TRAINING, LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Professional Communication:

Inquiries into Language Across Borders

Edited by Dr Salvador Pons Bordería and Dr Shima Salameh Jiménez

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Introduction to Issue 7(2)

by Guest Editors Dr Salvador Pons Bordería
and Dr Shima Salameh Jiménez

TLC is pleased to announce its special issue, *Professional Communication: Inquiries into Language Across Borders*. The relevance of this topic is supported by the very different approaches exploring it in different languages. Particularly, the contributions included in this issue examine how language in professional communication is produced through different qualitative and quantitative analyses – semantic, pragmatic, cognitive – and by using novel techniques for data obtention. Results are applied to different languages, such as Russian, English, or Chinese, and show a wide cultural representativity.

In *A socio-onomastic study of the 2022 FIFA World Cup football teams' nicknames*, Olimat et al. explore the way sports teams' nicknames reflect a country's identity. The study sets out to address two main research questions: which are the most frequent onomastic categories for nicknames in the FWC and which attitudes are shown by Jordanian youth towards the nicknames related to the different teams? The first question has been addressed by compiling lists of teams and their corresponding nicknames gathered from official football organisations. A total of 40 nicknames have been obtained and analysed by applying the socio-onomastic approaches, which revealed five categories for these nicknames: flag, animal, metaphor, culture, and direct national team title. The second question has been addressed through 12 close-ended questionnaires exploring attitudes from 1000 undergraduate students from different public universities in Jordan. Results have shown that people do not support teams by their regional affiliation, neither their ethnic similarity. Rather, almost 85% of answers are based on supporting their favourite teams, which, in turn, depends on the players the teams are composed of. This shows the way nicknames enable a strong bond between fans and the football culture and how nicknames can influence the attitudes of international audiences.

In *Metaphor power and language typology: Analysis of correlation on the material of the United Nations Declarations*, Leontovich et al. also deal with the role of metaphor in communicative processes. However, their work focuses on a different type of linguistic context, which is the United Nations Declarations. The paper studies the possible correlation between the typological features of languages and their predisposition to metaphorical expression in three languages – Russian, English, and Chinese. To that end, two texts have been examined, namely the *United Nations Millennium Declaration*, and *A Universal Declaration on a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World*. These texts share a very close semantic, structural, and stylistic structure, and have been verified by high-class translators, which makes them highly comparable for this research. Some relevant results reveal correlations between language typology and metaphors. There are differences in the metaphoric density index between the three languages compared, with a significant deviation in Chinese. Also, there is a strong link between isolation as a typological category and the metaphor power: the higher the isolation, the bigger the number of metaphors employed in the text. Agglutination is connected with metaphor density, which means that the higher the degree of agglutination, the fewer metaphors are revealed. Last, synthesis shows an inverse correlation, whereby vivid structural metaphors are more frequent when the level of synthesis is lower. In sum, isolating languages seem to be more figurative than the synthetic ones, as the study ultimately suggests.

In *How headlines communicate: A functional-pragmatic analysis of small-format texts in English-language mass media*, Dmitry Khramchenko focuses on a very specific pragmatic analysis of mass media by exploring the communicative force of headlines in English. The author proposes a functional-pragmatic approach and views headlines as autonomous units of communication within the theory of small-format texts. Some research questions addressed in the analysis focus on the distinctive functional-pragmatic features of small-format texts in English-language media discourse, the informative and persuasive potential of small-format texts, their specific features, and the way small-format texts affect the structure of the publication, specifically regarding its semantics. Results have revealed that small-format texts can be subdivided into two groups: headlines with dominant informative function and different degrees of semantic-structural compression with a clear theme-rheme division, and titles with a big pragmatic impact reflected through manipulative and persuasive values and a key role of hypertextual links between secondary and primary speech products. As shown by the results, this paper effectively addresses a gap in English-language media discourse studies.

In *A corpus analysis of cohesion in World Health Organization speeches by the Director General on Covid-19 vaccination*, Nakajima et al. also analyse internal textual mechanisms in discourses. Specifically, this work addresses the speeches delivered by the Director General of the World Health Organization regarding the progress of the Covid-19 vaccination. The study employs functional linguistics as a framework to examine the use of cohesive devices and thematic structures in these speeches. This framework proposes three main semantic systems behind the production of meaning in language, which are ideational, interpersonal, and textual. Study results shed light on the thematic structures and cohesive devices used in the speeches and explain how these are employed to produce cohesion. Study results have revealed that the ideational theme, which implies lack of emphasis on the speaker's relationship with the audience, is less frequent. The most frequent type is that of topical themes, meaning that the topics related to Covid-19 were the basis of these discourses. In line with similar studies, unmarked topical themes could be frequent because of their simplicity and direct structure, leading to a clearer comprehension. Reference, conjunction, repetition, and collocation are the most fruitful cohesive devices in the speeches analysed, with reference and conjunction appearing as the most commonly used.

In *To be or not to be critical in academic communication? Pragmatics of evaluative language in Russian academic book reviews*, Valeria Chernyavskaya analyses the use of evaluative language in Russian academic book reviews to describe how scholarly criticism and evaluative devices are presented in Russian reviews regarding some specific aspects, such as the content of the book, the scientific knowledge represented, the structure of the book and its practical value, and the application of the results obtained. General results show that 29 out of 40 reviews were positive, not conveying criticism, discords, drawbacks, or weak points of the reviewed concepts. The other texts present a total of 498 evaluative contexts, including 388 positive evaluation contexts and 110 negative evaluation contexts. Negative contexts, in turn, have been categorised into direct explicit disagreement, opposition, criticism, and indirect negative evaluation (mitigated). This last categorisation has considered lexical, grammatical, pragmatic, and semantic features leading to four mitigation strategies. Specific results on these strategies include the use of euphemisms, critical judgements as an alternative opinion, presentation of the peer as the collective subject, criticism pairs (a positive comment preceding the negative one), and non-attendance of first-person pronouns in the peer's identification.

In *Manifestations of politeness and power in problem-solving business telephone calls*, Irina Lebedeva and Evgeniya Ponomarenko explore politeness and facework processes in a very specific, but frequent context of communication, which is problem-solving business telephone calls, where there are clear asymmetries between speakers. From the CA framework, this paper inquires if the degree of politeness is related to the power or social role involved in problem-solving phone interactions, how the degree of imposition and setting affect the use of politeness in these contexts, and whether different problem-solving routines can be applied depending on the different situations in phone calls. The study utilises authentic call transcriptions from Business English textbooks, focusing on task-oriented calls. The findings indicate that opening routines in these calls follow a formulaic pattern, with greetings predominantly featuring positive politeness and no observable correlation with power dynamics. Similarly, the closing routine adheres to a formulaic structure, emphasising positive politeness. The problem-solving phase exhibits a diverse range of strategies due to its complex structure. During the claim phase, superiors either state their position outright or employ hedging and apology strategies, while subordinates employ both positive and negative politeness approaches. Thus, the study emphasises the importance of examining social variables in telephone interactions and connecting them to the pragmatic factor that influences the use of politeness.

Similarly, in *American telephone voice: Socio-phonetic features of identity in professional and non-professional discourse*, Tatiana Shevchenko and Tatiana Sokoreva also consider telephone interactions. However, they focus on the description of socio-phonetic features behind identity in professional and non-professional American discourses. The authors start from the premise that prosodic characteristics, such as pitch, pitch range, intensity, and voice quality, reflect social categories such as age, gender, and style in these types of discourses. Some of the general areas in which these features are commonly explored are public speaking, acting, news reading in mass-media, singing, business, forensic phonetics, health service, academic activity, internet mediated communication, or face-to-face interaction. In this paper, voice features in telephone recordings have been analysed suggesting that these features are equally employed in professional and non-professional contexts. Study results reveal that elder generations reflect changes in their pitch: men's voices acquire higher tones, while women's voices become lower. This change is also supported by the jitter level, which turns out higher for senior speakers.

In *Language and cognition behind simile construction: A Python-powered corpus research*, Elizaveta Grishechko deals with another specific professional communicative scenario: the use of simile constructions in online food reviews with a special focus on linguistic and cognitive mechanisms. Particularly, the study explores the ways reviewers employ figurative language to frame their experiences and opinions related to food. The corpus has been constructed by retrieving reviews from the Amazon Fine Foods Reviews dataset, which encompasses 500,000 reviews. The "like + gerund" simile has been searched by using the Python programming language and by finding out regular expressions (regex) to isolate instances of this construction. All the samples were manually filtered so as to remove false positives, ensuring the validity and reliability of data. Results are based on 10,689 'like + gerund' constructions after the manual filter. Concretely, the Extrinsic frame covers 3,027 samples. This result is the most predominant in the database, suggesting that reviewers draw on their existing knowledge to describe novel experiences, in line with other previous works. Similes act as cognitive bridges linking new experiences (food) to previous known concepts, such as hardware, material, nature, drugs, chemical products, etc. There also seems to be an interplay between this result and the cognitive mechanisms involved, such as associative memory, analogical reasoning, creative imagination, emotional expression, attention directing, sensory perception, or sensory detail encoding. Results can also be related to potential aggressive narratives, which can be tested through the lexical choices, exaggerated comparisons, incongruent pairings, creative similes, and the use of insipid substances as a basis for comparison, among others. The author's conclusions point out how results can be associated with the persuasive power of language.

Finally, the issue offers Ran Yi's review of *Language, power, and intercultural communication: The policies and politics of translation* – a book that raises a crucial question in the field of translation and, thus, of professional communication: what is the role of language translators as professionals nowadays?

In sum, this special issue of *Training, Language and Culture* accurately captures specific aspects of professional communication, highlighting its global nature and emphasising the importance of adopting new approaches supported by robust theoretical and methodological frameworks.

Original Research

A socio-onomastic study of the 2022 FIFA World Cup football teams' nicknames

by Sameer Naser Olimat, Dana Khalid Mahadin and Kholod Naser Olimat

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Despite growing research interest into the language of sports, little research investigates football teams' nicknames significance and fan attitudes. The objective of this study is two-fold: to explore Jordanian youth attitudes and views towards these nicknames using a close-ended questionnaire, and to classify and analyse the nicknames into different categories from a socio-onomastic perspective. The study aims to answer two research questions. 1. What are the socio-onomastic categories of the 22nd World Cup football teams' nicknames? 2. What are the views and attitudes of Jordanian youth towards the 22nd World Cup football teams' nicknames? The current study uses a mixed methods approach. A list of the 22nd World Cup football teams' nicknames was collected from several football sources. These nicknames were classified and analysed from a socio-onomastic perspective based on Skipper (1990), Leslie and Skipper (1990), and Wilson and Skipper (1990). In addition, a close-ended questionnaire was developed and distributed to 1,000 undergraduate students from different Jordanian public universities. The data analysis reveals that the Jordanian fans, while aware of the origin and meanings of their teams' nicknames, do not use them exclusively in their discourse. The findings demonstrate that around three quarters of the Jordanian fans follow the 22nd World Cup teams due to reasons other than geographical or ethnic affiliation. The results also show that football team nicknames can be complex in their construction from a socio-onomastic perspective and capitalise on different national, animal, metaphorical, and cultural symbols. Further research is recommended on the importance of national football nicknames in light of increased globalisation and commercialisation of sports, and utilisation of nicknames by different users and on different platforms.

KEYWORDS: *socio-onomastics, nickname, football language, FIFA, world cup, sports language*

1. INTRODUCTION

Big sporting events are seen as opportunities to foster a sense of international unity and solidarity, where sports are viewed as a 'powerful signifier of identity' and a 'source of cultural symbolism' (Houlihan, 1997, p. 135). In international sporting tournaments, such as the 22nd FIFA World Cup, national teams represent their culture, geography, and history. With that in mind, national teams often have nicknames that tend to reflect part of their country's identity. Names, by their nature, reflect a substantial part of society, and therefore cannot be considered outside of it. This extends to nicknames in sports as they are consciously constructed by different actors, such as governments, coaches and media, in an attempt to form, emphasise, and substantiate a country's or nation's identity (Awad, 2012; Kleszynski, 2013). The use of football teams' nicknames is

an interesting stylistic feature where they are used to refer to names that are generally accepted by news reporters and football audiences (Huang et al., 2021). Since the way in which people utilise language in sports depends on the 'cultural norms that surround them' (Wilson, 2021, p. 2), investigating the sports language is integral to 'research on the creation of a culture that has meaning in the lives of all people who participate in sport' (Wilson, 2021, p. 2). The current study aims to examine the origin and diversity of the World Cup 2022 teams' nicknames through a socio-onomastic lens, where national, historical, geographical, animal, metaphorical, and cultural elements in their nicknames are investigated.

