et al. 2024):

a) morphological invariability; they are non-declinable in the case of Greek,

b) syntactic non-attachability: they are not part of a larger grammatical structure, although they may be prosodically attached to a clausal unit or may be self-standing,

c) placement in initial or final positions, and only rarely in the middle of the clause (*pace* Beeching 2002, cf. Georgakopoulou & Goutsos 1998 for Greek),

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[4] The other two vowel sounds, the high /i/ and /u/ can also be used as interjections of extreme pain or disgust and disapproval, respectively, but are much less frequent and seem to be marginal in terms of their uses and functions.

[5] Beeching (2016: 3) includes a long list of terms used for these elements, ranging from *discourse markers* to *hedges* and *boosters*. Along with the — perhaps, unavoidable — proliferation of labels, there have only been few attempts to clear the terminological confusion (see e.g. Degand, Cornillie & Pietrandrea 2013).

d) lack of denotative meaning: their meaning is dependent on their pragmatic function,

e) lack of homonyms in other word classes,

f) inability to negate or question them,

g) multifunctionality,

h) typical occurrence in spoken rather than written discourse,

i) association with informality, which may occur with stylistic stigmatization.

The items under study in this paper seem to conform to these criteria and thus are candidates for belonging to these larger categories. This issue will be revisited at the final section of the paper, but for now it suffices to point out that interjections like *a, e* and *o* potentially have characteristics that are shared by other elements in a wider category of items with multiple pragmatic functions and a broader discourse role.

As a final note, it would be interesting to compare Modern Greek interjections with their Ancient Greek counterparts, to which they are etymologically related and which have been extensively studied (e.g. Nordgren 2015). The multifunctionality of items like *a, e* and *o* makes it possible to suggest possible paths of language change, while a corpus investigation may be also exploited for sociolinguistic explanations e.g. of the kind suggested by Denis & Tagliamonte (2016).

3. Data and methodology

The data drawn upon for this study come from a variety of corpora. Our starting point is the approximately 300,000-word conversational sub-corpus of the *Corpus of Greek Texts* (CGT). CGT is a 30-million-word general reference corpus, including a broad range of spoken and written genres from 1990–2010 (Goutsos 2010). Its conversational sub-corpus includes 87 texts of informal, everyday conversation between two or more intimates (e.g. friends or family), in what is considered to be the prototypical genre of spoken discourse.

Conversational data is compared to two other genres of contemporary data which involve speech representation, that is literary data and film dialogue. Literary data come from the 2.6-million-word literary sub-corpus of CGT, comprising a variety of sub-genres including novels, short stories, poetry, theatrical plays, song lyrics etc. Film data come from the *Corpus of Greek Film Dialogue* (CGFD), which was created with the purpose of studying Greek cinematic discourse (Goutsos 2025) and includes transcribed dialogues from 105 films in Greek from nine decades with an approximate size of 900,000 words. For purposes of comparison 30 films were selected from the 1990s and 2000s, the same period as that covered by CGT. It is significant that there were only a few instances of *a, e* and *o* in genres other than conversation, literature or film dialogue in CGT and these were excluded from further investigation.[6]

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[6] As is the case in CGT20, too, these mainly occur in magazines e.g. in interviews and —to a less extent— in private letters. Stange (2016: 6), who finds similar results in the BNC, draws the conclusion that "in writing, too, interjections are actually a feature of spoken language".

Our investigation also draws evidence from data of an earlier period of Greek drawn from the *Diachronic Corpus of Greek of the 20th century* (CGT20). CGT20 is a 4-million-word general reference corpus including a variety of genres from the first nine decades of the 20th century, that is 1900–1989 (Goutsos et al. 2017). CGT and CGT20 belong to a family of Greek corpora, covering the whole of the 20th and the first decade of the 21st century. It was again found that only a handful of instances (less than 4%) of *a, e* and *o* occur in genres other than literature or film speech and were thus excluded from further investigation. (Comparable conversational data are not included in the CGT20). Table 1 summarizes the data used in this study.

Table 1. **Corpora used in the study**

Genres	Conversation	Literary	Film	Diachronic data
Corpora	Conversational sub-corpus of CGT (1990–2010)	Literary sub-corpus of CGT (1990–2010)	1990-2010 sub-corpus of CGFD	Literary and film sub-corpora of CGT20 (1900–1989)
Size (in tokens)	293,391	2,664,216	185,627	3,679,138

Concordances were extracted for *a, e* and *o* in these four corpora and were cleaned in order to identify instances of interjectional uses. This means excluding other occurrences of the letters *α, ε, ο* and *ω* e.g. as part of other words, in listing (a, b, c …) etc. Other cases that were excluded are occurrences of the vowels as part of other interjections e.g. *αχ, εμ, ωχ, α πα πα* etc., instances in songs that are used for metrical purposes (e.g. *α, μια νύχτα πριν να σβήσουν τ' άστρα* 'a:: a night before the stars go out' LIT-1950-0175) and the homophonous injunctive α /a/ or άι /ái/ in examples like *α να χαθείς από 'δώ πέρα* 'Get lost!/Get out of here!' (FILM-1980-0002), which is etymologically non-related to the interjection *a* (see Babiniotis 1998, Triandaphyllidis Dictionary 1998).

The next step has been to assign a function to the items under investigation, on the basis of its context in a concordance line of 5 words to the left and 5 to the right of the node word (cf. Columbus 2010) and then try and classify individual examples to larger categories.

4. Findings

This section presents the findings of the study for the frequency and functions of *a, e* and *o* in the analysed corpora.

4.1. Frequency

Table 2 displays the frequencies of the three items under investigation in conversation, literary texts, film dialogues and the diachronic data of CGT20, presenting their raw (N) and normalized frequency per 10,000 words.

Table 2. **Raw and normalized frequency of *a, e* and *o* in the data**

	Conversation		Literary		Film		CGT20	
	N	**Norm. Freq.**	**N**	**Norm. Freq.**	**N**	**Norm. Freq.**	**N**	**Norm. Freq.**
a	1200	40,9	557	2,14	200	10,7	898	2,24
e	2896	98	926	3,56	1087	58,5	1915	4,78
o	36	1,2	284	1,09	25	1,3	392	0,98
Total	4132		1767		1312		3205	

The figures in Table 2 suggest that *a, e* and *o* are especially frequent in conversation, although *o* is clearly much less frequent than the other two items, as there are roughly 100 *e* and 40 *a* in every 10,000 words of spontaneous conversation in Greek but only one *o*. Instances are much fewer in literary data: *a* roughly occurs slightly more than two times in every 10,000 words of literary data both in contemporary and diachronic data (20 times less than in conversation data), *o* occurs once or less (similar to conversation), whereas *e* occurs four-five times in literary and diachronic data (also 20 times less than in conversation). Certainly, speech representation takes up a small portion of literary genres, as it mainly appears in dialogic parts of fiction and drama and much less in other literary genres. Film dialogue, which aspires to represent actual conversation more faithfully, has normalized frequencies for *a, e* and *o* that are closer to conversation, namely four times less for *a*, less than half for *e* and the same for *o*.[7] Even so there is a pronounced difference from non-scripted conversation.

It is interesting to compare the relative frequency of all three items in the respective corpora, as presented in Figure 1, which breaks down figures for CGT20 into literary and film data.
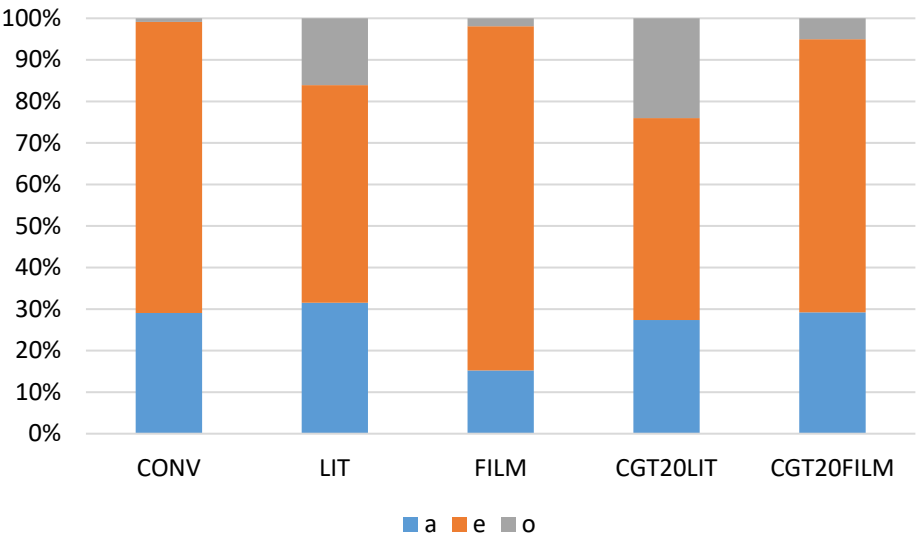
Figure 1. Relative frequency of *a, e* and *o* in the data

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[7] It must be noted here that film data come from modern films, which tend to give a more realistic picture of conversation (cf. Goutsos 2025: 192 ff.).

As can be gleaned from Figure 1, *o* occurs proportionally more in literary data, especially from the beginning of the 20th century, whereas it is almost extinct in contemporary conversation.[8] By contrast, *a* has relatively similar frequency across data (roughly one third of all items) and *e* takes the lion's share (roughly two thirds of all items) with a slight exaggeration in contemporary film data and a slight underrepresentation in diachronic literary data (one fourth of all items).

Overall, it seems that *e* and *a* are especially frequent in conversation and thus potentially significant for spoken interaction. It is indicative that *e* is among the 15 most frequent items in the data, following grammatical words like *και* 'and', *το* 'the', *να* 'to', *ναι* 'yes', *δεν* 'not', *είναι* 'is' etc., and *a* is among the 50 most frequent items in conversation, whereas *o* is much less frequent. This finding is consistent with the overall picture found in English (see e.g. Beeching 2016: 34, Biber et al. 1999: 1053ff, 1096–1097), although in reverse, as the English *oh* is much more frequent than *ah*, something which must be related to the range of functions covered by the items in question. As Heritage (2018: 157) has observed, in Early Modern English *oh*'s "frequency of use accelerated, partly at the expense of *a(h)*, which served similar functions in Middle English".

At the same time, the representation of conversation in literature and film differs to a large extent from actual conversation both in terms of the overall frequency of these devices and in terms of the proportional distribution of the items involved; literature tends to overrepresent *o*, especially in earlier data, while contemporary film dialogue tends to overrepresent *e*. As such, literature and film seem to involve a specific view of what actually happens in conversation.

4.2. Functions

4.2.1. a

The investigation of *a* in the four corpora of the study has indicated that there are nine main uses associated with it, namely:

a) exclamation: *a* is used as a typical interjection e.g. of joy as in (1) or terror as in (2):

(1) […] *ο Στέφανος τις γελούσε δεύτερη φορά. — Α, α! ξεφώνιζαν λαχταριστά οι δυο μικρές* […] (LIT-1910-0005)
Stefanos was playing with them for a second time. — <u>Ah, ah!</u> the two small ones would cry delightedly

(2) *<Σόλων> ΑΤΙΜΟ ΣΟΙ (.) ΘΑ ΣΑΣ ΣΦΑΞΩ <Λία> Α:: Α:: ΠΩ ΠΩ ΠΩ ΠΩ::* (FILM-1960-0002)
<Solon> DISGRACEFUL FAMILY (.) I WILL KILL YOU <Lia> <u>ah:: ah::</u> oh Gosh

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[8] Although we need a much more detailed diachronic analysis, covering the "intermediate link" of Medieval Greek (see 4 below), we can speculate here that the prototypical association of *o* with exclamation in high-flown literary texts (see 3.2.3) has rendered it a high register item to be avoided in everyday (low) conversation. (English seems to have followed the opposite direction). One must also not preclude the effects of language contact (see Boček 2015).

b) surprise and aside: this use involves the perceptual element of sudden encounter or recollection of something on part of the speaker. The meaning of surprise is only found in literary data and recent film dialogue, as in (3) and (4):

(3) […] *καλημέρισε την παρέα του. </p> <p> « Α, αυτή κι αν είναι έκπληξη!» κατάφερε να πει εκείνος* (LIT-5001)
[…] said good morning to his friends. "Ah, that was a surprise!" he managed to say

(4) *<Γυναίκα 3> πάμε στην θάλασσα (.) τώρα <Γυναίκα 2> α εδώ είστε* (FILM-2000-0015)
<Woman 3> let's go to the see (.) now <Woman 2> ah that's where you are

Conversation, instead, only has the meaning of aside, especially in set phrases that introduce a new topic, further information (5) or a story (6):

(5) *<Δ> [η κυρία Γ είναι σούπερ (.) <Σ> καλά (.) α δε σου 'πα ξεκίνησε και μαθήματα κομπιούτερ* (CONV-0004)
<D> [Mrs G is super (.) <S> fine (.) ah I didn't tell you she started computer classes

(6) *<Α> της στέλνω μήνυμα όντως μου απαντάει (.) α εντωμεταξύ δεν σας είπα (.) μου λέει πώς το βλέπεις* (CONV-0029)
<A> I send her a message and she does reply to me (.) ah meanwhile I didn't tell you (.) she says how do you see this

The same device is found in literary and film data:

(7) *επιταγή είναι δεν τη βλέπεις; επιταγή είναι <Δημήτρης> Α:: και δε μου λες <Ρένα> ορίστε <Δημήτρης> ποιος την έφερε;* (FILM-1980-0002)
It's a cheque can't you see it? It's a cheque <Dimitris> ah:: tell me something <Rena> sure <Dimitris> Who brought it?

(8) (*ΠΑΕΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΠΟΡΤΑ) <ΤΖΕΝΗ> Α... ξέχασα να σου πω... τηλεφώνησε η φίλη σου* (LIT-5023)
(GOING TO THE DOOR) <Jenny> ah… I forgot to tell you… your friend called

Obviously, this is a handy device for changing the topic or introducing a new element in discourse.

c) address: in this use *a* may accompany vocatives with proper names, as in (9), or — more rarely — religious invocations such as *α παναΐα μου* 'a my Virgin Mary' (CONV-5008), *α Χριστέ μου* 'a my Christ' (FILM-1940-0002):

(9) *<T> Λουίτζι; <Λ> α Τζιοβάνι εδώ είσαι (.) να περάσω;* (CONV-0032)
<G> Luigi? <L> ah Giovanni here you are (.) may I come in?

This use also includes cases in which the speaker draws the interlocutor's attention e.g. by objecting to something they say or do, as in (10):

(10) *<Αντώνης> άσε εκεί δα να σου πατήσω ένα φιλάκι <Ρούλα> Α:: ΑΦΗΣΕ ΜΕ ΚΑΛΕ (.) ΔΕ ΘΕΛΩ* (FILM-1950-0004)
<Antonis> let me give you a kiss right there <Roula> <u>AH</u>:: LET ME BE, YOU (.) I DON'T WANT TO

d) evaluation: this involves reference to a third person or object (in the nominative or accusative) to express admiration or reproach:

(11) *[…] και να κάνει και τις κινήσεις να δείχνει <Π> α ρε φοβερός <Ε> να λέει […]* (CONV-0001)
[…] and he would do the motions he'd show <P> <u>ah</u> re[9] incredible <E> he'd say

(12) *<Β> και τι σας είπε; <Δ> ότι τα πήρατε εσείς <Β> α το κάθαρμα (.) ώστε εξακολουθεί να επιμένει […]* (FILM-1960-0002)
<B> and what did he tell you? <D> that you took them <B> <u>ah</u> the scoundrel (.) so he keeps on insisting

e) intensification: *a* is commonly used as an intensifier as in (13), mainly along with evaluatives (*α μπράβο/ωραία*), with response signals of agreement/assent (*α βέβαια/μάλιστα/ναι/γεια σου*) or denial/disagreement (*α δε μπορώ/όχι/μπα*) or with social formulae (*α ευχαριστώ/συγγνώμη*) (see Heine 2023) as in (14):

(13) *[…] λεμονανθοί, τριαντάφυλλα, η θάλασσα. Α, πώς μοσκοβολούσε η θάλασσα!* (LIT-0003)
[…] lemon flowers, roses, the sea. <u>Ah</u>, how fragrant was the sea!

(14) *Οι σοφοί αρνήθηκαν. Α, μπα! δεν είνε δυνατόν. Μα ο Ευμορφόπουλος επίμενε.* (LIT-1900-0001)
The wise men refused. <u>Ah</u>, nah! It's not possible. But Evmorfopoulos insisted.

f) implicature: this use of *a* is related to the change-of-state marking that has already been studied in Greek (see Section 2) and involves an implicature that the person speaking has now realized the truth of their interlocutor's general proposition as in (15) or that a specific point has been clarified as in (16). It also involves specific implicatures such as drawing a conclusion from an element of the surrounding context as in (17).

(15) *<Δ> είναι για το πώς θα σφουγγαρίσει ((προς τον Π)) <Π> α <Χ> ναι επειδή δεν ξέρω πώς να σφουγγαρίζω* (CONV-0050)
<D> it is about how he will mop the floor ((to P)) <P> <u>ah</u> <X> yes because I don't know how to mop

(16) *<Μ> το κουνουπίδι ογδόντα λεπτά <Χ> το ψωμί παιδί μου <Μ> α:: το ψωμί; α εγώ κουνουπίδι άκουσα* (CONV-0045)
<M> eighty cents for cauliflower <X> for bread <M> <u>ah</u>:: for bread? <u>ah</u> I heard cauliflower

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[9] *re* is a non-denotational item that functions as a marker of intimacy.

(17) *ο παπάς ιδόντας τα κατσικάκια και τες γίδες, είπε: — Α!.. βλέπω απόψε, Μαριανθούλα, έχετε και φιλινιάδες!* (LIT-1900-0004)
The priest, seeing the goats and their babies, said: — Ah!... I can see, dear Marianthi, that you have some girl friends with you tonight!

As suggested from the examples above, *a* may be used in self-standing utterances with this meaning, especially in cases of general implicature.

g) use in set phrases and deictic mentions: *a* can also be used in set phrases like *α καλά* as in (18) or by speakers to deictically refer to a previous use in discourse as in (19).

(18) *είναι:: στο- το Ελαϊκόν είναι στο Γουδί <X> α:: καλά πολύ μακριά* (CONV-0011)
It's in the- in Elaikon it's in Goudi <X> ah:: OK very far

(19) *δεν είναι ούτε μηχανικός ούτε αρχιτέκτων <Ναύαρχος> α <Θωμάς> πολλά α μου λες ναύαρχε <Ναύαρχος> τα σταματώ και προχωρώ* (FILM-1960-0001)
He's not an engineer nor an architect <Admiral> ah <Thomas> you say many ah, admiral <Admiral> I quit them and go on

In (19) the first *a* is related to the drawing of an implicature that the admiral does not further specify; Thomas comments on this by his use of *a*. Both these examples suggest an increased degree of conventionalization, in the sense that speakers rely on well-established meanings of the item used.

h) filled pause: *a*, usually prolonged, may be used in Greek as a filler in pauses or a hesitation marker (see Heine 2023: 134). Most examples come from conversation (20–21), although some instances are found in other genres, too, as in (22).

(20) *το:: μέτρο πρέπει να 'ναι πάνω απ' όλα α:: δεν αφουγκραζόμαστε την ψυχική μας διάθεση ούτε τίποτα* (CONV-0062)
the right measure must be above all ah:: we don't listen to our mood or stuff

(21) *με μια Μαρία (.) δε σ' το 'πα; <ΠΑ> α ε μου το 'χεις πει βασικά αλλά δεν* […] (CONV-0029)
with one Maria (.) didn't I tell you? <PA> ah eh you have told me basically but I didn't […]

(22) *<ΣΠΥΡΟΣ> καλημέρα σας δεσποινίς <ΛΙΛΑ> α:: ε:: καλημέρα κυρ-Σπύρο <ΣΠΥΡΟΣ> σας χάσαμε δεσποινίς* (FILM-1940-0003)
<Spyros> good morning miss <Lila> ah:: eh:: good morning Mr Spyros <Spyros> long time no see miss

As suggested by (21) and (22), *a* can precede *e* as a filler, whereas instances of the reverse have not been found in the data.[10]

i) invariant tag in questions: a special use of *a*, found only in Greek data from Cyprus, both authentic (23) and scripted (24) conversation, involves a word added, usually at the end of an utterance, to elicit the listener's response or agreement (Columbus 2010), presumably with a special intonational contour:

(23) *<Ε> τελικά εν κρυάδα την νύκτα α; <Π> την νύκτα εν κρυάδα αλλά τούτες τες μέρες* […] (CONV-5006)
<E> so it's quite cold at night <u>ah</u>? <P> at night it's cold but these days […]

(24) *<ΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ> Ποιος σου έμαθε να λέεις όλα τούτα τα ψέματα; Α; <ΤΕΥΚΡΟΣ> Ξέρεις πως δεν είναι ψέματα...* (LIT-5040)
<Kleitos> Who taught you to say all these lies? <u>Ah</u>? <Teukros> You know they're not lies…

This function is taken up mostly by *e* in data from mainland Greece (see 4.2.2). Table 3 presents the frequency of all uses of *a* in the four corpora.

Table 3. **Functions of *a* in the data**

	Conversation	Literary	Film	CGT20
Exclamation	–	6	–	37
Surprise-Aside	62	65	23	42
Address	22	50	12	84
Evaluation	7	37	29	35
Intensification	306	144	37	232
Implicature	649	210	98	392
Phrase-Mention	23	1	1	5
Filled pause	119	4	3	71
Invariant tag	13	40	–	–

The evidence in Table 3 suggests that *a* is mainly used as a marker of implicature, an intensifier or a filled pause in conversation and this is generally mirrored in other genres, as is also shown in more detail in Figure 2.

As can be seen in Figure 2, literature and film present a wider range of functions, with relatively more emphasis to evaluation and address. By contrast, filled pause is more significant in conversation but underrepresented in literary and filmic data. In all, it seems that scripted conversation takes advantage of the functions manifest in non-scripted conversation with the exception of filled pauses, which are less frequent in it.

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[10] In the absence of detailed annotation for prosodic features we cannot comment on the difference between prolonged and non-prolonged vowels. This is also true about writing conventions for these items, which, as known, are notoriously inconsistent.
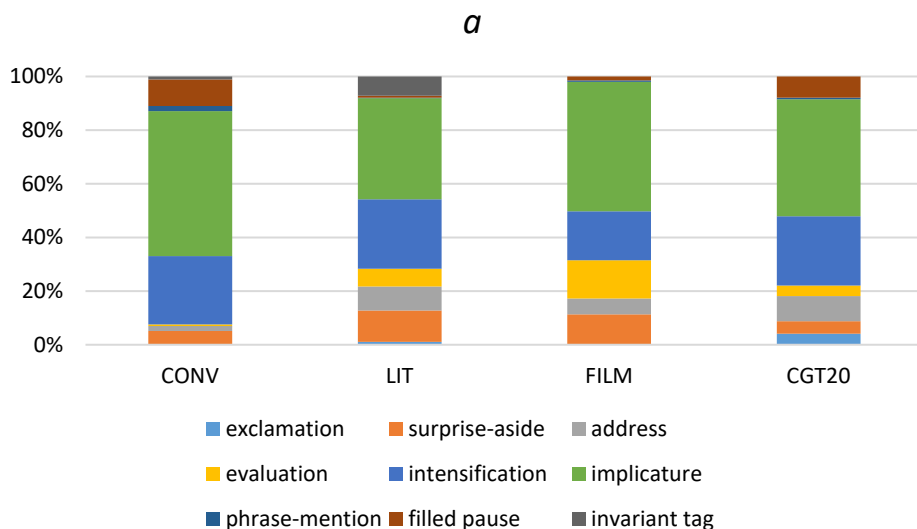
Figure 2. Distribution of functions of *a* in the four corpora

3.2.2. e

Although *e* is at least twice as frequent as *a* in the data studied, there are less functions found for it in the four corpora, namely:

a) exclamation: this use is not particularly frequent and only occurs in literary data, as in (25) and (26):

(25) *Ορχήστρα (χασαποσέρβικο) <ΚΑΡΑΓΚΙΟΖΗΣ> Ε, ώπα, ώπα, ώπα, έξω φτώχεια.* (LIT-0002)
(Orchestra plays a tune) <Karagiozis> <u>eh</u>, opa, opa, opa, down with poverty

(26) […] *τότε μία φωνή βραχνή και νυσταλέα, αλλ' απότομος. — Ε! βάρδ' απ' τα περιβόλια! Ανοιχτά! . . . Ανοιχτά!* (LIT-1910-0003)
[…] then a voice hoarse and sleepy, but brisk. — <u>Eh</u>! straight from the gardens! In the open!... In the open!

b) address: in this use, *e* is found together with a proper or a common name in the vocative as in (27) or with an interlocutor that is clearly retrievable from context as in (28), in order to draw their attention.

(27) *((κοιτάζουν για λίγο τηλεόραση)) <Γ> ε παιδιά λέει για τα καλαμάρια που ξανασερβίρουνε* (CONV-0008)
((watch TV for some time)) <G> <u>eh</u> guys it says about squid that gets served again

(28) […] *κλείνοντας την πόρτα πίσω του. «Ε, περίμενε!...» Η Τάρκιν την άνοιξε, αλλ' αυτός είχ' εξαφανιστεί* (LIT-5084)
[…] shutting the door behind him. "<u>Eh</u>, wait!..." Tarquin opened it, but he was gone.

This makes *e* a typical attention signal like *hey* in English (see Heine 2023: 116) that can also be extended to cases like (29) in which it issues a warning:

(29) […] *συμβουλές σ' αυτό το- σ' αυτό το διαμάντι <Φίλος> ε ε μαζέψου <Γιάννης> ναι σε είδαμε κι εσένα* (FILM-2000-0002)
[…] advice to this- this real gem <Friend> <u>eh eh</u> cut it off <Giannis> yes we know about you

c) evaluation: as with *a* (see 4.2.1), *e* can occur with evaluative phrases of admiration or disapproval referring to a person, as in (30), or an object (31), or expressing a general assessment of a situation as in (32).

(30) *<Π> έλα ρε μωράκι ((γέλια)) <ΠΑ> ε ρε το μουρλό <Π> ναι και::* (CONV-0029)
<P> c'mon re baby ((laughter)) <PA> <u>eh</u> re the crazy guy <P> yes and::

(31) *<Γρηγόρης> δεν έχω φτιάξει; κοίτα ((κάνει φιγούρες)) Ε ΡΕ ΚΟΡΜΟΣΤΑΣΙΑ (.) ποια θα την πάρει* (FILM-2000-0002)
<Gregory> am I not better? Look ((striking poses)) <u>EH</u> RE WHAT A BODY (.) which girl is going to take it?

(32) […] *για τις άσπρες μπλούζες τι τους κάναμε, να πέσεις κάτω. Ε, ρε, πλάκα.* (LIT-5016)
[…] what fun we had with them for the white blouses-to fall down with laughter. <u>E</u> re fun

It is interesting that *re* (see note 4) co-occurs with *e* in most of these examples.
d) intensification: *e* is commonly used as an intensifier in cases of hedge as in (33). More frequently, it accompanies evaluatives (*ε χαλαρά/ωραία*), response signals of agreement/assent/concession (*ε ακριβώς/βέβαια/(ε)ντάξει/ναι/σίγουρα*) or denial/disagreement (*ε μα/όχι/σιγά*) or with social formulae (*ε με συγχωρείτε/σόρι/συγγνώμη*) (see Heine 2023) as in (34) and (35):

(33) […] *και τούτο εκ θεού είναι. Ε, τι λες, τυχερή δεν ήμουνα, παιδί μου;* (LIT-5015)
[…] and that comes from God. <u>Eh</u>, what do you think, wasn't I lucky, my child?

(34) *<I> ναι και την καρδιά σου θα ρωτήσεις <AI> ε ακριβώς <I> τι λες;* (CONV-0001)
<I> yes and you'll ask your heart <E> <u>eh</u> exactly <I> what do you think?

(35) *<Τσίτσης> άνοιξε θέλω να του μιλήσω <Βασιλική> ε δεν μπορώ τώρα να ανοίξω <Τσίτσης> είναι ανάγκη* (FILM-1990-0008)
<Tsitsis> open up I want to talk to him <Vassiliki> <u>eh</u> I can't open right now <Tsitsis> it's urgent

In most of these examples, *e* introduces an element of hedging or concession and that may be one aspect of its difference from *a*, which may also account for the different collocates of the two items in this use.

d) implicature: *e* invites several implicatures that refer either to the general proposition of an interlocutor's statement (36) or a specific aspect of this (37). The meanings of these implicatures relate to cause, consequence (38), conclusion (39), correction (40), narrative continuation (37) or dismissal of a proposition ("so what", e.g. 41). In many cases the comment following *e* is presented as dependent on accepting the interlocutor's proposition as true ("if one accepts this, then this follows", e.g. 38). Some of the collocates like *άμα* 'if', *αφού* 'since', *οπότε* 'therefore', *και μετά* 'and then', *και τι έγινε* 'what happened', *λοιπόν* 'so, well' (only found in earlier data and not in contemporary conversation, cf. Tzartzanos 1946 [1963]: 143) clarify the particular implication intended.

(36) *να φύγουνε από την ΠΑΣΠ τότε αφού το καταλάβανε <P> ε αφού τους διέγραψε* (CONV-0004)
they should get out of [this organization] if they realized this <R> <u>eh</u> since they were removed [as members]

(37) *τελικά δώδεκα η ώρα γυρίσαμε από το θείο μου <I> ε και τι έγινε δώδεκα η ώρα βγαίνει ο κόσμος* (CONV-0009)
finally we come back at twelve o'clock from my uncle's <I> <u>eh</u> so what, twelve o'clock is when people go out

(38) *<B> δε θα κάτσω θα φύγω <E> ε θα φτιάξουμε κάτι γρήγορο να φάμε <B> θα φύγω* (CONV-0043)
<V> I'm not staying I'm going <E> <u>eh</u> we'll make something quick to eat <V> I'm going

(39) *γίνεται τόσο από μπαχαρικά όσο απ' τα ίδια τα υλικά ε οπότε λογικά τότε φτιάχνανε κάπως έτσι (.) δηλαδή μια πίτα* (CONV-0002)
it's made both from spices and the ingredients themselves <u>eh</u> hence logically then they made it somewhat like this

(40) *<Αλέξανδρος> τραγουδίστρια; <Ηλέκτρα> ε τραγουδίστρια τώρα δεν την έχω ακούσει ποτέ να τραγουδάει* (FILM-1990-0012)
<Alexandros> a singer? <Elektra> <u>eh</u> singer now I haven't heard her sing

(41) *από μετριοφροσύνη σκίζεις πάντως τι να σου πω; <ΑΓ> ε τι να κάνω; αυτογνωσία* (CONV-0015)
you're super humble what can I say? <AG> <u>eh</u> what I can do? pure self-knowledge

In all cases above there is an overtone of obviousness: the implication that is drawn in the utterance followed by *e* is considered to be obvious or self-evident by the speaker.

e) use in set phrases and deictic mentions: like *a*, *e* can also be used in set phrases like *ε καλά,* reminiscent of the English 'well', as in (42) or by speakers to deictically refer to a previous use in discourse as in (43), in which the speaker uses *e* to comment on a previous use of an apology.

(42) *<M> χτες χτες τρεις παρά τέταρτο <Λ> ε καλά άσε τώρα τις λεπτομέρειες* (FILM-2000-0012)
<M> yesterday yesterday at a quarter to three <L> <u>eh</u> fine ('oh well') leave out the details now

(43) *<E> δεν ήταν άγριος και λέει η Σταυρούλα συγγνώμη ε τι συγγνώμη λέει τι συγγνώμη;* (CONV-0047)
<E> he was not rough and Stavroula says sorry <u>eh</u> what sorry she says what sorry

f) filled pause: as mentioned above, *e* (usually lengthened) is the main item occurring as a filler in pauses or hesitation marker in Greek (Heine 2023: 134). This is the most common use in conversation (44) and one of the more frequent uses in the other corpora (45), something which suggests that this is a well-established, conventional function of the item in question.

(44) *<Δ> το πλαστικό <M> δεν ε:: <K> αποσυντίθενται [εύκολα <M> [αποσυντίθενται* (CONV-0010)
<D> plastic <M> is not <u>eh</u>:: <K> decomposed [easily <M> [decomposed

(45) […] *πώς και δεν εμπιστεύτηκε σ' αυτόν την... ε... ε... την... την... αδυναμία να την πω;* (LIT-0003)
[…] how didn't he confide to him this… <u>eh</u>… <u>eh</u>… this… this… weakness so to say?

g) invariant tag in questions: *e* is the invariant tag per excellence in Greek, as pointed out in 3.2.1. It is a non-declinable item added, usually at the end of the utterance, to elicit the listener's response, agreement or confirmation (Columbus 2010). This use is the most frequent one in film and CGT20, the second most frequent in the literary corpus and the third more frequent in conversation, something which suggests that it is very well-established both in non-scripted (46) and scripted (47) conversation.

(46) *<Δ> πού πονάει; <Σ> ε:: ψηλά στον ώμο <Δ> στον ώμο ε;* (CONV-0006)
<D> where does she hurt? <S> eh:: up in the shoulder <D> in the shoulder <u>e</u>?

(47) *«Λίγο πολύ μαντεύεις τι σου επιφυλάσσεται». «Έτσι λες, ε; Έτσι...» «Έτσι, παιδί μου»* (LIT-0003)
"More or less, you guess what is in store for you." "So you think <u>eh</u>? So…" "So, my child"

There is obviously much scope for analysis of examples like these above in order to clarify further uses of the invariant tag, as is done e.g. in Denis & Tagliamonte (2016), Stubbe & Holmes (1995), Westphal (2024), among many else, for *eh* in English.

Table 4 presents the frequency of all uses of *e* in the data and Figure 3 their relative distribution in each corpus.

Table 4. **Functions of *e* in the data**

	Conversation	Literary	Film	CGT20
Exclamation	–	2	–	5
Address	54	120	52	127
Evaluation	6	16	7	17
Intensification	364	88	89	218
Implicature	556	368	249	612
Phrase-Mention	39	31	6	9
Filled Pause	1388	124	252	271
Invariant Tag	390	177	452	656
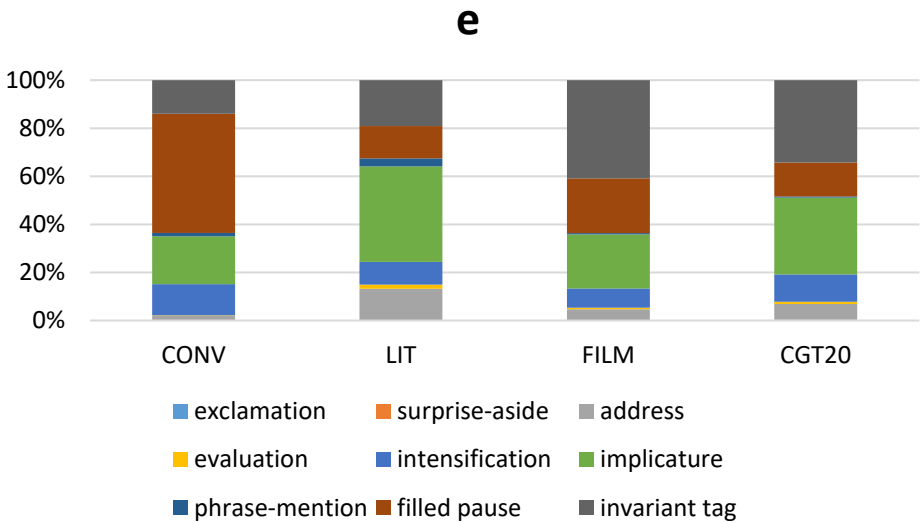
Figure 3. Distribution of functions of *e* in the four corpora

As was also found in 4.2.1 for *a*, conversation seems to give emphasis to the use of *e* in filled pauses and as an invariant tag in questions. Pragmatic uses like implicature and intensification (which always carries a pragmatic overtone) are equally prominent. By contrast, literary data seems to exploit the implicature uses of *e*, followed by that of filled pause and invariant tag and its use for address, while film gives emphasis on similar uses but overrepresents the use of invariant tag at the expense of the filled pause. Overall, however, uses of *e* seem to be conventionally well-established and this is borne out in the fact that their distribution does not differ that much in non-scripted and scripted conversation.

3.2.3. *o*

Most of the uses of *o* occur in the literary and film corpora rather than conversation. In particular:

a) exclamation: o is used as an interjection mainly in literary texts, either in cases of admonition like in (48) or in exclamations with a non-definable purpose as in (49):

(48) *<Λία> Ω:: Ε ΤΩΡΑ (.) Ω Ω Ω Ω:: <Σόλων> σιγά σιγά (.) σιγά πουλάκι μου σιγά* (FILM-1960-0002)

    <Lia> <u>o</u>:: e now (.) <u>oh oh oh oh</u>:: <Solon> take it easy (.) easy my bird easy

(49) *[…] και τίμησες τη φτωχική μου τάβλα». «Ω! Από τη Νεάπολη έρχομαι.* (LIT-0003)

    […] and you honoured my poor table". "<u>Oh</u>! I come from Neapoli

b) surprise: this seems to be a prototypical use of *o* in Greek, found in conversation (50) and exploited for dramatic effect in literary and film representations of speech (51):

(50) *<Ε> θα συμφωνήσω δε θα 'θελα αλλά με προκαλείς <Π> ω:: παιδιά* (CONV-0001)

    <E> I will agree I wouldn't want so but you provoke me <P> <u>oh</u>:: guys

(51) *((ΑΛΛΑΓΗ ΣΚΗΝΗΣ)) <ΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ> Ω!!! Να και η αγαπητή μου γυναικούλα...* (LIT-5039)

    ((Change of scene)) <Kleitos> <u>Oh</u>!!! That's my lovely little wife…

c) address: this is the most common use of *o* in literary and film texts. It is clearly one of the earliest, prototypical uses of *o*, reaching back to the non-obligatory component of the vocative, preceding names and other forms of address in Classical Greek (Heritage 2018: 157, Nordgren 2015: 95).