The World Cup is a large-scale global event where national teams have developed a wide base of international fans, who identify with them at different levels (Vallerand et al., 2008).

'Onomastics is a diverse and rich field under which many name categories and subcategories are subsumed. These include toponomastics, i.e., the study of place names; anthroponomastics, i.e., the study of personal or proper names; literary onomastics, i.e., the study of the names in literature and other types of fiction; and socio-onomastics, i.e., the study of names within a society or culture'

Football teams' nicknames are emotionally provocative and can flame the passions of their fans (Lawson & Phillips, 1985). Understanding how international fans perceive the 22nd World Cup teams' nicknames is pertinent. Therefore, the present study explores the Jordanian fans' perspectives regarding these nicknames. In particular, the present study aims to answer the following questions. 1. What are the socio-onomastic categories of the 22nd World Cup football teams' nicknames? 2. What are the views and attitudes of Jordanian youth towards the 22nd World Cup football teams' nicknames?

To address these questions, the study establishes the theoretical framework of the research, followed by a short review of related literature in nicknaming in football. Then, the adopted research methodology is discussed. After that, the data analysis and findings are explained. The final section comprises concluding remarks and implications for further research.

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

The current study uses a mixed method approach to provide both qualitative and quantitative data (Bryman, 2012; Craswell, 2015). For the purpose of collecting and presenting quantitative data, the researchers developed a 12 close-ended statement questionnaire to explore Jordanian fans' attitudes towards the 22nd World Cup football teams' nicknames. Once the statements were developed, they were evaluated by three expert linguistics professors in different Jordanian public universities, to assess the language and clarity of the statements. Their recommendations were minimal and focused on question order and word choice. All were incorporated into the questionnaire. The questionnaire was designed using Google Forms and was accessible to the participants during the whole 22nd World Cup tournament, 20 November – 18 December 2022. The reason behind that decision was to utilise the interest of the respondents in such a big international tournament. The questionnaire was filled in by 1000 undergraduate students from different public universities in Jordan.

For the qualitative data collection, several procedures were adopted. A list of the participating national football teams' nicknames in the 22nd World Cup was sourced from football organisations and associations, such as Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), FIFA 22nd World Cup 2022, Asian Football confederations (AFC), Confederation of African Football (CAF), Confederation of North, Central America and Caribbean Association Football (CONCACAF), CONfederación Su-

daMEricana de FútBOL South American Football Confederation (CONMEBOL), and Union of European Football Associations (UEFA). Additionally, the websites of the national associations of the football teams participating in 22nd World Cup were used to verify their nicknames. If national football teams have more than one nickname, a Google-based search (country + national football team's nickname) was used to identify the most popular one, highly used in the media. In some cases, two nicknames or more for the same football team were selected because the researchers were not able to identify the most common one. This explains why the total number of the investigated nicknames reached 40 although the number of 22nd World Cup football teams was 32.

The 40 nicknames were classified into five categories, namely flag, animal, metaphor, culture, and direct national team title, to elicit and analyse the distinctive features of these nicknames from a socio-onomastic point of view. The qualitative-based analysis depends mainly on Skipper (1990), Leslie and Skipper (1990), and Wilson and Skipper (1990). Out of the five, four were subcategorised according to the reference they represent. The flag-based category was divided into colour-related and symbolism-related references. The animal-based category includes lions, birds, dragons, and kangaroos. The metaphor-based category involves war, persistence, and exploration. Finally, the culture-based reference comprises references related to local dance, song, and language. The national team title category is the only one with no subcategories, where all the associated nicknames directly refer to the football team. It is important to note that despite this categorisation, these nicknames are complex, and the categorisation is intended to facilitate the presentation of data and discussion as the following sections will show.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The theoretical framework of the current research is positioned within the context and relevant scholarly literature on onomastics, particularly socio-onomastics. This theoretical framework serves as a roadmap for justifying the significance of the work (Lederman & Lederman, 2015; Kivunja, 2018). Onomastics is the study of names. It is a diverse and rich field under which many name categories and subcategories are subsumed. These include toponomastics, i.e., the study of place names; anthroponomastics, i.e., the study of personal or proper names; literary onomastics, i.e., the study of the names in literature and other types of fiction; and socio- onomastics, i.e., the study of names within a society or culture (Hough, 2016; Ainiala & Östman, 2017). The continued research interest in name meanings and origin socially and culturally has a long history and is 'arguably the most ancient topic area in the whole of linguistics since it was first problematised by Plato in his Cratylus, and it is, notwithstanding its antiquity, one with foundational problems still to be resolved' (Coates, 2006, p. 7). Socio-onomastics is a linguistic branch linking language with the notions of culture and society where names usually reflect linguistic structures and socio-cultural meanings. Socio-onomastics is defined as 'a study of

people's beliefs and perceptions regarding names and name use' (Ainiala, 2016, p. 106). It examines socio-linguistic and pragmatic manifestations of names and their identities socially, culturally, and linguistically (Ainiala & Östman, 2017; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985). Much of socio-onomastics research has focused on toponyms, with little research into nicknames and bynames (Skipper, 1990). Nicknaming in sports, particularly football, has received increased scholarly attention due to the popularity of the sport and the multifaceted nature of football-related nicknames (Awad, 2012).

Leslie and Skipper (1990) argue that 'names are not just arbitrary symbols; they signify status, achievement, privilege, and meaningful social organisation. They may communicate ethnicity, social status, and social prestige all understood as meaningful within social contexts' (Leslie & Skipper, 1990, p. 273). Pfukwa (2003) contends that a nickname is 'a social statement reflecting the bearer, the namer and the social environment in which the name is found' (Pfukwa, 2003, p. 16). Similarly, Kostanski and Puzey (2016) claim that nicknames are powerful means with cultural influence and social interaction among individuals, adding that nicknames are strongly linked to identity and used to show community norms, connections, and reliance (Kostanski & Puzey, 2016). The centrality of nicknaming to the construction of identity requires more extensive research (Ainiala & Östman, 2017). Besides its official name, every football team in international tournaments bears a popular nickname with implied meanings and flavours. These nicknames evoke certain emotions related to identity, performance, culture, geographic localities, or place of origin (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Kostanski & Puzey, 2016).

Despite continuing interest in onomastic research in general, and the language of sports in particular (Wilson, 2021), few studies have examined nicknaming practices in football in relation to international audiences. Examining the role of the nicknaming of footballers and their respective local teams in the African context, Ndimande-Hlongwa (2010) found that teams' nicknames illustrate Africa's multilingual culture and communities' role in influencing football nicknaming practices. Out of the 16 nicknames investigated, 12 were found to originate from different South African language groups, a country with 12 official languages. The author concludes that the unanimous adoption and social use of these names underpins football's role in 'nation-building, unification, respect, mutual understanding and in transcending cultural boundaries' (Ndimande-Hlongwa, 2010, p. 96). The study recommends research be carried out to examine the cultural, social, and political roles of football nicknames. Awad (2012) carried out a socio-linguistic analysis of football teams' nicknames in the 2010 South Africa World Cup. The study explored the use of nicknames to emphasise and substantiate national identity and solidarity by utilising an eclectic approach combining audience design, mask theory, and critical discourse analysis. The study classified nicknames into six conceptual metaphors related to war, animals, colour, dancing, masculinity, and others. According to Awad (2012), animal and colour

metaphors constitute more than half of the nicknames with a 57% prevalence. Mambwe and Da Costa (2015) explored the connotative meaning, specific features, and source of nicknames of selected national football teams in the South Africa World Cup 2010. The research found that the football nicknaming practices reveal the identity of local societies, people's pride in distinct national characteristics, and patriotism for their respective nation's most endeared natural resource. Babane and Chauke (2015) examine nicknaming in the South African context, but with a focus on players' nicknames rather than teams. Based on semi-structured interviews of 10 players, the study found that the nicknames were given based on player behaviour, performance, style, and commitment, and that these names are usually given to players by fans, teammates, or coaches. The study also found that players tend to be called by their nicknames rather than their personal names. Nyambi (2016) explores the impact of football team nicknaming based on Zimbabwean national identity. The study underscored the semantic and political functions of two footballing nicknames, i.e., Warriors and Mighty Warriors, used by the ruling party for the purposes of 'political re-engineering of gender and power relations in the party and nation' (Nyambi, 2016, p. 15). The power of these two nicknames in the Zimbabwean context has transcended sports and was a useful vehicle to serve the political goals and narrative of the ruling party.

What can be gleaned from these studies is that football is closely linked to identity, culture, society, geography, and history. Therefore, investigating different aspects of football language can provide an understanding of the world in which we live (Wilson, 2021). Olimat (2020) contends that language plays an instrumental role in understanding people's socio-cultural behaviours. This is also true of the power language has within football. Ndimande-Hlongwa (2010) argues that team nicknames are not chosen arbitrarily, and that they convey prowess, determination to prevail, a fighting spirit, and other emotionally provocative thoughts. The previous studies have also shown that football nicknames can be used by many actors, i.e., governments, fans, media, to serve numerous purposes. Despite the growing research into socio-onomastics, however, more research on football teams' nicknames within global sport events, such as the World Cup is needed. In the current study, the analytical investigation of the 22nd World Cup football teams' nicknames is supported by quantitative data, i.e., the statistics, numbers, and percentages, of Jordanian fans' views and attitudes towards these nicknames.

4. STUDY RESULTS
4.1. Perspective analysis
To better understand Jordanian youth's attitudes towards the nicknames of players in football teams, part one of the survey includes their response to an introductory statement to elicit information about their favourite team in the 22nd World Cup tournament. In their responses, Brazil came first (25.9%) followed by Argentina (20.5%) and Saudi Arabia (19.1%).

Part two of the survey contains five statements. In statement one, more than three quarters of the respondents indicated that they do not follow their teams due to regional affiliation. Similarly, in statement two, about three quarters of respondents signalled that ethnic similarity is not the reason they chose to follow their team. In statement three, the majority of the responses, totalling 84.6%, stated that a team's sports performance is the main reason for choosing a favourite team. In statement four, 75% of the respondents said that they chose their favourite team because of its players. The responses to the four statements are supported by the opening statement of the questionnaire that asked respondents to choose their 22nd World Cup favourite team. Although the 22nd World Cup had four Arab teams, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Morocco, and Tunisia, the two most favoured teams were not Arab teams. In response to statement four, which inquired about the feeling evoked upon hearing their favourite team nickname, 27% of respondents felt proud, 26.7% felt happy, 14.5% felt motivated, while 11.8% felt connected to the team and 9.4% felt powerful. Of the 1,000 respondents, only 10.3% said they felt nothing.

These findings would support the arguments advocated by Feng et. al (2020) on the role of nicknames in team-fan relationship building and identification.

Table 1 below summarises the respondents' answers to the five statements of the second part of the questionnaire concerning reasons for following favourite 22nd World Cup teams.

Table 1
Jordanians' reasons for following favourite 22nd World Cup teams

No.	STATEMENT	ANSWERS	
		YES	NO
1.	I follow my favourite team in the World Cup because it is from my region.	76.1%	23.9%
2.	I follow my favourite team in the World Cup because we share the same ethnicity.	71.8%	28.2%
3.	I follow my favourite team in the World Cup because it has a good football record and performance.	84.6%	15.4%
4.	I follow my favourite team in the World Cup because I like some of its players.	75%	25%
5.	When I hear the nickname of my football team, I feel_____.	proud	27%
		happy	26.7%
		motivated	14.8%
		connected	11.8%
		strong	9.4%
		nothing	10.3%

Part three of the questionnaire has 6 statements examining Jordanian youth's knowledge of football teams' nicknames. The responses to these statements support previous studies (Feng et. al 2020) indicating that nicknames have copious functions, such as breaking down barriers, promoting closeness for fans, and facilitating identification with the team. In responses to statements 1-3 around three quarters of respondents noted that they knew the team's nickname and its meaning, while about two thirds of them knew their team's nickname origin. The responses to statement 4 were very close, where 51.6% of the respondents believed that it was important to have a team nickname, while 48.4% did not believe that it was important. Although about three quarters of the participants knew their team's nickname, more than half of them opted to use its official name in discourse instead, as appears in responses to statement 5. In this sense, 38.7% said that they used both the team's official name and nickname, and only 6.3% signalled that they used only the team's nickname. Studies of the language of sports have indicated that the language fans use to describe their team, should be considered a sub-variety of football language (Lewandowski, 2008), and it would be interesting to explore when and how fans use teams' different names and nicknames. Statement six asked respondents to choose what they believed would make the most impressive nickname. Nicknames with a national reference came first with 58.2%, followed by animal reference (21.3%), military reference (10.3%) and artistic reference (10.2%). It would seem that nicknames associated with national and animal references have higher importance for respondents in comparison to the rest. Table 2 summarises respondents' answers to these statements.

Table 2
Jordanians' knowledge of their favourite 22nd World Cup teams' nicknames information

No.	STATEMENT	ANSWERS	
		YES	NO
1.	I know the nickname of my favourite team.	73.4%	26.6%
2.	The meaning of my football team's nickname is clear to me.	72.6%	27.4%
3.	The origin of my football team's nickname is clear to me.	66.5%	33.5%
4.	It is important for me that my football team has a nickname.	51.6%	48.4 %
5.	When I talk about my favourite team, I use its_____.	official name	55%
		official and nickname	38.7%
		nickname	6.3%
6.	In my opinion, the most impressive football teams' nicknames are those that are associated with a/an_____.	national reference	48.1%
		animal reference	21.3%
		metaphorical reference	10.3%
		artistic reference	10.2%
		other	9.9%

4.2. Socio-onomastic analysis

The World Cup 2022 team's nicknames are classified and analysed according to the reference they represent, including flag, animal, metaphor, culture, and national team title. Koller (2004) observes that several words related to 'wars', 'animals' and 'colours' are popular when creating football teams' nicknames. Although there are 32 national teams participating in the 22nd World Cup in Qatar, the total number of investigated nicknames is 40. Some teams have more than one common nickname, used by broadcasters, fans, and news outlets. Thus, some teams can be found in more than one group. Table 3 illustrates the suggested categories along with their subcategories and their frequency.

4.2.1. Flag-based reference

Teams' nicknames based on flag-based reference incorporate elements from the national flag of their countries. These elements could either be a colour or a symbol, and as such are all related to the country's national identity. In this regard, nearly half of the survey respondents stated that nicknames with a national reference were the most impressive. The analysis reveals that flag-based references are used 16 times in the creation of the teams' nicknames, divided into two main subcategories: flag colour-based reference and flag symbolism-based reference.

Flag colour-based reference. This subcategory consists of 9 teams where the colour of the national flag plays a significant role in the nickname practices. For example, Qatar's team nick-

name is the Maroons, which is the predominant colour in the Qatari national flag. Similarly, Saudi Arabia's team is commonly known as 'Al-Akhdar' meaning 'The Greens' in reference to the dominant colour of the Saudi flag. Green holds religious and historical connotations in the prevailing religion of Saudi Arabia, Islam. The colour appears in numerous verses in the Quran, particularly in reference to paradise and it is traditionally associated with prosperity and good life. It is concluded that the two Arab countries' football teams' nicknames depend mainly on their national flag's prevailing colour (Awad, 2012; Kleszynski, 2013).

In the European context, the flag colour-based reference is most frequently encountered in the teams' nicknames. For instance, Denmark's football team is nicknamed 'De Rød-Hvide' meaning 'The Red and Whites', which is inspired by their national flag. Likewise, Poland is known as 'Biało-czerwoni' meaning 'The White and Red', which are the dominant colours in their national flag. Additionally, the Spanish football team is known as 'La Roja' meaning 'The Red One', in accordance with the red colour of the flag's horizontal top and bottom stripes (Delgado, 2010). Furthermore, France's team is called 'Les Bleus' meaning 'The Blues', in reference to the blue jersey of the team's uniform along with some white and red, in an echo of the French flag. The excessive use of colours in European teams' nicknames may refer to the fact that these unofficial names associated with colour-based references were friendly enough for fans and closely linked with the colour of the team's uniform (Craswell, 2015).

Table 3
Categories of the 2022 FIFA World Cup teams' nicknames

No.	CATEGORY	SUB-CATEGORIES	FREQUENCY	TOTAL
1.	Flag colour-based	Flag colour-based	9	16
		Flag symbolism-based	7	
2.	Animal-based reference	Lion-based	5	12
		Bird-based	5	
		Mythical animal	1	
		Kangaroo	1	
3.	Metaphor-based reference	War/Military	2	4
		Persistence	1	
		Exploration	1	
4.	Culture-based reference	Dance	2	4
		Song	2	
		Language	1	
5.	National title reference	National team title	4	4

However, there are two national teams from South America adopting colour in their nicknames. Argentina's team is known as 'La Albiceleste' meaning 'The White and Sky Blue'. This nickname has been inspired from the white and blue stripes in their national flag representing the sky and clouds. Likewise, Uruguay's football team is called 'La Celeste' meaning 'The Sky Blue' in reference to the colour of their national flag. It can be concluded that football teams use colour-based nicknames to showcase national symbols, including the demonstration of the flag as well as clothing and colours of the team's uniform.

As seen in the above discussion, a team's colour-based nickname often tends to reflect its national flag. However, this is not the exact case of the Netherland's nickname, i.e., 'Oranje', even though their nickname is related to the historical development of their flag. Orange is the colour of the Dutch royal family and has been the national colour of the Netherlands for a long time. The flag dates from the Eighty Years' Independence War between the Netherlands and Spain (1568-1648) when the rebel provinces fought under the colours of the coat of arms of the Prince of Orange: orange, white, and blue. Later, the orange bar of the horizontal tricolour of the official Dutch flag was changed to red, while the white and blue colours were kept. However, the orange flag is still flown on public holidays associated with the royal family (Poels, 2011).

Table 4 lists the football teams' nicknames with flag colour-based reference.

Flag symbolism-based reference. There are 7 football teams' nicknames that utilise several national symbols found on the flags. The Canadian team is called the Maple Leafs, in reference to the national symbol of Canada that appears on the Canadian flag, and the badge worn by soldiers in the Canadian Army during World War I (Barney & Heine, 2015). In the European context, the Croatian team is called 'Kockasti' meaning 'The Chequered Ones' and is inspired by the checkered red and white shield in the centre of the flag (Feng et al., 2020). The Swiss national football team is called 'The Rossocrociati' meaning 'The Red Cross', which comes from Switzerland's square-shaped flag depicting a white cross on a red background (Feng et al., 2020). Ecuador's team nickname is 'La Tri' or 'La Tricolour' based on the three main colours in the flag background, yellow, blue, and red (Berg, 2013). Likewise, the Mexican team is called 'El Tri' meaning 'The Tricolour', which corresponds to the three colours of Mexico's flag (Huck, 2017). Ghana is the only African team in the World Cup 2022 which uses the flag-symbolism-based reference in their nickname, i.e., the Black Stars. This nickname originated from the black star at the centre of Ghana's flag. The black star has its roots in African liberation and anti-colonialism, and it refers to Africa in general and Ghana in particular (Gaines, 2006). Finally, the United States team is called 'The Stars and Stripes' in reference to their national flag (Feng et al., 2020). Table 5 illustrates the team nicknames with flag symbolism-based reference.

Table 4
Teams' nicknames with flag colour-based references

No.	TEAM	NICKNAME
1.	Qatar	The Maroon
2.	Saudi Arabia	Al-Akhdar (The Greens)
3.	Denmark	De Rød-Hvide (The Red and Whites)
4.	Poland	Biało-czerwoni (The White and Red)
5.	France	Les Bleus (The Blues)
6.	Spain	La Roja (The Red One)
7.	Argentina	La Albiceleste (The White and Sky Blue)
8.	Uruguay	La Celeste (The Sky Blue)
9.	Netherlands	Oranje (Orange)

Table 5
Teams' nicknames with flag symbolism-based references

No.	TEAM	NICKNAME
1.	Canada	The Maple Leaves
2.	Croatia	Kockasti (The Chequered Ones)
3.	Switzerland	Rossocrociati (Red Crosses)
4.	Ecuador	La Tricolour (The Tricolours)
5.	Mexico	El Tri (The Tricolour)
6.	Ghana	The Black Stars
7.	USA	The Stars and Stripes

4.2.2. Animal-based reference

More than a third of the teams' nicknames utilise an animal-based reference. Feng et al. (2020) found that football teams' nicknames have a special preference for animals, commonly recognised for their strength, such as lions. The analysis of the respondents' answers shows that animal-based references came second in their preferences with 21.1%. Out of 32, there are 12 national teams using animal-related references. The animals most depicted include lion references (5) and bird references including different species (5) (three eagle, one falcon, and one canary reference). In addition to lions and birds, there is one reference to a mythical animal (dragon) as well as one reference to a kangaroo.

The majority of African national teams have nicknames related to an animal reference alone, or a combination of references associated with animals. These nicknames seem to be in-spired by the associations with and significance of the animal names to African culture and tradition. According to Olupona (1993), lion references are used extensively in African culture to imply royal power, vigour, and strength. Lions also symbolise good vs evil and occupy a special place in traditional African spiritual beliefs (Olupona, 1993). The Cameroonian team, for example, is nicknamed 'Les Lions Indomptables' meaning 'The Indomitable Lions'. Morocco's team combines the national animal lion reference with a geographical locale, i.e., the Atlas Lions. Senegal's team is nicknamed the Lions of Teranga which combines the national animal with the custom of hospitality. The word 'Teranga' suggests hospitality or welcoming generosity, and originates from the Wolof language, the most widely spoken language in Senegal. Aside from African countries, Iran and England both use lion references in their nicknames. Iran also combines the lion reference with a nod to its history in the Persian lions.

Lions in Iranian literature and traditions are linked with power and royalty (Behrens-Abouseif, 1997). England's team also makes links to history in their 'Three Lions' nickname. The English three lions, which feature on the logo of the Football Association of England, have historical significance in British heraldry. The three lions historically date back to the 12th century when a red crest with three gold lions was carried into battle to inspire English troops (Vincent et al., 2010).

The second most used animal reference is 'eagle' which is used in three national teams, namely Serbia, Poland, and Tunisia. The Serbian team is called 'Orlovi' meaning 'the Eagles', in reference to the national symbol of the country, the double-headed white Serbian eagle (Bancroft, 2020). Similarly, Poland's team nickname, i.e., 'Orły', which means 'Eagles', takes after the Polish coat of arms which showcases a white-tailed eagle on a red shield. Unlike Serbia and Poland, Tunisia combines the symbol of the eagle from the Tunisian football federation logo with a historically significant reference to the empire of Carthage. Carthage extended beyond the Northwest Africa coast and encompassed major parts of coastal Iberia and the western Mediterranean Sea islands (Brown et al., 2017). Other combination nicknames include the Saudi Green Falcons. Falcons have a long history in the Arabian Peninsula, and evidence of their existence can be traced back to the Neolithic Al-Magar civilisation and remain an integral part of Saudi traditions and culture (Bildstein & Therrien, 2018). The final bird reference is the Brazilian team's 'Canarinho' meaning 'Little Canary', which is based on a distinctive species of bird which is very popular in Brazil and is vividly yellow in colour (Feng et al., 2020).

The last two team nicknames with animal references include Wales and Australia. The Welsh team is nicknamed 'Y Dreigiau' meaning 'The Dragons' in reference to Wales' national animal. The Welsh dragon has a long history and is thought that it was first adopted in the early fifth century. The Australian team's nickname, 'The Socceroos', is closely associated with an animal reference, and is a blending of 'soccer' and 'kangaroo'. The kangaroo is significant in the culture and belief system of the Aboriginal people of Australia, as well as the national identity of Australia (Draper, 2015). Table 6 lists the team nicknames with animal-based references.