(52) *[…] να μη σκεφθής, να μη συλλογισθής τίποτε. Ούτε τη μάνα, σου ακόμη. Ω παιδί μου! Κώστα μου! Τι συμφορά!* (LIT-1900-0002)

    […] do not think, do not consider anything. Neither even your mother. <u>O</u> my child! My Kostas! What a disaster!

Apart from the vocative found in the examples above, a special case of address is found with the accusative as in the following:

(53) *<Ναύαρχος> καλημέρα σας κύριε Βασιλείου <Θωμάς> ω:: τον αγαπητό κύριο ναύαρχο (.) στας διαταγάς σας* (FILM-1960-0001)

    <Admiral> good morning Mr. Vasileiou <Thomas> <u>oh</u>:: dear Mr. Admiral (.) at your command.

Another use is found with taboo items, either swearwords (54) or religious words (55), both in the vocative, and this is one of the most frequent uses in earlier texts:

(54) *«Τόχεις να κάτσης πάλε στα χαρτιά;» «Ω διάβολε, λογαριασμό θα σου δώσω!»* (LIT-1910-0018)

    "Do you intend to sit down to play cards again?" "<u>Oh</u> devil ('Damn you'), I won't answer to you!"

(55) *ΠΕΤΡΑΚΗΣ: Μακάρι να ήθελαν να με συλλάβουν! Κα ΠΕΤΡΑΚΗ: Ω θεέ μου... ΠΕΤΡΑΚΗΣ: Εκτελέσεις* (LIT-1970-0001)

    Petrakis: I wish they meant to arrest me. Mrs Petraki: <u>Oh</u> my God… Petrakis: Executions

In modern film dialogue and in the only instances in conversation *o* occurs with swear or taboo words:

> (56) *<Σ> άρχισε πάλι <X> ω ρε γαμώτο απόψε* (FILM-2000-0014)
> <S> He started again <X> <u>oh</u> re damn tonight

d) evaluation: as opposed to address, this use, again not found in conversation, involves reference to a person or object in the accusative (57) or the nominative (58), which is the object of admiration.

> (57) *μια κυρία ψάχνοντας για σένα <Λακάκης> για μένα; <Φάνης> ναι <Λακάκης> ω την καημένη* (FILM-1970-0003)
> A lady looking for you <Lakakis> for me? <Phanis> yes <Lakakis> <u>oh</u> the poor one

> (58) *Ιδού ο περίβολος των νεκρών! Ω! ο Παράδεισος, απ' αυτόν τον κόσμον ήδη, ήνοιγε τας πύλας του* (LIT-1910-0003)
> Behold the garden of the dead! <u>Oh</u>! Paradise already from this world opened its gates

e) intensification: this is another use found in conversation, also occurring mainly in literary texts, involving co-occurrence with evaluatives like (*ω ωραία*), response signals of agreement (*ω ναι/(ε)ντάξει/βέβαια/ασφαλώς*, mainly in literature) or disagreement (*ω μπα/μα/όχι*, also mainly in literature) or with social formulae (*ω ευχαριστώ*, in literature). Conversation examples like (59) markedly differ from literary and film examples like (60) and (61) in the degree of formality or obsolescence of expressions:

> (59) *<A> [ώπα <E> [δώσε <Π> [ω βοή (.) α::* (CONV-0001)
> <A> [opa <E> [cheers <P> [<u>oh</u> racket (.) ah::

> (60) *το σπίτι (.) η κουζίνα (.) το κρασί (.) είναι στη διάθεσή σου <Τασία> ω σας ευχαριστώ πάρα πολύ (.) μα ξέρετε; είμαι πολύ κουρασμένη* (FILM-1930-0001)
> the house (.) the kitchen (.) the wine (.) are at your disposal <Tasia> <u>oh</u> thank you very much (.) but you know I'm very tired

> (61) *[…] θα μας δώσουν την κληρονομιά μας.... — Ω! δυστυχία μας! έβγαλε δυνατή φωνή η κυρά Πανώρια.* (LIT-1900-0001)
> […] they will give us our heritage… — <u>Oh</u>! disaster! ('Woe to us') cried loudly Mrs. Panoria

Examples like (61) in which *o* is found in the set phrases *ω συμφορά/δυστυχία* are characteristic of earlier literary texts.

f) implicature: this use is only found in earlier literary and film texts and involves the drawing of a conclusion as in (62) and (63):

> (62) *κι ύστερα έσκυψε και μου φίλησε τα χέρια <ΖΙΖΗ> ω:: (.) τώρα λοιπόν πρέπει να παντρευτείτε <ΛΙΛΑ> και βέβαια* (FILM-1940-0003)
> He then leaned down and kissed my hands <Zizi> <u>oh</u>:: (.) now then you have to het married <Lila> of course

(63) *ΣΟΛΩΝ: Δεν το βλέπεις πού είναι; ΛΟΥΚΑΣ: Το γραφείο; ΣΟΛΩΝ: Ω! Είσαι και τυφλός.* (LIT-1970-0009)
Solon: You can't see where it is? Lukas: The desk? Solon: <u>Oh</u>! You're deaf too.

A similar use in contemporary conversation would rather involve *a* or *e*.

g) use in set phrases and deictic mentions: like *a* and *e*, *o* can be used in the set phrase *ω του θαύματος* 'o what a miracle' in literary texts and as in (64) in order to comment on a previous use:

(64) *ΣΟΛΩΝ: (Βγάζει ένα μήλο.) Ω! ΛΟΥΚΑΣ: Ω ; Τι ω; ΣΟΛΩΝ: Πάψε, το παίζουμε...* (LIT-1970-0009)
Solon: (takes out an apple) O! Lukas: <u>Oh</u>? What <u>oh</u>? Solon: Shut up, we're playing…

Table 5, which presents the frequency of all uses of *o* in the data and Figure 4, which shows their relative distribution in each corpus, confirm the impression from individual examples that contemporary conversation only has few uses of *o*, whereas film and — mainly — literary data, especially from an earlier period have both more uses and more emphasis on uses like address, evaluation or implicature, which are absent from conversation. To this extent, the findings about *o* deviate from those about *a* and *e*.

Table 5. **Functions of *o* in the data**

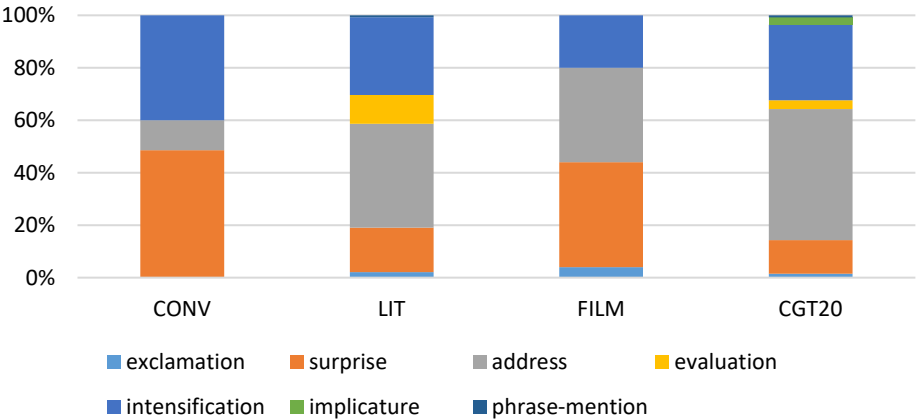|	Conversation	Literary	Film	CGT20
Exclamation	–	6	1	6
Surprise	17	48	10	50
Address	4	112	9	196
Evaluation	–	31	–	13
Intensification	14	84	5	113
Implicature	–	–	–	11
Phrase-Mention	–	2	–	3

Figure 4. Distribution of functions of *o* in the four corpora

4. Discussion and conclusions

Our investigation of *a, e* and *o* in four corpora of Greek, including texts from authentic, non-scripted conversation, contemporary and earlier literature and film dialogues, has unearthed a wealth of material for these items both in terms of their frequency and their functions. First, it has been found that *a* and *e* are extremely common in conversation, whereas *o* is quite marginal, and this frequency is not equally reflected in scripted conversation, as in literature *o* and in film *e* tend to be overrepresented. Overall, the frequency of these items in scripted conversation is much less than that in non-scripted, suggesting that speech representation in literature and film involves careful word selections exploited for specific effects.

Items like *a, e* and *o* that are commonly characterized as interjections have an extensive range of functions that can be thought of as belonging to a continuum from less to more conventionalized use. Thus, uses of *a, e* and *o* for exclamation, in vocatives of address or attention signals are much closer to the prototypical function of interjections as elements of emotive (rather than emotional) communication. As Caffi & Jenney suggest, emotive communication is "inherently strategic, persuasive, interactional and other-directed by its very nature" (1994: 329), something which underlies their purposefulness and explains their use for evaluation. Norrick aptly points out that "primary interjections function in the participation and information frameworks of discourse, rather than simply signaling emotional involvement" (2008: 461).

Further along the line, these items involve cognitive communication, indicating a sudden change in the cognitive state of the speaker (Heine 2023: 185) such as the "sudden discovery of something" (Nordgren 2015: 95), found in uses of surprise or aside. Further implicatures involving change-of-state in the interlocutor's knowledge (in the case of *a*) or drawing a conclusion that is presented as obvious (in the case of *e*) are developed on this basis and are exploited for various effects.

Finally, uses of *a, e* and *o* for intensification are further conventionalized, as they only add an element of hedging or boosting, supporting agreement or disagreement etc., without cognitive implications. Interpersonal uses such as that of hesitation markers (filled pauses) or invariant tags in questions that invite the interlocutor's involvement, assent etc. also serve textual purposes of demarcating specific parts of the interaction. The use of the analysed items in fixed phrases or as deictic mentions of previous uses is placed further along the continuum of conventionalization.

Comparing Modern to Classical Greek, as well as contemporary with early 20th century Greek, with respect to this continuum of conventionalization may be revealing of general tendencies. For instance, Modern *a, e* and *o* seem to present a much wider range of functions than their Ancient Greek counterparts ἇ, ἔ ἕ, αἲ and ὤ. Nordgren (2015) points to the blend of cognitive and emotive content in Ancient Greek interjections, but Modern Greek seems to employ an even broader development of cognitive, interpersonal and textual functions. Without doubt,

further investigation relating these two remote periods to each other through Medieval Greek is necessary for arriving at meaningful conclusions. Furthermore, the comparison of the beginning of 20th century to late 20th and early 21st century data suggests a progressive loss of functions for *o*, the predominance of *e* and a general tendency for more conventionalized functions.

In order to account for the derivation of pragmatic implicatures from primary emotive uses it is imperative to distinguish purely interjectional from other functions. In general, the label "interjection", either considered to refer to an individual part of speech or not, seems to cover a wide range of actual uses that make the items characterized thus more akin to *pragmatic particles* (Beeching 2002), *inserts* (Biber et al. 1999) or *interactives* (Heine 2023, cf. Heine et al. 2024), that is elements with a rich contribution to interactive discourse, both in non-scripted and scripted conversation in our case. Clearly, much further work is needed to precisely identify the function of each item in context and tease out their multifunctionality, something which is hard to do with extensive corpus data. Notwithstanding this, the contribution of corpora in the exploration of the pragmatic functions of interjections is indispensable (cf. Norrick 2008: 461), not only because of their advantages in pattern finding, systematicity, generalisation, reproducibility and transparency, pointed out by Landert et al. (2023: 7–8), but also because of their immense help in identifying what is central and what is peripheral in language and thus evaluating the significance of our findings.

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Research article / Научная статья

Formulaicity and pragmatics of contact-terminating means in cinematic vs. artistic discourse: A corpus study

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Abstract

In measuring "pragmatic authenticity" of cinematic discourse, researchers traditionally compare films of different genres with real-life talks. However, a recently growing tendency towards the colloquialization of the written language of literature (when it is becoming more speech-like) makes it relevant to compare cinematic discourse with other types of artistic discourse from a pragmatic point of view. Among various pragmatically relevant linguistic units, formulas are of special interest due to their colloquial character, recurrence and frequency in everyday conversations. The aim of the study is to identify formulaicity of contact-terminating means (CTM) in cinematic discourse and establish its pragmatic specificity in comparison with that in other types of artistic discourse. To do so, two sample corpora were used: a cinematic corpus compiled *ad hoc* which includes four British drama films (2000–2020) and the Written BNC2014, in which two subcorpora were applied: "Fiction" and "Written-to-be-Spoken". The work with the first corpus (Case study-1) resulted in identifying CTM in films and establishing their relation to twelve pragmatic types ('farewell', 'request', 'apology', etc.). The CTM with the highest frequency of occurrence and distribution in the feature films are formulas of farewells. Based on the second corpus (Case study-2), the functioning of three formulas of farewells were explored in different types of artistic discourse in comparison with their use in the films. The corpus findings showed that, unlike films, in artistic discourse these formulas can have other (meta)communicative functions and are characterized by a low degree of variability. Overall, the present research makes a contribution to the development of pragmalinguistics of cinema and artistic communication by providing new data about the use of formulaic means in artistic (in particular, filmic) dialogues.

Keywords: *formulaic language, contact termination, cinematic discourse, artistic discourse, pragmatic authenticity, corpus analysis, English*

Формульность и прагматика средств прекращения контакта в кинодискурсе vs. художественном дискурсе: корпусный подход

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Аннотация

Оценивая «прагматическую аутентичность» кинодискурса, исследователи традиционно сравнивают фильмы разных жанров с реальными диалогами. Однако усиливающаяся в последнее время тенденция к коллоквиализации письменного литературного языка (когда он становится все более похожим на устную речь) делает актуальным сравнение кинодискурса с другими типами художественного дискурса с прагматической точки зрения. Среди прагматически значимых языковых единиц особый интерес представляют формулы, отличающиеся разговорным характером, рекуррентностью и частотностью использования в повседневном общении. Цель исследования — выявить формульность средств прекращения контакта (СПК) в кинодискурсе и установить ее прагматическую специфику по сравнению с другими типами художественного дискурса. В качестве источников материала выступают два корпуса: кинематографический корпус, составленный *ad hoc* и включающий четыре британских художественных фильма, вышедших в период с 2000 по 2020 год и корпус письменных текстов BNC2014, в рамках которого использовались два подкорпуса: «Художественная литература» и «Написано для произнесения». В ходе работы с первым корпусом (кейс 1) выявлены все используемые СПК и установлена их отнесенность к двенадцати прагматическим типам («прощание», «просьба», «извинение» и др.). Наибольшей частотностью употребления и дистрибуцией в первом корпусе обладают формулы прощания. На базе второго корпуса (кейс 2) изучена специфика функционирования трех формул прощания в разных типах художественного дискурса в сравнении с их использованием в фильмах. Обнаружено, что в отличие от фильмов в художественном дискурсе данные формулы могут иметь другие (мета)коммуникативные функции и характеризуются низкой степенью варьирования. В целом проведенное исследование вносит вклад в развитие прагмалингвистики кино и художественной коммуникации, предоставляя новые данные об использовании формульных средств в художественных (в частности, кинематографических) диалогах.

Ключевые слова: *формульность, прекращение контакта, кинодискурс, художественный дискурс, прагматическая аутентичность, корпусный анализ, английский язык*

1. Introduction

Over the past three decades, there has been increasing interest in the cognitive-semantic and functional-pragmatic specifics of communication in cinematic discourse, which has given great impetus to the formation of new interdisciplinary areas of linguistics (e.g. Gibbs 2020, Janney 2012, Pavesi & Formentelli 2023,

Zykova 2023). One of these areas is represented by the researches aimed at identifying and describing pragmatically relevant language means in contemporary film(ic) speech (or film dialogue, film conversation, television dialogue, television conversation). For instance, Quaglio (2009) explores such means as first- and second person pronouns, hedges, discourse markers (*you know, I mean*), stance markers (*probably, perhaps*), copular verbs (*seem, feel*), modal verbs (*could, might*), empathic *do*, lexical bundles (*I can't believe* [+ complements]), intensifiers (*so, totally*), expletives and slang terms, non-minimal responses (*sure, fine*) and some others (Quaglio 2009). All these units were investigated in the popular American sit-com "Friends" with the aim to compare their distribution and use in the film dialogue and in natural conversation. Quaglio comes to the conclusion that "*Friends* shares the core linguistic features that characterize <…> face-to-face conversation" although this does not mean that "scripted language of *Friends* is the same as natural conversation" (Quaglio 2009: 148).

Among pragmatically relevant language units distinguishing conversation in cinematic discourse, formulaic language means (FLM) are of particular interest (*Nice to meet you!, You're never going to believe this, in a nutshell* etc.). Nowadays, it is possible to identify at least two main strands of exploring FLM in films.

One of them (most widely-spread) centers on the similarities and differences that FLM have in films and in real-life conversations. For instance, investigating the formulaicity of contemporary film speech, Freddi (2011) carried out a frequency-based analysis and identified the most frequent four-word formulaic clusters used in two American and two British films: *What are you doing, What do you mean, I want you to,* and some others. To find out how typical they are of spontaneous conversation, the scholar compared these clusters to general spoken corpora, namely the spoken components of the BNC and the COCA. The research findings have shown that most of the clusters identified in scripted film dialogue are common to natural spoken speech (Freddi 2011). This holds true for other pragmatically relevant units. According to Napoli and Tantucci (2022), despite featuring its own norms, film conversation has been claimed in Pragmatics' research to be a good reflection of naturally occurring speech. Their study of requestive acts (*I wonder whether you can …, Can you give me…*) in English and Italian films testifies to the fact that they reproduce traits of non-fictional interaction as close as possible. The scholars emphasize that "film speech may be said to involve a hyper-representation of naturalistic interaction, in which pragmatic behaviour is somewhat 'amplified' rather than inhibited" (Napoli & Tantucci 2022).

The other main strand concerns the study of the process of penetration of FLM from artistic discourses (cinematic discourse, in particular) into everyday language practice. This approach is based on the assumption that normal conversation exploits language means and strategies elaborated in literature and other kinds of art. In her work, Tannen shows that "ordinary conversation is made up of linguistic strategies that have been thought quintessentially literary" and that the "strategies, which are shaped and elaborated in literary discourse, are pervasive, spontaneous,

and functional in ordinary conversation" (Tannen 2007: 1). Analyzing formulaic expressions in a screenplay, "Some Like It Hot", Van Lancker-Sidtis and Rallon (2004) deduce that "comparisons between constructed and spontaneous conversational talk reveal interesting similarities and differences in presence of formulaic expressions" (Van Lancker-Sidtis & Rallon 2004: 220). The scholars point out that "strategies of repetition are noted in both normal conversation and literature"; "a major source of this practice of repetition is FEs" (Ibid). Their findings are indicative of the fact that "living conversation naturally contains devices seen in the language arts as much as art imitates life" (Ibid).

Thus, exploring various (phonological, semantic, grammatical, functional, pragmatic, creative, etc.) aspects of FLM in films as well as in other types of artistic discourses (novels, poetry, drama, short stories, theatrical performances, etc.) in comparison with natural (casual, everyday, real-life) conversation is a rather steady tendency of their recent investigations. In the majority of cases, researches are based on extensive corpus evidence. Corpus-linguistic studies, as Buerki (2020) notes, focus primarily on conventionality as manifested in language use, considering formulas as "expressions that represent habitual ways of putting things in a community" (Buerki 2020: 106).

The research undertaken in this paper follows in its key aspects the recent tendencies of exploring FLM in modern linguistics and in its interdisciplinary directions. It addresses formulaicity of cinematic communication in general and more specifically of conversations unfolding in contemporary feature films. The formulaicity will be measured through the analysis of a particular category of language units — multi-word units that are used by interlocutors to terminate communication in films. Hence, the goal of the present paper is to establish the contact-terminating means peculiar to interpersonal interaction in cinematic discourse, estimate them from the point of view of conventionality and pragmatic value. To pursue this goal, the corpus approach is applied.

2. Contact-terminating means

Contact-terminating means (CTM), as understood in this paper, are a sub-category of metacommunicative units (Grigorieva 2006). The increasing interest in their exploration is caused by cultural and pragmatic relevance of CTM in everyday (formal and informal) communication, as was noted in many works.

Pillet-Shore attests to the immense importance of conversational routines, including greeting another person, introducing oneself to someone new, and saying goodbye (Pillet-Shore 2024). As Baranov and Kreidlin (1992) claim, it is impossible to fully describe the axiological and, more broadly, the modal structure of a dialogue without studying the lexical markers of its opening and ending. The latter include different formulaic expressions, such as *Blagodaryu za vnimanie!, Nu ladno tebe!, Mozhet, khvatit*. According to Tuncer, "closing an interaction is a crucial moment and takes delicate work, because the last words are known to remain effective during the anticipated time of separation and to settle a relationship. One

problematic achievement is to open the closing sequence" (Tuncer 2015: 105). As Paltridge (2022) points out, closings are "complex interactional units which are sensitive to the speaker's orientation to continuing, closing (or not wanting to close) the conversation" (Paltridge 2022: 136). McKeown and Zhang emphasize that "closings present an opportunity to produce a frictionless termination to a communicative exchange" (McKeown & Zhang 2015: 93).

In most studies, CTM are described as a subcategory that embraces structurally and semantically diverse multifunctional formulaic units and overlaps with other subcategories of metacommunicative units as well as other language units (phraseological units, phrasal discourse markers, speech acts, etc.). Gorodnikova and Dobrovolskij (1998) refer the formulaic expressions that (may) provide ending or breaking a conversation to two subcategories of speech acts: phatic (goodbyes and greetings-at parting) and metacommunicative (evasions). Stribizhev (2005) dwells on the following types of formulas that are used to signal an interlocutor's intention to end up a conversation: formulas of leave-taking (*Good bye!, So long!*); formulas of thanking (*Many thanks*, *What are friends for?*); formulas of farewell wishes (*Have a nice day!, Take care!*); formulas of non-replies or evasions (*I've got nothing to add*); closing formulas (*I've finished*), and interruptions of non-formulaic character) [1]. Pillet-Shore establishes idiomatic or formulaic expressions that correspond to particular modular components to initiate and constitute the closing phase of interaction: "possible pre-closing" (*Things always work out for the best*), "announced closing" (*Let me get off*), "appreciating/reinvoking the reason for the encounter" (*Thanks for coming/having us over*), "bridging time/arrangement-making" (*See you later/soon*), "well-wishing" (*Have a safe trip*), "expressing affection and/or reluctance to separate" (*I love you, I'll miss you*), "doing goodbye" (*Good night, See ya*). The scholar pays special attention to the fact that do-goodbye formulas can be repeated several times by interlocutors during their parting. Besides, closing components are non-linear, and there are multimodal features that can pervade the (pre-)closing phase, e.g.: gathering belongings, deploying stance-marking embodiments that display current personal states (doing "being tired" by yawning and/or producing audible out-breaths/sighs) (Pillet-Shore 2024). Many other aspects of CTM have been also discussed in contemporary linguistic and interdisciplinary researches (e.g., Bladas 2012, Bolden 2017, House & Kádár 2024).

Although much work has been done in the field in question, the use of CTM in artistic communication and more specifically in cinematic discourse still remains under-investigated. This study aims to identify formulaicity of CTM in cinematic discourse and establish its pragmatic specificity in comparison with that in other types of artistic discourse.

In this paper, CTM is defined as a subcategory that brings together multi-word units of different emotive-expressive charge that are exploited to put an end to or

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[1] Stribizhev, Viktor V. 2005. Speech cliches in Modern English: Meta-communicative function: Abstract of dissertation ... Candidate of Philology. Belgorod. 20 p. (In Russ.)

interrupt communication. They can be characterized by a varied degree of formulaicity determined by a number of parameters: lexical fixedness, idiomaticity, syntactical variation, relatedness to a particular communicative situation.

3. Data and methodology

This research is of interdisciplinary character. It applies knowledge from a number of disciplines: phraseology, pragmalinguistics, film studies, corpus linguistics, and, in particular, findings from discourse and conversation analysis. The data for this study come from two corpora.

The first corpus is compiled *ad hoc*. It includes four British feature films released since the beginning of the 21st century and portraying peculiarities of natural interaction in contemporary settings. The size of this dataset is approximately 41 375 words (see Table 1).

Table 1. **The data of the films compiling the first corpus**

No	Film title	Year of release, Film director, Country	Running time	Size (the number of words)
1	"Another Year"	2010, Mike Leigh, UK	129 min	15 892
2	"Driving Lessons"	2006, Jeremy Brock, UK	98 min	8 083
3	"Enduring Love"	2004, Roger Michell, UK, US	100 min	6 994
4	"Hope Gap"	2019, William Nicholson, UK	100 min	10 406
Total	**4**	**2004–2019, UK**	**427 min (7 h 12 min)**	**41 375**

All the selected films were manually transcribed from the film soundtrack, marking up the initial and final phases of interpersonal interaction. For ease of reading and computer search, the corpus contains only orthographic transcriptions. All identified CTM were annotated by means of the symbol <ctm>. The dialogue transcriptions were also enriched with the information related to several parameters concerning textual (or contextual) and individual variables: chapter (number and/or title) and scene type/settings, character speaking (including the cases of voice over), linguistic event (e.g., in-person talks, phone calls), an interlocutor's emotional state (e.g., irritated, bewildered, whispering) and salient non-linguistic behaviour (e.g., waving, nodding). Besides, the corpus houses metadata, such as: genre, year of production, country of production, director, screenwriter, literary source, running time, storyline, awards and nominations, age certificates (e.g. "U", "PG", "12A", etc), popularity rating according to the Internet Movie Database (IMDb). All the

films composing the corpus in question are produced in the UK, are of the same genre (drama films), have awards, are popular, and have the rating above 6.0.

The second database applied in the present work is the Written British National Corpus 2014 (the Written BNC2014). It is conceived as a further test case for the findings based on the first corpus. The Written BNC2014 is a major project led by Lancaster University to create a 100-million-word corpus of present day British English. The choice of this corpus is stipulated by two main reasons. First, the data it contains was collected in the time window of 2010–2019, with 2014 being roughly the midpoint. Second, it has two subcorpora that makes it possible to fulfil the research tasks set in the given paper. They are "Fiction" and "Written-to-be-Spoken". The size of the former is about 20 million words, while the latter contains more than 3 million words. The "Fiction" subcorpus embraces such subgenres as i) poetry; ii) general prose; iii) prose for children and teenagers; iv) science fiction and fantasy; v) crime; vi) romance. The proportion of fiction texts represents their "influential cultural role" (Burnard 2000: 7). The "Written-to-be-Spoken" involves i) television (TV) scripts; ii) modern drama scripts (Brezina et al. 2021). The two mentioned characteristics of the Written BNC2014 are crucial for ensuring the validity of the comparison of the data retrieved from both corpora; they may provide reliable evidence to determine the specificity of CMT in cinematic discourse vs. artistic discourse.

The two corpora will be further referred to as the CF (i.e. the corpus of films) and the BNC2014-F/WBS. The approach taken in this study involves two interrelated case-studies (based on the work with two corpora described above) and six basic steps.

Case study-1. In a first step, a film genre, topic, and size matched corpus of English films is compiled (the CF). In the second step, dialogical profiles of the films are established and compared in terms of their similarity and differences. This comparison allows assessing the balance, validity, and representativeness of the analyzed empirical material. In the third step, the identification and comprehensive manual extractions of CTM from the CF are carried out; all identified CTM are classified according to their pragmatic types; the established pragmatic types of CTM are counted and percentages for each type are determined. In the fourth step, the formulaicity of CTM of each pragmatic type is measured through a number of parameters: syntactic and lexical fixedness, idiomaticity, and distribution across the feature films in the CF.

Case study-2. In the fifth step, the formulaic CTM that prove to be most characteristic of cinematic discourse, are tested in two subcorpora of the Written BNC2014: "Fiction" and "Written-to-be-Spoken" (the BNC2014-F/WBS), assessing their frequency, variability, and distribution. In the sixth and final step, the research findings from two corpora (the CF and the BNC2014-F/WS) are compared and estimated in terms of whether formulaic CTM identified in the feature films are typical of other types of artistic discourse and have similar functions in them.

4. Research results

4.1. Case study-1. CTM in cinematic discourse

Case study-1 is corpus-driven. The dialogical profiles of the drama films in the CF have been created according to several parameters. One of them is the number of dialogues that constitute the verbal structure of the films in question. Another important parameter that may influence the contact-termination phase is whether a dialogue takes place in person or over the telephone. In the latter case, the participants are not co-present on the screen and the remarks of only one of the participants are accessible for the analysis. The number of interlocutors involved in the interaction is also of high relevance (if there are two or more than two participants). This parameter influences the frequency of CTM as they are usually used by each participant of a dialogue. And last but not least is the parameter of the interlocutor who terminates the contact: if it is the participant who initiates the dialogue or it is his/her partner(s). All the data obtained in the course of the analysis are summarized in table 2 (see table 2).

Table 2. **Dialogical profiles of the drama films in contrast**

Parameters	"Another Year"	"Driving Lessons"	"Enduring Love"	"Hope Gap"	Total
Number of dialogues	55	61	40	49	**205**
Face-to-face dialogues* vs. landline and mobile telephone calls	55 vs. 0	59 vs. 2	38 (1*) vs. 2	43 (6*) vs. 6	**195 vs. 10**
Number of interlocutors: two vs. more-than two	47 vs. 53%	79 vs. 21%	65 vs. 35%	82 vs. 18%	**68 vs. 32%**
Interlocutor terminating a contact:** initiator vs. partner	40 vs. 60%	41 vs. 59%	47 vs. 53%	43 vs. 57%	**42 vs. 58%**

Note: *Person dialogues include cases of inner dialogues and talks with pets; **All verbal and non-verbal reactions are regarded as indicators of contact-termination (words, silence, various hand, head, eye, and other body gestures).
Resource: The author's research output.

The formation and comparison of the dialogical profiles allow assessing the validity and objectivity of the data about the contact-termination phase that are extracted from the CF. As is seen in table 2, the total number of dialogues used in the films is 205, which can be considered a rather representative sample for the analysis of CTM. The dialogical profiles of the analyzed films have both differences and similarities. One of the differences is their "dialogical density" determined by the number of dialogues used in them. Interestingly, although the film "Driving Lessons" has the shortest duration compared to the other three films and in terms of its size (i.e. the number of words) it ranks only third, this film has the highest dialogical density (61 dialogues). It implies a broader range of situational contexts of using CTM. In contrast to the other three films, in "Another Year" the

communication is only in-person, telephone calls are not characteristic of its dialogical profile. Besides, the number of dialogues that involve several participants is greater than the number of two-participant dialogues in this film. In the other films, two-participant dialogues predominate. The feature that all the dialogical profiles have in common is that in the majority of cases the character who opens the conversation (i.e. initiator) does not close it.

The study of the dialogical profiles leads to the following conclusion. Their differences provide us with the possibility of taking into account most of the structural, topical, and deictic (participants, locations/settings, and time) diversity of dialogues (in particular, their CTM) that are peculiar to natural communication. Their similarities are indicative of the specifics of the interpersonal interactions depicted in the films as a certain type of artistic communication.

In 205 dialogues, there were established 318 occurrences of CTM (repeated units were included), out of which 292 cases are verbal CTM and 26 cases are non-verbal CTM, cf. e.g.:

(1) Laura: *Then I'll expect you whenever you can get back.* **Good night, Ben**. ("Driving Lessons")

(2) Claire: *Do you realize how mad you sound? ...To people like me. ...To normal people. You sound mad*. Joe: [silent, his gaze and face expressions signal the end of the conversation]. ("Enduring Love")

Due to the aim and tasks of the present paper, non-verbal CTM and single words exploited to end conversational interactions in the films under consideration were excluded from further analysis. The quantity of single-word CTM is 25 (e.g., *Oh!, Yeah, Mum, Another*). Their removing from the material yields 267 occurrences of multi-word CTM, which were analyzed according to the following parameters: 1) a level of functioning (intradiegetic and extradiegetic); 2) pragmatic value, and 3) formulaicity.

The research carried out has shown that CTM can function at both intradiegetic and extradiegetic levels. The level of functioning is determined by a set of factors: whether they are addressed to a film character or a film viewer; whether their use intends to terminate a topic of a film dialogue or a film scene (a film episode); whether they are uttered on screen or in a voice over. The CTM, which are addressed to the film character, used to end one of the topics of a film dialogue or a whole dialogue, and pronounced on screen, are intradiegetic. It means that they intend to imitate the naturalness or spontaneity of everyday interpersonal interactions (example 3). The CTM, which are addressed to the film viewer, exploited mainly to shift to another film episode, and/or pronounced by a voice over, are extradiegetic. It implies that they serve primarily to develop a film narration and contribute to the conflict representation (example 4).

(3) Mary (says on-screen to Ken): *Look at the food in this fridge. I haven't got anything in mine.* **I'll see you later, all right**? ("Another Year")

(4)   Jamie (voice-over): *When I was a child, we would go to this cove under the cliffs called Hope Gap. <...> My mother would sit on the rocks and wait for me while I explored. I never asked myself what she was thinking or if she was happy.* **You don't, do you?** ("Hope Gap")

The overwhelming majority of the CTM under study are intradiegetic units that make the filmic dialogues akin to natural communication. However, they also provide the plot advancement and, consequently, function at an extradiegetic level as well. Just a few CTM of an exclusively extradiegetic nature were found in the CF (e.g. Edward's voice over narrating the events of the War of 1812 in the film "Hope Gap"). As a whole, the use of CTM at both levels of functioning (intra- and extradiegetic) can be regarded as an important feature of this subcategory of metacommunicative units in films that distinguishes the latter from natural communication and other types of artistic discourse.

The CTM identified in the CF were classified into the following twelve pragmatic types: 1) 'farewells or partings'; 2) 'personal opinion or stance-taking'; 3) 'common knowledge or a widely-spread opinion'; 4) 'informing about something' (some event, the weather, immediate-future actions, planned actions, one's attitude and feelings, among other); 5) 'information request or information verification'; 6) 'agreement or approval'; 7) 'promise or warning'; 8) 'offer or invitation' (to do something); 9) 'request or command'; 10) 'apology'; 11) 'expletive or insult'; 12) 'thanking'. The percentage ratio of these pragmatic types of CTM are presented in Figure 1.
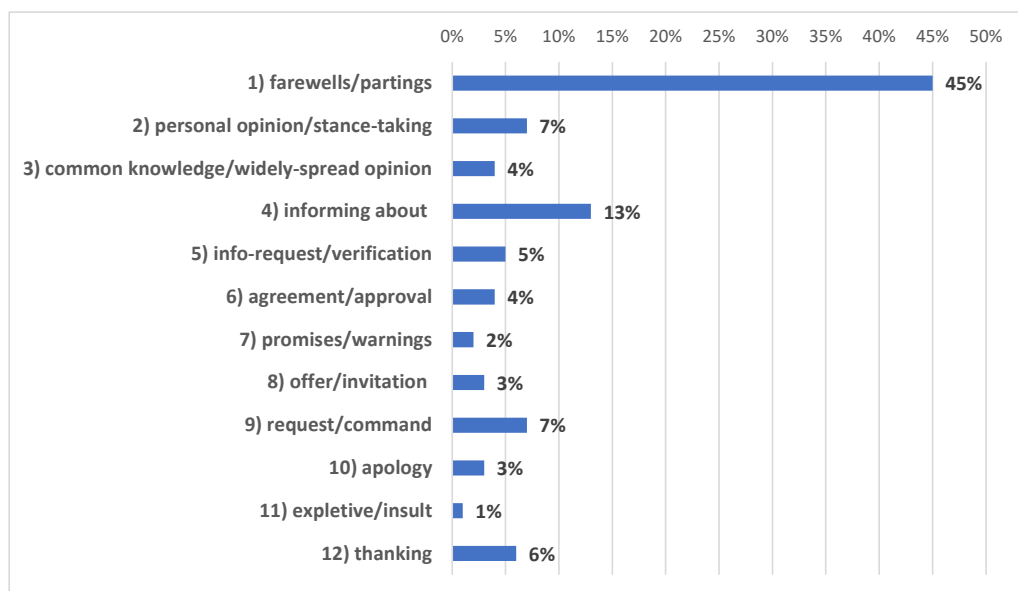

Figure 1. The percentage ratio of 12 pragmatic types of CTM extracted from the CF
Resource: The author's research output.

As was established, 45% of all the CTM are formulas that are traditionally and regularly used in real-life situations when interlocutors are taking leave. These

formulas are conventional means of saying goodbye, expressing good wishes at parting, appreciating the encounter.

Among the CTM-farewells, the formulas with the most frequency of occurrence are *Good(-)bye* (35%) and *Hope to see you soon* (26%). The former one occurs in all the four films under consideration, which means that it has an even distribution across the corpus material. This formula is used predominantly in a contracted form: *Bye, Bye-bye*. The latter formula is not found in the film "Hope Gap". In the three other films, *Hope to see you soon* has a (creatively) modified or a contracted form and intends to arrange next possible future contact. Its variable elements range from the general (*later*, *soon*, etc.) to more specific deictic (temporal, spatial) units (*on Thursday, there, next week*, etc), cf., e.g.:

(5) Tom: *Right,* **we'll see you when we see you**.
    Katie: **Soon, hopefully**. ("Another Year")

(6) Jed: *Right. Well, bye. Bye, then*.
    Joe: *Okay.* **See you**, *bye*. ("Enduring Love")

To bring the conversational interaction to an end, the characters also exploit such formulaic phrases as: *I'd best be off, We'd best get going, I've got to go, I might head off in a minute, It's time to go, Let's go*. This formulaic group ranks third in frequency of occurrence (8%), e.g.:

(7) Laura: *Ben!*
    Ben (on the phone): **I have to go now**. ("Driving Lessons")

The occurrence of the other CTM of this pragmatic type ranges from 6 times to 1 time. These are the following formulas: *Good night, Take care, Ta-ta [for now], Lovely/nice to see/meet you, Thank you for coming* or *Thanks for coming, I'll give you a ring, Look after yourself, Give/send my love to, Good luck, Safe journey, Keep in touch*, e.g.:

(8) Jamie: *I should be getting... going. She'll be waiting for me so...*
    Edward: **Well, then keep in touch**. ("Hope Gap")

Also, in the CF four formulaic CTM are found to convey a rather conventional way of ending an encounter in a special communication situation, i.e. at a church service, the funeral, the office: *Have mercy on us; These things are of no consequence, be you Christian or atheist, unless in your heart you are true; We'll remember them; If you'd like to follow me*.

The CTM-farewells are formulas characterized by lexical fixedness (to some degree, as they have variable slots in their structure) and/or idiomaticity (to some degree) [about these and other criteria for identifying formulaic sequences see in (Bladas 2012, Buerki 2020, Namba 2010, Wood 2015)].

The CTM of other pragmatic groups can be divided into non-formulaic and (to some extent) formulaic. The formulaicity may manifest itself in a number of ways: syntactically, lexically, and both syntactically and lexically.

As Figure 1 demonstrates, the CTM-statements informing about something (13%), the CTM-opinions (7%), and the CTM-requests/commands (7%), rank second and third in frequency of occurrence, correspondingly, e.g.:

(9)   Jamie: *I can't bring him back.*
       Grace: *You don't know that. Have you tried? You go on seeing him. That means you let him think he has your approval.*
       Jamie: **Mom, he's in love**! ("Hope Gap")
(10) Joe: *Well, you know, we'll cross that bridge when we come to it.*
       Claire: *I think we have come to it.*
       Joe: **Not now**. ("Enduring Love")
(11) Evie: *You do not touch my things!*
       Ben: *Yes. I'm sorry. I'm very sorry.*
       Evie: **You tidy around them**. ("Driving Lessons")

The statements that a character uses to close a conversation by informing his/her partner about something are qualified as more non-formulaic, cf., e.g.: *It's going to rain again; He's all right; As well as can be expected; I'm in the park across the street; I love you; I need him here; Straight on, second on the right; You're hurting me; I'm on my way.* Their syntactical structure and lexical composition are diverse and not recurrent. Only some CTM of this pragmatic type have formulaic elements, e.g.: **God only knows where I'd be without you**!; **So you see**, *I'm not really coping after all.*

The formulaicity of the CTM-opinions can be observed in the recurrence of the utterances beginning with *I think*, e.g.: **I think** *you'll find that we men are;* **I think** *you probably have, old son.* Even if this formulaic opinion-classifier is omitted, it is implied, e.g.: *They have no feelings at all = [I think] They [men] have no feelings at all.* Among CTM-requests (direct or indirect) there are a few phrases which are recognized as regularly used means of conversation termination: *Would you stop saying that?; Don't say anything; Mind your own business; Come on; Don't even talk about it.*

A certain degree of formulaicity is observed in other pragmatic groups of CTM. Dialogues in the films under consideration are closed by means of formulas of thanking. The formula *Thank you* is used 12 times, the formula *Thank you/thanks for smth/doing smth* — 3 times, and the formula *Thanks a lot* — one time (the total frequency rate is 6%), e.g:

(12) Evie: *Sadly, your prices are beyond us, but **for your aid we thank you***.
       ("Driving Lessons")

These formulas have lexical fixedness and are considered rather conventional means of contact-termination, especially in informal situations.

A few interrogative utterances are found in the CF as CTM, e.g.: *Was he?; Am I?; Mum, did she come looking for me? What do you mean?; Who's gonna forgive me?.* They are not idiomatic and differ in their lexical composition. From the syntactical point of view, they are different types of questions used in the forms

that are quite typical of dialogical speech. All these features are indicative of their more non-formulaicity.

Of particular interest are the CTM that express common knowledge or a widely-spread (commonly-accepted) opinion. Some of them are utterances that are distinguished by an aphoristic character and/or idiomaticity. These traits make them akin to proverbs. Hence, the CTM of this pragmatic type can be considered proverbial prototypes and can be qualified as potential formulas, cf., e.g.:

(13) Edward: **He's got his own life to live**. ("Hope Gap")
(14) Evie: **Life is confusing**. *Just when we think it's all over, it throws a view like this at us and we don't know where we are*. ("Driving Lessons")

The CTM-agreements/approvals are lexically and syntactically diverse utterances lacking idiomaticity: *I know!; Oh, well; Here goes; That's the spirit; Not gay, apparently; Grace is right*. However, some of them contain formulaic elements: **Bloody hell** *right*; **Whatever you want**, *darling*; **All right**; *Yes*, **I see**.

The CTM-offers/invitations and the CTM-apologies have the same frequency of occurrence in the CF. Both types of CTM involve phrases of a formulaic character due to their recognizable syntactical and/or lexical peculiarities. To end a dialogue, the following formulas of offering or inviting to do something are exploited in the films: *Well, you must come again; Think about it; Come and sit yourself down, Mary, and have a cup of tea; Come on* and *Let's-phrases*. The latter two formulas signal the transition to another action or activity of the character in the films. The CTM-apologies are rather conventional phrases formed with the help of two words: *excuse* (used when the dialogue is interrupted) and *sorry* (used when the character expresses sorrow, sympathy or regret for a misdeed or a mistake), e.g.:

(15) Evie: *I…I thought I'd begin today's recital by reading William Shakespeare's sonnet number twenty nine, "When in Disgrace with Fortune."* **Sorry**. **Excuse me**. **Sorry**. ("Driving Lessons")

The cases of terminating a conversation by means of promises or warnings are very rare in the CF. The formulaic character of such CTM is determined by their syntactic patterns rather than lexical constituents, cf., e.g.*: I promise; We'll have a proper game next time*; *I'll kill her*. As was established, there are only five hits of expletives used in the films under consideration to interrupt or end an interpersonal communication.

Importantly, the CTM with the low frequency of occurrence (i.e. from 6 to 1%) are characterized by a varied distribution in the CF. Five of the eight pragmatic types do not have distribution in all the films constituting this corpus. These are the following types: 3) common knowledge/widely-spread opinion; 7) promises/warnings; 10**)** apologies; 11) expletives/insults; 12) thanking. The data of the CTM distribution in the CF is given in Figure 2.
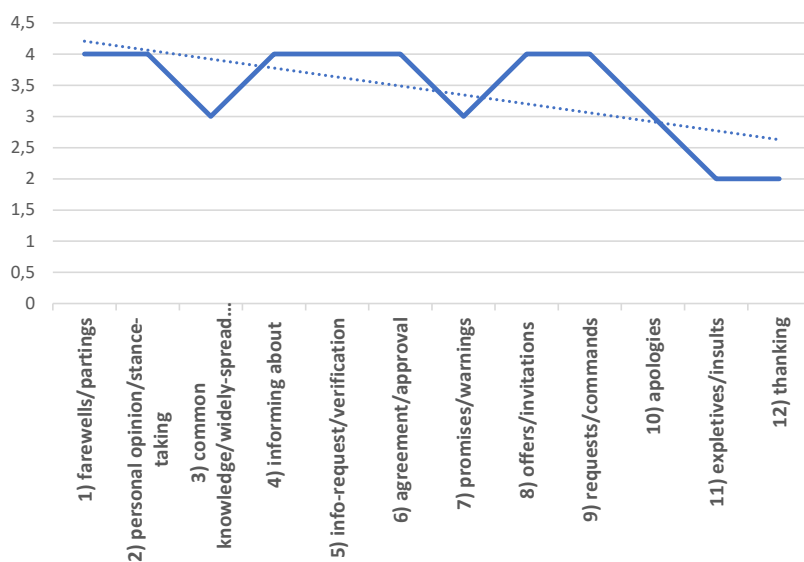
Figure 2. **The distribution of CTM of different pragmatic types in the CF**
Resource: The author's research output.

To sum up, Case study-1 resulted in establishing that the most frequent means of terminating a conversation in the cinematic discourse are farewells. This pragmatic group is characterized by an absolute degree of formulaicity, bringing together corresponding types of formulas. These formulas are characterized by lexical fixedness, idiomaticity, and a steady association with the final phase of interpersonal interaction, reflecting the conventions of formal (task-oriented) and informal (or casual) conversational speech in everyday life.

Their relatively high frequency of occurrence and even distribution across the films in the CF testify the development of regular associations between the contact-terminating phase and the following three pragmatic groups of language means: (i) statements informing about something, and utterances that express (ii) personal opinions and (iii) requests (orders). CTM-statements are more non-formulaic than CTM-opinions and CTM-requests that contain formulaic elements and therefore exhibit more formulaicity. A degree of formulaicity is also characteristic of other pragmatic types of CTM identified in the present research (apologies, invitations, etc.).

4.2. Case study-2. CTM in artistic discourse

Case sudy-2 is corpus-based. It was carried out on the basis of two subcorpora of the Written BNC2014 that contain written texts of different (sub)genres: "Fiction" and "Written-to-be-Spoken" (the BNC2014-F/WBS). Three formulas have been selected from the pragmatic group of CTM-farewells as this group has the highest frequency and distribution rates in the CF. These formulas are (1) *See you soon/later/tomorrow*, (2) *Thank you/thanks for coming*, and (3) *Keep in touch/contact*. To find and compare their frequency in the written artistic discourse,

the KWIC tool was applied. Table 3 contains the results of their analysis in the BNC2014-F/WBS (see Table 3).

Table 3. **Rates of the three formulas in the BNC2014-F/WBS**

Node	"Fiction"		"Written-to-be-Spoken"	
	Hits*	Texts	Hits	Texts
(1) *See you …*				
… soon	60 (2,94)	52 / 1 069	25 (7,90)	24 / 726
… later	132 (6,46)	107 / 1 069	116 (36,66)	84/726
… tomorrow	76 (3,72)	64 / 1 069	23 (7,27)	22/726
Total	**268**	**223**	**164**	**130**
(2) *… for coming*				
Thank you …	46 (2,25)	45 / 1 069	27 (8,53)	24 / 726
Thanks …	40 (1,96)	37 / 1 069	28 (8,85)	24 / 726
Total	**86**	**82**	**55**	**48**
(3) *Keep in …*				
…touch	53 (2,59)	46 / 1 069	6 (1,90)	5 / 726
…contact	6 (0,29)	5 / 1 069	0 (0)	0 / 726
Total	**59**	**51**	**6**	**5**

Note: *in this section, rates represent absolute and relative frequency of hits (hits per 1M tokens in the corpus).
Resource: Retrieved by the author from the Written BNC2014 July 20, 2025.

According to the corpus-based findings, the first formula with the variable element *later* has the highest rate of hits in both subcorpora (see Table 3). In the "Fiction" subcorpus, the absolute frequency of *See you later* is 132 with the relative frequency being 6,46. It appears in 107 texts out of 1069 texts in this subcorpus, with the highest rate of relative frequency in such a category of texts as "women's" (15,05). In the "Written-to-be-Spoken" subcorpus, the absolute frequency of this formula is 116 with the relative frequency being 36,66. *See you later* occurs in 84 texts out of 726 texts in this subcorpus, having the highest rate of relative frequency in the category of "TV scripts" (64,62). *See you tomorrow* occurs with the highest rate of relative frequency in the subgenre categories "women's" (8,78) and "TV scripts" (7,53) in the two subcorpora, correspondingly. Unlike these two variants of the formula under consideration, the highest rate of relative frequency of *See you soon* is observed in the subgenre categories "humour" (18,80) and "drama scripts" (8,28).

As the formula *See you soon/later/tomorrow* is supposed to be a contracted form, "probably short for *Hope to see you soon*" (OEtD 2025), the left-context concordances were also taken into account. According to the number of hits in both subcorpora, the top two of two-word patterns that proceed this formula are the first-person singular and plural pronouns (in L2 position) used in the majority of cases with the contracted form of the auxiliary verb *will/shall* (in L1 position) — *I'll* (in a few cases *I will*)*, we'll*, e.g.:

(16) *Finally, at the point of departure, she said, '**I'll see you soon**.'* ("Fiction").

(17)   *Right, I better get off.* ***I'll see you later****.* ("Written-to-be-Spoken")

In the form *I hope to see you [again] soon*, the formula is found to occur two times only in the "Fiction" subcorpus, e.g.:

(18)   *'Thank you, Miss Clark,' he said, sitting back down before I'd even left the office. '****I hope to see you again soon****.'*

These left-context concordances provide the formula with extra pragmatic value of making a promise and expressing uncertainty.

The analysis of 432 contexts from two subcorpora under study has revealed that the formula *See you soon/later/tomorrow* is exploited by the characters in all the cases with the intention to end (or interrupt) the interpersonal interaction, i.e. as CTM, e.g.:

(19)   *'****See you tomorrow****. Give my regards to your mum,' he said, clearly enough to be heard.* ("Fiction")
(20)   ***See you later****. Are you going out? Yes, my friend Bella's.* ("Written-to-be-Spoken")

In the "Fiction" subcorpus, the formula *Thank you for coming* is characterized by a higher rate of hits than its variant *Thanks for coming*, cf.: 46 (2,25) vs. 40 (1,96), correspondingly. The relative frequency of the former is highest in such a category of subgenre of fiction as "humor" (9,40), while the latter occurs most frequently in the subcategory "women's" (9,75). Interestingly, according to the data retrieved from the subcorpus "Written-to-be-Spoken", there is a very slight difference in frequency of occurrence between *Thank you for coming* and *Thanks for coming*, cf.: 27 (8,53) vs. 28 (8,85). Moreover, the rate of their distribution across the texts in this subcorpus is the same (see Table 3). Both formulas appear in the subgenre of "TV scrips" more frequently than in the subgenre "drama scripts". The rates of relative frequency in these subgenres correlate as follows: *Thank you for coming* is 11,92 vs. 5,10; *Thanks for coming* is 13,18 vs. 4,46.

Importantly, only 26 out of 141 hits (18,4%) in these formulas are used as CTM, for example:

(21)   *'See you, Granddad,' said Jamie, leaning in. 'What lovely grandchildren!* ***Thank you for coming****. You must have more important things to do.'* ("Fiction")
(22)   *Good luck with that. And* ***thanks for coming over****. It always helps to talk things through.' She walked him to the door.* ("Fiction")
(23)   *Good night, Sarah. Night.* ***Thank you for coming****.* ("Written-to-be-Spoken")
(24)   ***Thank you so much for coming****.* ***Thanks for coming****. Dave will take you over.* ("Written-to-be-Spoken")

The analysis has shown that in the majority of cases — 88 hits (62,4%) — the formulas under consideration are used by the characters at the opening phase of their interaction to (greatly/much) appreciate encountering interlocutors and to establish an appropriate connection with them. Thus, these formulas perform a

different metacommunicative function. They contribute to the conversation opening and serve as contact-establishing means, for example:

(25) *Seated at right angles to each other, they began the business in hand.* **'Thank you for coming to us,'** *Thea said. 'We do appreciate it.'* ("Fiction")

(26) *They're here.* **Thank you for coming**. *Please have a seat.* ("Written-to-be-Spoken")

In 27 cases (19,2%), the formulas in question are not pragmatically linked with either the end or the beginning of the conversation in the artistic discourse. They have more semantic value and are used to depict the speaker's attitude to the partner's conduct or the relationships between the characters, contribute to the conflict-developing or dramatizing the situation, e.g.:

(27) *I was embarrassed, and cross that you'd left me stranded. But I'm OK now.* **Thanks for coming back for me**.*'* ("Fiction")

(28) *It's done now, anyway. Thanks Jenny.* **Thanks for coming over**. *Thanks.* ("Written-to-be-Spoken")

As far as the third formula is concerned, the data retrieved from the BNC2014-F/WBS testify to the fact that it occurs much more frequent with the element *touch* in the artistic discourse than with the element *contact*, cf.: 59 hits in 51 texts vs. 6 hits in 5 texts (absolute frequency) (see Table 3). The highest rate of distribution of *Keep in touch* is in such subgenres of fiction and written-to-be-spoken texts as "women's" (6,69) and "drama scripts (3,18), correspondingly. *Keep in contact* appears with the highest rate of frequency distribution (0,89) in the subgenre of "fantasy".

The qualitative analysis of all the hits from the BNC2014-F/WBS has resulted in establishing 26 cases (40%) out of 65, in which the formulas under consideration are exploited by the speakers with the intention to terminate a conversation, i.e. as informal parting phrases, e.g.:

(29) *Okay, Ma, it's late here, I'm getting my head down now.' '*Keep in touch*, won't you, CeCe?'* ("Fiction")

(30) *— Oh! Look after yourself, Katy. — I will.* **Keep in touch**, *OK?* ("Written-to-be-Spoken")

Notably, as CTM the formula *Keep in touch* occurs not only in dialogues, but also in the narration to depict the traditional way of ending a conversation, e.g.:

(31) *They exchange numbers and make promises* **to keep in touch**, *and he offers to pick her up on his way back to London.* ("Fiction")

The study of left contexts (a window span of two words on the left, L2 position) reveals the following. The co-occurrence with the first-person singular and plural pronouns and the auxiliary verb *will* (*I'll, We'll, I will*), as well as with the verbs *try*, *do* (empathic), the word *please*, the form *Let's* imparts the formulas in question extra pragmatic value of making a promise and expressing a request, an offer or a wish, e.g.:

(32)   *'Thanks for ringing, Dan. **I'll keep in touch**, mate.' Then he dropped the phone and turned to her, his face a picture of disbelief.* ("Fiction")

(33)   *'**Let's keep in touch**, old fellow,' said Hugo as he climbed into his car.* ("Fiction")

In 39 cases (60%), *keep in touch/contact* is used in the artistic discourse in its idiomatic meaning 'communicate with someone regularly', e.g.:

(34)   *I do all right in sixth-form college, though Samantha Hogan **doesn't keep in touch** like she said she would and I find that all I really do is sit in my pyjamas in Auntie Cheryl's spare room and play on my iPhone.* ("Written-to-be-Spoken")

Thus, in various genres of texts in two subcorpora of the Written BNC2014 — "Fiction" and "Written-to-be-Spoken", the formulas — (1) *See you soon/later/tomorrow*, (2) *Thank you/thanks for coming*, and (3) *Keep in touch/contact* — are exploited as CTM. Unlike the first formula, whose pragmatic value is most salient and sustainable, the second and third formulas can fulfill other (meta)communicative functions (e.g., opening a conversation) and additional pragmatic tasks (such as promises, offers, etc), and can be used as semantic units rather than pragmatic ones.

The comparison of all the quantitative and qualitative data from the two corpora — the CF and the BNC2014-F/WS — identifies both similarities and differences in the use of the three CTM-formulas. A most important similarity consists in the same quantitative (or statistical) trend of their use in cinematic discourse and in different types of artistic discourse. In both corpora, the formula *See you soon/later/tomorrow* ranks first in frequency of occurrence and distribution, the formula *Thank you/thanks for coming* ranks second, and the formula *Keep in touch/contact* — third. Besides, like in fiction and written-to-be-spoken texts, in the feature films under analysis the use of *See you soon/later/tomorrow* can imply a kind of promise (especially when it co-occurs with *I'll, we'll*), and the formula *Thank you for coming* is characterized by a higher frequency of occurrence than *Thanks for coming.*

As far as differences are concerned, the first formula with the variable element *later* (i.e. *See you later*) has the highest rate of hits in frequency and distribution in the BNC2014-F/WS, while in the CF the number of its hits is smallest in contrast to the use with the variable elements *soon* and *tomorrow*. In the studied films, this formula exhibits a significant variability of the third element. The components *soon, later, tomorrow* can be replaced by other deictic words denoting time or space (*on Thursday, next week, next Sunday, eleven o'clock, there*). In the CF, the formula *Thank you/thanks for coming* functions only as CTM, the cases with its performing other (meta)communicative functions or pragmatic tasks that were detected in the BNC2014-F/WS were not found. *Keep in touch* has one hit in the CF which means that as CTM it is not typical of cinematic discourse. However, the data from the BNC2014-F/WS (concerning its frequency, distribution, structural variability) makes it possible to qualify *Keep in touch/contact* as quite common (conventional, usual) CTM for the artistic discourse.

5. Discussion

The results of this study fall into three general areas of significance. First, the comparison of the data from two corpora has shown that artistic discourse (including cinema) mirrors the communicative and pragmatic peculiarities of spontaneous talk in its formulaicity aspect with regard to CTM. The highest rates of occurrence and distribution of such pragmatic type of CTM as CTM-farewells in the CF and the data of the occurrence and distribution of three formulas of farewells retrieved from the BNC2014-F/WS verify the assumption that the phase of terminating a conversation in films and other types of artistic discourse is characterized by formulaicity that makes filmic (in particular) and artistic (in general) speech is quite similar with natural speech. The dialogical profiles of the films under consideration also testify to the "pragmatic authenticity" of closing an interpersonal interaction in cinematic discourse. They reveal that CTM are used in the filmic dialogues that are devoted to the discussion of a substantial range of topics with the number of participants varying from two to more-than-two. These findings agree with the results from earlier works comparing the functioning of formulas in films and in everyday speech and exploring pragmatic aspects of artistic discourse (Grant & Starks 2001, Lancker-Sidtis & Rallon 2004, Соколова & Фещенко 2024). Thus, formulaicity can be a reliable indicator of some general principles of artistic representation of real-life (everyday) interpersonal interaction in different types of artistic discourse.

Second, the results also reveal that cinematic discourse does not actually follow the generally accepted patterns of natural communication as it modifies them, adjusting their choice and use to the achievement of certain aesthetic goals of this art form. In accord with our findings in the CF, Taylor reports that the language of film "must be regarded as an entity in itself", film dialogue differs from purely written and purely spoken discourse in terms of many parameters referring to the characteristics of language use (Taylor 2006). The comparative analysis carried out by the scholar showed significant differences in the use of discourse markers typical of the spoken language (e.g., *right, OK, now*) between film texts and spontaneous oral language taken from the Cobuild 'Bank of English' spoken corpus (Taylor 2004). Also, analyzing closings of telephone calls in 20 popular English-language films, Ryan and Granville suggested that films provide inauthentic models of conversation (Ryan & Granville 2020).

In the present research, a remarkable modification of the so-called standardized ways of terminating a conversation is a (relatively) high frequency of occurrence of such pragmatic types of CTM as CTM-statements informing about something, CTM-opinions and CTM-requests/commands. To put it differently, to inform someone about something in order to close a dialogue is not something ordinary or predictable, it deviates from a discursive norm of everyday talk. Although the so-called "non-conventional" means of ending a talk can also be found in natural communication, they are spontaneous rather than regular or systemic and are of different pragmatic nature compared to those in cinematic discourse. These "non-conventionalities" in real-life communication are described in House and Kádár

(2014). Dividing 25 speech acts into two major types — 'Substantive' (that include attitudinal and informative speech acts) and 'Ritual' (that involve opening and closing speech acts), the scholars argue that "this typology represents the default function of speech acts, and any speech act can 'migrate' into other slots", e.g. "in certain contexts, a Substantive Attitudinal speech act can take on a Ritual function" (House & Kádár 2024: 1699). Focusing on English-speaking conventions of extracting oneself from the interaction, House and Kádár attempted to systematize all the speech acts through which closing an interaction can be when it comes to a situation where extracting is needed. The analysis revealed that in English the closing phase is fulfilled not only by the Extractor, but also by such speech acts as Excuse/Justify, Apologise, Opine, and Thank. The authors emphasize the fact that in English the speech acts in the closing phase tend to be realized by routine formulae. They argue that the easy availability of routine formulae results in a more strongly ritualized pragmatic convention of extracting oneself in English, much less interactional work needs to be done to realize extracting (House & Kádár 2024: 1709). Also importantly, as House's research showed, the reliance on routine formulas in the realization of many speech acts is much more typical of English speakers than of speakers of various other languages, e.g. German and Chinese (House 2006). According to Larina, while taking a leave, English speakers use more speech formulas than Russian speakers; the communicative actions of the former are more ritualized and conventionalized (Larina 2009, 2025).

In contrast to these observations from authentic speech practice, in the British films under study an interpersonal interaction is terminated by utterances of another pragmatic value (as pointed out above): statements informing about something, opinions, and requests/commands. It is worth special mentioning that their regularity of occurrence as CTM and frequency in the CF signals the development of fixed associations of their use with a certain "standardized communication situation" (according to Coulmas) — the closing phase of a filmic dialogue. In the majority of cases, they are utterances of non-formulaic nature from the point of view of their lexical fixedness and idiomaticity (Bladas 2012). Only some CTM of these pragmatic types involve formulaic elements. Thus, by modifying customary patterns of natural speech, cinematic discourse is elaborating its own pragmatic "conventions" of conversation closure, creatively synthesizing the use of formulaic and non-formulaic CTM, as well as trigger the emergence of new formulas. The identified pragmatic innovations can be explained by CTM functioning at simultaneously two levels in films — intradiegetic and extradiegetic. They terminate not only a dialogue between characters but also the whole scene, point to a move to the next episode. According to our findings, the majority of CTM-statements and CTM expressing opinions and requests/commands intensify the dramatic way of perceiving the events in the films.

Third, the formulaic component of the feature films exhibits not only pragmatic commonalities with other types of artistic discourse in the Written BNC2014 (i.e. fiction and scripts), but also divergences. These divergences in exploiting formulas to terminate interpersonal communication are both linguistic

and metalinguistic. The linguistic ones concern the discovered quantitative and qualitative data of using formulas in the drama films on the one hand, and in various kinds of written texts of fiction and scrips, — on the other hand. The metalinguistic divergences consist in the stated dependency of distribution of formulas under analysis on a subgenre (of a fiction work, a script, or a film). In the films, the formulas undergo more syntactic and lexical variation, and are therefore more susceptible to the formation of slots in their structure — the process that Dąbrowska defines as "the transition from formula to schema". As the scholar claims, this process "does not require translation into a different representational format, but merely loss of detail" (Dąbrowska 2014: 619). The variation of formulas in cinematic discourse can be accounted for by, as we would call it, the "spoken-to-be-written" format of films in comparison to the written format of fiction texts and scripts. As our material is limited to four drama films, to verify whether the established peculiarities are of regular character and can be defined as typical of feature films rather than of artistic discourse in general, it is necessary to conduct a research on larger empirical dataset. Within the field of pragmalinguistics, the comparative study of using formulas as well as other pragmatically relevant units in different kinds of artistic communication and art forms still remains a rather neglected area of inquiry. However, the findings of the present corpus analysis as well as of some earlier explorations of various pragmatic phenomena (including formulas) in artistic discourse make evident the fact that the issue of the so-called "pragmatic authenticity or pragmatic artificiality" of cinematic discourse and other types of artistic discourse is still unsolved and has many routes for further prolific scientific searches.

6. Conclusion

The present paper aimed to identify formulaicity of contact-terminating means in cinematic discourse and establish its pragmatic specificity in comparison with that in other types of artistic discourse. It outlined the results of two interrelated case studies of language means used to terminate a conversation in cinematic discourse compared to artistic discourse. To identify the formulaicity and pragmatic value of contact-terminating means (CTM), a complex methodology was elaborated, based on the application of two kinds of corpus approach: corpus-driven (Case study-1) and corpus-based (Case study-2). For Case study-1, a corpus of four British drama films was compiled *ad hoc* (the CF); whereas for Case study-2, the two subcorpora ("Fiction" and "Written-to-be-Spoken") of the Written BNC2014 was applied (the BNC2014-F/WS).

The quantitative and qualitative data let us draw the general conclusion that the CTM used in cinematic and artistic discourse exhibit certain pragmatic specificity that consists both in modifying or deviating from conventional pragmatic patterns of conversation closure (due to particular artistic tasks) and in creatively exploiting formulas as well as producing new ones. All the modifications and innovations described in the present research facilitate not only to assess "the pragmatic authenticity" of cinematic discourse, but to trace recent trends of changes

in real-life interpersonal interaction. The findings contribute to the development of pragmalinguistics of cinema and artistic communication by giving new knowledge of using formulaic means in artistic dialogues.

As a further step in identifying the formulaicity of the language of films, other types of pragmatically relevant language units (idioms, collocations, constructions, etc.) will be analyzed in a larger number of films and will be compared to particular types of artistic discourse.

Abbreviations

BNC2014-F/WBS — the "Fiction" and "Written-to-be-Spoken" subcorpora of the Written BNC2014 corpus

CF — the corpus of films

CTM — contact-terminating means

FML — formulaic language means

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Spanish *bueno* in metadiscursive contexts:
A constructional-pragmatic analysis

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Abstract

This study examines the Spanish discourse marker (DM) *bueno* through a constructional-pragmatic approach that challenges traditional lexicocentric analyzes. Its aim is to prove that analyzing the pragmatic-discursive values of this DM as emerging from its participation in certain discourse patterns (DPs) enhances previous descriptions. Building on recent theoretical developments from Hispanic linguistics as well as from research on other languages that warn against lexicocentric semasiological approaches, the study adopts an onomasiological and constructional perspective that advocates for integrated characterizations that capture DMs' functioning within larger DPs. Through analysis of the Val.Es.Co. corpus of colloquial Spanish conversation (Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002), we identify and formalize metadiscursive DPs involving *bueno*. These include prototypical metadiscursive functions such as topic resumption, topic shift, reformulation, and online planning support, as well as turn-taking and other functions characteristic of turn-initial position in both initiating and, especially, reactive turns, all of which are understood as metadiscursive. Our findings demonstrate that the diverse functional values traditionally attributed exclusively to *bueno* actually derive from the complete pragmatic-discursive patterns in which this DM participates. Formalized DPs offer practical applications for monolingual and crosslinguistic description, historical reconstruction of grammaticalization pathways, and applied domains such as L2 teaching and machine translation. Theoretically, our results show that the DPs approach resolves persistent contradictions in the literature, where researchers infer DMs' values from co-text while simultaneously abstracting from that same co-text in their descriptions. In doing so, the study contributes to ongoing debates about constructions beyond sentential level by bridging Construction Grammar frameworks with discourse analysis.

Keywords: *discourse markers, constructional schemas, discourse patterns, metadiscursive functions, Spanish pragmatics, bueno*

Испанское *bueno* в метадискурсивном контексте: конструктивно-прагматический анализ

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Аннотация

В данном исследовании испанский дискурсивный маркер (ДМ) *bueno* изучается с помощью конструкционно-прагматического подхода, бросающего вызов традиционному лексикоцентрическому анализу. Цель исследования — доказать, что анализ прагматико-дискурсивных значений этого ДМ, возникающих в результате его участия в определенных дискурсивных паттернах (ДП), дополняет предыдущие описания. Опираясь на недавние теоретические разработки в области испаноязычной лингвистики, а также на исследования других языков, критикующих лексикоцентрические семасиологические подходы, в исследовании используется ономасиологический и конструкционный подход, выступающий за комплексные характеристики, отражающие функционирование ДМ в рамках более крупных дискурсивных фрагментов. Анализируя корпус разговорной испанской речи Val.Es.Co. (Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002), мы выявляем и формализуем метадискурсивные ДМ, содержащие *bueno*. К ним относятся прототипические метадискурсивные функции, такие как возобновление темы, смена темы, переформулирование и поддержка в онлайн коммуникации, а также очередность реплик и другие функции, характерные для начальной позиции как в инициирующих, так и особенно в ответных репликах, каждая из которых понимается как метадискурсивная. Полученные результаты показывают, что разнообразные функциональные значения, традиционно приписываемые исключительно *bueno*, вытекают из полных прагматико-дискурсивных моделей, в которых участвует этот дискурсивный маркер. Формализованные дискурсивные паттерны могут быть применены для монолингвистического и кросс-лингвистического описания, исторической реконструкции путей грамматикализации и прикладных областей, таких как обучение второму языку и машинный перевод. Теоретически наши результаты показывают, что подход, основанный на ДП, разрешает сохраняющиеся противоречия в литературе, где исследователи выводят значения ДМ из со-текста, одновременно абстрагируясь от него же в своих описаниях. Тем самым исследование вносит вклад в продолжающиеся дискуссии о конструкциях, выходящих за рамки сентенциального уровня, соединяя подходы грамматики конструкций с дискурсивным анализом.

Ключевые слова: *дискурсивные маркеры, конструктивные схемы, дискурсивные модели, метадискурсивные функции, испанская прагматика, bueno*

1. Introduction

Drawing on the specific case of the Spanish discourse marker (DM) *bueno*, this paper intends to show that properly describing DMs necessarily involves identifying and formalizing the discourse patterns (DPs) in which DMs occur. The DM selected to illustrate this programmatic proposal has received extensive scholarly attention from specialists in colloquial Spanish (Beinhauer 1958, Steel 1985: 142–143, Vigara 1980: 77–78, 1992, Briz 1998, Pons 2008) and DMs experts (Fuentes 1990, 1993, Martín Zorraquino 1994, Martín Zorraquino & Portolés 1999), including studies of its prosody (Briz & Hidalgo 1998, Martín Butragueño 2006, Martínez Hernández 2016), grammaticalization process (Fuentes 1993, Ocampo 2006, Posio & Rosemeyer 2025), and positional variability (Pons 2003, 2008, Posio & Rosemeyer 2025). Research encompasses monographic works (Bauhr 1994, Martín Zorraquino 1994, Serrano 1999, Rosemeyer & Posio 2023), some crosslinguistic (García Vizcaíno & Martínez-Cabeza 2005), comparative analyzes with semantically similar (Fuentes 1993, Pons 2003, Serrano 2012) or dissimilar (Portolés 1998, Borreguero 2017, Raymond 2018) DMs, and lexicographic entries in general (Moliner 2007³) and specialized dictionaries (Santos Río 2003, Briz, Pons & Portolés coords. 2008, Fuentes 2009).

Recently, López Serena & Uceda (2024) have used *bueno* to assess DMs characterization through pragmatic-discursive schemas[1], considering the immediate co-text from an illocutionary perspective. Building on Taranilla's (2015) notion of DP, López Serena & Uceda (2024) formulated *esquemas construccionales* ('constructional schemas') (CSs) to address limitations of analyzing DMs in isolation. Through analysis of *bueno* patterns in Pío Baroja's early twentieth-century trilogy *La lucha por la vida* (*The Struggle for Life*), they demonstrate that DPs as wholes elicit the different functional values typically attributed exclusively to the DMs. As a result of this approach, they provided CSs for two main uses of *bueno*: turn-initial acceptance in reactive moves (from agreement to reluctant compliance), and in three-part schemas to resume first-turn content after an intervening response. However, their exploration does not recover cases of *bueno* in turn-initial, reformulation, or online planning contexts, which are extremely rare in literary dialogue, and whose DPs remain unproposed. The current study aims to address this gap by examining *bueno*'s underexplored metadiscursive patterns in a

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[1] López Serena & Uceda (2024) use 'constructional schemas' for what Taranilla (2015) and Gras (2016) call 'discourse patterns.' We will also adopt the term 'discourse pattern', whose initials (DP) are easily interpretable. This choice helps to prevent potential confusion with the expression 'constructional schema', already used in literature on Role and Reference Grammar and certain versions of Construction Grammar.

corpus of colloquial conversation (Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002), which better captures metadiscursive functions characteristic of maximum communicative immediacy (Koch & Oesterreicher 1990)—most of which were absent from López Serena & Uceda's (2024) literary corpus.

Our focus on DPs is consistent with claims like those of Heine & Kuteva (2002: 2), who note that "since the development of grammatical forms is not independent of the constructions to which they belong, the study of grammaticalization is also concerned *with constructions and with even larger discourse segments*" (our italics). It also aligns with an established tradition within Hispanic linguistics that warns against exclusively semasiological approaches (Narbona 1989 & 1990, López Serena 2011, Borreguero & López Serena 2011) and lexicocentric bias in DMs research (López Serena 2011, Borreguero 2015: 165, Fernández Madrazo & López Serena 2022). This bias, which may stem from the widespread view that DMs "are semantically and syntactically independent from their environments" (Heine, Yang & Rhee 2024: 754), can be overcome by recognizing that DMs do not carry functional values in isolation but only deploy them as components of higher-order pragmatic-discursive units.

The article is organized as follows. After this introduction, Section 2 presents the theoretical and methodological foundations for interpreting DMs as members of DPs. Section 3 briefly outlines our data and analytical methodology. Section 4 reviews *bueno's* functional values as found in the literature, some of which are then discussed in Section 5 on the basis of the constructional schemas proposed by López Serena & Uceda (2024). In Section 6, we describe *bueno's* prototypical metadiscursive values and relate them to DPs identified in our corpus of colloquial conversation. Section 7 discusses the main findings, and Section 8 concludes by summarizing the study's main contributions and directions for future research.

2. Toward an integrated characterization
of discourse markers in discourse patterns

Within Hispanic linguistics[2], treating DMs as components of broader structures stems from largely unnoticed considerations. Decades ago, Martín Zorraquino (1994: 405) already argued that DMs require contextual analysis of "either what precedes or what follows in the discourse"; Portolés (1998: 134–135) argued that complete descriptions of *bueno* and *pues* must account for relationships with conversational patterns; and Montolío (2011) emphasized analyzing weakening DMs like *por el momento* ('for the moment') and *en teoría* ('in theory') within two-part patterns where they appear in initial segments of weaker argumentative force, followed by stronger argumentative content. Drawing from such considerations, Taranilla (2015: 260) assumes that "discourse context provides valuable data for

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[2] Among other aims, this work intends to highlight this tradition's contribution to pragmatics and DMs studies, hence the predominantly Hispanic bibliography. All Spanish sources are cited in our English translations, prepared for this article, without further indication.

adequately characterizing DMs meaning" and defines a discourse pattern as a "recurring practice in the configuration of discourse which, without becoming established in a fixed form, constitutes a habitual routine for arranging informative materials and their relationships in textual production" (236). In a related vein, Gras (2016: 206) adopted a constructionist approach arguing that "the meaning of linguistic forms results from interaction between lexico-grammatical resources and schematic patterns"[3].

In English-language literature, functionalist and cognitivist approaches have converged in describing linguistic units in non-atomistic terms, which, according to Fried (2007: 723), is the logical consequence of conceiving grammar as emerging from linguistic usage rather than independent of it. Three approaches illustrate this perspective.

First, interactional linguistics advocates analyzing linguistic units within oral dialogic sequences as the most frequent form of everyday communication. This has led to examine DMs — and other linguistics units — as elements integrated into larger discursive configurations. Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson (2000) exemplify this in their study of concessive patterns, demonstrating how *though* acquires full meaning within broader structures through a tripartite: initial argument by one speaker (X), another participant's acknowledgment of its validity (X'), then contrasting argument (Y).