Table 6

Teams' nicknames with animal-based references

No.	TEAM	NICKNAME
1.	Cameroon	Les Lions Indomptables (The Indomitable Lions)
2.	Senegal	The Lions of Teranga (The Lions of Hospitality)
3.	Morocco	The Atlas Lions
4.	Tunisia	The Eagles of Carthage
5.	Serbia	Orlovi (The Eagles)
6.	Poland	Orły (The Eagles)
7.	Wales	Y Dreigiau (The Dragons)
8.	England	The Three Lions
9.	Brazil	Canarinho (Little Canary)
10.	Saudi Arabia	The Green Falcons
11.	Iran	The Persian Lions
12.	Australia	The Socceroos

4.2.3. Metaphor-based reference

This category includes 4 team nicknames. These nicknames are analysed according to the conceptual metaphor theory developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). The theory indicates that metaphor is a cognitive process in which one domain called the source is partially mapped onto a different domain called the target, which is constructed and perceived based on the source domain. With reference to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the source domain (nickname) is mapped systematically to the target domain (public's experience). These metaphor-based nicknames involve several source domains, namely, war, persistence, and exploration, which are more concrete in the public's experience. Therefore, speakers can understand the specific feature of the abstract source domain, nickname. Metaphorical language used

by people does not only provide us with information about geography, lifestyle, beliefs, religion, culture, and society, but also it is a linguistic strategy portraying a certain context in which people are communicating (Crespo-Fernández, 2013) and may evoke different types of emotions (Kövecses, 2000). This was also evidenced by the emotions the Jordanian respondents highlighted when using their teams' nicknames, and in their preference for nicknames with metaphorical reference (see Table 2). Indeed, although this group contains only four team nicknames, other nicknames can be considered from a metaphorical point of view. The decision not to include more was necessary to minimise repetition, present salient examples of each group and facilitate detailed discussion of all nicknames. Future studies may focus on the construction of nicknames from a metaphorical angle.

Koller (2004) argues that metaphor is introduced in football teams' nicknames to refer to the teams themselves or their players. Accordingly, the football competition is a war between two rivals on the battle-field, i.e., stadium, where each team wears different colours to distinguish their armies as well as special crests to refer to strength, masculinity, and power. Japan's team is nicknamed the Samurai Blue which signals the historical significance of the Samurai culture, heritage, and folklore (Awad, 2012). The nickname combines the Japanese word 'Samurai', meaning 'ancient warriors', with the colour of Japan's national team shirts, blue. This nickname has been widely used throughout Japanese media and around the world, and has connotations of battling with pride, a sense of fair play, and a strong desire for victory (Mandujano, 2014). Even though a large part of the nickname is related to a war metaphor, the blue flag is also significant. In the build-up to the World Cup, blue flags are distributed to fans at matches and events all over the country, and buses are wrapped in blue to show support for the Japanese team. People nationwide wear something blue on match days to spread the 'Samurai Blue' spirit. Similarly, the South Korean team is called 'The Taegeuk Warriors', where Taegeuk is the symbol on the South Korean flag representing spiritual balance in Korean culture (Awad, 2012; Feng et al., 2020). According to the conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), the football match is a war in which the Japanese and South Korean players are assumed to be warriors aiming to win a battle.

The Portuguese team is nicknamed as 'Os Navegadores', meaning 'The Navigators'. This nickname refers to the rich Portuguese history in navigation and exploration (Silva, 2018). The concept of navigation consists of several elements, including captains, navigators, sailors, ships, waves, currents, and destinations (Pasaribu, 2016, p. 102). The navigators seek to discover something new or reach their destination. Based on the conceptual metaphor by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), one domain, i.e., nickname, can be understood in terms of a very different domain of experience, i.e., navigation. This metaphor-based nickname shows that as navigators sail against waves to find the best route to their destination, Portuguese players in a match with the opposing team seek to score goals. The team's coach or leader, similar to the captain of the ship who sails together with his crew in order to reach their destination, directs his players in order to win the match or championship. This navigation-based metaphor seems powerful because it is in line with the history of the Portuguese people's navigation history (Pasaribu, 2016).

The Belgian team's nickname 'Rode Duivels' meaning 'Red Devils' combines both metaphor and colour-based references, inspired by their jersey colour. Historically, Belgium and the Netherlands national teams have played each other on a biannual basis since 1905. This match has been known as the Low Countries Derby. After one of these matches, a Dutch reporter indicated that the Belgian players 'worked as devils', hence the nickname (Delwit et al., 2022). This metaphor-based nickname may suggest pejorative or offensive connotations, particularly for child fans, but these negative associations are somewhat ameliorated (Feng et al., 2020). With reference to the conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), winning the football match or championship is a very difficult task, but the Belgian players with the spirit of the great power are assumed to be spiritual creatures, as devils, working relentlessly to score goals. It is concluded that the metaphor-based nicknames conceptualise the abstract domain, i.e., football match, onto something related to human experience, i.e., war, navigation, or persistence. Accordingly, the players are assumed to be warriors, sailors, or devils. Also, the employment of metaphors in football nicknaming is an influential technique to convey the winning spirit and the sense of fair play for the team as well as the public. Table 7 illustrates the team nicknames involving metaphor-based references.

Table 7

Teams' nicknames with metaphor-based references

No.	TEAM	NICKNAME
1.	Japan	Samurai Blues
2.	South Republic of Korea	Taegeuk Warriors
3.	Portugal	Os Navegadores (The Navigators)
7.	Belgium	Rode Duivels (The Red Devils)

4.2.4. Culture-related references

This group lists four nicknames related to distinctive cultural elements, namely, dance, song, and native language. A preference for nicknames with artistic references emerged in the survey responses, where 10.2% of the Jordanian respondents stated that they find this type of nickname more impressive. This might be associated with two famous national football teams in the international tournament, Brazil, and Argentina, which both have nicknames related to their traditional dances; 'Samba' and 'Tango' respectively. These nicknames suggest that players have a style of playing relating football and Tango or Samba dancing in order to triumph (Dyck & Archetti, 2003). This combination between football and dancing offers an insightful glance into understanding society, economy, politics, and culture's more complex nature which is integral to the development of Brazil's and Argentina's national identity (Nielsen & Mariotto, 2005). Ethnonyms play a crucial role in nicknaming football teams, where some teams receive their nicknames after the name of people living in that country. For example, Costa Rica's team is called 'Los Ticos' meaning 'The Inhabitants of Costa Rica', which is used to refer to the native Costa Ricans. The suffix *tico* is typically used to show affection (Zvereva & Chilingaryan, 2016). The Croatian team nickname 'Vatreni' is another example. This nickname, which means 'The Fiery Boys' or 'The Blazers', draws on a song dedicated to the team titled '11 Vatrenih' that celebrates the players and their fans' passion. This nickname is a part of the whole metonymy, in which the Fiery boys' or 'the Blazers is substituted by speakers in sports discourse instead of the phrase 'Croatian national football team' representing the Republic of Croatia (Kišiček & Žagar, 2013). Based on the socio-onomastic analysis of culture-based nicknames, it is observed that football is not merely a sport, but it is also a reflection of the national identity of people and countries representing a space of cultural, historical, and social elements.

Table 8 below presents teams' nicknames with culture-based references.

Table 8
Teams' nicknames with culture-based reference

No.	TEAM	NICKNAME
1.	Argentina	Tango
2.	Brazil	Samba
3.	Costa Rica	Los Ticos (The Ticos)
4.	Croatia	Vatreni (Fiery boys or The Blazers)

4.2.5. National team title references

The final category has four nicknames with a direct reference to the word 'national' in the construction of the nickname. For instance, the German football team has two nicknames, both in relation to the national team title. The first is 'Nationalelf' meaning 'The National Eleven', and the second is 'Die Mannschaft' meaning 'The Team' (Feng et al., 2020). The Brazilian team is globally known as 'Selecao', meaning 'The Selected Players'. The Iranian team's most popular nickname is 'Team Melli' which means 'The National Team' (Awad, 2012). Similarly, Switzerland's nickname is abbreviated to 'Nati' meaning 'The National team'. Zvereva and Chilingaryan (2016) argue that the use of abbreviations based on the country's name is commonly found in football teams' nicknames. It is noted that this type of nickname is used to heighten national identity and solidarity and showcase the strength of the teams' abilities.

Table 9 below reveals teams' nicknames with national team title reference.

Table 9
Teams' nicknames with national team title references

No.	TEAM	NICKNAME
1.	Iran	Team Melli (The National Team)
2.	Germany	Nationalelf (National Eleven), Die Mannschaft (The Team)
3.	Switzerland	Nati (National Team)
7.	Brazil	The Selecao (The Team/selected players)

5. CONCLUSION

The use of nicknames in football continues to receive increased scholarly interest due to the universal appeal of football across countries and cultures. Firstly, this study sought to investigate the Jordanian youth attitudes towards the 22nd World Cup football teams' nicknames. The results indicate that Jordanian respondents follow their favourite teams not due to shared ethnicity or region, but rather sporting performance and player abilities. Over two-thirds of the respondents are aware of their favourite team's nickname and its meaning and origin. In spite of this, Jordanian youth tend to use the official name of their favourite team. Finally, almost half of the respondents believe that teams' nicknames with national references are the most impressive. Secondly, the present study aimed to offer and analyse a socio-onomastic classification of the 22nd World Cup football teams' nicknames. The data analysis suggests that the 22nd World Cup football teams' nicknames can be categorised into five groups, namely the ones bearing a flag-, animal-, metaphor-, culture-, and national title reference. From a socio-onomastic perspective, this study has found that football nicknames are complex in nature, and represent national, animal, metaphorical, and cultural elements. These elements are closely linked with the national identity of the countries that these teams represent. Teams' nicknames may be influenced by the country's nature. For example, most of the African countries tend to adopt animal-based references, and similarly, the majority of European countries rely on colour-based references for their nicknames.

Due to globalisation, national identity is subject to change and thus, transferring into global identity, which is defined as *'the individual's feeling of belonging to the world rather than a nation'* where individuals establish *'a bond against the events, geographies, and cultures in the world'* (Köroğlu & Elban, 2020, p. 55).

The World Cup is an international sporting event that draws in billions of TV viewers and supporters and has been argued as shaping *'the cultural realm significantly by forming a hybrid, cosmopolitan glocal culture'* (Waalkes, 2017, p. 166). Therefore, more research is needed to examine the influence of football team nicknames on international audiences' attitudes and emotions, particularly as numerous debates highlight the impact of enhanced technological communication, accelerated globalisation, and commercialisation of international sporting events on national identities (Qiang & Turner, 2018; Köroğlu & Elban, 2020).

Further research can examine the use and dominance of nicknames in print, broadcasting, and internet media by different users.

This study has a few limitations. The quantitative part of the study is limited to the population sample of Jordanian public university students. In addition, the analysis and classification of the nicknames is limited to the 22nd World Cup teams.

Future research on sports nicknaming can contribute largely to the debate on the language of sports, socio-onomastics, and the intersection between sports and global culture.

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Original Research

Metaphor power and language typology: Analysis of correlation on the material of the United Nations Declarations

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The established approaches to language typology share the notion that the features used as a starting point for any classification are linguistic rather than discursive. This study aims to reveal the connection between typological characteristics of languages and linguacultural patterns of expressing metaphoric meaning in discourse. We seek to answer the question: is there a correlation between the way the human mind processes metaphors, and typological characteristics of languages in which those metaphors are verbalised? The research material includes the texts of the United Nations Millennium Declaration and A Universal Declaration on a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World in three languages – Russian, English and Chinese. The methodological framework is based on the quantitative analysis of indicators connected with language typology (synthesis, agglutination and isolation) and metaphor power in discourse. To determine the degree of text metaphorisation, we employed the Metaphor-driven discourse analysis (MDDA) based on the calculation of metaphor indices: Metaphor Density Index (MDI), Metaphor Intensity Index (MII), and Metaphor Functional Typology Index (MfTI). The study further juxtaposed the typology indices and metaphorisation indices to identify the correlation between the typology index values and metaphor power on the example of the UN Declarations in three languages. Research results indicate that isolating analytical languages tend to be more figurative than synthetic ones, which is reflected in higher metaphoric density, intensity of metaphor use and frequent employment of structural metaphors. The example of the Chinese language has demonstrated that its typological characteristics on the levels of graphics, word formation and syntactic structures act as prerequisites for metaphor use. The findings contribute to the understanding of the connection between fundamental frameworks of thinking, typological characteristics of languages and linguacultural patterns of expressing identical or similar meanings in discourse.