Second, some Construction Grammar frameworks conceptualize DMs as constructions embedded within broader structural patterns that explain their meaning and function. Masini & Pietrandrea (2010) exemplify this approach analyzing Italian *magari* within topological patterns including lists, repetition of sequential syntactic structures, and chiastic arrangements. Their study also draws upon Fried & Östman's (2004, 2005) theoretical considerations for Construction Grammar's future direction — advocating analysis of grammatical elements within their environments rather than in isolation. Fried (2007: 723) exemplifies this approach studying *se* through "detailed analysis of the full grammatical environments" rather than defining it in isolation, "as an abstract syntactic entity", arguing forms must be treated as "having the status of a grammatical construction" (725–726).

Moreover, hybrid approaches combining interactional linguistics and Construction Grammar analyze DMs beyond isolated treatment. Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson (2008) distinguish between constructions — "grammatical abstractions that have emerged as more or less fixed templates, comprising some lexically open slots and some lexically fixed forms" (445) — and patterns — "recurrent interactional practice which has not become sedimented as a grammatical format,

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[3] Although Gras's article focuses on a linguistic unit (Sp. *que* in quotative uses) rarely classified as a DM, his approach has particularly inspired our own work. Like Gras (2016: 202), we "analyze which aspects of linguistic form or, crucially, discourse context give rise to [particular] interpretation[s]" and "highlight the function of discourse patterns" as "recurring contextual features" that activate "particular readings" (207).

but is instead a pragmatic routine for assessing a situation or event in a social interaction" (445). Thanks to this distinction they demonstrate how DMs such as *well* or *you know* acquire significant roles within conversational interaction frameworks.

Third, studies on discourse relations from other functionalist approaches have proposed broader conceptions of connectors form. Renkema's (2009) theory of connectivity exemplifies this. He observes (Renkema 2009: 166–167) that *but* performs at least four distinct functions: contrast relation (i), concessive relation (ii), instead relation (iii), and mood indicator (iv):

    i.   It is dry over here, *but* over there it is wet.
    ii.   Pete is overweight, *but* he is strong as a bear.
    iii.   Hey Mary, don't stroll around *but* help John.
    iv.   *But* I told you not to buy anything! (upon receiving a birthday present from a friend)

However, closer examination reveals that these are distinct variants: in (i), the contrastive relation hinges on the binary opposition *dry/wet*; in (ii), the concessive relation relies on casual understanding — *being overweight* does not preclude strength; in (iii), the substitutive relation is triggered by the negation in *stroll*; and in (iv), a relation appearing only sentence-initially in exclamatory constructions is observed.

3. Data and analytical methodology

Examples of the Spanish DM *bueno* used throughout this study — both for illustration in Sections 4 and 5 and for analysis in Section 6 — are drawn from the Val.Es.Co. corpus of colloquial Spanish conversation (Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002). This corpus, available in transcription format, comprises oral colloquial conversations secretly recorded in spontaneous, informal situations in Valencia and its metropolitan area.

Methodologically, the formalization of the discourse patterns (DPs) of *bueno*'s metadiscursive uses identified in this corpus which will be conducted in Section 6 is partly inspired by positional analyses using categories such as dialogue, intervention, act, and subact[4]. Among other purposes, these categories help to describe position-function correlations in DMs more precisely (Pons 2008, Briz & Pons 2010). However, our approach is primarily indebted to López Serena & Uceda (2024) (Section 5), who propose describing *bueno*'s contexts of occurrence in Spanish by examining DPs that encompass the interventions/acts immediately

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[4] The Val.Es.Co. research group defines these conversational units as follows: (1) *dialogue*: the maximal dialogic unit formed by the combination of successive exchanges; (2) *intervention*: one or more speaker actions within a given time frame (initiative or reactive); (3) *act*: the basic communicative unit bearing illocutionary force; (4) *subact*: minimal informational unit within an act, either substantive (propositional content) or adjacent (discourse-organizing, modalizing, or interpersonal functions) (Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2003, Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2014).

surrounding *bueno* and by identifying adjacent interventions' illocutionary force and exchanges' preferred/dispreferred moves.

Before examining *bueno*'s metadiscursive values (Section 6), we review functional values from the literature (Section 4), emphasizing those with existing constructional schemas (Section 5). Our exclusively qualitative analysis drew on native speaker intuition and rational explanation (Itkonen 2003) of speech acts and discourse structuring to identify the DPs underlying *bueno*'s previously described values, formalized in Sections 5 and 6. This identification had two main goals: first, to determine whether the DPs for *bueno* proposed by López Serena & Uceda (2024) from literary data matched those found in our colloquial conversation corpus; and second, to identify DPs associated with metadiscursive functions not attested in their literary corpus.

4. The functional values of the DM *bueno*

Bueno stands among Spanish's most versatile DMs, exhibiting remarkable functional range alongside considerable positional and prosodic flexibility (Martín Zorraquino 1994: 405, Martín Zorraquino & Portolés 1999: 4163, Martín Butragueño 2006: 17, Posio & Rosemeyer 2025: 1145). In their review of the different discourse values attributed to *bueno* in Spanish literature López Serena & Uceda (2024) identify the following 13 values, for each of which we will provide an example drawn from the corpus underlying this study[5]:

(i) Expression of full agreement with the precedence utterance[6]:

> G: […] y él decía *sí **bueno**/ pues soy marica ¿y qué?* <'and he would say *yeah **BUENO**/ well I'm gay, so what?*'>[7]
> (Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002: 101, transcript lines 812–813)[8]

(ii) Turn acknowledgment, possibly indicating understanding:

> E: = ¿qué rubio? <E: = what blond guy?
> L: ¿uno rubio con los ojos azules (( ))? <L: a blond one with blue eyes (( ))?>
> E: ¡ah! ¿uno con barba? (RISAS) ese es el morenito <E: ah! one with a beard? (LAUGHTER) that's the dark-haired one>
> L: ¡ah! **bueno**
> (Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002: 88, transcript lines 252–257)

(iii) Expression of reluctant agreement with the preceding utterance:

> – ¿Te parece bien así? <– Does that seem okay to you?>
> –**Bueno**, vamos a ver qué pasa) <–**BUENO**, let's see what happens>
> (Santos Río 2003, *s. v. bueno*)

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[5] When this is not possible, we employ the same examples as López Serena & Uceda (2024).

[6] This *bueno* can be substituted with *de acuerdo* ('agreed'), *está bien* ('all right'), or *vale* ('okay').

[7] To avoid confusion with parentheses (indicating unclear audio in Val.Es.Co. notation) and square brackets (indicating speaker overlaps), example translations will be provided in angle brackets.

[8] In all English translations of examples, *bueno* remains in Spanish and appears in small capitals.

(iv) Mitigation of disagreement or counter-argumentation:

M: es que es demasiao <M: it's just too much>
[…]
A: pero es quee- ees otros tiempos <A: but it's thaat- it's different times>
M: ya/ **bueno** bien / otros tiempos / pero es que es demasiao/ demasiao
    demasiao <M: yeah/**BUENO** okay / different times / but it's just too
    much/ too too much>
                (Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002: 123, transcript lines 1, 5–7)

(v) Expression of resigned acceptance

E: […] ((si me mira)) el tío ↑pues te animas oye ↓ antes a lo mejor lo- no se
    trata de ir por ahí a ver- a la caza del rollo ↓ entonces ya ↑ si es que es
    una vez dices *bueno* <E: […] ((if he looks at me)) the guy ↑ well you
    get encouraged you know ↓ before maybe it- it's not about going around
    to see- hunting for action ↓ so then ↑ if it's just once you say *BUENO*>
                (Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002: 94, transcript lines 510–513)

(vi) Turn initiation:

A: [pero] no/ no/ el problema soy yo y ya está↓ [es que no tiene explicación]
    <A: [but] no/ no/ I'm the problem and that's it↓ [it just doesn't have an
    explanation]>
B: [**bueno**↓ escúchame un momento↓] escúchame un momento/ escúchame
    <B: [**BUENO** ↓listen to me for a second↓] listen to me for a second/ listen>
                (Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002: 75, transcript lines 95–99)

(vii) Topic resumption:

G: puees el chaval↑/ o sea→/ estaba estudiando Egebé pero era pues/ muy
malo para estudiar [¿no?=] <G: so this guy↑/ like →/he was attending primary
school but he was just/ really bad at studying [right?=]>
E: [(sí)] <E: [(yeah)]>
G: = ceporro/ además que es un ANIMAL/ es muy BASTO yy§ <G: stupid/
plus he's a complete IDIOT/ he's so ROUGH and and§>
E: §y seguro que a la primera§ < : §and I bet on the first try§>
G: §no [no no no es que] <G: §no [no no no the thing is]>
E: [¿te acuerdas- el chico] que te dije de Alacuás? <E: [do you remember- the
guy] I told you about from Alacuás?>
G: sí (RISAS) <G: yeah (LAUGHTER)>
[...] (the topic shifts momentarily)
G: Pues **bueno** pues [a lo que iba=] <G: So **BUENO** so [what I was getting
at=]>
L: [pues ¡vaya tela!] <E: That's crazy!>
G: = el chaval este/ o sea→/ pues/ una día↑ un día ↑ ¿no? Decidió apuntarse
a la autoescuela […] <G: = this guy/ like→/ well/ one day↑one day↑you
know? He decided to join a driving school [...]>
                (Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002: 112, transcript lines 1249–1276)

(viii) Topic shift

M: pues sí señor oye/ de verdad// a mí también me gusta pasármelo bien/ oye///
pero yo lo/ reconozco↑/ que- que ¡hija mía!/ el otro día empezaba/ el jueves↑
y digo/ *entonces/ es ya/ jueves ↑/ viernes sábado y domingo ¿cuatro días de
salir por la noche?/ esto es demasiaoo/// después a- el lunes estás/oye ↑/ estás-
estás torrá(da) el lunes está torrá/ y* a(d)emás estaba hasta ahora durmiendo/
(ahora voy a despertarla a ver qué dice)/// que me ayude aa limpiar un
poquito/// **bueno** ee ayer↑/ (me llamó Roberto ¿se ha enterado de lo del
ascensor?)
<M: well yeah right listen/ honestly// I like to have fun too/ hey/// but I admit
it↑/ that- that Jesus!/ the other day she started/ on Thursday↑ and I'm like/ *so/
it's already Thursday ↑/ Friday Saturday and Sunday four days of going out
at night?/ this is too much///then on- Monday you're/you know ↑/ you're-
you're wasted* Monday she's wasted/ and besides she was sleeping till now/
(now I'll wake her up to see what she says)/// to help me clean up a
bit/// ʙᴜᴇɴᴏ↑ uh Roberto called me yesterday/ did you hear about the elevator
situation?)>

<div align="right">(Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002: 125, transcript lines 79–87)</div>

(ix) Closure[9]

E: **bueno** chicas/ me subo <E: ʙᴜᴇɴᴏ girls/ I'm going upstairs>
A: **bueno** pos yo también me vooy↑ <A: ʙᴜᴇɴᴏ then I'm off too↑>

<div align="right">(Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002: 274, transcript lines 635–636)</div>

(x) Reformulation

A: BRR/// yo estuve viendo For Bravo↑/// gran película <A: BRR/// I was
watching Fort Bravo /// great movie>
D: ¿For [Bravo? sí] <D: Fort [Bravo? yeah]>
A: [y una tía muy buena§ <A: [and a really hot chick§>
B: § ¿eh?/ Eléanor Párquer está buenísima↓ tío// **bueno↓** estaba <B: § huh?/
Eleanor Parker is so hot↓ dude//ʙᴜᴇɴᴏ↓ she was>

<div align="right">(Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002: 66, transcript lines 649–653)</div>

(xi) Support in discourse formulation processes:

G: hombre↓ yo al llegar aquí y noo/// **bueno↓** no encontrar a nadie/ o s(e)a///
tía↓ he llegao y he llamado all- ahí al- al veinticinco no- no abría nadie ¿no?
al veinticinco
<G: hey↓when I arrived here and not///ʙᴜᴇɴᴏ↓ not finding anybody/ well ///
honey↓ I got here and I called at- over there at- at apartment twenty-five no-
nobody answered you know? at twenty-five>

<div align="right">(Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002: 83, transcript lines 40–42)</div>

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[9] While the literature on Spanish *bueno* differentiates between topic-shifting and closing functions,
in our opinion these constitute the same function operating in distinct DPs: topic shift in non-final
versus final dialogue positions.

(xii) Expression of surprise:

–¡**Bueno**! No nos faltaba más que esto!
<***BUENO****! That's the last thing we needed!*>

(Moliner 2007[3], *s. v. bueno*).

(xiii) Expression of confusion or perplexity:

M: [((vea usted)) yo] (( ))/los días por ejemplo↑/ que pasa la música↑ / me los veo acostaos↑// digo ¡***bueno****!*§
<M: [((you know)) I] (( ))/like on days↑ / when the music goes by↑/ I see them just lying there↑// I say ***BUENO****!*§
(Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002: 121, transcript lines 23–25)

Most of these values derive from earlier studies, whereas recent functional descriptions increasingly reduce *bueno*'s functional repertoire. For instance, while Beinhauer's pioneering study (1958) distinguished seven functions corresponding to values (i), (ii), (iv), (vii), (ix), (x), and (xi), contemporary works postulate fewer more abstract functional values. The highly recommended study by Ocampo (2006) exemplifies this trend, considering only two core values: 'acceptance' and 'boundary facilitating a subsequent discursive action[10]'. Between these extremes, Fuentes (1990) maintained Beinhauer's seven functions[11], replacing only the last type with *¡bueno!* bearing rising intonation and having emotive value (values [xii] and [xiii]), possibly inspired by Moliner's (2007, *s. v. bueno*) description of *bueno* expressing resignation, unpleasant surprise, or confusion/perplexity. Moliner's dictionary also identifies two values not referred to by Beinhauer (1958): acknowledging having received an order/instruction without necessarily expressing agreement (value [ii])[12], and initiating discourse (value [vi]).

Continuing this reductive trend, Martín Zorraquino & Portolés (1999) subsume *bueno*'s diverse functions into three macro-categories designed to capture all conversational DMs: deontic-volitional modality expression, interlocutor focus, and conversational structuring[13]. Similarly, Briz, Pons & Portolés (coords., 2008,

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[10] Ocampo (2006) identifies *bueno*'s 'boundary facilitating subsequent discursive action' value in concessive, topic-shift, discourse planning, and turn-taking contexts. This boundary function derives through discursivization from the original 'acceptance' value of adjectival *bueno* 'good', emerging through conventionalizing the inference that acceptance limits further elaboration. His proposal, which aligns with Foolen's (1989) intermediate level (ii) in his three-level framework — (i) very abstract level for both DM and non-DM functions; (ii) intermediate level for exclusively DM values; and (iii) concrete level for discourse-specific meanings — represents the closest attempt to establish constant semantic value across all non-adjectival uses of *bueno*.

[11] Later Fuentes (2009, *s. v. bueno*) reduced to five functions with some types encompassing multiple values, such as values (iv) and (viii) corresponding to Fuentes' *bueno* 1 and values (xi) and (vii) to her *bueno* 4.

[12] A value echoed by Martín Zorraquino & Portolés (1999: 4163).

[13] They associate acceptance *bueno* (value [i]) with deontic-volitional modality expression, message reception/information processing *bueno* (value [ii]) with conversational structuring (metadiscursive

s. v. bueno) reduce *bueno*'s behavior to three functions: (i) presenting discourse segments as continuations of previous content (value [vii]); (ii) indicating total or partial agreement with prior statements or implications (values [i], [iii]); and (iii) signaling disagreement through emphatic pronunciation (values [xii], [xiii]).

Likewise, Pons (2003) proposes a tripartite classification: formulating function, including reformulation (values [x], [xi]); agreement expression, including disagreement mitigation (values [i], [iii], [iv]); and disagreement expression (values [xii], [xiii]).

Recently, Borreguero (2017) proposed an additional quotative function for *bueno* — signaling transitions to reported speech — which Rosemeyer & Posio (2023) adopt [14]. They incorporate this alongside three core values from prior research: (i) agreement expression, potentially with hedges or propositional modifications; (ii) disagreement expression with face-saving mitigation; and (iii) metadiscursive uses including topic management (Martín Zorraquino & Portolés 1999), reformulation (Pons 2003), and discourse continuation (Briz, Pons & Portolés 2008).

This review yields several conclusions. Linguistic studies attribute multiple diverse values to *bueno*, catalogued heterogeneously, showing progressive reduction tendencies. Bibliographical discrepancies reveal that: (1) authors do not report identical values, and convergence does not guarantee matching interpretations — the same example receives different analyzes; (2) studies operate with functional labels at varying abstraction levels: employing macrofunctions (Martín Zorraquino & Portolés 1999) or microfunctions without consistent macro/microfunctional relationships across authors. In this respect, Pons (2003) and Fuentes (2009) link agreement/disagreement and emotional uses to modality, while Rosemeyer & Posio (2023) and Borreguero (2015) associate attenuation and emotional uses with interaction. Similarly, concessive *bueno* is classified as alterity-focusing (Martín Zorraquino & Portolés 1999) versus discourse connection (Pons 2003), and topic management as formulative (Pons 2003), metadiscursive (López Serena & Borreguero 2010), or interactive (Posio & Rosemeyer 2025). Furthermore, in most cases these correlations are merely asserted rather than justified. Finally, according to our main concern in this paper, *bueno* is frequently attributed functions it cannot convey exclusively. Rosemeyer & Posio (2023) exemplify this: while a conversational contribution may express 'mitigated disagreement protecting the speaker's positive face', this entire illocutionary force will hardly rest exclusively on *bueno* — as they seem to maintain — but rather on the complete pragmatic-discursive schema or DP.

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function), and disagreement-mitigating *bueno* that reinforces speaker image (value [iv]) with alterity focusing.

[14] Change to Posio & Rosemeyer (2025: 1158) propose another value, *admission of another perspective*, that will not be considered here as their examples represent established functions; reformulation (example 17) and reluctant acceptance via *pero bueno* (example 18), which Fuentes (1990: 155–156) defines as equivalent to 'all right, agreed, what can we do about it' (see also Fuentes 1993: 209: "to accept something unwillingly").

5. Acceptance discourse patterns involving *bueno*

Building on §4's discursive values of *bueno*, López Serena & Uceda (2024: 479) posit that "distinct to discourse patterns can be identified and described for each value". This yields DPs for five *bueno* types and their variants: interactional acceptance after directive acts; acknowledgment; acceptance of assertions; topic continuation in tripartite dialogic structures, and topic-shift *bueno*.

5.1. Acceptance discourse patterns in which bueno *follows directive, commissive, or assertive acts*

Conformity/agreement in reactive interventions — typically accepting orders, offers, suggestions, requests, commitments, or assertions expecting agreement as preferred responses — represents an appropriate value for a DM derived from an adjective meaning 'good'. López Serena & Uceda (2024: 480) proposed a DP for this value, originally analysing directive/commissive and assertive acts separately, which we reformulate in Figure 1a[15], where, following Val.Es.Co. Group (2014) notation, "$_iI$" refers to initiative intervention and "$_rI$" to reactive intervention.

$_iI$: directive, commissive or assertive act
$_rI$: #(*pues*) *bueno* (vocative)# (#...#)

Figure 1a. Agreement DP in which *bueno* follows directive/commissive/assertive acts, functioning as independent act or intervention

According to López Serena & Uceda (2024), in contexts of acceptance *bueno* can constitute an intervention alone or with a vocative, or form the initial act of an intervention followed by additional acts. Figure 1a — exemplified here by (1) and (2) from the Val.Es.Co. corpus — represents these possibilities using hashes (#) to segment acts and braces ({}) to mark act/subact boundaries. Parentheses indicate optional elements. Thus, #(*pues*) *bueno* (vocative)# (#...#) reads: *bueno* constitutes an act alone, optionally preceded by *pues*, and optionally followed by a vocative; this act may form a complete intervention or be followed by optional additional acts within the same intervention.

(1) C: [...] *es de aquí de* RADIOVALENCIA// *la llamamos* ↑/ *le vamos a hacer una pregunta/ si en cinco segundos/ usted nos responde* ↑/ *gana cinco mil pesetas/* claro↓ yo/digo ***pues bueno*** [...]
<[...] this is from *RADIOVALENCIA here// we're calling you* ↑// *we're going to ask you a question/ if within five seconds/ you answer us* ↑// *you win five thousand pesetas/* of course ↓*I/ say **PUES BUENO**/* [...]
(Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002: 235, transcript lines 101–106)

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[15] Since the value of *bueno* appears largely unchanged whether the preceding initiating move is directive/commissive or assertive, our reformulation encompasses all possible illocutionary forces in the first pair part.

(2) G: […] y él decía *sí **bueno**/ pues soy marica ¿y qué?* <'and he would say *yeah **BUENO**/ well I'm gay, so what?*>

(Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002: 101, transcript lines 812–813)

López Serena & Uceda (2024) argue that the DP of Figure 1a must have evolved from an earlier stage shown in Figure 1b[16]. Here, following a directive initiating move, *bueno* begins a reactive move where it precedes explicit acceptance (see ex. 3):

> ᵢI: directive/commissive act
> ᵣI: #*bueno*# + #explicit acceptance reinforcing/stemming from the acceptance idea#

Figure 1b. Agreement DP in which *bueno* follows a directive/commissive act and is followed by explicit acceptance (after López Serena & Uceda 2024: 481)

(3)   – Que si hay algún periodista de esos que vienen a recoger noticias aquí, le diga usted que yo soy cajista en el periódico *El Mundo* y que me han metido preso.
–#**Bueno**#, #se dirá#
<–If there's any of those journalists that come around here looking for news, you tell them I'm a typesetter at *El Mundo* newspaper and they've locked me up.
–#**BUENO**#, #will do#>

(*Mala hierba* [*Bad Weed*], ch. 8, Part II)

After a commissive act, our corpus offers another example (4) that also appears in reported discourse:

(4) L: [...] yo creía que era una persona muy seria ¿no? Y luego en el tren me di cuenta que no era tan seria ¿no? se metía con// el revisor tal↓ *que está MUY BUENO/* con este- con no sé cuántos↓ y yo decía *pues bueno-* me decía la gente→/ *ya te enterarás de cómo es ¿no?* y yo decía ***bueno ya me enteraré***↓ […]
<L: [...] I thought she was a really serious person you know? And then on the train I realized she wasn't that serious you know? she was messing around with// the ticket collector↓ like *he is REALLY HOT/* with this- with I don't know how many↓ and I was like *PUES BUENO-* people were telling me/ *you'll find out what she's like you know?* and I was like ***BUENO I'll find out***>
(Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002: 95, transcript lines 573–578)

Sometimes, following a directive initiating move, the reactive turn headed by *bueno* expresses uncertainty about whether the required action will be carried out. This yields the DP in Figure 1c, illustrated in (5), where substituting *bueno* with *de acuerdo* ('agreed'), *está bien* ('alright') or *vale* ('okay') is impossible, which

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[16] Our reformulation of their Figure 1b shows that the initiating move preceding the *bueno*-headed turn need not be exclusively directive but may also be commissive, as in (4).

suggests that the function of this DP, together with those handled in §4.2 below, should be considered metadiscursive rather than related to acceptance (see Section 6).

_iI: directive act
_rI: #{*bueno*} + expression of doubt about performing the required action #

Figure 1c. DP of mitigated distancing from expected agreement, involving *bueno* after a directive act (after López Serena & Uceda 2024: 482)

(5) –*Na* –añadió Vidal, después de un momento de silencio, dirigiéndose a Manuel–, tú has de venir con nosotros; formaremos una cuadrilla.
–Eso es –tartamudeó el Bizco.
–#{**Bueno**}; {ya veré}# –dijo Manuel de mala gana
<*Well*–added Vidal, after a moment of silence, addressing Manuel–, you have to come with us; we'll form a gang.
–That's right –stammered el Bizco.
 –#{**Bueno**}; {I'll see}# –said Manuel reluctantly>
(*La busca* [*The Quest*], ch. 1, Part III)

However, substitution is possible when *bueno* + *pero* precede counter-oriented arguments in argumentative contexts (post-assertive moves). The DP for these cases, which we consider bridging contexts between the expression of acceptance and metadiscursive uses such as the one represented by Figure 1c, is illustrated in (6) and formalized in Figure 1d

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_iI: assertive act
_rI: #*bueno*# + #*pero* + counter-oriented argument#

Figure 1d. DP for expressing counter-oriented arguments regarding the previous move, i nvolving *bueno* + *pero* (after López Serena & Uceda 2024: 486)

(6) L: pero en los grandes almacenes [síi=] < L: but in department stores [they usually do=]>
S: [claro] <S:[of course]>
L: = que suelen haber [se refieren a bañadores] <L: = have [referring to swimsuits]>
A: **bueno**↓ hay/ pero de esos de natación// [...] pero yo no me voy a gastar cuatro mil ni cinco mil pesetas [...] <A: **bueno**↓ there are/ but those swimming ones// [...] / but I'm not going to spend four or five thousand pesetas [...]>
(Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002: 151, transcript lines 328–333)

5.2. Acknowledgment discourse patterns involving bueno

Within the acceptance domain, as illustrated in Figure 1c and example (5) in §5.1, when agreement values weaken, conformity expressions can become acknowledgment expressions (Moliner 2007). *Bueno* as mere acknowledgment often occurs when followed by expressions preventing an acceptance interpretation.

López Serena & Uceda (2024: 482) argue that in these contexts (Figure 2) *bueno* cannot accept the illocutionary act's content or the act itself, but simply acknowledges *that such an act has taken place*. Like *bueno* in schema 1c, substitution with *de acuerdo* ('agreed'), *está bien* ('alright') or *vale* ('okay') is impossible (see ex. 7).

ᵢI: directive act or conditional expression
ᵣI: #{(ah) *bueno*} + {expression explicitly stating future action opposing acceptance}# (#…#)

Figure 2. Acknowledgment DP involving *bueno* after a directive act

(7) –Ya ves lo que has conseguido: ya no puedes estar aquí– dijo la Petra a su hijo.
–#{**Bueno**}.{Ese morral me las pagará}# –replicó el muchacho apretándose los chinchones de la frente–. [...]
<–You see what you've achieved: you can't stay here anymore — said Petra to her son.
–#{**Bueno**}.{That bastard will pay for this}# –replied the boy, pressing the bumps on his forehead–. [...]>

(*La busca* [*The Quest*], ch. 4, Part I).

With this type of value, the Val.Es.Co. corpus provides several examples (see 8) where *bueno* — sometimes *pues/pos bueno* — is preceded by *ah*, and where the acknowledgment value is enriched with indication that, beyond attending to what the speaker said, it has also been understood.

(8) S: §que no m'ha gustado nunca llenar el cenicero ((ni nada))/ (en)to(n)ces→ <S: I've never liked filling up the ashtray ((or anything))/ so then →>
J: tee- te metes ahí los§ <J: you- you put in there the§>
D: §lo limpié bien/ y / lo he llenao de caramelos/ y ya-y está siempre lleno de caramelos/ de bolitas de anís <D: §I cleaned it well/ and / I filled it with candies/ and now it's always full of candies/ anise balls>
J: o sea que hay que pasar por tu coche ¿no? paraa <J: so you have to go by your car, right? to>
S: (¿sí?) <S: (huh?)>
J: para picar unos- unos caramelos de anís§ <J: to grab some- some anise candies§>
S: § ¡**ah bueno**! eso sí <S: §¡**AH BUENO**! that's right>
(Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002: 160, transcript lines 723–731)

5.3. Continuative three-part discourse patterns involving bueno

In some cases *bueno* does not appear in the second part of an adjacent pair (whose second turn is reactive), but initiates the third turn in a tripartite dialogical structure that, as shown in Figure 3, typically follows the pattern <question + answer + assertive/directive act headed by *bueno*> or structure <proposal + acceptance of proposal + directive act> (López Serena & Uceda 2024: 489). In these

authors' corpus, the most frequent examples of this DP contain a directive act in the third turn (9):

$_i$I generally interrogative
$_r$I response
$_{r\text{-}i}$I headed by *bueno*

Figure 3. *Bueno* in three-part dialogical DPs (after López Serena & Uceda 2024: 487)

(9) –¿Por qué se cierra la puerta ahora? – preguntó a Manuel.
 – Para que no entre nadie.
 – #{**Bueno**}; {dadme una llave a mí}#.
 <–Why is the door being closed now? – he asked Manuel.
 –So that no one comes in.
 –#{**BUENO**}; {give me a key}#.

(*Aura roja* [*Red Dawn*], ch. 5, Part II)

López Serena & Uceda (2024) also document cases where the second turn consists of silence and others where the entire DP occurs within a single polyphonic turn. In these contexts, *bueno* loses its semantic value and functions metadiscursively once again (Section 6), acting "as a hinge for the reactive-initiative movement carried out in the third turn of the tripartite dialogical structure" (López Serena & Uceda 2024: 489).

6. Metadiscursive discourse patterns involving *bueno*

When we link the thirteen microfunctions of *bueno* listed in Section 4 with the three macrofunctions proposed by López Serena & Borreguero (2010) and Borreguero (2015), we discover that microfunctions (i)–(vi) relate prima facie to the interactional macrofunction, defined as indicating conversational moves of the interlocutors (López Serena & Borreguero 2010: 440): turn-taking, turn-holding, reception control, addressee appeal, turn-yielding, signaling readiness to listen, and reacting to utterances through agreement, disagreement, or requests for clarification. Conversely, microfunctions (vii)–(xi) appear to be purely metadiscursive [17]. This is unsurprising, given that resuming discourse threads, signaling topic shifts and topic or dialogue closure, reformulating, and facilitating online planning — as well as signaling transitions to reported speech (Borreguero 2017) — are inherently formulative and discourse-structuring tasks. However, as already anticipated for the DP represented in Figure 1c (Section 5.1) and for the DPs discussed in Section 5.2, many of *bueno*'s interactional functions — acknowledgment, turn-taking, mitigating dispreferred responses — also have an

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[17] The remaining microfunctions (xii)–(xiv), not addressed here, belong to López Serena & Borreguero's (2010) third macrofunction: the logical-cognitive macrofunction, encompassing modality-related resources.

underlying metadiscursive dimension, since they equally contribute to discourse formulation and structuring[18].

As López Serena & Uceda (2024) have already outlined specific DPs for some of these borderline cases (see §5.1 and 5.2), this section will focus exclusively on purely metadiscursive tasks such as topic resumption (§6.1), topic shift (§6.2), reformulation (§6.3), and discourse formulation support (§6.4).

6.1. Topic resumption discourse patterns involving bueno

The DP for topic resumption involving *bueno* requires that a conversational topic or illocutionary project has been previously activated and needs continuation. In the example provided in Section 4, *bueno* goes back to a topic that the speaker identified as G had initiated several turns earlier — the story of a boy enrolling in driving school — which E and L had interrupted. This example shows that *bueno* does not resume topics by itself but functions within a DP combining (i) a previously interrupted topic and (ii) a resumptive signal (*a lo que iba*), formalised in Figure 4. We therefore characterize this as a DP of topic resumption *involving bueno*, rather than *of bueno* as topic resumption. In Figure 4, T_1/A_1 represents the initial topic/illocutionary act from a previous intervention ($_pI$); T_2/A_2 represents interrupting topics/acts in digressive interventions ($_dI$). As in the preceding figures, hashtags indicate that the resumption intervention ($_{rt}I$) contains at least one act, comprising both *bueno* and resumptive verbalizations, where *bueno* alone constitutes neither an act nor intervention.

$_pI$: T_1/A_1
$_dI$: T_2/A_2
$_{rt}I$: #(...) bueno (...) T_1/A_1#

Figure 4. Topic/illocutionary resumption DPs involving *bueno*

Let us consider another example. In (10), *bueno* marks the boundary between reproduced direct speech and narrative resumption in A's anecdote about having found a watch and taken it to a watchmaker to confirm its value. This represents a resumptive DP — not because a topic or illocutionary act is resumed, but because a sequence type (narrative) is resumed[19]. Accordingly, we extend Figure 4 to Figure 4^r, integrating the sequential term:

(10) A: [...] EN TOTAL↓ quee yo digo ¿pero vaa↑ el reloj va? y el hombre dice sí↓ el reloj va <A: [...] SO ANYWAY↓ I go *but does↑ does the watch work?* and the man goes *yes↓ the watch works*>

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[18] The difficulty in separating these dimensions is well illustrated by Serrano (2012: 227), who identifies two major function types but tellingly labels them *'predominantly* textual' and *'predominantly* interactive' (emphasis ours), implicitly acknowledging their overlapping nature.

[19] Alternatively, this *bueno* could signal intensified surprise, similar to Briz & Hidalgo's (1998: 131) high-pitched intensifying accent. This intensification enables interpretation as a focusing device for informational structuring, marking the narrative climax: that the found watch was expensive.

C: ((¡ay! [pues bueno]] <C: ((oh! [well then]]>
A: [*lo que pasa*] *es que sin la saeta*// y dice *es que no tiene segundero d'esos*/ y digo *sí* digo *ya lo sé*↓ y él dice *así no se nota si va o no va*/ **bueno**↓ empezó el tío allí a darle vueltas↑ [...] <A: [*the thing is*] *it's missing the hand*// and he says *it doesn't have one of those second hands*/ and I go *yes* I go *I already know*↓ and he goes *you can't tell if it's working or not like this*/ **BUENO**↓ the man started messing around with it there↑ [...]>

<div align="right">(Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002: 226, transcript lines 91–96)</div>

$_p$I: T_1/A_1
$_d$I: T_2/A_2
$_{rt}$I: #(...) bueno (...) T_1/A_1#

Figure 4^r. Thematic/illocutionary/sequential resumption DPs involving *bueno*

6.2. Topic shift discourse patterns involving bueno

A topic shift DP involving *bueno* necessarily requires three elements: topic 1 (T_1), topic 2 (T_2), and a topic-shift move containing *bueno*. Figure 5 formalizes this pattern. The parenthetical reactive-initiative intervention ($_{r-i}$I) indicates that topic shift may occur within a single intervention (making $_{r-i}$I optional) or within an exchange, typically at the reactive-initiative intervention marking the transition between exchange elements. If desired, Figure 5 could be generalized for all topic-shift DPs regardless of *buenos*'s presence by placing *bueno* in parentheses.

$_i$I:T_1
($_{r-t}$I:) *bueno* T_2

Figure 5. Topic shift DP involving *bueno*

The examples of topic shift involving *bueno* provided by our corpus are both monologic[20] and dialogic (11):

(11) B: ¿esto es un parque natural↑ nano?§ <B: is this a natural park↑ dude?§>
?: §¡no [te jode!] <?: §no [shit!]>
C: [nos tenían que haber] puesto↑ algunas mesas por aquí§ <C: [they should have] put↑ some tables around here§>
D: §aquí↑ pa nosotros/// (( )) <D: §here↑ for us/// (( ))>
A: yo soy un caballero <A: I'm a gentleman>
D: un caballo < D: a horse[21]>
C: ahí < C: there>
A: **bueno**↓ entonces Antonio↑ ¿qué?// [¿cómo te va=] <A: **BUENO**↓ Antonio↑ so what?// [how's it going=]>

<div align="right">(Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002: 51, transcript lines 60–68)</div>

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[20] See the example provided in Section 4.
[21] In the English translation, the wordplay between *caballero* and *caballo*, which share the same root in Spanish, is lost.

While perhaps obvious, it bears emphasizing that topic shift recognition in these examples depends on actual topic change: in the example already provided in Section 4, the topic moves from discussing the daughter's consecutive party nights to Roberto's phone call about elevator installation; in (11) the conversation transitions from joking about gentlemen deserving tables in the natural park to A asking how someone is doing. Since *bueno* is optional in these shifts, we cannot assign 'topic shift' as an inherent value of the DM itself. Instead, the entire DP must be considered, with *bueno* functioning merely as a boundary marker (Ocampo 2006) without specifying its exact nature — paralleling its non-obligatory role in topic resumption DPs.

That *bueno* does not itself signal topic shift becomes even clearer in examples like (12), where the speaker explicitly marks the topic change with *hablando de otro tema* ('changing topics'):

(12) G: pues MIRAA/ yy después dicen de los estudiantes↓ tíaa <G: well LOOK/ and then they talk about students↓ girl>
E: sí↓ sí↓ los estudiantes [no te creas] <E: yeah↓ yeah↓ students [don't even get me started]>
G: [tú sabes-] mira↓ yo tengo un vecino que **bueno** o seaa// (hablando dee otro tema↓ que te he cortao otra vez)§ <G: [you know-] look↓ I have this neighbor who **BUENO** I mean// (changing topics↓ I cut you off again)§>
E: § yaa/ tranquilo§ <E: § yeaah/ don't worry§>
　　　　(Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002: 111, transcript lines 1243–1248)

6.3. Reformulation discourse patterns involving bueno

For reformulation DPs to occur, functionally equivalent elements must be identified that, though concatenated syntagmatically, function as paradigmatic alternatives — with the second potentially correcting the first. This was illustrated in Section 4's example where speaker B states actress Eleanor Parker *está buenísima* ('is very attractive'), then reformulates to *estaba* ('was').

In contrast, example (13) demonstrates a reformulation of utterance meaning. Initially, the speaker emphasizes someone's arrival in Valencia, but then shifts focus to highlight that this arrival occurred after completing COU (the one-year program that marked the completion of secondary education in Spain before university studies):

(13) E: sí↓ pero desde pequeñito él ha estado en Montesinos/ interno <E: yeah↓ but he's been in Montesinos since he was little/ as a boarder>
L: ah
E: luego cuando vino a Valencia↑/ **bueno**↓ cuando acabó el Cou/// [...] <E: then when he came to Valencia↑/ **BUENO**↓ when he finished secondary///>
　　　　(Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002: 84, transcript lines 80–82)

These possibilities can be formalized within a single DP — where *bueno* may or may not appear and, when present, may be replaced by *o sea* — as shown in Figure 6. Here, ₁E represents the initial emission and ᵣE its reformulation. The figure accounts for reformulations produced by a single speaker within one intervention unit, as well as those produced by different speakers; hence, the symbol representing possible reactive-initiative hetero-reformulation interventions appears in parentheses.

ᵢI: ᵢE
(ᵣ₋ᵢI:) (*bueno*) ᵣE

Figure 6. Reformulation DP involving *bueno*

6.4. Online planning discourse patterns involving bueno

The key distinction between reformulation DPs and online planning DPs involving *bueno* — both replaceable by *o sea* — is that the latter lack a clearly identifiable ᵣE reformulating ᵢE. Instead, we find ᵢE repetitions, as shown in Section 4's discourse formulation support example.

In these online planning contexts, *bueno* may be preceded by *y*, with (14) or without (15) vowel lengthening (*yyy*), and followed by *pues* (14) (and) *no sé* (15), forming clusters that function as discourse-formulation supports.

(14) G: sí/ yo sabía que eraa↑/ este piso↑// **yy bueno pues**// por lo que me acuerdo yo de orientación y tal/ sabía que más o menos era// aquí ¿no? <G: yes/ I knew it was↑/ this apartment↑// **and BUENO I mean**// from what I remember from orientation and so on/ I knew that more or less it was// here, right?>
(Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002: 83, transcript lines 45–46)

(15) E: yo es que personalmente no conozco a ninguno/ yo conozco a (( )) de vista// un día que fui// pero hace poco tuve una cena↑/ hizo una- una cena de- de universidad// **y bueno pues**/ **no sé** (( ))/// y la gente una pinta toda/ conn ell traje chaqueta/ [...] <E: it's just that personally I don't know anyone/ I know (( )) by sight// one day I went// but recently I had a dinner↑/ there was a- a university dinner// **and BUENO I mean**/ I don't know (( ))/// and people all looked/ with their suits and ties/ [...]>
(Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002: 84, transcript lines 93–96)

On other occasions, the online planning process in which *bueno* functions as a support resource becomes evident in hesitations such as those in (16),

(16) E: §ya/ no yo a(de)más **yo estabaa/ yo eraa bueno/ la re- la rebelde** del cole↑ <§yeah/ no I also/ **I wasss/ I wasss BUENO/ the re- the rebel** of the school↑>
(Briz & Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2002: 92, transcript lines 421–422)

Thus, the online formulation DP involving *bueno* as a support element can be represented as proposed in Figure 7, where parentheses indicate that formulation

may involve *bueno* alone, planning traces alone, or their combination (with *bueno* or *o sea*) before, after, or around *bueno*:

(planning traces) (*bueno*) (planning traces)

Figure 7. Online planning DP involving *bueno* as a planning-support marker

7. Discussion

Our analysis of *bueno* through a constructional-pragmatic lens has yielded several key findings. First, we have demonstrated that the diverse functional values traditionally attributed exclusively to *bueno* actually emerge from the complete DPs in which this DM participates. In taking this position, we have built on proposals that sought to overcome the semasiological and lexicocentric bias in DMs research — proposals that recognize DMs' collaborative operation with syntactic and prosodic mechanisms and adopt a functional onomasiological perspective. In this respect, we advocate abandoning the contradictory practice of inferring DMs' values from co-text while erasing that same co-text from descriptions. To address this contradiction, we propose DPs that generate meaning values typically attributed exclusively to individual DMs, highlighting the fact that DMs invariably function within larger constructional patterns. Importantly, this pattern-level (rather than item-level) approach applies not only to *bueno* but to all DMs.

The formalized DPs presented in Sections 5 and 6 reveal that *bueno*'s interpretation depends not merely on its presence, prosody, or position, but on the entire DP that integrates it. This reconceptualization directly motivates our formula 'Value X's DP involving *bueno*' in Sections 5 and 6, as well as our insistence that, in many of the DPs outlined, *bueno* can be omitted.

In prioritizing *bueno*'s metadiscursive uses in our analysis, we align ourselves with López Serena (2017) and López Serena & Loureda (2013), who argue that speakers must first *'do discourses* with words' before *'doing things* with words' — an overlooked aspect despite universal acceptance of the latter. This focus on metadiscursive DPs has revealed that many of *bueno*'s supposedly distinct metadiscursive functions — such as topic resumption, topic shift, reformulation, and online planning support — can be understood as instantiations of broader DPs rather than as discrete, lexically-determined values. This finding challenges the traditional practice of multiplying functional labels without attending to the underlying DPs that generate these interpretations.

At the same time, we have shown that the recent tendency to minimize *bueno*'s functional repertoire (§4) hinders identification of the multiple meaning values emerging from different DPs. While high-level functional abstractions have their place, exclusive reliance on them ignores the utility of formalized DPs for monolingual and crosslinguistic description, historical reconstruction of grammaticalization pathways, and applied domains like L2 teaching or machine translation. Nonetheless, we also oppose unnecessary functional multiplication. For this reason, we question distinctions between topic-shift and closure *bueno*, and

challenge proposals for admission-of-another-perspective *bueno* (Change to Posio & Rosemeyer 2025) or reported speech *bueno* (Borreguero 2017, Change to Rosemeyer & Posio 2023) as distinct from continuation, turn-initial, surprise/resignation, acceptance, or disagreement-mitigation patterns. Our analysis directly addresses this issue by eliminating functional multiplications attributable not to *bueno* itself but to underlying DPs that analysts conflate with the DM.

Additionally, our approach has revealed significant overlap between interactional and metadiscursive functions. As anticipated in our discussion of the DP in Figure 1c (Section 5.1) and the DPs addressed in Section 5.2, many of *bueno*'s interactional functions — acknowledgment, turn-taking, and mitigating dispreferred responses — also involve an underlying metadiscursive dimension, as they contribute to discourse formulation and structuring. This functional overlap explains persistent difficulties in the literature when attempting to categorize *bueno*'s uses into discrete functional types.

However, while our study makes significant contributions to understanding *bueno*'s pragmatic-discursive functioning, several limitations should be acknowledged. First, our analysis is based exclusively on the Val.Es.Co. corpus of colloquial Spanish conversation, which represents peninsular spoken Spanish in informal contexts. This focus, while appropriate for examining *bueno* in its most frequent discursive environment, limits the generalizability of our findings to other registers and varieties of Spanish.

Second, due to space constraints and the study's scope, we have focused primarily on metadiscursive DPs, leaving a comprehensive delineation of DPs for all thirteen microfunctions identified in Section 4 for future research. As noted in Section 6, we have not formalized DPs for the borderline values between interactional and metadiscursive domains, nor have we addressed the logical-cognitive macrofunction in detail. A complete constructional account of *bueno* would require systematic formalization of DPs across all functional domains.

Finally, our study has prioritized synchronic analysis over diachronic development. While we acknowledge the potential of the DP approach for historical reconstruction of grammaticalization pathways, we have not systematically traced the historical evolution of the patterns we identify. Future research adopting a diachronic perspective could illuminate how these DPs emerged and evolved over time.

8. Conclusions and directions for future research

Research on *bueno* and other Spanish DMs will continue to expand[22], and future studies may, like this one, adopt theoretical rather than merely descriptive approaches. Building on this theoretical foundation, perhaps some will be

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[22] Two useful overviews of research on DMs in Spanish – the first, written in Spanish, being more extensive and comprehensive; the second, written in English, being more concise and recent – are Loureda & Acín (eds.) (2010) and Llopis & Pons (2020).

encouraged to follow the considerations advanced by Martín Zorraquino (1994), Portolés (1998), Masini & Pietrandrea (2010), Montolío (2011), Taranilla (2015), and Gras (2016) in Spanish/Romance pragmatic research (discussed in §4), which demonstrate that procedural meaning — typically viewed as consisting of pragmatic-discursive functions and often attributed exclusively to specific DMs — should instead be conceived as meaning derived from the DPs of which DMs form part.

The findings and limitations of this study (Section 7) point to several promising avenues for future research. First, extending the DP approach to other Spanish DMs beyond *bueno* would test the generalizability of our constructional-pragmatic framework and could reveal systematic patterns across the DM system. Comparative studies examining how different DMs participate in similar or overlapping DPs would be particularly valuable.

Second, crosslinguistic research applying the DP framework to functional equivalents of *bueno* in other languages (e.g., Italian *bene*, French *bon*, English *well*, *okay*) could illuminate both language-specific and universal aspects of discourse organization. Such studies would benefit from the formalized schemas we propose, which provide a tertium comparationis for crosslinguistic analysis.

Third, comprehensive delineation of DPs for all values associated with *bueno* — including those in the logical-cognitive domain and additional borderline cases — remains necessary. This would provide a complete constructional profile of *bueno* and serve as a model for similarly exhaustive analyzes of other DMs.

Fourth, diachronic studies tracing the historical development of the DPs we have identified could contribute to grammaticalization theory by showing how DPs emerge, stabilize, and change over time. The DP approach offers particular promise for understanding the co-evolution of DMs with the larger constructional contexts in which they function.

Fifth, applied research exploring the pedagogical implications of the DP approach for L2 Spanish teaching could demonstrate practical benefits of our theoretical framework. Similarly, studies investigating how formalized DPs might improve machine translation or natural language processing of DMs would have significant practical value.

Finally, further theoretical refinement of macrofunction definitions, informed by additional empirical research on multiple DMs, could help resolve persistent discrepancies in the literature regarding the correlation between micro- and macrofunctions. Only through such precision can the field move toward greater consensus on fundamental categorizations of DM functions.

CRediT Author Statement

Araceli López Serena: Conceptualization, Methodology, Investigation, Formal analysis, Writing — Original Draft, Writing — Review & Editing. **Santiago García Jiménez**: Conceptualization, Resources, Writing — Review & Editing.

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Research article / Научная статья

Generic uses of the English pronoun *one* and the Spanish pronoun *uno* in parliamentary debates

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Abstract
Impersonal pronouns *one* in English and *uno* in Spanish are described in the literature as functionally similar, combining two meaning components: first-person orientation and generalization. However, their generic uses remain understudied both in the domains of semantics and pragmatics and from a comparative perspective. This study aims to identify similarities and differences in the distributional patterns of generic uses of *one* and *uno* in English and Spanish and to establish the role of the generic component of *One*-impersonals in cross-linguistic correspondences. We adopt a parallel corpus approach (Gast 2015), and conduct a comparative analysis of English *one* and Spanish *uno*, drawing on insights from the research on genericity, specifically, the distinction between rules (established norms and regulations) and inductive generalizations (inferences based on observed facts). Using data from the Europarl corpus, our analysis demonstrates that while the frequencies of generic versus non-generic uses are comparable across languages, the distributional patterns of generic uses differ significantly. For generic statements with English *one*, rules strongly prevail over inductive generalizations, whereas Spanish shows no statistically significant distinction between these categories. For both languages, social rules are more common than other types of rules (moral, legal, biological, and metalinguistic). In Spanish, equivalent contexts of English sentences with *one* show underrepresentation of first-person forms in generic contexts. Conversely, English equivalent contexts for sentences with *uno* show underrepresentation of the pronoun *you* in first-person oriented non-generic uses. The study contributes to better understanding of the generic uses of English *one* and Spanish *uno* and reveals their interpretive asymmetry, thereby providing new knowledge of their semantic and pragmatic features.
Keywords: *impersonal pronouns, corpus pragmatics, parliamentary discourse, generalizations, English, Spanish*

Генерические употребления английского местоимения *one* и испанского местоимения *uno* в парламентском дискурсе

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Аннотация

Имперсональные местоимения *one* в английском языке и *uno* в испанском языке рассматриваются в литературе как функционально близкие единицы. Их интерпретация связывается с двумя смысловыми компонентами: ориентацией на говорящего и генерализацией. Тем не менее, употребления в контекстах, где присутствует компонент генерализации (далее — генерические употребления) изучены недостаточно как в семантико-прагматическом, так и в сопоставительном аспекте. Цель данного исследования — выявить сходства и различия в генерических употреблениях местоимений *one* и *uno* и установить роль компонента генерализации в распределении функционально-эквивалентных фрагментов местоимений в обоих языках. С опорой на методологию из (Gast 2015) в работе проводится сравнительный анализ данных местоимений на материале параллельного корпуса протоколов заседаний Европейского парламента Europarl. Также привлекаются сведения из работ, посвященных интерпретации генерических высказываний, в частности, разграничение правил (установленных норм) и индуктивных обобщений (умозаключений на основании наблюдаемых фактов). Анализ показывает, что, хотя соотношение генерических и негенерических (отсылающих исключительно к говорящему) употреблений имперсональных местоимений сопоставимо в обоих языках, распределение разновидностей генерических высказываний различается. Для английских генерических высказываний с *one* доля правил существенно больше, чем доля индуктивных обобщений, а испанские высказывания с местоимением *uno*, выражающие правила и обобщения, распределены равномерно. Для обоих языков социальные правила встречаются чаще, чем другие типы правил (моральные, юридические, биологические и металингвистические). Анализ функционально эквивалентных фрагментов местоимения *one* в испанском языке показывает, что в генерических контекстах частотность конструкций с местоимениями первого лица ниже ожидаемой. Для местоимения *uno* в английских функционально эквивалентных фрагментах было выявлено, что в негенерических контекстах сниженной частотностью характеризуются конструкции с местоимением *you*. Результаты исследования позволили получить новые сведения о генерических употреблениях местоимений *one* и *uno* и установить ранее не изученные функциональные различия между ними, что дополняет и уточняет существующие представления об их семантико-прагматических особенностях.

1. Introduction

The human impersonal pronouns *one* in English and *uno* in Spanish are widely considered functionally similar and can refer to the speaker's personal experience and/or establish generalizations (Gelabert-Desnoyer 2008, Moltmann 2006, 2010, Rasson 2016, Pearson 2022, Gutiérrez-Rodríguez & Pérez-Ocón 2024a, b). However, while most scholars have extensively analyzed their first-person oriented uses, particularly in Spanish data (so-called 'concealing' *uno*), generic uses of both pronouns received less attention, leaving their interpretive properties and a cross-linguistic comparison underexplored. This work seeks to address this gap, thereby advancing our understanding of these pronouns across semantic, pragmatic, and comparative domains.

Pronouns *one* and *uno* belong to the class of *One*-impersonals (Siewierska 2011: 58, see also Givón 1982) found mainly in Germanic and Romance languages, in which the subject[1] is rendered by a pronominalized form of the numeral 'one'. *One*-impersonals in turn enter a wider class of R-impersonals, i.e. impersonals triggered by a reduction in referentiality. R-impersonals have "the appearance of regular, personal constructions but [feature] a subject which is human and non-referential" (Siewierska 2011: 57), see (1–2).

(1) These days, **one** is required to wear a mask on trains. (Pearson 2022: 293, ex.1)
(2) **Uno** aprende cuando se equivoca. (Gutiérrez-Rodríguez, Pérez-Ocón 2024a: 115, ex.4)
'One learns when one makes mistakes'

Previous research suggests significant variation in the use of pronouns across functional discourse styles (Gelabert-Desnoyer 2008, Rasson 2016: 244–245, Serrano 2022: 10–13). In line with Gelabert-Desnoyer's (2008) findings, we focus on parliamentary debates as this register demonstrates higher frequency of generic uses of *One*-impersonals. Our data comes from the Europarl parallel Corpus, comprising official proceedings of the European Parliament from 1996 till 2011, and the methodology is partly taken from Gast's (2015) study on the German pronoun *man*.

The aim of this paper is to examine the distribution of generic uses of English *one* and Spanish *uno*, comparing their similarities and distinctions, and to

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[1] Although our analysis, consistent with prior work, is restricted to subject position, *one* and *uno* are not limited to this function and can appear in other syntactic roles.

investigate the role the generic component plays in shaping cross-linguistic correspondences. The research questions we seek to address are as follows:

1. To what extent can theories of genericity be applied to the usage patterns of English *one* and Spanish *uno*?

2. How are generic uses of English *one* and Spanish *uno* distributed in these typologically distinct languages based on political discourse data?

3. How do varieties of generalizations (rules vs. inductive generalizations) interact with the first-person orientation?

4. What is the correlation, if any, between the generic meaning component in the use of *One*-impersonal in one language and the strategy employed to render the same meaning in another language?

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2 we review considerations about English *one* and Spanish *uno* in previous studies and examine observations from research on genericity relevant to our analysis. Section 3 addresses methodological issues. We present the results in Section 4. A general discussion of the results is provided in Section 5. Section 6 summarizes the main conclusions of the paper.

2. Theoretical background

In this section we review the findings from previous works that are relevant for our analysis. In particular, we look at the observations that have been made about the uses of English *one* and Spanish *uno* in discourse in connection to the first-person orientation and generalization and the interaction of these meaning components and discuss properties of generic statements.

2.1. Previous approaches to the analysis of ONE

English pronoun *one* has been explored in the literature from various viewpoints (Moltmann 2006, 2010, van der Auwera et al. 2012, Malamud 2012, Mignot 2015, Pearson 2022, among others). Let us start with the most prevalent Moltmann's (2006, 2010) approach who describes two main strategies of the interpretation of *one*: (i) inference from the first person, as in (3), and (ii) inference to the first person, as in (4).

(3) **One** can see the picture from the entrance. (Moltmann 2010: 440, ex. 1)
(4) **One** should not lie. (Ibid.: 441, ex. 2)

For Moltmann, both strategies include first-person orientation and genericity, but they diverge in their direction of fit. Inference-from-the-first-person strategy involves "generalization based on a first-person application of the predicate or first-person" (Ibid.: 447), i.e. the speaker's experience is generalized to other individuals. On the contrary, inference-to-the-first-person strategy involves "an (already established) generalization that is to allow for an immediate application to the first person in the reasoning relevant in the context" (Ibid.). Moltmann notes that within the latter strategy generalization is internalized, but independent, and

"potentially applied in a first-person way by whoever accepts the sentence, in particular the addressee" (Ibid.). It is used in deontic sentences: laws, general requirements, or general recommendations, which are meant to play a role in speaker's or addressee's reasoning for their actions.

Pearson (2022) examines Moltmann's claim that *one* encodes first-person orientation and generalization and finds its usage similar to impersonally used second-person pronoun *you*. She discusses examples with experiential predicates like (5) and notes that in (5a) it is infelicitous to use pronouns *one* and *you* unless the speaker participated in the marathon herself, i.e. the first-hand experience is required. However, with other predicates or modal verbs this requirement does not hold. She concludes that first-person orientation is necessary only for a subset of utterances with *one,* namely for those with experiential predicates.

> (5) a. **One** feels/**You** feel exhausted after running a marathon. #But I've never run a marathon before.
> b. People feel exhausted after running a marathon. But I've never run a marathon before. (Pearson 2022: 298, ex. 15)

Van der Auwera et al. (2012) analyze *one* from a typological perspective along with other human impersonal pronouns in English, Dutch and German. In their model they set a number of parameters for sentences, in which the pronoun appears, and for the interpretation of pronouns. For instance, a sentence can be (i) generic or episodic, and (ii) modal or veridical, while a human impersonal pronoun can be (i) generic or existential; (ii) definite or indefinite; (iii) singular or plural; (iv) exclusive or inclusive; (v) collective or individual. For English *one*, they describe five uses, illustrated in (6–10).

> (6) When **one** travels, the umbrella has to come along. (S: Epi, Mod, HP: Gen, Incl) (Van der Auwera et al. 2012: 21, ex. 57)
> (7) **One** saw that again later when he tried to comfort a little boy who has AIDS. (S: Epi, Ver, HP: Gen, Excl/Incl) (Ibid.: 21, ex. 60)
> (8) **One** married young in the Middle Ages. (S: Gen, Mod/Ver, HP:Gen, Excl) (Ibid.: 21, ex. 58)
> (9) **One** only lives once. (S: Gen, Mod/Ver, HP: Gen, Incl) (Ibid.: 22)
> (10) **One** doesn't want to set quotas. **One** doesn't want to set diktats, but **one** does want to maintain a dialogue and **one** does want to maintain pressure. (S: Gen, Mod/Ver, HP: Exst, Def, Sg 1) (Ibid.: 21, ex. 61)

In four out of five uses *one* is generic in the sense that it can be paraphrased as *everybody* or *anybody,* and the first-person orientation does not play a key role in its interpretation (as it does in Moltmann's account). However, the authors also distinguish the fifth use where *one* refers to the speaker only. They argue that this use is relevant "especially if the speaker wants to represent his/her behaviour as a result of general rules, as politicians often do" (Ibid.: 21), and the example (10) they provide is uttered precisely by a British politician.

In Mignot's (2015) corpus study the author distinguishes three uses of *one*: (i) *one1* means 'everybody' and refers to people in general; (ii) *one2* means 'everybody including myself' and implies that "the generalization expressed by *one* stems from a specific situation" (Ibid.: 281); (iii) *one3* means 'I' and refers to the speaker. She collected and annotated a corpus of examples with *one* from the British National Corpus and other sources. Mignot notes that some examples can be ambiguous, and the difference between the first two uses is gradual. Also, for the second use "the particular person who is included in *one* is not 'I' but 'you' or even 'he/she', i.e. a third person', therefore, the more precise meaning is 'everybody including a particular person" (Ibid. 283). The results show that *one1* appears in 41% of cases, *one2* — in 56% of cases, and *one3* — only in 3% of cases, hence, most of her examples are generic, which empirically supports the claim about generalization as a crucial meaning component for *one* made in theoretical works.

2.2.   *Previous approaches to the analysis of UNO*

In the literature dedicated to the analysis of the Spanish pronoun *uno*, we distinguish two approaches. First, there is a first-person oriented approach suggesting that in the utterances with *uno* the covert reference to the first person is obligatory, and generic interpretation is built over it in specific contexts (Flores-Ferrán 2009, Serrano 2022, Fábregas 2024, Gutiérrez-Rodríguez & Pérez-Ocón 2024a, b). Under this account, *uno* is always used as a desubjectivizing strategy referring indirectly to the speaker. The covert referent can be the speaker alone (concealing use), as in (11), where *uno* encodes the speaker, or the speaker and some other people (generic use), as in (12) where the speaker's experience is extended to the relevant set of individuals and the statement becomes generalizing, which reminds of Moltmann's inference-from-the-first-person strategy.

(11)   A — Qué bien te has librado, ¿no?
B — **Uno**, que es muy listo. (Fábregas 2024: 2, ex. 2)
'You managed to escape quite well, didn't you?'
Lit: 'One, that is very smart' ('I am very smart')

(12)   **Uno** puede aprender a cantar en unos pocos meses. (Gutiérrez-Rodríguez & Pérez-Ocón 2024b: 118, ex. 3)
'One can learn to sing in few months'

We might further distinguish a contextual approach claiming that both first-person orientation and generalization are optional elements and the interpretation of *uno* is determined by extralinguistic context and the surrounding linguistic material (Holænder Jensen 2002, Gelabert-Desnoyer 2008, Rasson 2016, de Cock 2020). This approach is also adopted in our study. Its proponents demonstrate that first-person orientation is not always present in the uses of *uno*. De Cock (2020) provides naturally occurring examples that can't be understood as first-person oriented (De Cock 2020: 101).

Gelabert-Desnoyer (2008) describes the following four uses: (i) self-referential (=concealing) use when the referent is exclusively the speaker; (ii) self-referential experiential use when the first-person experience is generalized to other referents; (iii) omnipersonal use where generalization is established independently of the speaker; (iv) other-referential use when *uno* refers to a particular referent who is not the speaker. Gelabert-Desnoyer (2008) demonstrates that these uses are distributed differently in two different genres. On the one hand, in his parliamentary discourse corpus composed of 44 examples the most common uses are other-referential (52.3%) and omnipersonal (40.9%), while self-referential and experiential are found only in 2.3% and 4.5% of cases accordingly. On the other hand, in his control corpus composed of 128 examples from oral interviews, obtained from the online version of traditional Spanish newspapers, the most common is self-referential use (68%), and other uses are far less common: experiential use is found in 18.8% of cases, omnipersonal use — in 10.9%, and other-referential — in 2.3% of cases.

Gelabert-Desnoyer's (2008) classification was further refined by Rasson (2016). She describes nine main uses of *uno* and intermediate uses, making distinction between *uno* referring to the speaker, addressee or the third person, generic use referring to all humans and reduced generic use (sp. *generico reducido*) referring to the limited group of people (i.e. professional or social class, age category, etc.), and generalizations based on the speaker's, addressee's or the third person's experience (Rasson 2016: 247)[2]. In her study, she examines the distribution of uses in three genres: spontaneous conversations (28 examples), academic texts (11 examples), and forum Yahoo (100 examples), and shows that for conversations, the most common use is generalization based on the third person's experience, for academic texts, it is reduced generic use, and for Yahoo forum, it is generic use. While the sizes of her samples are not very large, it is meaningful that the most common uses in all three genres still involve generalization.

To summarize, most scholars agree that the pronouns *one* and *uno* show a connection to the first person and generalization, but their exact contribution is a matter of discussion. It seems reasonable to accept that first-person orientation and generalization are crucial meaning components for *one* and *uno*, but neither of them is obligatory. There are uses of *one* and *uno* where only one component is present, such as reference to the speaker alone or independent generalization targeted at the addressee or the third person, and uses where both components are combined, such as first-person based genericity and first-person targeted genericity. Since we want to look more closely at uses of *one* and *uno* involving generalization, now let us discuss some properties of generic sentences that we later apply to our data.

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[2] We are grateful to the reviewer for highlighting a relevant cross-linguistic parallel: the French *on* can be analyzed as a non-referential syntactic device (Tesnière's *récessif intégral*), as exemplified by the equivalence between *En Chine on enferme les dissidents politiques* and its passive counterpart, for the analysis of *on* see also Creissels (2011).

2.3. Generic statements

Generic statements express common conceptual knowledge about entities and their characteristics and are pervasive in our everyday speech. They can be exemplified by (13–16).

(13) Dogs bark.
(14) Gold is a precious metal.
(15) Bishops move diagonally.
(16) A gentleman pays his debts.

Generic statements have been discussed extensively in the literature both from a formal semantic perspective and a cognitive perspective (Carlson 1977, 1995, Krifka et al. 1995, Cohen 2001, 2022, Leslie 2008, Krifka 2012, Prasada et al. 2013, Leslie & Lerner 2016, Filip 2024, among many others). It is still a question under discussion whether a unified analysis for all generics is achievable. There are, however, some points most scholars agree upon. First, genericity includes two subdomains: kind reference and generic sentences. Kind reference sentences express generalizations over properties of kinds and may contain kind predicates, e.g., *be(come) common / widespread / extinct*. Generic sentences express non-accidental regularities over individuals or situations. While each subdomain has its own properties, they can coexist in one utterance (Krifka et al. 1995). Next, Carlson (1977) distinguishes the following properties of generics: (i) they are aspectually stative, i.e. they lack reference to particular situations[3]; (ii) they are intensional in the sense that they express regularities, and they describe not only observed facts, but also have a predictive force and a law-like; (iii) generic statements tolerate exceptions.

Generic statements by definition express generalizations, but the type of generalization is still a matter of debate. To account for their truth-conditions, two approaches have been put forward in the literature: the inductivist view and the rules-and-regulations view, see Carlson (1995) and Cohen (2016). The inductivist view suggests that generics express inductive generalizations based on observed facts in the world: "after 'enough' instances have accumulated, the generic form can be truly asserted", as in (13–14). The rules-and-regulations view states that generics express rules and depend on causal relations between entities (15). Cohen (2001: 193) also notes that "the rule may be physical, biological, social, moral, etc.", i.e. different varieties are possible, see also Krifka (2012). While inductive generalizations can be made only if the relevant situations actually took place, rules are valid even if the described situation never occurred. For instance, if a generic statement like "Boys don't cry" is analyzed as an inductive generalization, it implies that there was a case when a particular boy didn't cry. However, if analyzed as a rule, it could be that all real boys have cried, even though they should not have.

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[3] While Carlson's (1977) claim is English-based, the reviewer rightly observes that generic statements like French *En France, on tue tous les jours* may exhibit eventive properties, suggesting aspectual variation across languages.

While these two approaches were originally opposed to each other, Cohen (2001) notes that they can be combined: some generics are better analyzed as inductive generalizations, others fit into rules-and-regulations set. This is a stance we take here.

We argue that these observations are relevant for generic statements with *one* and *uno*. Below we examine the distribution of inductive generalizations and rules for generic uses of pronouns in both languages, and analyse how the properties of generic statements with *one* and *uno* in one language is related with the way it is transmitted to another language.

3. Data and methodology

This study employs a parallel corpus approach to examine generic uses of impersonal pronouns *one* in English and *uno* in Spanish. Using parallel corpus data proves to be an effective approach for analyzing *one* and *uno*, as it allows for the examination of their use in substantially equivalent contexts. This enables the comparison of units that are described in the literature as functionally analogous, helping to identify both their similarities and differences. Additionally, exploring strategies employed to convey the same meanings as impersonal pronouns in parallel texts can offer valuable insights into how these meanings are realized through different linguistic forms.

We adopt Gast's (2015) methodological framework, which demonstrates how parallel corpora can enhance contrastive studies of linguistic expressions' interpretation and distribution patterns. In his analysis of German impersonal *man* and its English equivalents, Gast introduces the concept of heterophrases defined as "pairs or sets of sentences [in a pair of different languages — *EV & OCh*] that are intended to render (approximately) the same meaning, in the same context, irrespective of the source and direction of translation" (ibid.: 9).

As shown above, English *one* and Spanish *uno* both belong to the *One*-impersonals class and can either refer to first-person experience or express generalizations. These findings suggest that the pronouns serve analogous functions, generating two testable implications: (i) statistically similar patterns of first-person oriented/generic uses across corpora; (ii) mutual preference as functional equivalents in parallel contexts (the meaning rendered with *one* in English is transmitted as *uno* in Spanish and vice versa).

Our analysis draws on the Europarl corpus (Koehn 2005), available through Sketch Engine, which contains approximately 60 million words per language (1996–2011) of European Parliament proceedings in 21 languages, representing formal political discourse.

We compiled two randomized samples (250 concordances each): (i) English instances of *one* and their Spanish equivalents, e.g. (17), and (ii) Spanish instances of *uno* and their English equivalents, e.g. (18).

(17) **EN**: Following the recent elections there are one-third fewer women in Silesian politics. So how can **one** speak of women's equality?
SP: Tras las recientes elecciones, la proporción de mujeres en la política de la región ha descendido en un tercio. Por tanto, ¿cómo podemos hablar de igualdad de las mujeres? (#2610077)

(18) **SP:** Por ejemplo, si **uno** introduce el código postal en su página web puede saber cuál es el proveedor más barato de la zona.
EN: For example, if you type in your postcode on their website you can find out who is your cheapest supplier. (#20581984)

Corpus Query Language (CQL) queries (19–20) excluded most of irrelevant sequences (e.g., Spanish *cada uno*, English *the one*):

(19) [word! = "Cada|cada"]{1}[word = "Uno|uno"]{1,2}[tag = "V.*"]
(20) [word! = "The|the|No|no|First|first|This|this|Each|each"]{1}[word = "one"]{1,2} [tag = "V.*"]

Through manual review, we excluded non-target uses, resulting in final datasets of 187 contexts with *one* and 198 contexts with *uno.*

The annotation parameters considered were as follows:

i. primary interpretation as either first-person orientation or generalization as the main meaning component;

ii. when generic components were present, the generalization type was coded as either inductive generalizations or rules;

iii. for rules, specific types were identified (biological, legal, metalinguistic, moral, or social);

iv. for primarily generic uses, we noted whether first-person experience supported the generalization;

v. cross-linguistic realization through heterophrases (Spanish equivalents for English *one* and English equivalents for Spanish *uno*).

In our annotation, we relied on observations from Rasson (2016), Serrano (2022), and Fábregas (2024), which indicate that the generic reading of *uno* arises in the presence of specific genericity inductors. These include impersonal constructions, the use of *hay* and *hay que*, temporal constructions with *cuando* 'when', conditional constructions with *si* 'if', the second-person pronoun *tu* in a generic sense, clitic *se*, quantifiers like *siempre* 'always' and *a menudo* 'often', expressions with modal semantics, and lexical items with generalizing semantics, such as *gente* 'people' and *población* 'population'. Rasson also identifies expressions that hinder generic interpretation, such as personal pronouns and noun phrases coreferential to *uno*. For English examples we used the observations from van der Auwera et al. (2012) and Moltmann (2006, 2010). Contextual information was also taken into account during the analysis.

This annotation framework enables identification of four distinct combinations of generalization and first-person orientation in impersonal pronouns: (i) generalizations without first-person reference, (ii) generalizations supported by first-person experience, (iii) generalized first-person experience extended to others,

and (iv) non-generalized first-person reference. The first three types constitute the generic uses that form our primary analytical focus. Through examining their interaction with various generalization patterns (inductive generalizations and rules) and analyzing the strategies for conveying equivalent meanings in parallel texts (heterophrases), we uncover both the shared characteristics and divergent behaviors of English *one* and Spanish *uno*, particularly in their generic uses.

4. Results

This section presents our analysis of occurrences of English *one* and Spanish *uno* in the sampled Europarl corpus data. We specifically investigate the distribution between uses containing a generic component and those lacking it, while exploring how genericity interacts with first-person orientation. Furthermore, we analyze how these meaning components relate both to the varieties of generalization and to the selection of corresponding heterophrases in parallel texts.

4.1. The analysis of *ONE*

Our sample of of occurrences of English *one* and their Spanish equivalents comprises 187 instances. Among these, 125 cases (66.84%) exhibit a generic component, while the remaining examples demonstrate reference to speaker's experience without generalization. Figure 1 illustrates the distribution between generic and non-generic uses in the *one*-sample.
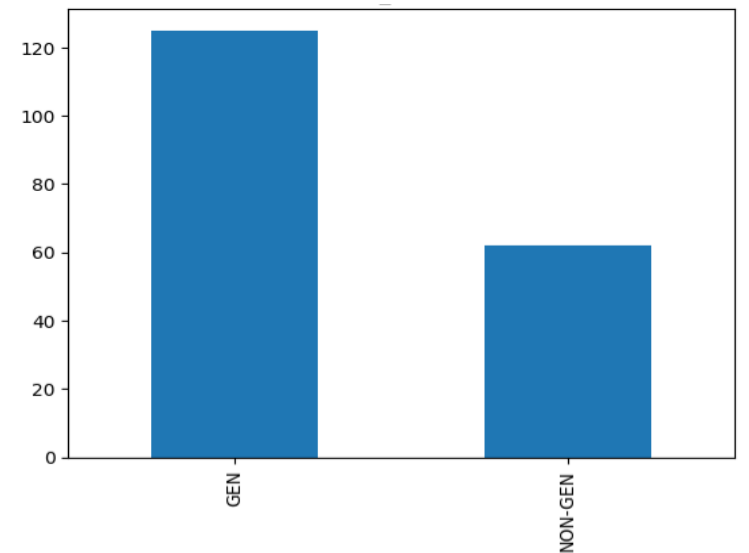
Figure 1. Distribution of generic (GEN) and non-generic (NON-GEN) uses in the *one*-sample

We now examine in greater detail the generic and non-generic uses of the English *one*, with particular attention to how genericity interacts with first-person orientation. As shown in Figure 2, the distribution reveals four distinct uses:

speaker's experience without generalization (first-person primary, non-generic) accounts for 62 cases (33.15%), generalized speaker's experience (first-person primary, generic) comprises 46 cases (24.59%), independent generalizations unsupported by speaker's experience (generalization primary, generic) total 43 cases (22.99%), generalizations supported by speaker's experience (generalization primary, generic) represent 36 cases (19.25%). Of particular interest is the substantial proportion of non-generic first-person references in English *one* (33.15%) — a usage pattern that has not been sufficiently documented in existing linguistic descriptions. This finding challenges accounts that primarily emphasize *one*'s generic functions while overlooking its significant role in expressing speaker-anchored, non-generic meaning.
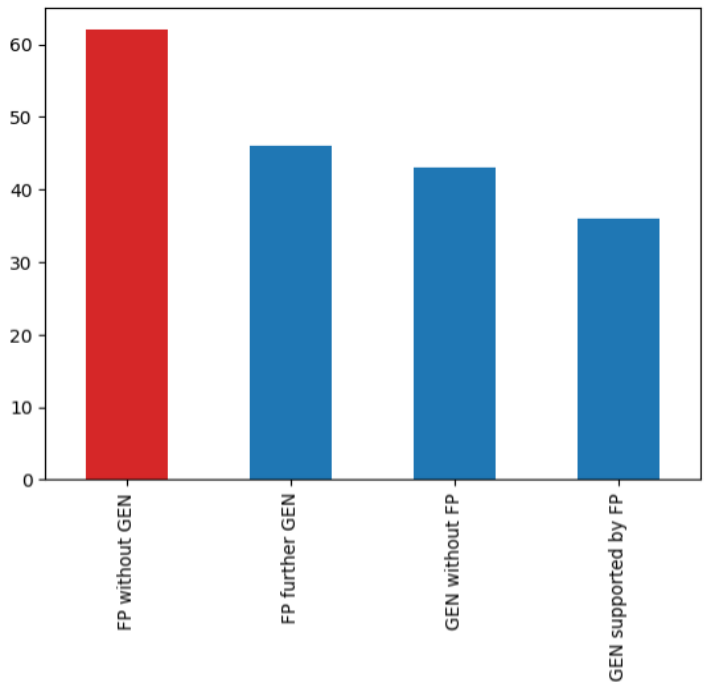
Figure 2. Distribution of genericity and first-person experience in the *one*-sample

Examples (21–24) below illustrate different uses of *one* where genericity and first-person experience contribute variably to the semantics of the utterance. The interpretation of these uses is supported by functionally equivalent Spanish text segments and contextual background knowledge.

(21) **first-person orientation (non-generic)**
      EN: Of course we are all against discrimination, but **one dare not question** the route we are taking here for fear of being pushed into a corner.
      SP: Claro que todos estamos en contra de la discriminación, pero **no me atrevo a cuestionar** la ruta que estamos tomando por temor a ser arrinconado. (#7695300)

(22) **generalized first-person experience**

EN: Mr President, when I first entered this House 20 years ago, this debate would not have taken place, because this House was a consultative parliament at the time, and many of us have battled over the last 20 years to make it what it is today, a co-legislator parliament. However, **when one co-legislates, one must be responsible**. It is an exercise in responsibility that is now in need.