KEYWORDS: *language typology, metaphor power, metaphoric density, metaphoric intensity, metaphoric function, speech impact*

1. INTRODUCTION

People's aptitude to categorise world experiences by means of language is viewed as one of the most essential human cognitive abilities. This accounts for the scholars' continuous interest in language typology and its connection with fundamental frameworks of thinking. To date, the most well-known subfields of this discipline are phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactical and semantic typologies, each instrumenting their specific methods and approaches. According to Koptjevskaja Tamm (2007), the huge and complex task of comparing languages requires a truly integrating approach, where morphological, phonetic and *semantic criteria as well as psycholinguistic considerations and sociolinguistic/pragmatic factors are all relevant'* (Kopt-

jevskaja Tamm, 2007, p. 160). The purpose of this paper is to examine the correlation between the typological characteristics of languages and their predisposition to metaphorical expression. Study material includes the texts of the *United Nations Millennium Declaration* (United Nations, 2000) and *A Universal Declaration on a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World* (United Nations, 2019) in three languages – Russian, English and Chinese.

The foundations of typological classification and linguistic comparative analysis were laid by Schlegel (1808). Further endeavours to tackle the problem were made by Humboldt (1836), Schleicher (1876), Steinthal & Misteli (1881). Later, in the 20th century, a number of typological classifications were proposed by Greenberg (1974), Uspensky (1965), Melnikov

'Most scholars nowadays agree that metaphor is a distinctive phenomenon which is simultaneously linguistic, cognitive and culture specific. It denotes a conceptual shift, or 'twist', and in its essence is a figure of speech which reflects cultural, historical, ethnic, national and supranational values. The regularities of metaphoric expression in a particular language are attributable to its peculiarities and characterise the ethnolinguistic personality as part of an individual's speech portrait'

(2014), Martinet (1962) and others. The pioneers of classifying Asian languages were Solncev (1995) and Li & Thompson (1976). The established approaches to language typology share the notion that the features always used as a starting point for any classification are linguistic rather than speech peculiarities, systemic features as opposed to discursive characteristics: the phonological typology is based on patterns of sound systems, including binary sound oppositions; the morphological typology groups languages according to their predominant morphological structures; and the syntactical typology proceeds from the verbal actants and word order. However, given the current interest in the interrelation between language, culture and communication (see Klyukanov & Leontovich, 2017; Grigoryev, 2022; Grigoryev & Komyaginskaya, 2023) and feeding from the achievements in discovering profound connections in the anthropological 'language-culture-conscience' triad, it is only natural for typological classifications to take into account cultural and cognitive factors. This said, we do not see our endeavour as an attempt to create a new typology or challenge the established approaches, but rather as an effort to reveal the connection between typological characteristics of languages and linguacultural patterns of expressing identical or similar meanings with the help of lexical units and grammatical forms of a particular language in discourse.

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

The nature of metaphor and its role in cognition have long been debated by representatives of different schools of thought (Gentner & Wolff, 1997; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Levin, 1977; Murphy, 1996; Searle, 1979). Attitudes towards the way metaphors are processed by the human mind range from cognitive linguists who believe that *'our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature'* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 4) to non-cognitivists (Davidson, 1978) who *'reject the notion of metaphorical meaning altogether'* (Camp, 2006, p. 155).

Most scholars nowadays agree that metaphor is a distinctive phenomenon which is simultaneously linguistic, cognitive and culture specific (see Kozlova, 2020; Abdelhameed et al., 2023). It denotes a conceptual shift, or 'twist', and in its essence is a figure of speech which reflects cultural, historical, ethnic, national

and supranational values. The regularities of metaphoric expression in a particular language are attributable to its peculiarities and characterise the ethnolinguistic personality (Klyukanov & Leontovich, 2017) as part of an individual's speech portrait (Kalinin & Ignatenko, 2022; Malyuga & McCarthy, 2020; Malyuga & McCarthy, 2021). They play an important role in fiction (Ignatenko, 2022), politics (Ignatenko & Dorofeeva, 2022) and media discourse (Leontovich & Kotelnikova, 2022).

In this article, we seek to answer the question: is there a correlation between the way the human mind processes metaphors and typological characteristics of languages in which those metaphors are verbalised, in terms of metaphoric density, metaphoric intensity and metaphor power? The material of the study includes the texts of the *United Nations Millennium Declaration* (United Nations, 2000) in three languages: Russian (2,941 words), English (3,230 words) and Chinese (3,099 words); and *A Universal Declaration on a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World* (United Nations, 2019) in Russian (1,185 words), English (1,313 words) and Chinese (1,219 words). These texts have been selected for analysis because they are not only identical from the semantic, structural and stylistic points of view, but have also been verified by the expert community of high-class translators, which provides us with an opportunity to carry out a comparative analysis of metaphors in the given texts, with a zero influence of paralinguistic and pragmatic factors. Both Declarations were proposed by Kazakhstan and originally formulated in Russian, therefore in the course of the analysis we will proceed from the Russian variant as a starting point.

The methodological framework is based on the quantitative analysis of indicators connected with language typology and the analysis of the discursive characteristics of metaphorisation. It includes the following successive steps: (1) identification of basic typological characteristics of the three languages (Russian, English, Chinese); (2) identification of metaphors in the texts under analysis; (3) identification of the level of metaphorisation of the texts; (4) juxtaposition of typology indices and metaphorisation indices; (5) analysis of results and detection of regularities. The overview below describes the implementation of these steps.

Step 1. Identification of basic typological characteristics of the three languages (Russian, English, Chinese). This stage of the analysis involved detecting the most significant morphological and syntactical characteristics of the languages under study. We are aware of the fact that any typological differentiation is to a certain degree tentative, as various signs of convergence can appear in analytical languages, whereas fusion and agglutination can be incorporated in isolating languages. Such claims rest on the substantial foundations of Solncev's (1995, p. 9) research suggesting that the example of modern Chinese as a classical representative of isolating languages proves that agglutinative morphology can exist within the isolating language structure. Solncev (1995) also indicates that the macrotype of isolating languages predominantly includes the agglutinative type morphology and analytical forms, while some languages display elements of fusion, as well as incorporation (Solncev, 1995, p. 12).

In this research, we adopt Greenberg's (1960) approach further refined by Kasevich (2009) and based on the reduction to numerical indicators of Sapir's typological postulates calculated per a certain amount of text. Nowadays, the list of indicators for the calculation of typological characteristics has been extended. This study predominantly focuses on the dependency between the structure of the linguistic system and the level of metaphorisation of a given discourse created in a particular language. Therefore, our data are grounded in the main quantitative indicators allowing us to reveal the morphological and syntactical characteristics of the languages under study calculated according to the following formulae (Greenberg, 1960): (1) synthesis index M/W, where M stands for the number of morphemes and W – for the number of words in a given text size (100 words); (2) agglutination index A/J, where A stands for the number of agglutinative constructions and J – for the number of morpheme junctions; (3) index of isolation, inflexion and agreement O/N, Co/N, Pi/N, where O stands for word order, Co – for agreement, Pi – pure inflection, and N – for the number of uses of a particular type of word connection in a sentence.

Step 2. Identification of metaphors in the texts under analysis. To find metaphors in texts analysed, we employed the metaphor identification procedure designed by Deignan (2015) and Nacey et al. (2019). The essence of the procedure is the detection of metaphors by means of identifying incongruencies between basic and contextual lexical meanings. It should be noted that this methodological procedure presupposes a double check of the revealed incongruencies, namely their reconciliation with dictionary meanings, as well as data from the national language corpora. Therefore, it is nowadays considered to be the most valid methodology for identifying metaphoric shifts. In our study, the procedure which was originally designed for English is adjusted to Russian and Chinese, which constitutes a new step in its practical application.

Step 3. Identification of the level of metaphorisation of the texts. Metaphoric density is a discursive criterion realised in the form of functional potential and intensity of concrete metaphors projected onto a particular discourse. It is conditioned by the pragmatic and cultural setting of communication. To determine the degree of text metaphorisation, we employed the Metaphor-Driven Discourse Analysis (MDDA) suggested by Kalinin (2021) and based on the calculation of metaphor indices: Metaphor Density Index (MDI), Metaphor Intensity Index (MII), and Metaphor Functional Typology Index (MfTI) (Sun et al., 2021; Kalinin et al., 2022). Metaphoric density in a text is directly connected with speech impact because, when generating a message, authors subconsciously try to use more metaphors describing a standpoint they support, which has been consistently argued by De Landtsheer (2009), Mio et al. (2005), and Hussey and Katz (2006). On the other hand, cognitive distortion acts as a mechanism of manipulation (Ignatenko & Dorofeeva, 2022).

To calculate metaphoric density, we used the Metaphor Density Index (MDI) = nme*100/nwords, where *nme* stands for the number of metaphors and *nwords* – for the number of words

per text. This index reflects the average number of metaphors per 100 words (Sun et al., 2021; Kalinin, 2021). Methaphoric intensity is seen as a dichotomy of conventional and authorial (novel) figures of speech. This amalgam is based on the intensity of structural and emotional tension. Conventional and novel metaphors are usually seen as an opposition invoked by the difference between their cognitive mechanisms; they produce different effects on the recipient. While generally accepted metaphors reduce the complexity of text perception, novel metaphors affect the recipient's imagination and augment the emotive appeal of the utterance. In order to calculate the metaphoric intensity, we used the Metaphor Intensity Index MII = $(1*w+2*a+3*s)/nme$, where w denotes the number of low-intensity (trite, conventional) metaphors, a – the number of medium-intensity metaphors, and s – the number of high-intensity (neological, or authorial) metaphors (Sun et al., 2021; Kalinin, 2021).

Metaphors were famously classified by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) as structural (in which a complex object, usually abstract, is presented in terms of another, usually concrete), orientational (organising a system of concepts with respect to one another in space), and ontological (presenting experiences in terms of objects and substances). They perform different functions in discourse and presumably have different types of linguistic representation. Therefore, their quantitative analysis can be viewed as one of the indications of metaphor power and the domineering function of metaphor in discourse.

Proceeding from the classification above, we propose a method of calculating the metaphor functional typology index, which reflects the average value of all metaphors in discourse and can thus serve for the in-depth analysis of metaphor power. The calculation of this index provides a convenient way to reveal the quantitative distribution of orientational, ontological and structural metaphors: MfTI = $(1*Or+2*O+3*St)/nme$, where Or indicates the number of orientational metaphors, O – the number of ontological metaphors, St – the number of structural metaphors, and nme – the overall number of metaphors in a text (Sun et al., 2021; Kalinin, 2021).

Step 4. Juxtaposition of typology indices and metaphorisation indices involved the research of the correlation between the typology index values (synthesis, agglutination, isolation) and metaphor power in discourse on the example of the UN Declarations in three languages.

Step 5. Analysis of results and detection of regularities allowed us to sum up the data we obtained in the course of the research and make conclusions about the predisposition of typologically different languages to metaphoric expression, the regularities of metaphor use and their potential impact in discourse.

3. STUDY RESULTS

Based on the previous research of the Russian, English and Chinese languages, we have summed up their most relevant typological characteristics, such as language type, type of morphological structure, coding strategy and basic word order (Table 1).

Table 1

Typology of Russian, English and Chinese languages

LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE TYPE	TYPE OF MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE	STRATEGY OF CODING VERB ACTANTS	BASIC WORD ORDER
Russian	Primarily synthetic	Inflectional	Nominative	SVO
English	Primarily analytical	Inflectional	Nominative	SVO
Chinese	Primarily analytical	Isolating	Active	SVO

We have further used Greenberg's (1960) methodology and analysed 100-word fragments of the texts in each language to calculate the numerical indicators of the levels of synthetic correlations and agglutination, and, correspondingly, 10 sentences in each language to calculate the numerical indicators of isolation. Importantly, any quantitative analysis of Chinese words is invariably connected with the problem of word delimitation. In our study, we adhere to the approach, well-established in Russ-

ian sinology, according to which a Chinese morpheme is a minimal meaningful linguistic unit, a minimal combination of sound and meaning and the main word-formation element (Solncev, 1995, p. 98). Chinese linguists emphasise that the difference between morphemes and words is that the latter can be used independently (Fang, 2016, p. 70). With these theoretical assumptions in mind, we have identified the typology indices for synthesis, agglutination and isolation (Table 2).

Table 2

Typology index values (synthesis, agglutination, isolation)

LANGUAGE	SYNTHESIS INDEX	AGGLUTINATION INDEX	ISOLATION INDEX (O:Co:Pi)
Russian	2,08	0,32	0,09:0,21:0,68
English	1,23	0,37	0,73:0,17:0,1
Chinese	1,03	0	1:0:0

The numerical values demonstrate significant differences in the morphological and syntactical language structures: from high level of synthesis and well-developed flectivity in Russian to isolating analytism in Chinese. The next stage of analysis dealt

with the metaphoric power of the two UN Declarations (*United Nations Millennium Declaration* and *A Universal Declaration on a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World*) in Russian, English and Chinese as our research material. The results are shown in Table 3.

Table 3

Results of the metaphoric power analysis in the Russian, English and Chinese UN Declarations

TEXT	SIZE	MDI	MII	MfTI
United Nations Millennium Declaration (Russian)	2941	1,63	1,13	2,1
United Nations Millennium Declaration (English)	3230	1,73	1,14	2,12
United Nations Millennium Declaration (Chinese)	3099	1,85	1,13	2,13
A Universal Declaration on a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World (Russian)	1185	1,6	1	2
A Universal Declaration on a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World (English)	1313	0,76	1	2
A Universal Declaration on a Nuclear-Weapon-Free World (Chinese)	1219	1,81	1	2

'Study results show that of the total number of metaphors identified in the two UN declarations (67 in Russian, 75 in English and 80 in Chinese), 12 discrepancies have been discovered in the Russian-English pair, 14 discrepancies – in the Russian-Chinese pair, and 16 discrepancies in the English-Chinese pair. The analysis indicates that those discrepancies are mostly typical of trite metaphors, ontological in character'

The numerical indicators show that there is an insignificant difference between the texts only in the MDI index, which points to a small difference in the number of metaphors, while the values of metaphor intensity (MII) and average metaphor function indices (MfTI) are practically identical.

The study will further take a closer look at the similarities and differences in the use of metaphors in the UN documents.

(1) *Мы преисполнены решимости установить справедливый и прочный мир во всем мире в соответствии с целями и принципами Устава (lit. We are filled with the determination to establish a just and solid peace all over the world in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter).*

We are determined to establish a just and lasting peace all over the world in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

我们决心根据《宪章》的宗旨和原则，在全世界建立公正持久的和平 *(lit. We have decided to build a just and lasting peace all over the world in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter).*

Across the three languages *peace* is metaphorically presented as an object of construction. Moreover, the Russian image of *solid peace* depicts it as something sturdy and durable, which we view as an ontological metaphor. Besides, the Russian phrase *преисполнены решимости* ('filled with the determination') is a conventional verbal metaphor where the actors are conceptualised as containers filled with a certain emotion or intention.

(2) *Мы приложим все усилия к тому, чтобы освободить наши народы от бедствий войн (lit. We will make every effort to free our peoples from the calamities of wars).*

We will spare no effort to free our peoples from the scourge of war.

我们将竭尽全力，使我们的人民免于战祸 *(lit. We will make efforts so that our peoples could rid themselves of the sufferings of war).*

Whilst the focus of the Russian and English sentences is on war as a calamity depriving people of freedom (an ontological metaphor), the Chinese phrase presents it as a source of suffering. The English variant also contains the trite metaphor the *scourge of war* etymologically linked to the act of whipping.

Study results show that of the total number of metaphors identified in the two UN declarations (67 in Russian, 75 in English and 80 in Chinese), 12 discrepancies have been discovered

in the Russian-English pair, 14 discrepancies – in the Russian-Chinese pair, and 16 discrepancies in the English-Chinese pair. The analysis indicates that those discrepancies are mostly typical of trite metaphors, ontological in character. Metaphors with a medium level of intensity or those reflecting a structural shift were expressed identically. Metaphors with a stronger pragmatic potential preserved it in the texts of the Declarations in the three languages, which can be seen in the examples below.

(3) *Различия в рамках обществ и между обществами не должны ни пугать, ни служить поводом для преследований, а должны пестоваться в качестве ценнейшего достояния человечества (lit. Differences within and between societies should not scare or act as a cause of repressions, but should be cherished as a most precious asset of humanity).*

Differences within and between societies should be neither feared nor repressed but cherished as a precious asset of humanity.

不应害怕也不应压制各个社会内部和社会之间的差异，而应将其作为人类宝贵资产加以爱护 *(lit. We should not be afraid of or suppress differences within societies or between them but should rather cherish them as a precious asset of humanity).*

Across the three languages social differentiation acquires the conceptual characteristics of an 'asset' or inheritance that must be valued. We believe that this is the realisation of the structural shift 'SOCIETY (and its structure) > ASSET'. This medium intensity metaphor is similarly realised in all the three languages.

(4) *Пользуясь этой исторической возможностью, мы вновь торжественно заявляем о том, что Организация Объединенных Наций является незаменимым общим домом для всего человечества (lit. Using this historic opportunity, we solemnly reaffirm that the United Nations is the indispensable common house of the entire humanity).*

We solemnly reaffirm, on this historic occasion, that the UN is the indispensable common house of the entire human family.

在此具有历史意义的盛会，我们庄严重申，联合国是整个人类大家庭不可或缺的共同殿堂 *(lit. On this historic occasion we solemnly reaffirm that the United Nations is the indispensable common hall for the entire humanity).*

This example is an illustration of a structural metaphor of medium intensity where a public organisation acquires the conceptual features of a house or hall and a habitat for family accommodation. The metaphor 'UN is a COMMON HOUSE' is realised via the selection of a full semantic equivalent.

(5) *<...> обеспечивать надежный приток ресурсов для миротворческих операций на континент (lit. to ensure a reliable flow of resources for peacekeeping operations on the continent).*

<...> to ensure a reliable flow of resources for peacekeeping operations on the continent.

<...> 维持和平行动获得可靠的资源流入 *(lit. peacekeeping operations receive a reliable flow of resources).*

The image 'SUPPLY OF RESOURCES' as a 'FLOW' is a structural metaphor existing as a cliché in all the three languages. In the next example we see a variation of the same metaphor, which, however, acquires some culturally specific flavour.

(6) *<...> тем самым вовлекая Африку в основное русло развития мировой экономики (lit. <...> thereby involving Africa in the main tideway of world economy).*

<...> thereby bringing Africa into the mainstream of the world economy.

从而将非洲纳入世界经济的主流 *(lit. thereby integrating Africa into the mainstream of the world economy).*

The English 'mainstream' does not have an exact equivalent in Russian, due to which Russian has acquired the word *'мейнстрим'* as a borrowing. In this case, however, it employs the image of a river tideway widely used as a trite metaphor.

Let us further take a look at the summary numbers of indices of density, intensity and functional typology in both UN Declarations in the three languages (Table 4).

Table 4

Summary results of metaphor power in the two UN Declarations in Russian, English and Chinese

TEXTS OF UN DECLARATIONS	SIZE	MDI	MII	MfTI
Russian	4126	1,62	1,07	2,07
English	4543	1,65	1,1	2,09
Chinese	4338	1,84	1,1	2,1

The numbers indicate that the identical UN Declarations in the three languages display a difference in the metaphoric density index (MDI), with a deviation especially noticeable in Chinese, while other differences are insignificant. The metaphor intensity indices (MII) and the functional typology indices (MfTI) are almost identical. The average MII value in the two declarations (1,07 for Russian and 1,1 for both English and Chinese) indicate that the majority of the analysed metaphors are trite conventional ones verbalised in the form of clichés typical of official document style. The average distribution of metaphors according to their functions is reflected in the MfTI value (2,07 for Russian, 2,09 for English and 2,1 for Chinese), which reflects the predominantly ontological character of metaphors used in the UN Declarations and testifies to the expected low level of potential speech impact.

To compare the values of typology and metaphor power, we have carried out the correlation analysis represented in Table 5 below.

Table 5

Results of the correlation of typology and metaphor power indices

TYPOLOGY	MDI	MII	MfTI
Synthesis	-0,737933	-0,9837827	-0,9882981
Agglutination	-0,9686841	-0,3882582	-0,6685178
Isolation	0,80914106	0,95737398	0,99918216

The regularity is reflected in the correlation of the agglutination and metaphor density indices (-0,96), isolation and metaphor density indices (0,8), synthesis and metaphors intensity indices (-0,98), isolation and metaphors intensity indices (0,95), synthesism and functional metaphor typology indices (-0,98), as well as isolation and functional metaphor typology indices (0,99). We believe that the most significant result is the correlation between isolation and realisation of metaphor power: the higher the degree of isolation, the more metaphors are used in a text and the more intensive they are. Figures show that isolation is also connected with the type of metaphors: in isolating Chinese there are more structural type metaphors. Agglutination, i. e. the formation of grammatical forms and derivatives by

means of linking affixes with grammatical or derivational meanings to a root or stem, is also connected with metaphor density: the higher the level of agglutination, the fewer metaphors are revealed. Synthesis, on the other hand, shows a reverse correlation: the lower the level of synthesis, the more frequent is the use of vivid structural metaphors.

In general, our research indicates that on average the isolating Chinese is more metaphorical, at least in terms of metaphor density, which, as we showed earlier, is reflected in political, business and media discourses (Guruleva & Kalinin, 2021, p. 31). In this connection, it is necessary to give an additional explanation of the typological peculiarities of Chinese and their potential connection with higher metaphor density.

'The numbers indicate that the identical UN Declarations in the three languages display a difference in the metaphoric density index (MDI), with a deviation especially noticeable in Chinese, while other differences are insignificant'

The graphic imagery of Chinese writing, which in its essence is pictographic (象形字 – *lit. character-image*), accounts for the intenseness of metaphorisation in Chinese. Pictography is based on associations and reflects the metaphoric connection between humans and nature. According to Fang (2016, p. 4), an 'image form' is not merely a copy of a natural object, but rather its image that becomes the basis for the creation of a character.

Lin (2020) points out that by means of creating pictograms, the Chinese people *'transferred and consolidated in their history the specifics of the human perception of natural objects and phenomena. By the same token, the development of writing happened by means of the creation of new characters expressing new notions',* alongside the development of the human mind, technical and cultural progress (Lin, 2020, p. 24). According to Lin (2020), all types of Chinese characters in many ways reflect metaphorical thinking: (1) pictograms, as in 'tree' (木) the horizontal line symbolises the earth, the vertical one – a trunk, and the left and right slashes turn a tree into an ear of grain (禾); (2) ideograms are formed as a sum of several characters, as in the sum of three graphemes 车 ('cart') produces 'rumble' 轰 （轟）, whereas the combination of 艹 'grass' and 田 'field' forms 苗 'seedlings', 'sprout'; (3) phonoideograms consist of two parts, the first one expressing the meaning of the character, and the second one – its pronunciation; for example, the element 氵 'water' almost always indicates that the meaning of the character is connected with water, e. g. 海 'sea', 河 'river', 渴 'be thirsty'). Emphasising the iconicity of Chinese writing, Lin (2020, p. 22) argues that Chinese characters are iconic signs *'concealing a whole thought or an independent plot'.*

Chinese word formation, with compounding as its leading type, does not only happen as a linkage of monosyllabic morphemes, but often as a re-conceptualisation based on a metaphoric shift. For example, the concept 'democracy' is expressed by means of the lexeme 民主 ('lit. 'people' and 'master'), which accounts for the change in the perception of this notion and, besides, involves a metaphoric shift (perception of power through the source sphere 'master') (Guruleva & Kalinin, 2021, p. 35). The existence of numerous idioms also contributes to the metaphoric power of Chinese discourse. All these typological peculiarities of Chinese in a way encourage its users to adopt metaphorical thinking and speaking.

The example below illustrates the Chinese tendency towards greater metaphoric density than in Russian and English, even when dealing with clichés and trite metaphors.

(7) *Мы приложим все усилия к тому, чтобы превратить Организацию Объединенных Наций в более эффективный инструмент для решения всех этих первоочередных задач: борьбы за развитие для всех народов мира, борьбы с нищетой, невежеством и болезнями; борьбы с несправедливостью; борьбы с насилием, террором и преступностью; и борьбы с деградацией и разрушением нашего общего дома (lit. We will make every effort to turn the United Nations into a more effective instrument for pursuing all these high-priorities tasks: the fight for development for all the peoples of the world, the fight against poverty, ignorance and diseases; the fight against injustice; the fight against violence, terror and crime; and the fight against the degradation and destruction of our common house).*

We will spare no effort to make the United Nations a more effective instrument for pursuing all of these priorities: the fight for development for all the peoples of the world, the fight against poverty, ignorance and disease; the fight against injustice; the fight against violence, terror and crime; and the fight against the degradation and destruction of our common house.