SP: Señor Presidente, cuando yo entré en este Parlamento, hace veinte años, este debate no habría tenido lugar, porque este Parlamento era entonces un parlamento consultivo y la batalla de muchos de nosotros en estos veinte años ha sido convertirlo en lo que es hoy, un parlamento colegislador. Pero **cuando uno colegisla, uno tiene que ser responsable**. Y aquí tenemos que hacer un ejercicio de responsabilidad. (#16780136)

(23) **generalization supported by first-person experience**

EN: We will have to have a short course for Members to learn that the blue card has a specific use, and that in order to ask to speak during 'catch the eye', **one has to raise one's hand, raise one's white card, or use some other mechanism rather than the blue card**.

SP: Vamos a tener que hacer un cursillo para que los diputados comprendan que la tarjeta azul tiene determinada utilidad y que, para pedir la palabra en el "catch the eye", **se levanta la mano, se levanta la tarjeta blanca o se utiliza cualquier otro mecanismo, menos la tarjeta azul**. (#11824425)

(24) **independent generalizations unsupported by speaker's experience**

EN: Unfortunately, many citizens still believe that education is something **one acquires in the first part of one's life**.

SP: Desafortunadamente, muchos ciudadanos todavía creen que la educación es algo que **se adquiere en la primera etapa de la vida**. (#1736991)

Example (21) illustrates a non-generic use of the *one*-construction with reference to the speaker's personal experience. The reference is to a specific situation, as emphasized by the adverb *here*. Furthermore, the surrounding context features a first-person pronoun without generic meaning, and the parallel Spanish text employs a heterophrase with a first-person singular pronoun, explicitly pointing to the speaker. In examples (22) and (23), the *one*-construction conveys both first-person experience and genericity, but the hierarchy of these semantic components differs. In (22), the speaker describes his personal experience in the Parliament, on the basis of which they draw a generalization using the genericity inductor *when*. In example (23), by contrast, the utterance describes an established rule (how one should behave during the 'catch the eye' procedure) with which the speaker is familiar but whose enforcement does not depend on them. Example (24) lacks any reference to first-person experience: the politician, the speaker, refers to an opinion widespread among citizens, which he himself does not share.

When the impersonal pronoun is identified as carrying generic meaning, the variety of generalization can be classified as either an inductive generalization or a rule. For English *one*, we observe a statistically significant predominance of rule-type generalizations (binomial test, p = 0.0006). As illustrated in Figure 3, our sample of English *one* contains 125 generic uses, with rule-type interpretations accounting for 81 cases (64.8%) and inductive generalizations for 42 cases (33.6%).
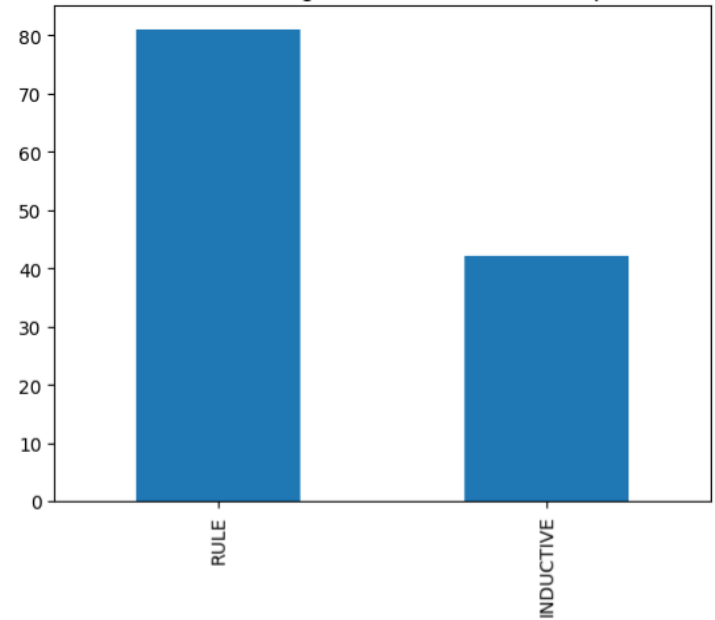

Figure 3. Distribution of rules and inductive generalizations in the *one*-sample

We now turn to examining the interaction between first-person orientation in generic utterances with English *one* and varieties of generalization. Figure 4[4] presents an association plot (Cohen-Friendly plot), showing that inductive generalizations are overrepresented in uses of *one* when expressing generalized first-person experience.

Our analysis identifies four distinct categories of rules in the *one*-sample: social, moral, legal, and metalinguistic. These types of rules demonstrate significant variation in their distribution frequency. Social rules constitute the most frequent category (44 instances, 54.32%), followed by moral rules (21 instances, 25.93%), legal rules (13 instances, 16.05%), and metalinguistic rules (3 instances, 3.7%). Figure 5 illustrates this distribution pattern, clearly showing the predominance of social rules among all rule types attested for English *one*.

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[4] The association plot is based on a χ^2-test, where a p-value < 0.05 indicates a statistically significant association between variables. Residuals show the difference between observed and expected frequencies. They are visualized as: blue rectangles where the observed frequency is higher than expected, red rectangles where it is lower than expected, and grey where the difference is negligible (absolute value below 2). The size of each rectangle corresponds to the relative proportion of the cell in the contingency table.
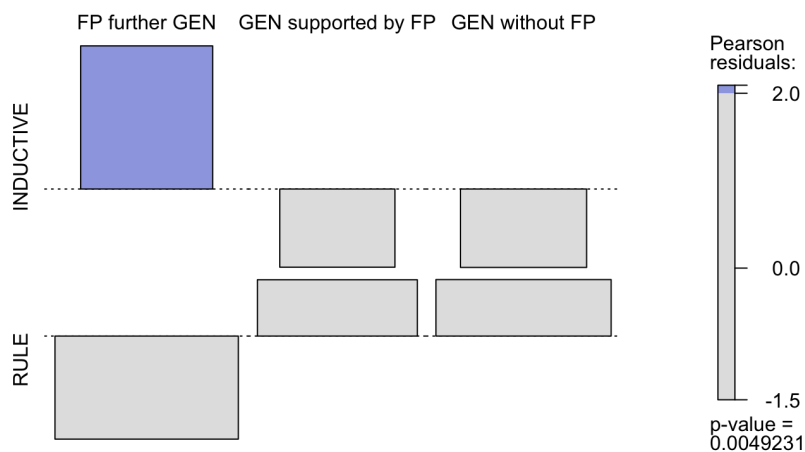
Figure 4. Rules and inductive generalizations across GEN/FP configurations in the English *one*
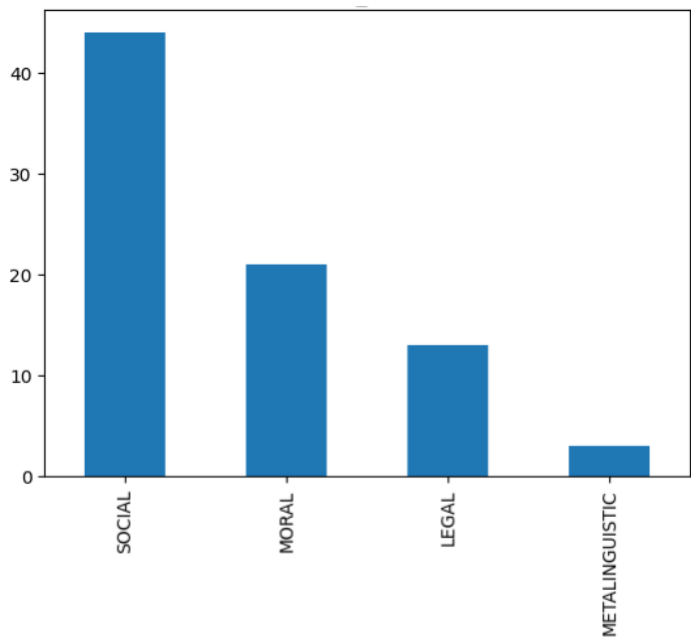

Figure 5. Distribution of rule types in English *one*

The examples below demonstrate the use of *one* for expressing different rule types: social (25), moral (26), legal (27), and metalinguistic (28).

(25) **EN**: Mr President, "**one** is not born a woman, **one** becomes one".
SP: Señor Presidente, "no se nace mujer, se llega a serlo". (#14709351)

(26) **EN**: As for the rest, to come back to a few specific issues, Prime Minister, notably the issue of the budget, **one** has greater responsibility on leaving the Presidency than on entering it.

SP: Por lo demás, volviendo a algunos temas concretos, Primer Ministro, en especial el tema del presupuesto, uno tiene mayor responsabilidad al dejar la Presidencia que al ocuparla. (#13653231)

(27) **EN**: As a train driver, **one** is responsible for passenger safety.

SP: El maquinista de un tren es responsable de la seguridad de los pasajeros (#10503585)

(28) **EN**: I have just two remarks on an issue raised by very many of you — namely, what is irregularity, what is fraud, and how should **one** approach recovery.

SP: Tengo dos observaciones acerca de dos cuestiones que han destacado muchos de ustedes: la definición de irregularidad y fraude y cómo se deberían abordar las recuperaciones. (#2063333)

The distribution of rule types across the three categories of generic uses of *one* (defined by degree of speaker experience involvement) reveals marked qualitative differences. As shown in Figure 6, social rules — the most frequent type overall — occur disproportionately in contexts of generalized first-person experience, whereas legal rules are entirely absent from such uses. Notably, these distributional patterns, while theoretically suggestive, do not reach statistical significance in our data.
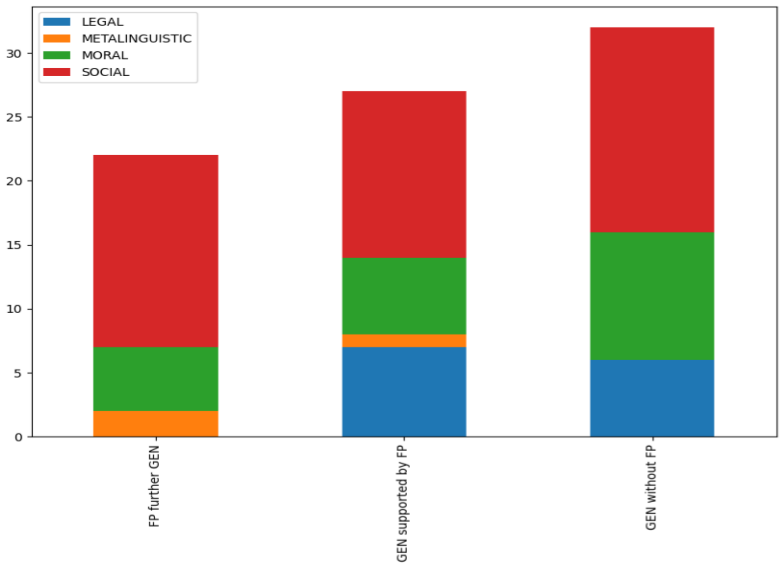
Figure 6. Distribution of rule types across generic uses in English *one*

Finally, we examine potential correlations between generic/non-generic uses of the English *one* and their Spanish equivalents in parallel texts. Our data reveals that the English impersonal *one* is rendered in Spanish through the following strategies: the impersonal pronoun *uno*, impersonal constructions, passive voice, first-person singular/plural verb forms, quantifiers, non-finite verbs, descriptive expressions, or complete rephrasing (see Vilinbakhova & Chuikova 2024 for corpus examples).

Figure 7 demonstrates the difference between strategies for generic and non-generic uses of *one*. In generic contexts, first-person forms show significant underrepresentation. Conversely, in non-generic contexts, first-person strategies are overrepresented.
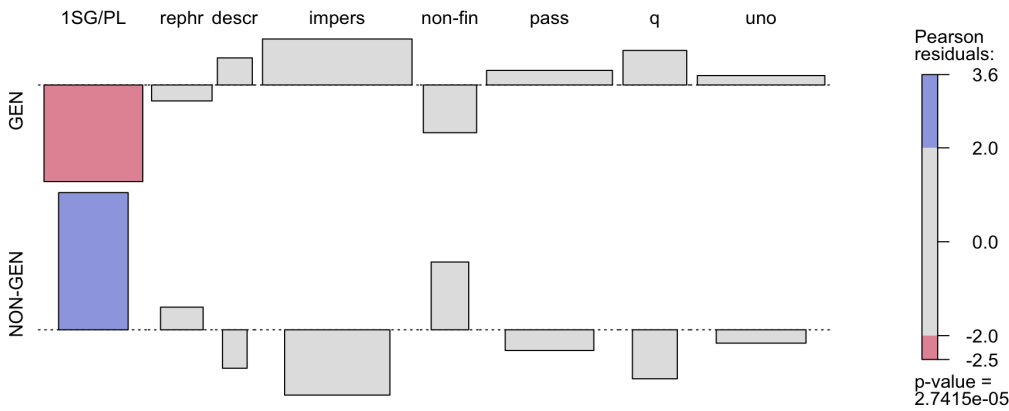

Figure 7. Spanish strategies for English *one* in generic vs. non-generic uses

The analysis reveals no statistically significant difference in Spanish heterophrases for English *one* when conveying inductive generalizations versus rules. While impersonal constructions show notable underrepresentation in legal rule contexts, this pattern does not reach statistical reliability (p > 0.05). The observed distribution suggests a potential tendency toward avoidance of *se*-constructions for legal formulations, though the effect remains statistically unsubstantiated in our corpus (see Figure 8).
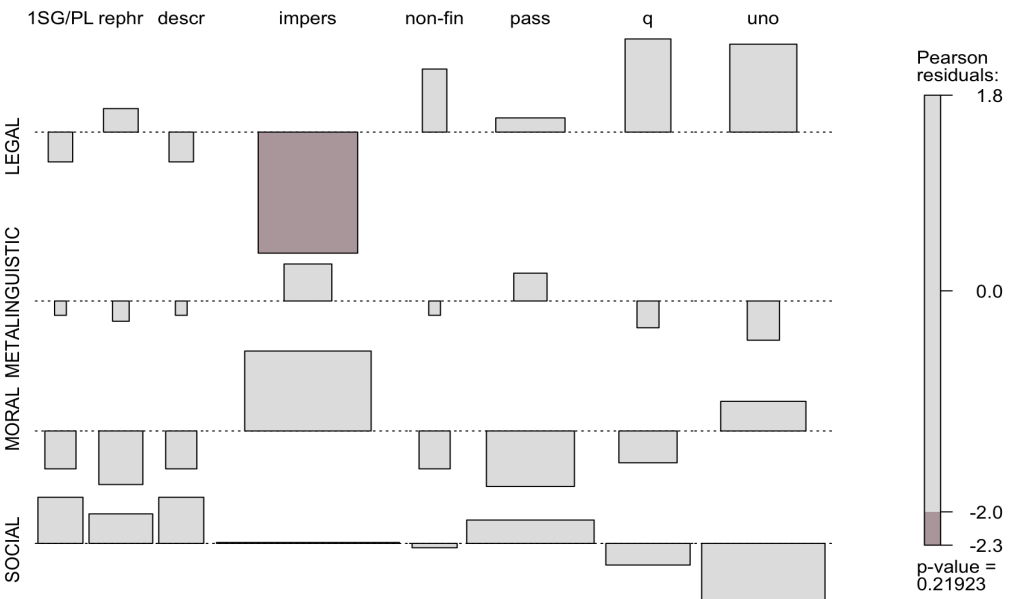
Figure 8. Spanish strategies for English *one* referring to various rule types

4.2. The analysis of *UNO*

We now turn to examining Spanish *uno* with respect to its behavior in generic constructions. Our data contains 198 instances of Spanish *uno* with their English equivalents, revealing that 133 cases (67.17%) demonstrate generic use, while the remaining 65 (32.83%) show first-person oriented non-generic reference. This distribution closely parallels the pattern observed for English *one*, suggesting similar functional distributions across both languages. Figure 9 presents the distribution of generic versus non-generic uses in the Spanish *uno*-sample.
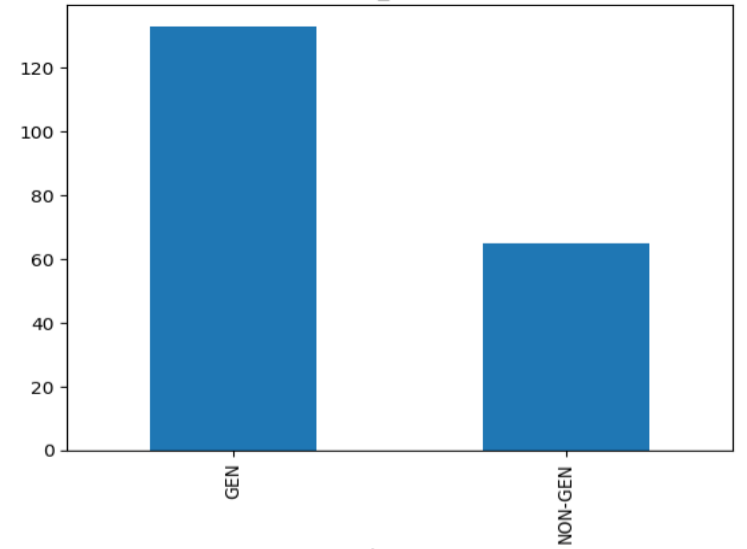
Figure 9. Distribution of generic and non-generic uses in the *uno*-sample

Let us now analyze how Spanish *uno*'s genericity relates to first-person orientation. Figure 10 displays the quantitative distribution across four usage categories: speaker's experience without generalization (65 cases, 32.82%), independent generalizations unsupported by speaker's experience (60 cases, 30.30%), generalizations supported by speaker's experience (38 cases, 19.19%), and generalized speaker's experience (29 cases, 14.64%). Of particular significance is the observation that the two most prevalent categories constitute either pure reference to first-person experience or general knowledge without combination of these components. This distributional pattern suggests that Spanish *uno* tends to maintain clear functional separation between first-person oriented and generic meaning components rather than combining them. This distinguishes Spanish *uno* from English *one*, where the predominant usage types are those in which first-person experience holds primary status. Examples (29–32) illustrate these usage patterns of *uno.*
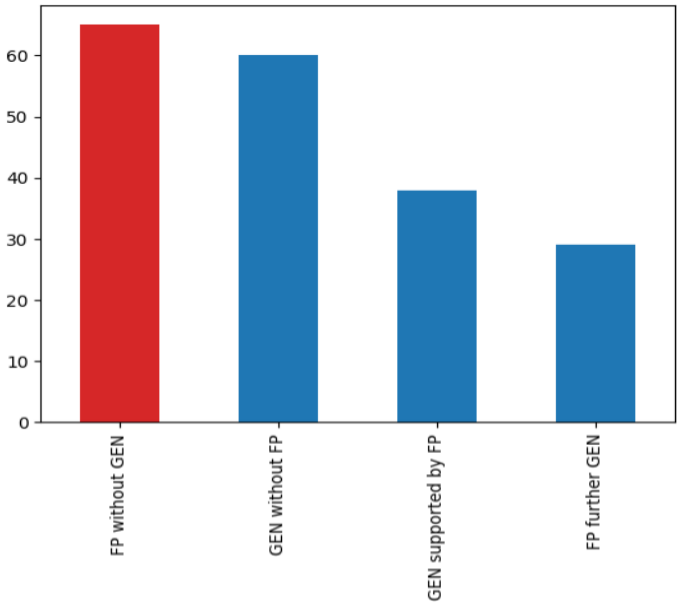
Figure 10. Distribution of genericity and first-person experience in the *uno*-sample

(29) **first-person orientation (non-generic)**
SP: **Uno puede preguntarse** si el rechazo de la corresponsabilidad no puede compensarse con uno o más fondos de la Unión Europea.
EN: **I wonder** whether or not it could be possible to compensate for the refusal to share responsibility out of some European Union fund or other. (#57051884)

(30) **generalized first-person experience**
SP: Señor Presidente, señoras Comisarias, señores Comisarios, estimadas y estimados colegas, **hablo como experto** en temas de presupuesto y **en esta calidad a veces uno tiene la sensación** de que hay que decir muy claramente, inclusive nosotros, los que nos ocupamos de las finanzas en relación con la ampliación, que estamos totalmente a favor de esta ampliación.
EN: Mr President, Commissioners, ladies and gentlemen, **I speak as someone who is involved** with setting the Budget, **and people in that position sometimes have the feeling** that they have to start by saying very clearly that we, too, who are involved with the financial side of enlargement, are in complete support of that enlargement. (#10254942)

(31) **generalization supported by first-person experience**
SP: Cuando concluimos la primera lectura todos estábamos llenos de optimismo ya que la nueva forma de actuar decidida de la Comisión nos entusiasmó y creímos que nuestras enmiendas podrían encontrar — tendrían que encontrar — apoyo también en el Consejo pues debía tener lugar una rápida aplicación. Pero casi siempre las cosas salen de modo diferente a como **uno** piensa.
EN: When we concluded the first reading, we were full of optimism, inspired by the Commission's new-found élan, and we believed that our

amendments would be — must be — approved by the Council too, because speedy implementation was supposed to follow. But then things do not usually happen quite as **one** expects them to. (#5893496)

(32) **independent generalizations unsupported by speaker's experience**
SP: Creo que también se puede configurar el entorno político en tales regiones de un modo razonable para que se proporcione a tales Gobiernos la fuerza política para salir de este círculo que significa que **uno quiere por lo visto protegerse** pero, a la postre, se perjudica a la propia población.
EN: I also believe that there must be a proper political framework in these regions so as to give such governments the political power to escape from this vicious circle, which means that, ostensibly, **in trying to provide protection for themselves they** ultimately harm their own population in the long term. (#3395733)

Note that both examples (30) and (31) contain two meaning components: generalization and first-person orientation. However, in (30), the speaker constructs a generalization about the feelings of a person in a certain position based on his own experience in that very position, with the genericity inductor *a veces* 'sometimes' contributing to the generic interpretation. On the other hand, in (31), the speaker recounts events in which he himself participated, yet statements such *as things do not usually happen quite as one expects them to* belong rather to the background of common knowledge, approximate proverbial wisdom, and remain valid irrespective of the speaker's individual experience.

In examining the distribution of generic uses of Spanish *uno*, we observe a key contrast with English *one*: while rules dominate in English, Spanish shows no statistically significant frequency difference between rules (62 cases, 48.82%) and inductive generalizations (65 cases, 51.18%) (see Figure 11).
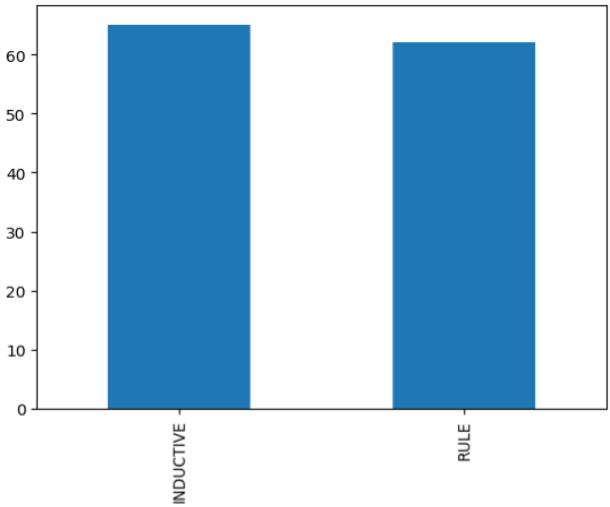

Figure 11. Distribution of rules and inductive generalizations in the *one*-sample

Further analysis examines how varying roles of first-person experience (primary, secondary, or absent) correlate with different generalization types (rules vs. inductive generalizations) in Spanish *uno*-constructions. The association plot in Figure 12 reveals a statistically significant distributional asymmetry: inductive generalizations demonstrate marked overrepresentation, while rule-type generalizations show corresponding underrepresentation in contexts of generalized first-person experience.
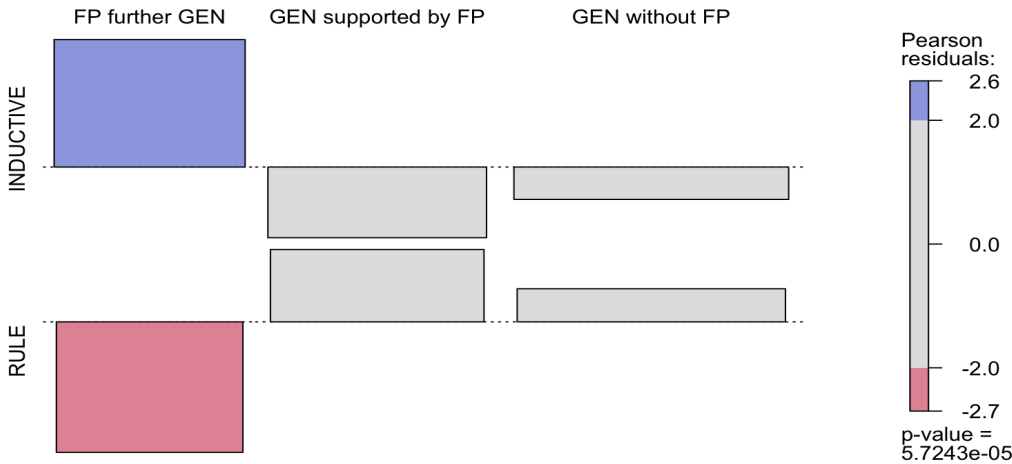

Figure 12. Rules and inductive generalizations across GEN/FP configurations in the Spanish *uno*

Our analysis reveals four rule types in the *uno*-sample: social, legal, moral, and biological. Mirroring English *one*, social rules constitute the most frequent category (31 instances, 50%). However, the remaining types show divergent distribution patterns: legal rules emerge as the second-most frequent (16 instances, 25.8%), followed by moral rules (13 instances, 20.97%), with biological rules being the least attested (2 instances, 3.23%). Notably, metalinguistic rules are entirely absent from the sample. The observed distribution of rule types is graphically represented in Figure 13.
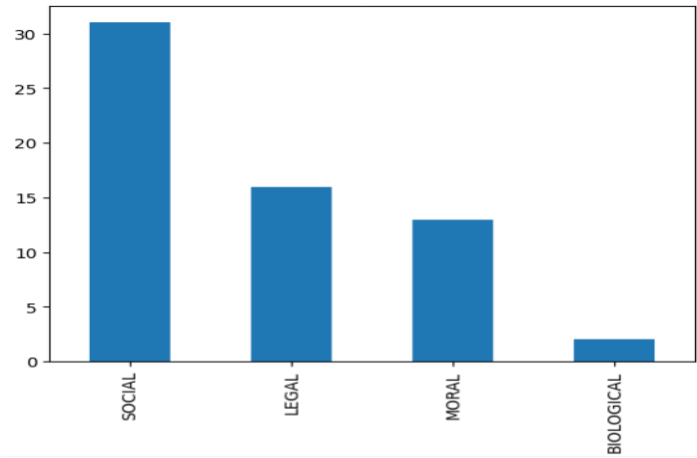

Figure 13. Distribution of rule types in Spanish *uno*

The following examples demonstrate the use of *uno* to represent four types of rules: social (33), legal (34), moral (35), and biological (36).

(33) **SP:** Esto se debe a que la política es el arte de lo posible, Señorías. **Uno no puede obtener todo** lo que se desea.
EN: That is because politics is the art of the possible, ladies and gentlemen. **You cannot obtain everything** you want. (#26594603)

(34) **SP:** Para mí, la norma más difícil es que **uno ha de tener una fotografía** de pasaporte en la que no sonría.
EN: For me, the most difficult regulation is that **you have to have a passport photo** in which you do not smile. (#24759348)

(35) **SP:** Ruego excusen mi vehemencia, pero a veces, para alcanzar un objetivo político, **uno tiene que acostumbrarse a la verdad**, y ésta es que no hay acuerdo en cómo organizar las relaciones entre las normas máximas sociales y medioambientales por un lado y la competitividad por otro, pero vamos a trabajar en ello.
EN: Please excuse my vehemence, but there are times when, in order to achieve a policy objective, **one has to become accustomed** to the truth, which is that there is no agreement as to how to go about organising the relationship between maximum environmental and social standards on the one hand and competitiveness on the other — but we will work at it. (#18362190)

(36) **SP:** Una de las cosas que había que aprender era que **el volumen diario que uno bebe no se puede dejar para el fin de semana** y entonces bebérselo todo de un golpe, pues en semejante caso la concentración de alcohol en la corriente sanguínea alcanzaría el día siguiente un nivel catastrófico.
EN: One of the things that had to be learnt was that the units per day **that you drink cannot be concentrated in binge drinking at the weekend** because the level of alcohol in next day's bloodstream is then catastrophically high. (#5841461)

The distribution pattern of rule types across three categories of generic uses for the Spanish *uno* differs substantially from that observed for the English *one*. Instances where *uno* expresses rules while denoting generalized first-person experience are notably infrequent and exclude both moral and biological rules (see Figure 14).

Our data demonstrate that Spanish *uno* is rendered in English through the following strategies: the pronoun *one*, the pronoun *you*, first-person singular/plural verb forms, complete rephrasing, descriptive expressions, the plural *they*, non-finite verbs, passive voice, or quantifiers. Notably, two strategies — *you* and *one* — show significantly higher frequency than all others. Of particular interest is the underrepresentation of the pronoun *you* as a functional equivalent of Spanish *uno* in contexts referring to non-generic situations (Figure 15).
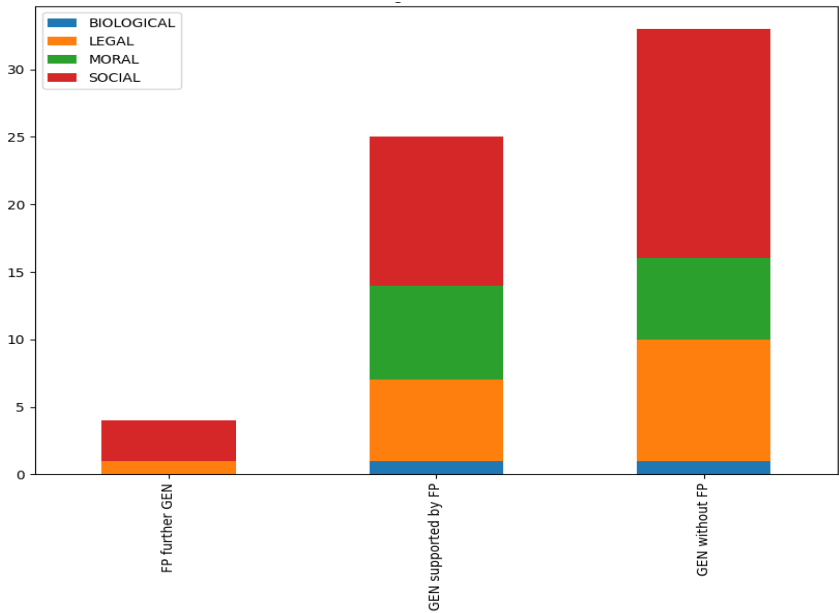
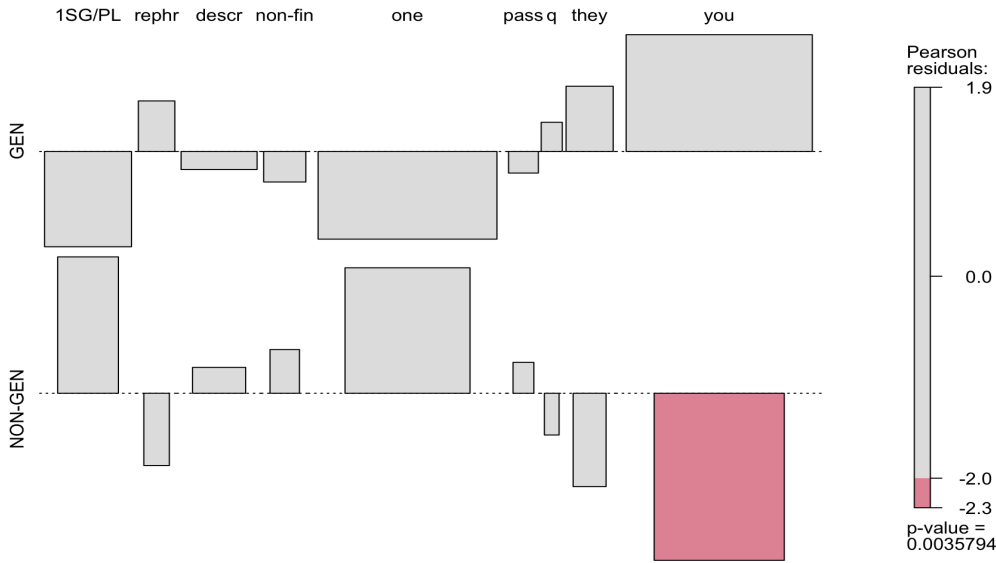**Figure 14. Distribution of rule types across generic uses in Spanish *uno***

Figure 15. English strategies for the Spanish *uno* in generic vs. non-generic uses

Consistent with the findings for English *one*, the analysis detects no statistically significant difference in English equivalents for Spanish *uno* when expressing inductive generalizations versus rules. However, we observe a significant association between the type of rule expressed by Spanish *uno*[5] and the

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[5] While contextual analysis was our initial approach, empirical evidence demonstrated that the interpretation is primarily determined by the properties of *uno* itself.

selection of English heterophrases. Specifically, pronouns *one* and *they* demonstrate elevated frequency, while *you* shows significantly reduced frequency in contexts expressing moral rules, see Figure 16.
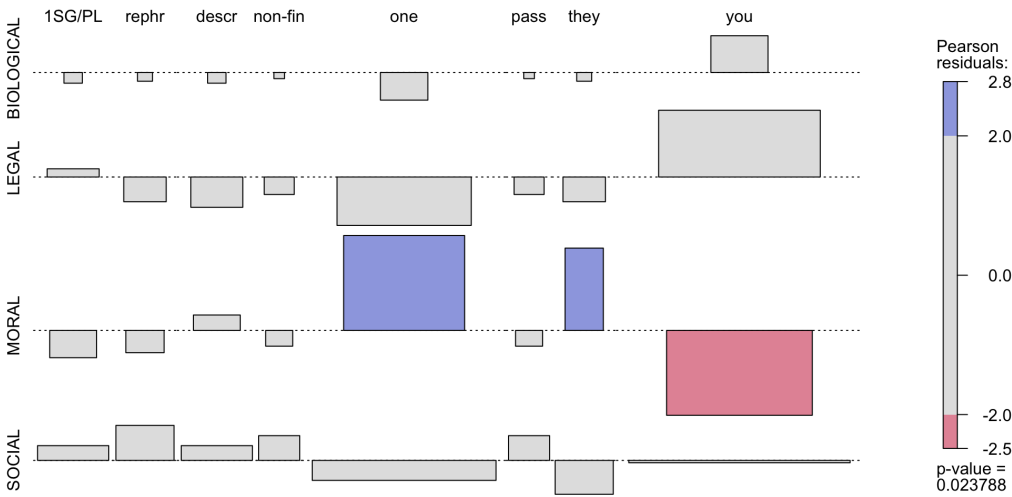

Figure 16. English strategies for Spanish *uno* referring to various rule types

5. Discussion

In our study we addressed the research questions about the distribution of generic vs. non-generic uses of *One*-impersonals in English and Spanish and the interaction of generalization and first-person orientation as their meaning components. We further applied insights from the literature on genericity to our data, specifically the distinction between inductive generalizations and rules-and-regulations, and further classification of rules as social, moral, legal, biological and metalinguistic, and examined their applicability to our data in both languages. Finally, we analyzed the correlation between the generic meaning component in *One*-impersonals and the syntactic strategy transmitting the same meaning in the corresponding heterophrase in Spanish and English.

The findings reported in section 4 are highly significant, since they demonstrate distinctive properties of *One*-impersonals in English and Spanish and provide empirical grounds for evaluating claims and predictions of most of the current approaches. First, the examination of the corpus data demonstrated that both languages exhibit a considerable proportion of first-person oriented non-generic uses of *One*-impersonals (33.15% for English and 32.83% for Spanish). On the one hand, this result is consistent with the observation of van der Auwera et al. (2012) about the use of *one* to refer to the speaker, which is common among politicians. Besides, it supports the claim that the concealing *uno* in Spanish is one of its central uses as noted by the proponents of the first-person oriented approach (see Fábregas 2024 and section 2.1 above). On the other hand, our finding diverges from the

results reported in Mignot (2015); in her corpus the proportion of *one3* referring to the speaker was only 3%, and generic uses ('everybody' and 'everybody including myself') comprised 97%. This discrepancy might be explained by the difference in genres (BNC versus political discourse) and annotation procedures (paraphrase versus contextual markers). The proportion of 32.83% for Spanish *uno* is also not expected, taking into account the findings of Gelabert-Desnoyer (2008) about the distribution of *uno* in political discourse (he reported 2.5% of self-referential use), which can be partly explained by the moderate size of his sample (44 examples) or different time period.

Next, regarding generic uses of *one* and *uno*, the distinction between inductive generalizations and rules-and-regulations proves effective for interpreting our data. As shown above, their distributional patterns differ between English and Spanish. For English, the corpus analysis demonstrated a strong prevalence of rules over inductive generalizations (see Figure 3). This is consistent with Moltmann's (2010) observation about the use of independent generalizations with *one* in deontic sentences such as laws or general requirements. Since independent generalization in the English data (combining independent generalizations unsupported by speaker's experience and generalizations supported by speaker's experience) is more frequent than generalized first-person experience, this result is expected. This explanation is further supported by the finding that inductive generalizations are overrepresented in uses of *one* when expressing generalized first-person experience (see Figure 4). In contrast, for generic uses of Spanish *uno*, rules and inductive generalizations are distributed almost equally. Still, the analysis of the interaction between first-person orientation and type of generalizations revealed similar pattern to English: inductive generalizations demonstrate marked overrepresentation in contexts of generalized first-person experience, and in addition rule-type generalizations show corresponding underrepresentation in contexts of generalized first-person experience. Therefore, we can conclude that while in both languages *One*-impersonals exhibit a tendency to convey inductive generalizations in generalized first-person experience contexts, their use for expressing rules shows significant cross-linguistic variation. This finding may be attributed to the availability of distinct syntactic strategies for expressing rules in each language. For instance, Spanish systematically employs the simple future tense for encoding obligations (as seen in biblical commands), and norms (as found in legal texts), see Escandell-Vidal (2024: 228) while for English it is not the case.