我们将不遗余力使联合国成为致力实现以下所有优先事项的更有效工具：努力使全世界所有人民实现发展，战胜贫穷、无知和疾病；维护正义；打击暴力、恐怖和犯罪；以及防止我们的共同家园出现退化和受到破坏 *(lit. We will use all our strength to make the United Nations an effective instrument, which will do its best to pursue the following priorities: use every effort to make the people of the world realise development, fight poverty, ignorance and disease, protect justice, beat violence, terrorism and crime, as well as prevent the degradation and destruction of our common house the UN).*

The example shows that while the Russian and English versions use the same metaphor 'fight' throughout the second part of the phrase, the Chinese text contains a variety of metaphors: 'fight', 'beat', 'prevent', etc. The metaphor power of the text is further enhanced by the use of Chinese iconic characters.

4. CONCLUSION

The research, which aimed to explore the correlation between typological characteristics of the Russian, English and Chinese languages and metaphor use in texts, has revealed a certain regularity reflected in the connection between the degree of isolation of morphological systems, degree of synthesis and agglutination, on the one hand, and metaphor power, on the other. In the most general terms, it can be formulated in the following way: the fewer morphological changes and grammatical forms are used to express meaning, the more space is left for the use of metaphors. We previously showed the connection of metaphor power predominantly with speech impact, pointing out the special persuasiveness of metaphoric expression (Sun et al., 2021; Kalinin, 2021) and indicating that the higher the value of metaphoric indices, the more persuasive is a speech message and the greater is the influence of discourse. The comparison of metaphor power of the two UN Declarations in three languages identical in their extralinguistic and pragmatic characteristics shows that the use of metaphors is not only connected with the author's intention to make an impact on the recipient. In some cases, conventional and even novel metaphors used in one lan-

guage are not necessary in the other, whereas the semantics and pragmatics of the text remain the same. At first sight, such examples seem to be isolated uses of particular lexical forms in a particular language and therefore inconsequential. However, it would be unfair to ignore the interconnection between different levels of the linguistic system: vocabulary does not exist apart from grammar; morphology, in its turn, determines the correlation between concepts represented in the vocabulary. Even though the level of morphology is less dynamic and changes slowly and even though its correlation with meaning-making is not direct but rather mediated by the lexical level, this connection cannot be denied.

Our analysis has demonstrated that isolating analytical languages tend to be more figurative than synthetic ones, which is reflected in higher metaphoric density, intensity of metaphor use and frequent employment of structural metaphors. The example of the Chinese language has demonstrated that its typological characteristics on the levels of graphics, word formation and syntactic structures act as prerequisites for metaphor use.

The research presented in this paper has demonstrated a certain interconnection between the typological characteristics of the Russian, English and Chinese languages at different levels and the regularities of metaphor use in texts. The quantitative data and subsequent analysis have shown the potential correlation between isolation, synthesis, agglutination and figurative language use on the example of two UN Declarations identical in content, extralinguistic and pragmatic characteristics.

We are aware of the fact that, due to the complexity of the Russian, English and Chinese languages, we cannot claim to cover all the aspects and regularities of metaphor formation and use. Besides, the choice of only three languages for the correlational analysis is insufficient for far-reaching conclusions. Other limitations of the research are possible biases in the selection of materials for analysis, the inherent subjectivity of metaphor identification, as well as the necessity to take into account the social, cultural and political contexts in which languages are used. However, the proposed analysis provides a framework that could be extended in the future.

The results obtained in the study can set a trend, which can be of value for further productive research in this domain on the example of different types of discourse and a wider variety of languages.

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Original Research

How headlines communicate: A functional-pragmatic analysis of small-format texts in English-language mass media

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Headlines in English-language mass media are a research challenge due to their unique discursive characteristics as small-format texts. Understanding their role as an independent unit of communication between authors and readers is essential for comprehending the nuances of headline construction and interpretation. This paper comprehensively describes major functional-pragmatic properties of headlines within modern media discourse, focusing on the theory of small-format texts. The study intends to answer two research questions: 1. What are the distinctive characteristics of small-format title texts in media discourse? 2. How do small-format texts interact with the primary texts of the publication, affecting their semantics? The paper employs functional-linguistic, stylistic, statistical methods, and discourse analysis to examine a corpus of over 350 headlines randomly selected from British and American press. Informative small-format texts primarily convey the essence of the article, while persuasive small-format texts employ nonlinear discursive means to express pragmatic meanings of indirect persuasion, often utilising puns, irony, humour, and intertextuality. The paper reveals the complex system of pragma-semantic space established by journalists within the overlapping functional fields of both the headline and the primary text of the publication at three interconnected levels: the linear sum of the meaning of lexical units, the nonlinear formation of the semantic space, and the nonlinear hypertextual unity of pragma-semantic spaces between the headline and the article. The paper contributes to a deeper understanding of small-format texts in mass-media discourse, shedding light on their significance in communication and providing insights for media professionals and linguists.

KEYWORDS: *small-format text, functional linguistics, pragmatics, mass media discourse, headline, intellectual play*

1. INTRODUCTION

The transformative changes occurring in the language system, speech, communicative attitudes, pragmatic norms, rules of verbal behaviour, and the conceptual sphere as a whole have long been of keen interest to linguists. The rapid development of modern society leads to inevitable shifts in language across various communicative spheres. The discourse of mass media, currently one of the most prevalent and widespread forms of verbal interaction, actively participates in shaping the key cognitive mechanisms in the minds of English speakers. The evolution of this discourse type is reflected in the expansion of the inventory of multilevel means of pragmatic modification of journalistic texts, whose key feature is traditionally recognised not only as informing the audience, but also as creating a special persuasive effect that implements cognitive assumptions for direct and/or indirect impact on the intellectual, emotional, and volitional as-

pects of addressees (Oschepkova & Pivonenkova, 2022; Efimenko & Zurabova, 2022). In this regard, publications in British and American media note a tendency toward purposeful strengthening of imagery and expressiveness, ironic play with described events, and complex manipulation of effective rhetorical techniques.

The headline, preceding the main text of published materials and placing key semantic components in a strong position, plays a special functional role in constructing the functional-pragmatic space of the modern press. The reception of these components provides the necessary vector for further discourse development and realisation of the author's communicative goal. Currently, there are numerous studies dedicated to the lexical-grammatical and structural-semantic features of headlines in various spheres of written English communication. Nevertheless, the constant growth of scientific knowledge in such areas of linguistics as

'Considering the headline as a tool for pragmatic impact from the perspective of the theory of small-format texts helps to enlarge the 'two-dimensional' picture of the language specificity of an important (but, in the eyes of many English language scholars, not primary) structural component, not only of a journalistic text but of media discourse as a whole'

functional linguistics, pragmatics, discourse theory, and cognitive linguistics allows for the development and improvement of the methodological basis by studying familiar objects from a qualitatively new angle, by emphasising different aspects and expanding existing representations with new data. Considering the headline as a tool for pragmatic impact from the perspective of the theory of small-format texts helps to enlarge the 'two-dimensional' picture of the language specificity of an important (but, in the eyes of many English language scholars, not primary) structural component, not only of a journalistic text but of media discourse as a whole. This is precisely the goal of this article.

The study aims to address several research questions, which are as follows: (1) What are the distinctive functional-pragmatic characteristics of small-format texts in English-language media discourse? (2) How does the functional load of informative and persuasive small-format texts differ? (3) What are the linguistic features specific to each type of small-format text? (4) How do small-format texts interact with the full texts of the publication, affecting their semantics? The paper addresses a gap in the current research on specific functional and pragmatic properties of small-format texts in English-language media discourse. Despite the significant role of headlines in constructing the functional-pragmatic space of the modern press, there are relatively few studies that specifically examine the discursive traits and functional purposes of these texts from the perspective of the theory of small-format texts. By answering the research questions outlined, the study seeks to enhance our understanding of the impact of small-format texts on the overall meaning and interpretation of media discourse. The paper's contribution lies in its focus on the specific linguistic and pragmatic features of headlines and their interaction with full texts of the publication.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The study of small-format texts as an object of linguistic research has gained significant attention in recent years. Scholars have noted numerous factors that have contributed to the relevance of this area of research and the sharp increase in the frequency and importance of such texts in everyday and professional communication. These factors include (1) the intensification of information flows that individuals across various types of modern discourse must manage, necessitating the analysis, categorisation, and extraction of essential information in the shortest possible time; (2) the increasing role of written internet communication, including the use of mobile communication devices, which has resulted in relatively small volumes of text messages

being widely accepted as a standard unit of verbal interaction on the world wide web; and (3) the phenomenon of mosaic thinking (i.e. the ability to synthesise patterns from various concepts and perspectives (Sdobnikov, 2021), which is in itself a valuable skill) among communication participants, which demands that content be presented in the most concise yet attractive manner possible to capture interest and encourage further exploration of other texts of greater volume.

The distinctive features of small-format texts, which reflect the main structural-semantic, linguistic-stylistic, and functional-pragmatic characteristics of the considered type of speech products, can be enumerated as follows.

1. Conciseness and relatively small volume. Linguists' opinions on this issue vary. For instance, Turlova (2019) limits the volume of small-format texts to 50 sentences, while Karpova (2002) indicates a limit of 10-15 lines in the case of a standard compositional structure. Poulimenou et al. (2016) argue that comprehensiveness and readability are fully achieved in short texts consisting of just fourteen words.

2. The author's pragmatic stance for rapid reading by recipients and simplification of the semantic space through its speech expression, using typical cliches, phrases, genre-conditioned standardised syntactic constructions, and understandable vocabulary for the target audience (such as terminology in small-format texts for specialists in a specific narrow field) (Starostina et al., 2021). The pragmatic stance, or intentional approach to crafting texts (Aijmer, 2005), adopted by the author aims to enhance comprehension and facilitate efficient communication with the intended readership.

3. Formal and semantic compression, assuming a purposeful explication of the minimum set of pragma-semantic components, sufficient for the perception of the author's broader intention, with a limited range of lexical-syntactic means (Cherkunova & Ponomarenko, 2021).

4. Secondary nature in relation to another, more voluminous text (Remchukova & Apostolidi, 2018). At the same time, a small-format text differs from the associated primary text in its pragmatic orientation and communicative-strategic installations (for example, the primary text aims to inform the reader about some event or a fact of objective reality, while the accompanying small-format text is intended to attract the attention of potential recipients, both interest and intrigue future readers, and form a basic pragmatic space for successful perception of the key components of the semantic system of the primary text).

5. The strong position of the small-format text in relation to the primary text in a number of discursive types determines the author's use of expressive linguistic means and rhetorical techniques, contributing to active pragmatic influence on recipients.

In contemporary linguistic research, small-format texts under study include educational publication titles in educational discourse (Turlova, 2019; Isajeva & Krivchenko, 2019; Yakovleva, 2022; Kharkovskaya et al., 2017) and EFL exam texts (Malakhova & Kopshukova, 2020), abstracts of scientific articles (Ayers, 2008; Cherkunova, 2021; Golubykh, 2020) and scientific peer-

'A functional-linguistic analysis was used to investigate the linguistic structures of headlines and to identify the syntactic, lexical, and semantic features that contribute to the effectiveness of communication. This method enabled the identification of the communicative functions performed by headlines, such as informative, promotional, persuasive, or evaluative'

reviews (He, 1993), posts on social networks (Purohit et al., 2015), titles of political videos on YouTube (Kharkovskaya & Cherkunova, 2020), author's aphorisms (Lavrova & Gonchar, 2019), poetic titles (Vedeneva et al., 2018), text messages in messengers, email, and computer games (Moreno & Sanabria, 2015), search queries on the Internet (Hua et al., 2015), titles of paintings (Kharkovskaya et al., 2019), and short ads (Inozemtseva, 2013; Malyuga et al., 2020; Morozova, 2022).

The headlines of English-language publications have long been the subject of scrutiny by linguists. However, considering them through the lens of the theory of small-form texts as concise formally and semantically compressed autonomous units of communication within mass media discourse offers insight into the functional-discursive mechanisms that underlie the perception of the journalist's communicative intent, linking the semantic space of the title as an independent but secondary text to the pragmatic-semantic space of the main, primary article. This ensures a systematic perception of media discourse and the realisation of the full spectrum of authorial intentions.