Further analysis of the varieties of rules expressed by *One*-impersonals revealed that the most frequent in both languages are social rules that prescribe the acceptable behavioral norms for individuals within a given society. This finding aligns with the discursive properties of parliamentary debates that address the problems of communities, see Van Dijk (2000), Gelabert-Desnoyer (2008), and references therein. However, as shown above, the remaining types of rules are distributed differently. For English, the second most common are moral rules expressing universal ethical obligations, followed by legal rules conveying codified

normative prescriptions and then metalinguistic rules concerning the use and understanding of words (see Figure 5). For Spanish, the second most common are legal rules followed by moral rules and biological rules describing natural phenomena (see Figure 13). This result again suggests the existence of alternative strategies for conveying rules of different types in each language. The absence of metalinguistic rules in Spanish and biological rules in English in our data may be attributed to the limited sample size and the low frequency of these rule types overall, though their potential existence in these languages cannot be ruled out entirely.

Finally, we examined the role of generalization as a meaning component in cross-linguistic correspondences of *One*-impersonals. For Spanish heterophrases of English sentences with *one*, we observe that first-person forms demonstrate significant underrepresentation in generic contexts, while in non-generic contexts, first-person strategies are, in contrast, overrepresented (see Figure 7). This is an expected result since first-person forms inherently refer to the speaker and their personal specific experience, whereas generic statements convey universal truths applied to all humans. In English heterophrases of Spanish sentences with *uno*, our analysis reveals underrepresentation of the pronoun *you* in first-person oriented non-generic contexts (see Figure 15), suggesting that Pearson's (2022) claim about the comparability and interchangeability of both pronouns *one* and *you* (see section 2.1 above) is only relevant for their generic uses. Another interesting finding is the association between the expression of moral rules by Spanish sentences with *uno* and elevated frequency of pronouns *one* and *they* along with reduced frequency of the pronoun *you* in English heterophrases (see Figure 16). However, this pattern requires verification through larger-sample studies.

6. Conclusions

This study set out to investigate the generic uses of English pronoun *one* and Spanish pronoun *uno*. First, we reviewed previous approaches to *one* and *uno*, as documented in the literature, highlighting that first-person orientation and generalization are key components of their meaning. Furthermore, we discussed properties of generic sentences that express non-accidental regularities over individuals or situations and looked more closely at the distinction between inductive generalizations and rules-and-regulations that we later apply to our data — two samples of examples with *one* and *uno* from the Europarl parallel corpus.

The comparative analysis indicated that while the frequency of generic versus non-generic uses is comparable in both languages, there are significant differences in the distributional patterns of rules versus inductive generalizations. Specifically, for generic sentences with *one*, there is a clear predominance of rules over inductive generalizations in English, while Spanish exhibits no statistically significant distinction between these two categories. This finding may be attributed to the distinct sets of alternative syntactic strategies available in English and Spanish for

encoding rules, resulting in quantitatively different distributions of constructions with *One*-impersonals serving this function. Another finding reveals the prevalence of social rules in the rule-type generalizations for both languages which can be explained by the parliamentary debates' orientation toward societal regulation and public affairs. The analysis of heterophrases of *One*-impersonals in both languages demonstrated that in Spanish heterophases of English sentences with *one* first-person forms are underrepresented in generic contexts, while in English heterophrases for sentences with *uno* the second person pronoun *you* is underrepresented in first-person oriented non-generic uses.

The study contributes to better understanding of the properties of *One*-impersonals in English and Spanish. It shows the advantages of applying observations from theories of genericity to generic uses of *one* and *uno*, which revealed the divergence in the distributional patterns of inductive generalizations and rules in English and Spanish. Besides, the parallel corpus approach highlighted the role of generic component of *One*-impersonals in cross-linguistic correspondences.

Possible directions for further research include the analysis of generic uses of *One*-impersonals in other types of discourse, such as academic discourse, experimental investigation of *One*-impersonals, and diachronic analysis of their semantic and pragmatic features. Further research could also explore the distribution of Spanish *uno* and its feminine form *una* across different uses and genres, addressing potential asymmetries in their functional and contextual application.

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Research article / Научная статья

Metaphorical image of the BRICS in South African media discourse: A corpus-based study

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Abstract

The BRICS grouping functions as a civilizational project that realizes unique strategies of identification, self-identification, and image formation on the geopolitical arena. The topicality of the BRICS' image study is determined by its growing role in the international setup. The present study seeks to examine the BRICS' metaphorical modelling in the mass-media discourse of one of its member states, the Republic of South Africa. The research data were collected from the News on the Web Corpus. The illustrative corpus was compiled based on thematic, chronological, and frequency principles with the help of computer-aided and manual processing. A total of 521 metaphors were selected from 1000 texts. The methodological foundation of the study is the theory of image schemas, as proposed by M. Johnson and G. Lakoff. The metaphors were studied through quantitative and qualitative methods: quantitative estimation, metaphorical modelling, cognitive, discursive, linguistic and cultural analysis. The findings of this study suggest that despite a relatively low metaphor density in South African media discourse, the BRICS image is structured by more than 10 source domains. The frequency of similar image schemas (e.g., SOURCE-PATH-GOAL, CONTAINER, CENTRE-PERIPHERY, FORCE, LINK, etc.) underlying the metaphors is linked to their capacity to reflect the fundamental characteristics of the grouping: multipolarity, national sovereignty, equality, and mutual beneficial cooperation. Family, game and sport, body, and animal metaphors, based on social and biological archetypes, were found more culturally marked than those relying on universal physical laws (path, mechanism, architecture, war, celestial body). The research contributes to the development of medialinguistics, which provides a solid theoretical and analytical framework for studying international relations and phenomena from a linguistic perspective.

Keywords: *image, BRICS, metaphor, corpus, South African media discourse, medialinguistics*
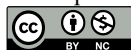
Метафорический образ БРИКС в медиадискурсе ЮАР: корпусное исследование

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Аннотация

Межгосударственное объединение БРИКС представляет собой цивилизационный проект, который реализует уникальные стратегии идентификации, самоидентификации и формирования образа организации на геополитической арене. Актуальность исследования образа БРИКС обусловлена возрастающей ролью объединения в процессах трансформации международного порядка. Цель исследования — выявить особенности метафорического моделирования образа БРИКС в медиадискурсе одной из стран-участниц — Южно-Африканской Республики. Источником материала выступил корпус News on the Web. В основу формирования иллюстративного корпуса положены тематический, хронологический и частотный принципы. Общее количество метафор, отобранных из 1000 текстов с помощью автоматизированной и ручной выборок, составляет 521 единицу. В качестве методологической основы исследования используется теория образ-схем, предложенная М. Джонсоном и Дж. Лакоффом. Для анализа языкового материала привлекаются количественные и качественные методы: процедура количественных подсчетов, метод метафорического моделирования, когнитивно-дискурсивный и лингвокультурный анализ. Результаты исследования показали, что при относительно низкой плотности в медиадискурсе ЮАР реализуется более 10 метафорических моделей, репрезентирующих образ БРИКС. Частотность однотипных образ-схем (источник-путь-цель, контейнер, центр-периферия, сила, связь и др.), лежащих в основе выявленных метафор, связана с их способностью отражать фундаментальные характеристики международного объединения: многополярность, суверенитет, равенство и взаимовыгодное сотрудничество. Наибольшим лингвокультурным потенциалом обладают метафоры семьи, игры и спорта, организма, дома, животного мира, базирующиеся на социальных и биологических архетипах. Метафоры пути, механизма, строительства, войны и небесного тела, опирающиеся на универсальные физические законы, в меньшей степени отражают специфические особенности южноафриканской культуры. Исследование вносит вклад в развитие медиалингвистики, которая располагает эффективным инструментарием для изучения языкового осмысления международных явлений, процессов и отношений.

Ключевые слова: *образ, БРИКС, метафора, корпус, южноафриканский медиадискурс, медиалингвистика*

1. Введение

В условиях формирования многополярной мировой системы становится актуальным изучение растущего влияния альтернативных центров глобального управления, одним из которых является объединение БРИКС.

Деятельность межгосударственного союза рассматривается в различных аспектах, начиная от политического, дипломатического, экономического сотрудничества и заканчивая социокультурным, цивилизационным и собственно лингвистическим измерениями (БРИКС: российский взгляд 2024, Наумов 2024, Cele et al. 2024). Сущность феномена БРИКС не сводится к сугубо экономической или политической составляющим, но охватывает процессы коллективного смыслопорождения, формирования самоидентичности участников объединения, легитимации собственной роли в глобальном управлении, продвижения общей повестки и ценностей.

Без применения методологии лингвистики изучение этих процессов представляется маловероятным, поскольку язык служит инструментом «мягкой силы», с помощью которого создаются общие смыслы, продвигаются идеи и образы, воспроизводится идеология сотрудничества, создается имидж объединения. Лингвистический анализ позволяет вскрыть дискурсивные механизмы и определить концептуальные единицы, при помощи которых страны-участницы конструируют образ БРИКС как проекта, предлагающего альтернативную модель глобального мироустройства, и осмысливают свою роль и стратегические интересы в рамках деятельности объединения, что предопределяет цель исследования — выявление особенностей моделирования образа БРИКС в медиадискурсе одной из стран-участниц — Южно-Африканской Республики (ЮАР). Для достижения цели в работе последовательно решается ряд исследовательских задач: систематизация метафорических единиц и создание системы метафорических моделей в соответствии с тематическим, хронологическим и частотным принципами, идентификация базовых образ-схем, структурирующих метафоры, определение потенциала выявленных моделей в продвижении концепции многополярного мирового порядка с учетом внешних по отношению к языку факторов, таких как специфика региональной проблематики и особенности общественно-политической ситуации в ЮАР. Южно-Африканская Республика — государство, которое благодаря своему географическому положению, природным богатствам, особенностям государственного устройства как следствия исторического компромисса (ЮАР — это страна с тремя столицами), становлению и падению режима апартеида, антропологическому и языковому разнообразию представляет собой уникальный объект для изучения национального медиадискурса на фоне международной ситуации и деятельности геополитических игроков, к которым в первую очередь относится БРИКС.

2. Интерпретация образа БРИКС в зарубежных и российских исследованиях

В зарубежной лингвистике работы, связанные с изучением образа БРИКС, немногочисленны. Проблематика исследований затрагивает два ключевых вопроса. В фокусе первого из них — языковая политика в станах БРИКС, механизмы и стратегии преодоления «языкового неравенства» и

обеспечения «равноправия» официальных языков стран БРИКС. Ученые отмечают, что политический дискурс внутри объединения основан на взаимодействии английского языка, функционирующего как lingua franca, и национальных языков (португальского, русского, хинди, китайского и др.). Например, результаты анкетирования студентов из стран БРИКС (Mareya et al. 2024) показывают, что использование английского языка в обеспечении деятельности объединения не соответствует действительным языковым предпочтениям народов Глобального Юга и не способствует становлению цивилизационной самоидентификации проекта. Исследователи подчеркивают необходимость внедрения институциональных мер, направленных на поддержку языкового и лингвокультурного разнообразия, включающих создание специализированного фонда по развитию языков БРИКС, программ межкультурного обмена (Mareya et al. 2024), интеграцию национальных языков в официальную коммуникацию и деятельность объединения (Oustinoff 2017).

Второй подход ориентирован на исследование медиадискурса и концептуальных единиц — фреймов и метафор, моделирующих образ объединения, в условиях становления нового мирового порядка. По мнению зарубежных ученых, важной остается проблема «девестернизации» исследований медиадискурса стран БРИКС, необходимость решения которой обусловлена рядом причин, среди них: относительная изолированность как национальных дискурсов, так и научных школ государств, использование теоретических подходов, разработанных американскими и европейскими учеными для анализа медиапроцессов в станах БРИКС (Thussu 2017). В связи с этим одной из ключевых задач медиалингвистики считается выработка теоретических основ альтернативных исследовательских подходов.

К доминантным фреймам, определяющим концептуализацию БРИКС в медиадискурсе, зарубежные ученые относят следующие: БРИКС как группа развивающихся экономик, неформальный дипломатический клуб, потенциальный вызов существующему миропорядку (Cooper 2016). В рамках метафорического осмысления природы БРИКС А.Г. Андал (Andal 2023) предлагает метафору «симбиотического политического организма» (symbiotic body politic). В отличие от классической метафоры «государство-как-организм», акцентирующей суверенитет страны и внутреннюю иерархию, в рамках «симбиотической» модели БРИКС интерпретируется как новый сложный организм, в котором геополитические субъекты, с одной стороны, сохраняют автономию, с другой — приобретают качественно новые свойства и получают выгоду за счет взаимодополняемости. Такая метафора позволяет репрезентировать многополярный миропорядок через призму взаимозависимости, а не конкуренции суверенных государств.

В российской лингвистике исследования, касающиеся изучения образа БРИКС, также можно разделить на две группы. В первую входят работы, авторы которых исследуют репрезентацию образа БРИКС на материале языков тех стран, которые пока не присоединились к объединению. Например,

Л.Л. Клещенко (Клещенко 2022) описывает образ БРИКС в аргентинских и мексиканских медиа, что расширяет исследовательское поле бриксологии как новой научной дисциплины, так как в указанной работе, с одной стороны, идет речь о медиаобразе БРИКС в стране — потенциальном участнике объединения (Аргентина), с другой стороны, анализируются СМИ государства, которое сотрудничает с США в рамках Североамериканского соглашения о свободной торговле НАФТА (Мексика).

Работы, входящие во вторую группу, ставят своей целью изучение медиаобраза БРИКС в странах, входящих в объединение, — Бразилия, Россия, Индия, Китай, Южная Африка. Так, обобщаются теоретические и практические аспекты метафорического моделирования образа БРИКС в российском публицистическом дискурсе (Парулина 2025, Солопова 2025а). Что касается анализа образа БРИКС в индийском политическом медиадискурсе, то в настоящее время ученые рассматривают данный аспект в более глобальной перспективе в совокупности с описанием образа России, обращаясь к анализу современных индийских общественно-политических изданий (Солопова, Нагаев, Кашяп 2024) и хиндиязычных западных СМИ (Голубцова 2025), а также к обзору выступлений премьер-министра Индии Н. Моди (Кошкарова 2025б).

Важным моментом в ходе представления образа БРИКС является обращение к китайским медиа, когда анализируются метафорические единицы, задействованные в процессе репрезентации деятельности объединения (Ловчикова 2025). При анализе китайского медиапространства сохраняется тенденция описания образа БРИКС в совокупности с изучением образа России (Калинин 2024).

Следующим направлением исследований российских ученых является изучение образа БРИКС в африканском (Бондаренко, Нкьябонаки 2013) и южноафриканском медиадискурсе. Рост интереса к медиадискурсу Южной Африки объясняется, на наш взгляд, следующими экстралингвистическими причинами. В последнее время наблюдается интенсификация политического диалога между Россией и ЮАР. Однако страна, расположенная на африканском континенте, по-прежнему остается терра инкогнита для россиян, что определяет необходимость более тщательного изучения и лингвистической интерпретации южноафриканских средств массовой информации. Дискурсивное поле БРИКС в медиадискурсе ЮАР анализируется на предмет выявления диагностических фреймов, изучается образ России в медиадискурсе ЮАР (Солопова, Кошкарова 2025а). В целом, необходимо отметить, что в современном российском исследовательском поле сформировался тренд описания образа БРИКС в неразрывной связи с образом России (Сибиряков 2024, Керимов 2024), что представляется вполне логичным с геополитической точки зрения, так как наша страна стояла у истоков создания объединения, и в настоящее время Россия вносит существенный вклад в развитие межгосударственного объединения.

Отдельную группу составляют исследования, направленные на изучение представления о БРИКС в языковом сознании носителей языка, что созвучно современному вектору развития лингвистического знания, когда акцент делается на социолингвистических характеристиках коммуникантов (об этом см., например, Гич, Ловцевич 2024). Ученые обращаются к анализу когнитивных, эмоциональных, поведенческих и символических аспектов образов стран, входящих в БРИКС (Белоконев и др. 2019). Образ стран БРИКС формируются под влиянием как медиаконтента, так и представлений рядовых граждан о геополитической ситуации и осознания своей цивилизационной принадлежности, что также становится объектом научных изысканий (Евгеньева 2019). На формирование образа стран-участниц БРИКС и всего объединения в целом оказывают воздействие существующие стереотипы, культурная и историческая неоднородность, индивидуальный опыт акторов политической коммуникации. Учет всех этих факторов важен в ходе лингвистического описания образа БРИКС в национальных медиадискурсах, так как позволяет выявить взаимосвязь языковых и внеязыковых особенностей и информационной повестки в той или иной стране.

3. Материал и методы

Источником данных послужил текстовый массив, сформированный из публикаций электронных СМИ ЮАР на английском языке, размещенных на платформе NOW (NOW). Несмотря на наличие в Южной Африке одиннадцати официальных языков, выбор английского обусловлен его статусом языка-посредника, в том числе в публичной сфере, включающей национальные СМИ и крупнейшие медиаресурсы, адресованные как внутренней, так и международной аудитории.

В основу составления корпуса положены тематический, хронологический и частотный принципы. Первый принцип ориентирован на отбор текстов, объективирующих образы БРИКС и стран-участниц объединения, второй — на установление хронологических рамок: автоматизированная выборка производилась по ключевому слову BRICS в период с 2011 г. (присоединение государства к объединению) по 2025 год включительно с последующим ранжированием результатов по релевантности. Сформированный корпус включает 1000 текстов.

На первом этапе иллюстративный корпус обработан с помощью нескольких инструментов: корпусного менеджера (NOW) и автоматизированной программы (Voyant Tools). Данные процедуры в соответствии с частотным принципом позволили выявить концептуальные фреймы, выступающие в качестве основы для интерпретации деятельности БРИКС как уникального геополитического проекта: «партнерство», «достижение», «новация», «соперничество с Западом / между членами объединения». Высокая степень абстрактности выявленных концептуальных единиц сделала необходимым этап последующей ручной экспертной проверки полученных результатов с привлечением

фреймового анализа. Полученные на этом этапе результаты отражены в ряде публикаций авторов (Солопова, Кошкарова 2025а, Солопова, Кошкарова 2025б).

Доминантные фреймы определяют ключевые тематические кластеры: *что* становится предметом обсуждения. Однако для понимания того, *как* формируется и аргументируется заданная фреймами повестка дня, необходимо обратиться к анализу метафор. Метафоры наполняют абстрактные фреймы чувственно-воспринимаемыми образами, эмоциональными и оценочными коннотациями, предлагая аудитории определенный образ восприятия реальности (Козлова 2020, Кульчицкая 2012, Zibin & Solopova 2024).

Ручная обработка данных состояла в количественном и качественном анализе метафор с применением метода метафорического моделирования (Кошкарова, Солопова, Чудинов 2025). Данный этап включал идентификацию и каталогизацию метафорических единиц, разметку картотеки согласно сфере-источнику, проведение фреймо-слотового анализа для определения концептуальной структуры метафорических моделей, создание системы метафор, формирующих концептуальный «каркас» образов БРИКС и стран-участниц в медиадискурсе ЮАР, с учетом частотного принципа (табл.).

Дальнейшая интерпретация метафорических единиц потребовала привлечения методологического аппарата теории образ-схем — универсальных, обусловленных сенсомоторным опытом человека когнитивных структур, обеспечивающих кросс-культурную понятность метафор (Johnson 1987, Lakoff 1987). Это «доконцептуальные структуры, возникающие из «телесного» опыта взаимодействия человека с физическим миром: пространственного движения (Spatial motion group), силового взаимодействия (Force group), равновесия (Balance group)» (Johnson 1987). Для выявления культурно-обусловленных смыслов метафор и экстралингвистических факторов, влияющих на их частотность в медиадискурсе ЮАР, использовался инструментарий лингвокультурологического и когнитивно-дискурсивного анализа.

4. Результаты

В медиадискурсе ЮАР при репрезентации образа БРИКС зафиксирована 521 метафора. Метафорические единицы реализуют более 10 метафорических моделей (табл.).

Метафора пути (19 %) представляет собой одну из наиболее продуктивных и универсальных моделей для репрезентации процессов международного сотрудничества и достижения стратегических целей (Кошкарова, Солопова, Чудинов 2025, Солопова, Чудинов 2018), что обусловлено ее способностью структурировать сложные, протяженные во времени явления как процесс с четкими пространственно-временными ориентирами: началом, этапами движения и конечной целью. Определение «пункта назначения» задает вектор развития; идея совместного путешествия сплачивает различных акторов вокруг общей цели; препятствия на пути объясняют неизбежные кризисы и

неудачи как временные затруднения; продвижение вперед, остановка, скорость движения позволяют дать оценку эффективности проводимой политики; выбор направления или попутчиков служит основанием для одобрения существующего курса, или напротив, критики и предложения альтернативных решений. Эта модель основана на образ-схеме «источник-путь-цель» (SOURCE-PATH-GOAL), которая является одной из фундаментальных когнитивных структур, организующих опыт пространственного взаимодействия субъекта с окружающим миром.

Система метафорических моделей со сферой-мишенью БРИКС в медиадискурсе ЮАР
System of metaphors with the source domain "BRICS" in SA media discourse

№	Название сферы-источника «БРИКС — это…»	Количество, ед.	Количество, %
1.	путь	99	19
2	механизм	93	17,9
3	строительство	79	15,1
4	семья	63	12,1
5	игра и спорт	45	8,6
6	организм	38	7,3
7	дом	31	6
8	война	31	6
9	животный мир	24	4,6
10	небесное тело	9	1,7
	другие	9	1,7
	всего	521	100

В южноафриканском медиадискурсе о БРИКС модель пути является доминантной (18,8 %), структурированной, представленной как стертыми, так и индивидуально-авторскими метафорами: *barrier, co-traveler, climb hills, direction, halfway, highway, journey, path, pathway, road, roadmap, scale peaks* и др.

(1) *The history of BRICS cooperation is a journey of our five countries **climbing great hills** only **to reach new heights**. I am convinced that when our five countries **forge ahead together**, we will **scale new peaks, reach new heights,** and make even greater contribution to peace and development of mankind* (Independent Online, 21.01.2023).

(2) ***The BRICS road** is not taking us in **a direction** we might choose, and there are other potentially suitable **travel companions** to consider* (RDM, 11.05.2015).

В контексте (1) метафоры пути используются для создания положительного образа объединения, представляя историю сотрудничества стран БРИКС как процесс поступательного движения к вершинам развития: преодоленные трудности лишь подчеркивают значимость достижений (*climbing great hills)*. Идея коллективного движения (*forge ahead together*) направлена на формирование чувства общности и групповой солидарности «путников», движущихся

к единой цели. Метафора «предопределяет» траекторию прогрессивного движения, в рамках которой прошлое объединения и его настоящее закономерно перерастают в успешное будущее (*scale new peaks*, *reach new heights*), мобилизуя ресурсы и волю участников на его достижение и одновременно исключая возможность альтернативных, менее оптимистичных сценариев.

Напротив, в контексте (2) единицы этой же модели используются для критики текущего положения дел и обоснования смены политического курса. Метафора пути указывает на отсутствие единодушия о выборе «маршрута» (*the BRICS road is not taking us in a direction we might choose*), предлагая возможность других внешнеполитических ориентиров (*other potentially suitable travel companions*) и имплицитно оспаривая решение правящей элиты о членстве в объединении.

Второй по частотности моделью является метафора механизма (17,9 %). Эта модель является важной частью онтологического аспекта существования человека и выступает эффективным инструментом лингвистической репрезентации политических и общественных процессов. Культурно-исторические основания метафоры механизма были заложены философией Нового времени, что связано с бурным развитием техники и изменениями хозяйственно-экономических процессов того периода. В трактатах философов-рационалистов (Лейбниц, Декарт, Гоббс) происходит экстраполяция принципов действия машин и устройств на описание властных и политических процессов. Механистический взгляд на природу и общество получил воплощение в философском методе познания и понимания мира — механицизме. Позднее механистическая метафора стала обсуждаться не в философском ракурсе, а с точки зрения практического подхода к изучению функционирования живого организма (об этом см., например, Лаврентьева 2025). С точки зрения теории концептуальной метафоры, данные образы признаются базовыми когнитивными структурами, функционирующими в различных типах дискурса (Johnson 2007, Kövecses et al. 2024).

Метафора механизма опирается на образ-схему «объект» (OBJECT), интегрирующую элементы других взаимосвязанных образ-схем: схема «контейнер» (CONTAINER) задает представление о внутренней структуре и границах механизма; «сила» (FORCE) описывает приложение внешнего воздействия и передачу энергии; «способность» (ENABLEMENT) подчеркивает функциональное назначение механизма, позволяющего достичь определенной цели. В южноафриканском дискурсе модель актуализируется с помощью широкого спектра единиц: *driver, engine, lever, mechanism, propeller* и др.

(3) *The BRICS **mechanism** has been improved to perfection* (Independent Online, 08.07.2015).

(4) *The BRICS countries are recognised as the future growth **engines** of the world economy* (SouthAfrica.info, 11.02.2014).

БРИКС (3) концептуализируется как сложный, но идеально отлаженный аппарат, что имплицитно указывает на его надежность, предсказуемость

и эффективность (*mechanism has been improved to perfection*). Это может быть связано с историческим контекстом: несмотря на некоторые внешние ограничения во время апартеида, в настоящее время страна стремится к взаимодействию с другими государствами, особенно в рамках межгосударственных объединений, что находит отражение в характеристике деятельности БРИКС. Если в примере (3) констатируется результат эволюционирования механизма БРИКС, то в контексте (4) описывается перспективная роль объединения в будущем (*the future growth engines of the world economy*). Частотное использование метафоры механизма в дискурсе о БРИКС обусловлено экстралингвистическими факторами — объективными макроэкономическими показателями: на долю стран БРИКС приходится значительный процент совокупного мирового ВВП, их экономики демонстрируют высокие темпы роста, что позволяет им оказывать существенное влияние на глобальную финансовую инфраструктуру. В целом, метафорическая репрезентация БРИКС в качестве отлаженного «механизма» или «двигателя» роста транслирует смыслы целостности, структурированности, управляемости и целевой функции сложного объекта.

К частотным моделям в медиадискурсе ЮАР о деятельности БРИКС относится также метафора строительства (15,1%). Модель представляет собой одну из разновидностей так называемой «профессиональной» метафоры, которая характеризуется универсальными механизмами осмысления действительности независимо от культурных и исторических условий существования человека. Не вызывает сомнения тот факт, что строительный и архитектурный коды быстро меняются, что однако не препятствует использованию соответствующих знаков для коммуникативного анализа явлений, происходящих в современном политическом дискурсе (Дзюба, Еремина 2023), с целью прогностической и ретропрогностической репрезентации действительности (Солопова, Салтыкова 2019), при описании процессов метафоризации на материале различных языков (Каменева 2013).

Метафора строительства основана на комплексе образ-схем, центральное место в котором занимают «связь» (LINK), «часть–целое» (PART-WHOLE), «вертикальность» (VERTICALITY), «опора» (SUPPORT), обеспечивающих понимание поступательного развития, соединения отдельных элементов в единую, прочную структуру и представление о конечном результате как целостном объекте, состоящем из взаимозависимых частей. В медиадискурсе ЮАР метафора представлена единицами из сферы проектирования и возведения сооружений: *architect, architecture, base, block, brick, builder, ceiling, floor, foundation* и др.

(5) *This is a historic moment because unlike other multilaterals, BRICS is moving ahead to create a new **architecture*** (News24, 11.07.2015).

(6) *The **building** of BRICS **brick by brick** on the **foundation** of the five **founding** countries, have begun* (Primedia+, 26.08.2023).

Метафора строительства (5) актуализирует представление о сложном, продуманном и целостном проекте, требующем точного расчета и долгосрочного планирования. В южноафриканском медиадискурсе она часто реализуются одновременно с единицами других метафорических моделей, например, пути (*moving ahead to create a new architecture*), что подчеркивает имманентность взаимодействия человека и пространства, желания улучшить физические и социальные условия бытования, эволюционный характер политических и общественных процессов.

Кроме того, акроним BRICS, будучи омофоничным лексеме «bricks» (кирпичи) (6), изначально содержит в себе потенциал строительной метафоры (Солопова, Кошкарова 2024), что предопределяет ее использование в дискурсе о деятельности объединения как непрерывном процессе созидания и консолидации усилий. Метафора строительства раскрывает и наполняет конкретным смыслом название, трансформируя «БРИКС» (BRICS) из перечня стран (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) в единый, целенаправленно возводимый проект, в котором каждый участник вносит вклад в создание общей структуры (*the building of BRICS brick by brick*) и одновременно связывая этимологию названия (O'Neill 2001) с его современной интерпретацией: страны-основатели репрезентируются как несущий опорный фундамент, на котором происходит дальнейшее строительство нового центра глобального влияния (*on the foundation of the five founding countries*).

В южноафриканском дискурсе активное использование метафор этой сферы-источника, на наш взгляд, связано с внешнеполитическим курсом страны и ведущим проектом национальной истории государства — «построением нации» (Nation Building), процессом консолидации разнородного общества на принципах равенства, преодоления наследия апартеида, формирования идентичности и интеграции в глобальный мир. Проекция этой модели на внешнюю политику позволяет метафорически представить БРИКС как аналогичный проект многостороннего «строительства», но уже в международном масштабе, а членство ЮАР в БРИКС — как вклад в создание новой архитектуры глобального управления, основанной на принципах равенства, справедливости, многополярности и совместного развития.

К доминантным моделям в южноафриканском дискурсе относится метафора семьи (12,1 %). Метафора играет важную роль в политическом дискурсе, воздействуя на чувства реципиента за счет апелляции к универсальным культурным ценностям: любви, уважения, взаимопонимания, заботы, доверия (Солопова, Кошкарова 2024, Trim 2024). Когнитивной основой данной метафоры выступают образ-схемы «связь» (LINK), обеспечивающая возможность концептуализации отношений как прочной связи между членами группы, «часть–целое» (PART-WHOLE), позволяющая осмыслять отдельных участников как часть единого целого, проницаемый «контейнер» (CONTAINER), с одной стороны, формирующая пространство общей принадлежности, разделяемых норм, ценностей и правил, с другой — остающаяся открытой для развития, роста, включения новых членов.

В южноафриканском медиадискурсе метафора семьи приобретает особые коннотации, так как в ЮАР семья является краеугольным камнем культуры не только в сфере частной жизни, но и в социальной организации традиционных сообществ (Hammond-Tooke 1993). В отличие от западного понимания семьи в ЮАР доминирует «расширенная» модель, включающая клановые и общинные связи, что исторически служило механизмом выживания и сохранения идентичности в условиях колониализма и апартеида. Эта модель подразумевает не столько кровное родство, сколько общую принадлежность к сообществу, основанную на взаимных обязательствах, иерархии, уважении к старшим и коллективной ответственности. В медиадискурсе ЮАР модель представлена такими единицами, как *child, brother, father, family, friend, kid, ties* и др.

(7) *You are important partners in our quest for building stronger and more sustainable economies and a better life for our peoples within* **the BRICS family** (President Jacob Zuma: BRICS Business Council Special Session for South Africa, 03.09.2017).

(8) *The* **new kids on the BRICS block** *will take to the runway* (Independent Online, 24.08.2023).

БРИКС — это «расширенная» семья, в которой участники связаны не формальными соглашениями, но отношениями доверия, солидарности и общих ценностей (7), что во многом согласуется с концепцией Ubuntu («Я есть потому, что мы есть»), фундаментальной для культур народов Южной и Восточной Африки (Hammond-Tooke 1993). В контексте (8) расширение объединения описывается через метафору детей (*new kids on the BRICS block*), которая, с одной стороны, отсылает к идее пополнения семьи, с другой — подразумевает процесс ответственной интеграции новых участников в сложившуюся систему отношений, требующий принятия ее норм и правил.

Метафора спорта и игры особенно востребована в политическом медиадискурсе в целом и в дискурсе ЮАР о БРИКС в частности (8,6 %), так как для этих сфер институционального взаимодействия (спорт / игра и политика) характерны конкуренция, борьба за успех, риск, наличие определенных правил (Кошкарова 2019, Чудинов 2001, Cudd 2007). Универсальность метафоры игры и спорта при осмыслении и концептуализации политической деятельности обеспечивается тем, что комплекс образ-схем, лежащий в ее основе, формирует единую когнитивную структуру: образ-схема «источник-путь-цель» (SOURCE-PATH-GOAL) репрезентирует политическую деятельность как движение от старта к финишу; образ-схема «контейнер» (CONTAINER) задает пространственные границы, дифференцируя внутреннее (то, что имеет значение для игры / спортивного состязания) и внешнее (нерелевантное для них); внутри этого пространства противодействующие «силы» (FORCE) состязаются в рамках установленных правил и «ограничений» (BLOCKAGE), обеспечивающих «равные условия» для всех (BALANCE). В метафорах сферы-источника «командные виды игры и спорта» основная роль отводится

образ-схеме «связь» (LINK), которая акцентирует взаимозависимость участников: успех каждого отдельного члена обусловлен достижениями всей группы, а общая цель может быть реализована исключительно через сотрудничество, взаимопомощь и тактическое взаимодействие внутри коллектива. В медиадискурсе ЮАР репрезентантами деятельности БРИКС являются следующие единицы из спортивно-игровой сферы: *competition*, *game*, *rule-makers, rule-takers, rules of the game, player,* и др.

(9) *Africans want to be treated as legitimate business partners, not **pawns** in a geopolitical **game of chess** the BRICS bloc **is** already **winning*** (Business Live, 17.03.2025).

(10) *BRICS is not in **competition** with anyone, BRICS seeks to work with the entire global community for the betterment of humankind* (Forbes Africa, 17.09.2018).

В ЮАР спорт исторически выполняет важную социальную функцию, что наиболее ярко проявилось во времена апартеида, когда южноафриканские спортсмены бойкотировались на международном уровне. В современных условиях спорт превратился в символ национального единства и демонстрации решимости страны занять свое место в формирующемся многополярном мире вопреки глобальным вызовам (9). Специфической особенностью южноафриканского дискурса является фокус на кооперации, а не на конкуренции: если для европейцев характерны материализм, индивидуализм, соревновательность, то для южноафриканской культуры типична ориентация на духовные ценности, связь с природой, коллективизм, что проявляется в том, как южноафриканские СМИ репрезентируют роль страны в БРИКС не как участника жесткой геополитической борьбы, а как активного субъекта, стремящегося к построению многополярного мира на основе партнерства (10).

Метафора организма менее частотна в медиадискурсе ЮАР (7,3 %) по сравнению с рассмотренными моделями. В ее основе лежат универсальные образ-схемы: образ-схема «контейнер» (CONTAINER) репрезентирует любую систему (государственную, коалиционную, международную) как целостный, обособленный объект, обладающий внутренней структурой; «часть–целое» (PART-WHOLE) позволяет анализировать систему через функциональность ее компонентов, которые благодаря образ-схеме «связь» (LINK) становятся взаимозависимыми; их совместная работа подчиняется схеме «цикл» (CYCLE), моделирующей процессы развития системы через стадии зарождения, роста, зрелости и упадка; образ-схема «сила» (FORCE) предлагает инструмент для осмысления внешних и внутренних вызовов, ответных мер, направленных на сохранение целостности и жизнеспособности. В медиадискурсе ЮАР о БРИКС модель за небольшим исключением представлена преимущественно конвенциональными метафорами: *back, blood, body, hand, shoulder, vein, voice* и др.

(11) *BRICS is the **international body** bringing together the emerging powers of Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa* (Mail & Guardian, 28.02.2024).

(12) *Looking at the BRICS agnostics, when China **sneezes**, BRICS **catches the cold**. But when it comes to Temer and Modi, I don't think they have BRICS **running in their veins*** (Independent Online, 29.07.2018).

Объединение репрезентировано как целостный организм (*international body),* единый субъект международных отношений, обладающий собственной волей и функциональностью (11), государства-участники — как части этого организма, связанные отношениями взаимозависимости и причинно-следственной обусловленности *(when China sneezes, BRICS catches the cold)* (12), Китай — как мощный внутренний импульс, действия которого неизбежно вызывают реакцию во всей системе. Успешное функционирование организма БРИКС предполагает, что каждое государство-участник интегрирует ценности и принципы объединения в основу национальной стратегии развития. Это «кровное» слияние национальных интересов со стратегическим ориентирами развития БРИКС (*have BRICS running in one's veins*) будет означать переход от формального членства к органичной и жизненной сопричастности общим целям.

Относительно низкая частотность органических метафор в политическом дискурсе ЮАР может быть обусловлена экстралингвистическими факторами. Во время колониальной экспансии в Африке традиционные африканские практики, связанные с «телесным опытом» (например, ритуальная нагота, танцы и др.), рассматривались колонистами как «дикие» и «греховные» (Mbembe 2001). В период апартеида государственная система целенаправленно лишала целые группы статуса человека / личности, низводя их до уровня биологических единиц (тел), подлежащих учету, классификации и контролю с помощью инструментов расовой и территориальной сегрегации (Chidester 2012), что проявляется в низкой частотности метафор, восходящих к предметной области «человеческое тело», как своеобразном защитном механизме от воспоминаний о болезненном социальном прошлом.

Следующей моделью является метафора дома (6%). Метафора интегрирует комплекс образ-схем: «контейнер» (CONTAINER) как основу для концептуализации границ, принадлежности, идентичности, безопасности и реализации оппозиции «свой — чужой», «часть–целое» (PART-WHOLE), задающей иерархическую структуру и определяющей роли участников, «центр–периферия» (CENTER-PERIPHERY), акцентирующей отношения значимости и соподчинения элементов. В южноафриканском медиадискурсе модель представлена такими единицами, как *backyard, door, home, house, window* и др.

(13) *Let me welcome you to our beautiful country. South Africa for the next week is your **home** away from **home*** (ЮАР, Deputy Minister Reginah Mhaule: Meeting of the Fourth BRICS Young Diplomats' Forum, 26.06.2018).

(14) *When BRIC without an "s" — was started, we were not shy, we kept knocking at their **door** to emphasise that it's not complete without us* (Mail & Guardian, 13.11.2015).

Метафора «дома» не только отражает, но и воспроизводит социальные нормы, поведенческие сценарии и ценностные доминанты, характерные для конкретного языкового сообщества. В южноафриканской культуре основные смыслы метафоры дома связаны не столько с физическим жилищем (*house*), сколько с чувством принадлежности (*home*). Для чернокожих южноафриканцев дом традиционно ассоциируется с землей предков, местом, где сохраняется связь с умершими (Hammond-Tooke 1993). С другой стороны, насильственное переселение в резервации (хоумленды и тауншипы) во времена апартеида лишило миллионы людей самого понятия «дом», превратив его в недостижимую мечту. В настоящее время дом для южноафриканцев — это символ безопасности и обособленности, что реализуется в метафорической репрезентации образа БРИКС и ЮАР как одной из стран-участниц (13). В примере (14) образ двери, который в южноафриканской культуре выполняет ритуальную, защитную, эстетическую, социально-статусную функции, символизирует попытку ЮАР наладить контакт с мировым большинством и присоединиться к межгосударственному объединению БРИКС. В отличие от метафоры «строительства», актуализирующей сценарий прогрессивного поэтапного созидания и отвечающей на метафорический вопрос о том, «как нечто создается» (например, строительство многополярного мира), метафора «дома» дает ответ на вопрос о том, «что собой представляет созданное», в нашем случае — БРИКС.

К менее частотным моделям в медиадискурсе ЮАР о БРИКС относится также метафора войны (6 %). Базисом для метафорического осмысления войны служит комплекс образ-схем, которые обеспечивают перенос сенсомоторного и пространственного опыта на область конфликтного взаимодействия. Образ-схема «силы» (FORCE) организует понимание противоборства через взаимодействие противодействующих векторов (атака / защита), преодоление сопротивления и приложение направленного воздействия для его устранения. Пространственное измерение войны оформляется схемой «контейнер» (CONTAINER), определяющей границы противостояния. Схема «источник–путь–цель» (SOURCE-PATH-GOAL) задает стратегическую перспективу конфликта, репрезентируя его как движение от исходного состояния к целевой точке (победе или поражению) через последовательность действий. Схема «баланс» (BALANCE) обеспечивает понимание динамики конфликта как нарушения равновесия с его последующим восстановлением либо с помощью достижения победы одной из сторон, либо путем установления принципиально нового порядка. В дискурсе ЮАР о БРИКС модель войны представлена немногочисленными конвенциональными метафорическими единицами: *blow, battle, challenge, force, front* и др.

(15) *But again, **a challenge**, and I could just say this, **a challenge** is BRICS. BRICS is **a big challenge*** (Mail & Guardian, 02.06.2025).

(16) *After the 2023 expansion, BRICS is **a real force** to be reckoned with* (Sunday World, 12.10.2024).

Метафора войны реализуется с помощью единиц, имплицитно передающих логику противостояния. Вместо индивидуально-авторских развернутых образов войны, акцентирующих открытую конфронтацию, в СМИ ЮАР доминируют конвенциональные метафорические единицы с редуцированными агрессивными коннотациями. БРИКС репрезентируется не как деструктивная сила, нацеленная на разрушение существующего миропорядка, но как субъект, бросающий вызов геополитическим устоям (15). Подобная стратегия способствует трансформации метафорического образа объединения — от символического оппозиционного центра к институциональному актору (16), предлагающему альтернативную модель глобального управления.

Зооморфная метафора, составляющая 4,6% от общего массива проанализированных данных, является фундаментальным средством концептуализации социальной и политической реальности, так как вся жизнедеятельность человека так или иначе связана с миром животных (Ozyumenko & Larina 2021). Универсальность данного механизма достигается за счет синтеза первичных образ-схем. Так, животное, интерпретируется с помощью образ-схемы «контейнер» (CONTAINER), содержащей внешние характеристики и внутренние качества, которые репрезентируются посредством схемы «часть–целое» (PART-WHOLE). Эти свойства проявляются в динамике посредством целенаправленного и интенсивного воздействия на окружающую среду, что структурируется схемой «сила» (FORCE). Сила выражается в конкретных поведенческих паттернах, которые концептуализируются через образ-схему «источник–путь–цель» (SOURCE-PATH-GOAL), задающую направление и цель действия. Взаимодействие между агентом (животным) и средой, отношения между различными агентами в экосистеме определяются образ-схемой «связь» (LINK). Совокупность указанных проявлений и взаимоотношений детерминирует положение животного в экосистеме, что основано на образ-схеме «баланс» (BALANCE), репрезентирующей состояния гармонии или ее нарушения. В рассмотренном материале модель представлена такими единицами, как *animal, beast, buffalo, elephant, lion* и др.

(17) *The five countries were like **the lion, elephant, buffalo, leopard and rhinoceros**. The BRICS as a collective have inherent divergences and contradictions that outweigh their shared interests and hence the suggestion that **these five disparate 'animals' could either harmoniously graze or fruitfully hunt together** is a politico-strategic oxymoron* (Mail & Guardian, 13.04. 2013).

В южноафриканском медиадискурсе, несмотря на относительно низкую частоту использования, зооморфная метафора приобретает особую лингвокультурную специфику благодаря символической значимости в ЮАР

«большой пятерки» (лев, слон, буйвол, леопард, носорог), что соответствует количеству стран-лидеров БРИКС (17). Зооморфная метафора выполняет двойственную роль: с одной стороны, она подчеркивает силу и потенциал участников объединения как игроков, способных бросить вызов существующему мировому порядку в рамках становления многополярной системы, где каждый «вид» занимает свою уникальную нишу. С другой — метафора акцентирует внимание на внутренних противоречиях между государствами-участниками, их разнородности и потенциальной несовместимости, проводя аналогию с экосистемой, в которой гармоничное сосуществование «хищников» и «травоядных» воспринимается как нарушение естественного баланса: сама идея о возможности стратегического единства между государствами со столь различными политическими системами, экономическими моделями и геополитическими приоритетами представляется в данном случае противоречивой и абсурдной.

К менее частотным моделям, репрезентирующим образ БРИКС в медиадискурсе ЮАР, относится метафора небесного тела (1,7 %). Когнитивное основание этой метафоры формируется системой взаимосвязанных образ-схем. Исходной выступает схема «контейнер» (CONTAINER), концептуализирующая небесное тело как ограниченное пространство с возможностью / невозможностью внешнего взаимодействия. На ее основе выстраивается схема «центр–периферия» (CENTER-PERIPHERY), организующая иерархические отношения между центральным объектом и периферийными элементами. Схема «силы» (FORCE) репрезентирует гравитационное воздействие — притяжение или отталкивание объектов. Динамика движения осмысливается через схему «источник–путь–цель» (SOURCE-PATH-GOAL), моделирующую траекторию развития (предсказуемую орбиту или непредсказуемый путь кометы). Схема «цикл» (CYCLE) описывает повторяемость и периодичность процессов. В медиадискурсе ЮАР модель актуализируют стертые метафорические единицы: *orbit, planet, loadstar, lodestar, star* и др.

(18) *Khan Satchu, a leading investment banker from Kenya, described BRICS as «**a lodestar**» for African countries* (Daily News, 05.02.2025).

Метафора «путеводной звезды» (18) представляет БРИКС как стратегический ориентир для стран, ищущих альтернативные пути развития. Связь с мореходством — точность навигации по звездам определяла выживание команды и сохранность корабля — придает ей глубокий смысл в постколониальном обществе: для ЮАР БРИКС олицетворяют не только политико-экономический альянс, но и надежду на более справедливый мировой порядок. В отличие от метафор войны, животного мира, игры и спорта данный образ акцентирует «мягкую» силу объединения, его роль как направляющего ориентира, а не инструмента принуждения, что особенно значимо для стран, стремящихся к суверенному развитию в условиях многополярности.

5. Обсуждение результатов

Результаты исследования показывают, что для медиадискурса ЮАР при репрезентации образа БРИКС характерна низкая степень метафоричности (521 метафора на 1000 текстов). Данная особенность, на наш взгляд, обусловлена комплексом лингвистических и экстралингвистических факторов. Во-первых, доминированием информационной функции в текстах, посвященных БРИКС, связанной с передачей фактологических данных о деятельности объединения: инициативах, саммитах, политических и экономических аспектах сотрудничества стран-участниц и др. Ориентация на объективность, стремление избежать неоднозначности трактовок и субъективных интерпретаций снижает потребность в образном переосмыслении. Во-вторых, доминирование в дискурсе положительных фреймов в структурировании повестки дня («партнерство», «достижение», «новация») в меньшей степени стимулирует использование метафор в отличие от конфликтогенной проблематики («соперничество с Западом / между членами объединения»), в рамках которой метафора выступает основным средством оценки и эмоционального воздействия на аудиторию. В-третьих, ключевой характеристикой внешней и внутренней политики ЮАР является так называемый «африканский ренессанс», обозначающий антиколониальную идеологию, экономическую и социальную трансформацию, возрождение культуры и идентичности. Причем внутриполитические и социально-экономические проблемы занимают доминирующее положение в медиадискурсе страны, что отчасти объясняет меньший интерес к внешнеполитической тематике. Существенную роль играет и внешнеполитический контекст ЮАР, определяемый политикой нейтралитета и многовекторности, в рамках которой можно рассматривать и членство государства в БРИКС.

Несмотря на отмеченную низкую метафорическую плотность дискурса, система метафор со сферой-мишенью «БРИКС» насчитывает свыше десяти моделей, что свидетельствует о разнообразии сфер-источников, задействованных в концептуализации образов объединения и стран-участниц. Концептуальное ядро метафорической репрезентации составляют продуктивные метафорические модели пути, механизма, строительства, семьи, игры и спорта, единицы которых не только являются наиболее частотными, способными к развертыванию в тексте, но и служат основой для генерации индивидуально-авторских образов, развивающих, дополняющих и уточняющих сферу-источник. Менее частотные модели (организм, дом, животный мир, война, небесное тело) представлены либо прямыми номинациями сферы-источника, либо стертыми, конвенциональными метафорами, что указывает на их периферийный статус в системе метафорических моделей и доминирование номинативной функции с одновременной минимизацией экспрессивно-оценочной функции и лингвокультурологической специфики.

Частотность однотипных образ-схем, лежащих в основе метафор, репрезентирующих образ БРИКС, связана с их способностью отражать

фундаментальные характеристики международного объединения: одновременное единство и многоуровневую иерархию участия, функциональное распределение ролей, интеграцию и автономию, что соответствует сложной природе межгосударственного института («контейнер», «часть–целое», «центр–периферия»), взаимозависимость участников политики, направленной на обеспечение взаимовыгодного сотрудничества («связь»), привлекательность и потенциальную ценность блока для значительной части государств Глобального Юга, его влияние: от «мягкой» силы до активного преодоления внешнего противодействия («сила»), стремление к равновесию между геополитическими интересами участников и воздействием внешних вызовов («баланс») для достижения общих целей («источник–путь–цель»).

Результаты анализа системы метафор и особенностей их функционирования в дискурсе о БРИКС позволяют говорить о наличии двух типов метафорических моделей. Критерий дифференциации этих типов коренится в степени их культурной специфичности. Метафоры сфер-источников «путь», «механизм», «строительство», «война» и «небесное тело» обладают меньшей культурной маркированностью. В основе рассматриваемых моделей лежит принцип *физического действия*: движение к цели («путь»), взаимодействие частей в системе («механизм»), применение силы для созидания или разрушения («строительство», «война»), гравитация («небесное тело»). Метафорические модели семьи, игры и спорта, организма, дома, животного мира, напротив, проявляют большую лингвокультурную специфику. Показательно, что в основе этих метафор лежат *биологические и социальные архетипы*; с их помощью осуществляется перенос стереотипизированного знания о социальных ролях, моделях взаимодействия или поведенческих сценариях из конкретной сферы-источника на абстрактную сферу-мишень. Безусловно, такое разграничение во многом является методологической абстракцией и не лишено определенной доли дискуссионности, поскольку в зависимости от социально-исторического и лингвокультурного контекстов каждая метафора может прирастать культурными и социальными ассоциациями.

6. Заключение

В южноафриканском дискурсе метафоры, моделирующие образ БРИКС, одновременно служат средством репрезентации принципов многополярности: сотрудничества, равноправного участия, взаимозависимости, общих стратегических ориентиров. Метафоры «пути» и «строительства» акцентируют поступательное движение к справедливому миропорядку и поэтапное возведение архитектуры нового мира; метафора «семьи» транслирует смыслы общей судьбы и взаимопомощи; «игры и спорта» — справедливой конкуренции и стратегического партнерства; «организма» — взаимосвязи и взаимозависимости; «дома» — суверенитета и безопасности; «небесного тела» — притяжения независимых центров силы. Показательно, что несмотря на изначально конфликтогенный потенциал метафор войны и животного мира

в южноафриканском медиадискурсе они несут менее негативные оттенки, отражая ориентацию БРИКС на создание альтернативных моделей международного сотрудничества: метафора «войны» подчеркивает стратегическое противодействие существующей модели глобального управления, метафора «животного мира» — необходимость кооперации в условиях внутренних и внешних вызовов.

Лингвокультурная специфика южноафриканского дискурса о БРИКС обусловлена синтезом нескольких факторов: историческим опытом колониализма и апартеида, современной внешнеполитической доктриной нейтралитета и многовекторности, уникальным культурным наследием. Этот синтез способствует переориентации дискурсивных смыслов с конфронтации и силового доминирования на ценности равноправия, суверенитета, справедливости и сотрудничества, что позволяет продвигать идею многополярного мира не через отрицание существующей системы, а через предложение альтернативной модели, основанной на принципах открытости, равноправного участия и учета интересов всех сторон. Перспективы дальнейших исследований видятся в сравнительном анализе медиадискурсов других стран БРИКС с целью выявления универсальных и культурно-специфических механизмов конструирования образа объединения.

Вклад авторов

Солопова О.А. — формулирование идеи, гипотезы, цели исследования, разработка методов и процедур, статистический анализ данных, написание первоначального текста статьи. **Кошкарова Н.Н.** — написание теоретической части статьи, редактирование текста статьи.

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Book Reviews / Рецензии

Review of Sokolova O., Zakharkiv E.
Pragmatics and poetics: Poetic discourse in new media.
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Рецензия на монографию: Соколова О., Захаркив Е.
Прагматика и поэтика: поэтический дискурс в новых медиа.
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У авторов рецензируемой монографии есть общие публикации в виде статей (Соколова, Захаркив 2021, Соколова, Захаркив 2022), но совместное представительство в объемном научном издании обеспечило синергию мысли через систему взаимодополнений, расширяющих содержательный уровень рассматриваемых проблем через подключение нового эмпирического материла и введение новых алгоритмов его интерпретации на фоне общей концепции.

Прагматика и поэтика — в этом сочетании союз «и» выполняет когнитивную функцию и оказывается инструментом мышления для описания множества связей между прагматикой, которая изучает язык как средство

коммуникативной деятельности (речевые акты, тактики воздействия на адресата и под.), и поэтикой, которая рассматривает язык как творчество (система ценностно-этических приемов смыслопорождения). Задачу изучения поэтической прагматики авторы связывают с новыми медиа и определяют специфику употребления прагматических маркеров в поэзии на фоне речевой конвенции (с. 13–14). Применение коммуникативно-дискурсивного подхода к осмыслению языкового материала новейшей русской, итальянской и английской поэзии (1990–2000-е гг.) определяет новизну и актуальность проведенного исследования. В итоге монография связывает три области лингвистики: лингвопоэтику, лингвопрагматику и теорию дискурса с акцентом на особенностях поэтической прагматики (см. Предисловие). Заявленная концепция прошла смысло-содержательную и эмпирическую проверку в 4-х разделах и 17 главах, в которые включено множество параграфов. Представим содержание монографии в формате саммари — описания ключевых идей, научно доказанных фактов и авторских обобщений.

В первом разделе — «Поэтический дискурс в цифровом интерфейсе» — три главы: «Поэтический дискурс и поэтическая прагматика», «Новые технологии и прагматические техники в современной поэзии», «Интерфейсы новейшей поэзии: смена коммуникативного хода и множественная адресация». Расшифровка знаков связи прагматики и поэтики происходит с постоянным обращением к трудам Р. Якобсона (сопоставление грамматической формы субъекта с прагматическими отношениями и со структурой коммуникации в рамках теории языковых функций), к концепции «языковых игр» Л. Витгенштейна (язык как динамическая и социально обусловленная практика), к анализу специфики внутренней речи в поэтических текстах И.И. Ковтуновой (коммуникативная структура поэтической речи и коммуникативная позиция говорящего), к «всеобщей антропологии» Ю.С. Степанова (человек — автор событий и творец текстов) и к ряду других классических работ и знаковых персоналий. Исследователи, с одной стороны, подтверждают важность преемственности в развитии научного знания, с другой — в полной мере опираются на собственные когнитивные ресурсы, реализуя при этом тезис о том, что «В контексте изучения поэтического дискурса особенно значимо выведение на первый план роли интерпретатора — наравне с тем, кто создает дискурс» (с. 18).

В определение поэтического дискурса как совокупности поэтических высказываний (текстов) авторы включили существенные для последующих действий признаки: проявленность системы отношений между элементами в условиях нелинейной композиционной структуры; влияние на смыслообразование выбора и расположения слов; формирование аномальных парадигматических, синтагматических и семантических отношений (с. 31). Этот набор признаков в полной мере проявляется в цифровых медиа, и во всех разделах монографии идет многоаспектное подтверждение того, что цифровые медиа изменили как сферу языка и коммуникации, так и спектр способов

восприятия информации. Многочисленными примерами из поэзии обосновано, что классическая коммуникативная дихотомия «устное — письменное» расширилась через дополнение формами интернет-коммуникации, распространенными в цифровых интерфейсах: в социальных сетях, блогах, мессенджерах и приложениях, и это открывает перспективы для взаимодействия «больших» и «малых» данных, субъектно- и технологически-ориентированного подходов (с. 34).

Взаимодействие обыденного языка и поэтического дискурса ведет к расширению сферы употребления разговорной лексики и конструкций разговорного синтаксиса. Очевидным достоинством исследования является описание прагматических маркеров, которые интегрируются в поэтический язык, подвергаются трансформации, метаязыковому осмыслению и становятся частью стратегий поэтической субъективации и адресации. Названы и применены на практике релевантные для исследования медиапонятия: «интерфейс», «мультимодальность», «мультимедиальность», «транскодирование». Особое внимание уделено описанию транскодирования — перекодировке формата из аналогового в цифровой или наоборот. Отмечено, что транскодирование в поэзии может сопровождаться изменением формы, содержания и коммуникативных параметров сообщения. «Такая перекодировка формата распространяется и на участников коммуникации (пользователей), способствуя повышенной интерактивности в условиях возможности взаимодействия с интерфейсом, что заложено в самой динамичной природе этого пространства, допускающего навигацию, добавление и корректировку информации» (с. 37).

Меняются формы выражения прагматических установок современной поэзии как на уровне «фактора адресанта» (иллокутивные глаголы, согласованные с ними речевые акты, персональный дейксис, интерперсональные дискурсивные маркеры и показатели модальности), так и на уровне «фактора адресата» (расширение форм участия через прямые и косвенные реакции адресанта, которые позволяют описать перлокутивный эффект, оказываемый поэтическим высказыванием). Подробно рассматривается коммуникативный фактор канала/контакта, который основан на фатической функции — приветствия, прощания, междометия, маркеры заполнения пауз и др.; коммуникативный фактор кода, который основан на метаязыковой функции; коммуникативный фактор контекста, который основан на референтивной функции и выражается с помощью контекстуальных дискурсивных маркеров — пространственных и временных дейктиках (с. 39–53). Важно, что все названные характеристики иллюстрируются примерами как из русской, так и из итальянской современной поэзии, что подчеркивает универсальность ряда новых показателей в медиатехнологическом поэтическом дискурсе.

Во втором разделе — «Прагматические параметры и медиатехнологии в новейшей русской, итальянской и американской поэзии» — три главы: «Полимодальные исследования поэтического дискурса: визуальное, аудиальное и синтетическое транскодирование», «Механизм транскодирования:

функции прагматических маркеров и дейктических сдвигов в американской и итальянской поэзии», «Прагматические сдвиги в новейшей поэзии: русско-американские параллели». Продолжается подтверждение релевантности термина «транскодирование», и в соответствии с существующей эстетико-семиотической типологией видов искусства выделяются визуальный, аудиальный и аудиально-визуальный, или синтетический, типы транскодирования (с. 72–73). Все названные практики иллюстративно подтверждены. Проведен разносторонний анализ полимодальной видеопоэмы современного итальянского поэта Витторио В. Дзолло из группы PoetyQwerty «'A Via Crucis» («Богослужение Крестного пути» или «Крестный путь»), в которой визуальный и аудиальный модусы накладываются друг на друга: визуальный модус включает невербальные медиа, аудиальный модус создает звучащий текст, а всё вместе формирует поле синтетического полимодального эксперимента (с. 74–80).

На примере конструкции поэмы американского поэта Уоттена «Notzeit (Aft er Hannah Höch)» показано, как цифровой интерфейс влияет на трансформацию стратегии субъективации, как происходит утрата границ между автокоммуникацией и массовой коммуникацией, персональным и публичным дискурсом, как происходит мена позиций субъекта и адресата и какие дейктические сдвиги организуют такого рода динамику (с. 82–88).

Русско-американские типологические параллели рассмотрены на материале поэзии Геннадия Айги и Майкла Палмера, Аркадия Драгомощенко и Барретта Уоттена, Ника Скандиака и Рэйчел ДюПлесси. Подтверждена объединяющая поэтов установка на такое конструирование субъекта и коммуникативной ситуации, при котором на первый план выходит сдвиг в отношениях между внутренним и внешним, реализуемый за счет взаимодействия с разговорной речью и отсылок к нетекстовой реальности. При этом крайне интересно сопоставление различных поэтических практик в общей зоне языковых и культурных трансферов. Эвристично описание русско-американских параллелей в организации поэтического высказывания с обобщающими оценками взаимодействия, включенными в название параграфов: «Г. Айги — М. Палмер. Определенность референциальной перспективы»; «А. Драгомощенко — Б. Уоттен. Стратегии субъектного дистанцирования»; «Н. Скандиака — Р. ДюПлесси. Практики вариативности» (с. 95–116).

В третьем разделе — «Дискурсивные маркеры в новейшей русской и американской поэзии» — шесть глав: «Основные подходы к изучению дискурсивных маркеров», «Функционирование дискурсивных маркеров в новейшей поэзии: специфика, типология, алгоритм анализа», «Функционально-семантические группы дискурсивных маркеров», «Роль показателей субъективной модальности (*бесспорно, возможно, вероятно*)», «Контекстуальная ресемантизация дискурсивных маркеров в новейшей поэзии», «Семантика противительности и прагматика противопоставления в новейшей русско- и англо-

язычной поэзии». Дан широкий обзор существующих подходов к определению понятия «дискурсивные маркеры» и описанию их коммуникативных и метаязыковых функций; обозначена способность этой группы языковых единиц структурировать дискурс и участвовать в организации интеракций. На фоне многочисленных отсылок к мнениям и работам зарубежных и отечественных исследователей авторы монографии определяют свои преференции в описании дискурсивных слов с проекцией на особенности современного поэтического дискурса с учетом как глобальной, так и локальной когерентности сообщения. Глобальная когерентность обусловлена концептуально-стилистическим направлением или особенностями авторского идиостиля, а локальная — проявляет тенденцию к отклонению от речевой конвенции через нарушение логических и грамматических связей (с. 124–125).

Предлагается рабочее определение дискурсивных маркеров: слова, словосочетания и устойчивые конструкции, участвующие в прагматической и структурной организации высказывания, обладающие интерактивной и метатекстовой функциями. И далее: эти единицы несут иллокутивную нагрузку (выражают коммуникативное намерение говорящего), направленную на формирование прагматической позиции говорящего, который выступает не только в роли субъекта, но и в роли адресата высказывания (автокоммуникация, автореференция); дискурсивные маркеры структурируют развитие дискурса в процессе коммуникации в естественном дискурсе и автокоммуникации — в поэтическом дискурсе (с. 136).

Привлекает внимание разработанный авторами монографии пошаговый анализ дискурсивных маркеров в поэзии. Существенные характеристики того или иного дискурсивного слова представлены через: 1) дистрибутивный и статистический анализ корпусных данных; 2) лексикографическое описание дискурсивных маркеров, содержащее общее функциональное значение, сохраняющееся во всех контекстах; 3) отбор примеров конвенционального употребления; 4) отбор примеров функционирования в поэтическом дискурсе; 5) обобщенное толкование функционирования дискурсивных маркеров в поэзии. Предложенное комплексное «портретирование» большой группы дискурсивных слов можно отнести к когнитивной лексикографии, для которой характерны функционально-когнитивная квалификация языковых единиц, наличие концептуальных репрезентаций, контекстуальная зависимость — признаки, полноценное описание которых предполагает применение инструментария корпусного анализа.

Заслуживают высокой оценки типология дискурсивных маркеров в современном поэтическом дискурсе: метатекстовые дискурсивные маркеры (относятся к внутритекстовой референции, в поэзии являются компонентами нелинейной организации текста); контекстуальные дискурсивные маркеры (обеспечивают связь с внетекстовой реальностью); интерперсональные дискурсивные маркеры (выражают подтверждение и возражение, служат для привлечения внимания, выражают эмоции говорящего). С учетом специфики

названных функционально-семантических групп были описаны дискурсивные маркеры вывода, каузальной связи, детализации, противопоставления, экземплификации, субъективной модальности, маркеры характеристики ситуации во времени и пространстве, реактивные, фатические (этикетные) и эмоциональные (с. 145–213).

В четвертом разделе — «Речевые акты в современной поэзии» — пять глав: «Основные подходы к изучению перформативов (история вопроса)»; «О вымолви! Молви! То слово безмолвия!»: Поэтическая прагмасемантика глаголов говорения в текстах Е. Мнацакановой»; «И голоса умолкшего — прошу — примите место»: акты речи и молчания в поэзии Г. Айги»; «Новые функции перформативов и модальных глаголов в современной американской поэзии»; «Преодоление «долженствования» и «необходимости» в современной русской поэзии». Содержание этого раздела представляет собой расширенный аргумент к положениям предыдущих разделов и глав с добавлением некоторых новых тем и аспектов их рассмотрения. Анализ речевых актов в творчестве Е. Мнацакановой и Г. Айги расширил представление как о перформативности, так и об идиостилевых показателях; неузуальное функционирование перформативных и модальных глаголов в современной американской поэзии дополнило представление о функциях модальных глаголов в поэзии.

Рецензируемая монография сформирована по принципу отдельного авторства глав, разделов, параграфов. С одной стороны, это фиксирует персональную ответственность за написанное, с другой — снижает уровень единства текста. В тексте замечены повторы, иногда очевидна слабая взаимосвязь частей в разделе; при наличии богатых идеями разделов нет сильного заключительного сегмента.

Знакомство с монографией сопровождалось размышлениями о «точке отсчета», по отношению к которой описывались и типологизировались дейктические сдвиги в новейшей поэзии. Последовательно определялись системные отклонения от речевой конвенции. Не ясно, что понимается под речевой конвенцией: закрепленные правила речевого поведения, условные договоренности, правила диалога? Можно ли считать речевую конвенцию единственным ориентиром для изучения поэтической прагматики в условиях новых медиа? Есть еще нормы, которые сложились именно в поэтическом языке, существуют в нем длительное время и поддерживают преемственные связи в организации поэтической коммуникации. Представляется, что подключение к исследованию этого уровня нормы могло бы изменить отношения между уже сотворенным и творимым в новых условиях.

Заключая рецензию, назовем показатели, позволяющие считать монографию О. Соколовой и Е. Захаркив «Прагматика и поэтика: поэтический дискурс в новых медиа» значимым научным событием: эмпирическая база в виде авторского поэтического корпуса (общий объем 2873 текста, включающий 1664 текста современных русскоязычных поэтов и 1209 текстов современных

англоязычных поэтов) позволила обеспечить валидность типологических объединений и обобщающих выводов; расширено представление о связи прагматики и поэтики через междисциплинарное описание дискурсивных маркеров; заявлен алгоритмический уровень анализа дискурсивных слов через многоступенчатый переход от семантики к прагматике; показана роль технологий в формировании новых моделей коммуникации и новых дискурсивных практик в современной русской, итальянской и американской поэзии, что открыло возможности сравнительного анализа; доказано, что традиционная дихотомия «устная — письменная коммуникация» в современной поэзии дополнилась третьим модусом — интернет-коммуникацией. В итоге «невидимая часть прагматики» (см. запись конференции «Язык — дискурс — корпус»: ENA, November 25, 2025)[1] обрела видимые контуры в таком значимом культурном сегменте, как поэзия. О резонансности идей авторов монографии с текущими запросами исследователей поэзии свидетельствуют отклики в виде цитирования (Бусарева 2024).

Отношения между аналоговой поэзией — традиционной вербальной поэзией, основывающаяся на линейности текста, и цифровой поэзией, интегрирующей мультимодальные элементы и экспериментирующей с формами включения читателя в пространство текста, остаются напряженными (Дударева, Арипова, Никитина 2024). Но с течением времени очевидно, что взаимодействие этих сущностей неизбежно (Синельникова 2024), тем более что, как доказано в рецензируемой монографии, цифровая среда способствует реализации когнитивно-коммуникативных резервов поэзии, что соответствует сущности этого вида творческой деятельности.

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Book Reviews / Рецензии

Review of Zolyan S.T., Tulchinsky G.L., Chernyavskaya V.E. 2024. *Pragmasemantics and philosophy of language*. Moscow: YASK. 326 p.

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Рецензия на монографию: Золян С.Т., Тульчинский Г. Л., Чернявская В.Е. *Прагмасемантика и философия языка*. М.: Издательский Дом ЯСК, 2024. 328 с.

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Современные логико-семантические исследования процессов и механизмов понимания смысла, интерпретации языкового выражения активно изучаются как в лингвистической прагматике (Которова 2019), так и в смежных социальных науках: когнитивной психологии, социологии, политологии и т. д. Общепринятым становится понимание недостаточности рассмотрения языкового знака внутри языковой системы, изоляции его от социального контекста, что приводит к детальному рассмотрению возможностей осмысления высказывания в зависимости от набора возможных контекстов его использования. Можно говорить о взаимовлиянии лингвистических теорий и

социальных наук, позволяющих развивать прагматику с междисциплинарных позиций.

Рецензируемая монография посвящена современным исследованиям прагматического варьирования семантических процессов, анализу проблем порождения и интерпретации смысла высказывания в различных социокультурных контекстах. Она является продолжением исследования, опубликованного в работе «Динамика смысла. Глубокая семиотика и стереометрическая семантика» (Золян, Тульчинский 2024).

Авторская концепция, определяемая как прагмасемантика, служит решению проблемы преодоления границы между традиционной семантикой и прагматикой, построению динамической модели взаимодействия языкового знака и контекста. В исследовании целенаправленно используется принцип междисциплинарности: терминологический аппарат строится на выявлении общих характеристик в языковой, естественно-научной, поэтической и политической системах. Прагмасемантика, или социально-ориентированная прагматика, трактуется как семантическое описание контекстно зависимых языковых структур. Она должна служить мостом (интерфейсом) перехода от языкового значения к реализованному в контексте смыслу. Модель прагмасемантики помещает знаковую систему языка в семиотическое пространство, объединяющее естественно-научные, поэтические, политические модели, что позволяет по-новому посмотреть на многие не до конца осмысленные проблемы лингвистики.

Динамическая система интерпретации смысла в прагмасемантической модели представлена как рефлексивное самоописание с опорой на апофатику, возможность дальнейшей переинтерпретации смысла. Апофатика предполагает разрыв замкнутой и самодостаточной модели языка, дающий потенциал для нового осмысления, переинтерпретации старого понимания под влиянием разнообразных контекстов.

Понимание смысла языкового знака представлено как динамически-операциональный акт, прохождение языкового значения через набор контекстов с возможностью рекурсивного возвращения к началу для переинтерпретации. Динамически создается «герменевтическая петля», при которой разные семиотические уровни интерпретации смысла взаимодействуют и служат ретрансляторами друг друга.

Проблема интерпретации языкового знания переводит акцент с автора высказывания — центра традиционной прагматики, на адресата, получателя языкового сообщения. Новым в представленной модели является отход от понимания субъекта-интерпретатора смысла как индивида. Субъект рассматривается обобщенно, как носитель социального опыта, он может рассматриваться даже просто как набор типовых социальных контекстов, «каскад интерфейсов» для осмысления высказывания.

Предлагаемая теоретическая модель потребовала подробного критического анализа устоявшихся философских, семантических и прагматических

понятий: *дейксиса, индексальности, импликатуры, перформатива, перлокуции, апофатики* и т. д.

Последовательность глав в монографии имеет необычный характер, отчасти напоминающий структуру диалога. Два основных автора — С.Т. Золян и Г.Л. Тульчинский — чередуют разделы в книге, между которыми в определенный момент встраивается раздел В.Е. Чернявской. Диалогический характер текста подчеркивается включением в него заключительного раздела, материалов Круглого стола, на котором были подняты актуальные для данной книги вопросы. Кратко остановимся на содержании разделов монографии.

В первом разделе «Прагмасемантика — интерфейс, платформа и механизм формирования смысла» (автор С.Т. Золян) поднимаются проблемы соотношения языка и отражаемой им действительности, представленные в традиционном противопоставлении семантики и прагматики. Прагмасемантика предлагает механизм развертывания смысла в череде социокультурных и контекстов, непосредственных и опосредованных, их взаимовлияние на множественность интерпретаций.

Во втором разделе «Апофатический семиозис: источники, содержание и потенциал» (автор Г.Л. Тульчинский) делается акцент на несводимости смысла к социальному опыту, способности выходить за его пределы при движении к новому через апофатическую установку. Автор обращается к истории апофатической и катафатической установок в истории христианства, отчасти приведшей к противопоставлению православия и католичества, противопоставлению русской и западной философии, а затем обращается к роли апофатики при смыслопорождении. По мысли автора, «отрицание не только и не столько уничтожает, сколько переводит внимание на другое» (с. 31), что дает перспективу для переосмысления, возникновения новых смыслов.

Третий раздел «Прагматика как самопорождение самого-по-себе субъекта» (автор С.Т. Золян) возвращает к обсуждению истоков прагматики, теориям Ч. Морриса и Ч. Пирса, обсуждению необходимости в семиотической теории субъекта в отношениях между означающим и означаемым. Возможность интерпретации прагматики без субъекта иллюстрируются на примере генетики, а именно на примере биохимических процессов с их самостоятельным последовательным развертыванием через регулятивные функции. От генетики автор переходит к концепции «самовозрастающего логоса» Ю.М. Лотмана: культуры, текста, семиосферы, определяющих логику формирования смысла (Лотман 1992).

В четвертом разделе «Прагмасемантика субъективности» автор (Г.Л. Тульчинский) останавливается на междисциплинарной области субъективности, лежащей на перекрестке философии, психологии, когнитивистики, экономики и других социальных наук. Человек становится человеком в процессе коммуникации, когда он открыт новому, свободен и ответственен одновременно. Решение этого противоречия автор видит в апофатике, роль которой раскрывается на примерах анализа исторического опыта СССР,

а также анализа теорий Г.П. Щедровицкого (Щедровицкий 2001) и А.А. Зиновьева (Зиновьев 2022). Касаясь современного исторического этапа, автор выражает обеспокоенность возрастающими возможностями технологического контроля над областью субъективности, понимаемой как имеющий автономию феномен.

Идея субъективности находит продолжение в пятом разделе «Местоимение "Я": механизм само- и иноописания». Автор (С.Т. Золян) рассматривает набор возможностей осмысления личного местоимения «Я», начиная с прямого дейктического значения — говорящего лица в диалоге, и переходя к его метафорическим и метонимическим значениям, перформативным и дескриптивным контекстам понимания, роли участника и наблюдателя, способности занимать место собеседника в условных контекстах. Оригинальность авторского подхода заключается в предложении не членить все контекстно обусловленные значения, а представить их в виде «некоторого полифонического единства, <...> системы интерфейсов между языком как системы и текстом» (с. 140–141).

Шестой раздел «Прагмасемантика в свете интенциональности» представлен последовательно обоими авторами. Г.Л. Тульчинский начинает его подразделом, связывающим понятие прагмасемантики с теориями рациональности и подводит к вопросу об исходных условиях возможности высказывания. Обзор продолжает С.Т. Золян, который обращается к философии И. Канта (Кант 1966) и М. Фуко (Фуко 2012) для определения контекстной и национально-культурной зависимости высказываний говорящего лица. Переплетение контекстовых интерпретаций при формировании смысла языкового знака автор уподобляет ленте Мёбиуса. Возможность интерпретаций связывается понятием импликатуры, введенным П. Грайсом (Грайс 1985, см. также Киклевич 2022). Автор расширяет возможности импликатур введением лингвосемиотических механизмов, влиянием экспрессивной и поэтической функций, что позволяет переводить импликатуры в окказиональное контекстно-управляемое смыслопорождение.

В седьмом разделе «Прагмасемантика в метаперспективе: социальная индексальность» (автор В.Е. Чернявская) на фоне полноценного анализа контекстно ориентированных теорий современной прагматики отмечается роль прагмасемантики в развитии понятия индексальности, через которое в языковом знаке выявляются социальные роли говорящего и социальные коннотации.

В восьмой разделе «Прагмасемантика социальных и политических процессов» Г.Л. Тульчинский рассматривает роль прагмасемантических интерфейсов в социально-культурных практиках политического дискурса. Автор делает акцент на формировании смысловой картины мира в политическом дискурсе через символическое оформление текста, которое должно согласовываться с мировоззрением масс и детерминировать это мировоззрение. С.Т. Золян продолжает раздел анализом и переосмыслением понятия

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