3. MATERIAL AND METHODS

3.1. Sample selection

The empirical material was selected using the random sampling method, consisting of over 350 titles of publications on socio-political and economic topics. The selected titles were sourced from popular British and American newspapers and magazines published in 2021-2023, including The Economist (print edition only), The Guardian, The Washington Post, The Sunday Times, and Newsweek, among others. These sources were chosen because of their wide readership and significant contribution to shaping public opinion in both Europe and the United States. It is worth noting that headlines in print editions do not always align with headlines in the electronic versions of certain publications, like The Economist. This highlights the fact that there can be differences in the way news stories are presented and prioritised between the print and online formats. While the overall content might be the same, the headlines themselves can vary to cater to the specific needs and preferences of each medium. This is also due to factors such as space limitations in print or the desire to optimise online content for search engine visibility and reader engagement. Such disparities in headline presentation between print and electronic media serve as a reminder that news organisations may adapt their strategies to effectively engage with different platforms and target diverse audiences.

The use of headlines in modern communication has made them a crucial component of media discourse, as many consumers of information often only read them and not the texts that follow (Andrews, 2007). This highlights the importance of studying headlines as independent units of communication and autonomous language products.

3.2. Methodological approach

In line with the objectives of this study, relevant methods were selected, including functional-linguistic, discursive, componential, linguistic stylistic, and statistical methods. These methods were used to explore the functional-discursive mechanisms underlying the perception of the journalist's communicative intention and the connection between the semantic space of the headline as a secondary text and the pragmatic-semantic space of the primary text of the article. These mechanisms provide the systematic perception of media discourse and implementation of the full range of authorial intentions.

A functional-linguistic analysis was used to investigate the linguistic structures of headlines and to identify the syntactic, lexical, and semantic features that contribute to the effectiveness of communication. This method enabled the identification of the communicative functions performed by headlines, such as informative, promotional, persuasive, or evaluative. By dissecting the linguistic components of headlines, this analysis shed light on how different discursive elements work together to convey meaning and impact the audience's perception and understanding. The functional-linguistic analysis provided a way to better see the intricate interplay between language structures and the communicative functions of headlines in mass media discourse. The functional-linguistic analysis was conducted using a systematic and structured methodology. A representative sample of headlines was collected from diverse sources, ensuring variation in topics, media outlets, and publication dates. Established linguistic frameworks and theories relevant to headline analysis were employed as the foundation for understanding language structures and their communicative functions. The selected headlines were annotated, with careful examination of syntactic patterns, lexical choices, semantic nuances, and rhetorical devices employed. The communicative functions of each headline were determined, categorising them into informative and persuasive categories based on their intended impact on the audience. Patterns and trends within the sample were identified, focusing on recurring linguistic features, syntactic structures, and semantic strategies that contributed to communication effectiveness. The findings were analysed to uncover insights into the relationship between linguistic structures and the communicative impact of the headlines. This analysis also considered the larger discursive context by comparing the headlines to corresponding articles and evaluating their alignment with broader goals and messaging. The methodology ensured validity and reliability through consistent categorisation criteria and a thorough consideration of potential biases or limitations. The analysis process was carefully documented, including details of the linguistic

frameworks used, annotation process, and categorisation criteria, and the findings were summarised with supporting examples and data, offering a comprehensive and transparent account of the conducted functional-linguistic analysis.

The discourse analysis methodology aimed to comprehensively examine the function of headlines within the broader discursive context of the corresponding articles. To conduct this analysis, a systematic approach was adopted. The selected headlines were analysed to understand how they were strategically constructed to achieve specific discourse goals, including attracting readers, framing issues, and setting the tone for the rest of the article. The analysis involved exploring the interplay between the headlines and the article content, considering how the headlines shaped readers' expectations and influenced their interpretation of the subsequent text. By investigating the discursive strategies employed in headline construction, this analysis provided insights into the ways in which headlines contribute to the overall discourse and communication objectives of the media sources. The methodology facilitated a nuanced understanding of the role of headlines as powerful discourse tools within the broader context of media communication.

A componential analysis was used to identify the component parts (semes) of the headlines' semantics and how they contribute to the overall meaning of the text. This method helped in identifying the semantic roles played by different parts of the headline.

A linguistic stylistic analysis was used to explore the stylistic features of headlines and how they contribute to the effectiveness of communication. This method enabled the identification of the rhetorical devices used by producers of media discourse to construct headlines that are appealing and effective in achieving their communicative goals.

A statistical analysis was used to quantify the frequency of different headline features and to identify patterns of use across different media sources. This method helped in detecting the most common headline pragmatic features used in media discourse. The statistical analysis of the empirical material provides valuable insights into the functional and pragmatic properties of persuasive small-format texts in English mass media discourse, which can be useful for further research in the field of linguistics and communication studies.

3.3. Limitations

Despite the valuable ideas gained from this study, there are several limitations that should be acknowledged. These limitations are important to consider in order to provide a comprehensive understanding of the findings and to guide future research in this field.

Firstly, the sample selection process might introduce some biases. While the random sampling method was employed, the sample consisted of titles from a specific set of British and American newspapers and magazines. Therefore, the generalisability of the findings to other media sources or cultural contexts may be limited. Future studies could expand the sample to include a wider range of publications from different regions and languages to enhance the representativeness of the findings. Secondly, the focus of this study was on socio-political and economic topics. As such, the findings may not fully capture the nuances and characteristics of headlines in other subject areas or domains. It would be beneficial for future research to explore headlines in diverse content domains to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of their functional and pragmatic properties across different contexts. Another limitation pertains to the methodology employed. Although a range of methods was used, including functional-linguistic, discursive, componential, linguistic stylistic, and statistical approaches, there may be other relevant methods that were not considered in this study. Incorporating additional methodologies, such as cognitive or psycholinguistic approaches, could provide further insights into the cognitive processes involved in headline comprehension and the psychological impact on readers. Furthermore, qualitative approaches, such as in-depth interviews or focus groups, could supplement the findings by exploring readers' interpretations and responses to different headline types. Lastly, the study focused on the English language, and the findings may not necessarily apply to other languages with different linguistic structures and cultural contexts. Cross-linguistic and cross-cultural studies would be beneficial to examine the similarities and differences in headline characteristics across languages and cultures.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis of English-language press headlines over the past two decades clearly shows a tendency to deviate from the 'classical' norms of the structural and semantic composition of this important element not only in the text of journalistic articles but also in modern English mass media discourse as a whole. The informational function of the headline remains one of the main ones, as the task and social mission of the mass media are to inform about events, and readers who quickly scan the print or electronic version of the publication can obtain the necessary basic information even before they have opened and read the publication's text. Let's consider the following examples:

Despite the Violent Past and Toxic Present, Britain and Ireland Cannot Escape the Ties that Bind (O'Toole, 2022).

Federal Government's Coronavirus Struggle: When and How to Bring Employees Back to the Office (Rein et al., 2022).

The Drama in No 10 is Riveting but it Needs a Good Ending (Graham, 2022).

Each of the above small-format headline texts represents a brief but meaningful statement with a clear thematic division, which gives an idea not only of the event being described but also expresses a certain evaluativeness. Thus, in the first example, the discursive elements *violent* and *toxic* included in the stating, thematic part of the utterance negatively describe the history of relations and current diplomatic ties between the two countries, adding expressiveness to the negative pragmatics of the text. However, the rheme *cannot escape the ties that bind* in combination with the preposition *despite* leaves hope for the

possibility of resolving long-standing conflicts and disputes if the countries remember the points of contact of their national and cultural interests.

The second small-format text is also a self-contained and coherent statement that is secondary to the main article and is actualised through the lexemes *when* and *how*, which refer hypertextually to the author's subsequent analysis of the situation. In this case, the communicative goal of the headline is achieved quite successfully: the elements *struggle* and *bring employees back* inform the readership about the serious problem of returning the economy and business life to pre-crisis levels, noting that the US government is currently unable to neutralise the consequences of the pandemic.

The third example demonstrates a headline that requires minimal background knowledge of current news in the UK. The author ironically compares the widely publicised scandal involving Prime Minister Boris Johnson's violation of the country's Covid-19 rules and the possible resignation of the politician to a riveting theatrical drama. The key semantics revolve around the phrase *good ending* at the very end of the small-format text (the statement's theme), conveying to the reader the main idea of the article following the headline: a dramatic story needs a dramatic ending. To fully ascertain whether such a title serves as an opaque hint of the need to remove Boris Johnson from government leadership, readers will have to read the full text of the article.

The quantitative analysis of the empirical material reveals that a significant portion of the small-format headline texts in English media discourse (approximately 28% of the total number of illustrative examples selected for the study) is marked by a shift in the central functional load from simple information and reporting on some event or process towards the pragmatic impact on the addressees (Figure 1). In this case, pragmatic impact refers to the introduction of changes and corrections to the reader's intellectual, emotional, and volitional spheres (Khramchenko, 2018).
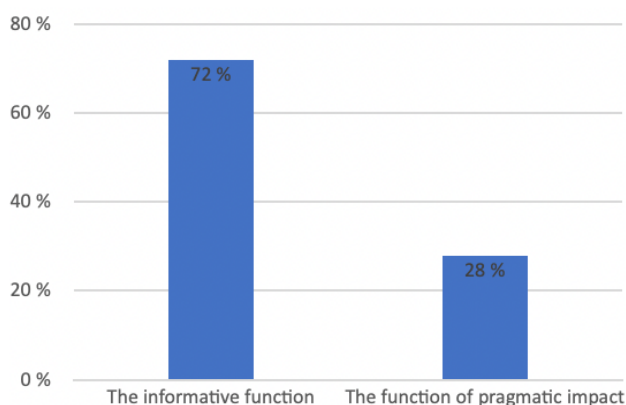

Figure 1. The dominant functional load of the analysed small-format texts

As far as the functional aspect of the pragmatically charged, impactful small-format texts is concerned, headlines may assist the author to achieve the following communicative goals: (1) attracting readers, as titles are often designed to capture the attention of potential readers and entice them to engage with the article; (2) framing issues discussed in the subsequent text, as headlines can shape the readers' perception and interpretation of the article by highlighting specific aspects, emphasising particular viewpoints, or setting the tone for the overall narrative; (3) guiding reading priorities, making specific information or angles within the article look more important and relevant; (4) evoking interest and curiosity, e.g. by employing attention-grabbing techniques, such as provocative statements, intriguing questions, or the use of compelling language, to spark readers' curiosity and motivate them to read further; (5) conveying tone and voice while reflecting the editorial style and branding of a particular media outlet, shaping readers' expectations regarding the article's style, level of formality, or perspective. By fulfilling these functions, persuasive secondary small-format headline texts establish a vital connection with the subsequent primary text, influencing readers' engagement, interpretation, and overall experience with the content, while informative titles only serve as entry points into the publication, facilitating the audience's navigation through mass media discourse by summarising information, providing contextual signposts and initial understanding of the broader context or background of the primary text, referencing relevant events, trends, or key individuals, thus offering readers a starting point for engaging with the subsequent full-length article.

The linguistic features of small-format headline texts allow for the linear and direct realisation of the manipulative and persuasive potential of media discourse, using lexical units with negative evaluative semantics, as well as non-linear and veiled expression, which is less contradictory to journalistic norms of objectivity and allows for the expression of the author's modality in an accessible form. For instance, the article titled '*Prince Andrew Wants Trial by Jury, Despite Being Despised by British People*' (Royston, 2022) on the situation surrounding Prince Andrew, Duke of York, accused of sexual misconduct against a teenage girl, uses the lexeme *despised* with a strongly negative connotative component, and the generalisation *by British people* raises questions about its justification for the reader who has not yet read the article. This directly transmits the evaluative pragmatics of a categorical judgment: all Britons despise the Queen's son for his unforgivable offence. Interestingly, the conspicuous stylistic device of assonance helps intensify the effect (*Price – Andrew – Trial – Jury; Price – Despite – Despise – People*). However, the sharpness of the small-format text is somewhat smoothed out during the familiarisation with the content:

Pollsters YouGov have him on a U.K. net approval rating of -50 – comfortably the lowest of any member of the royal family. Surveys in late 2021 suggested 62 percent disliked him compared to only 12 percent who were supportive while 19 percent said they were neutral (Royston, 2022).

In describing the results of a public opinion poll regarding respondents' attitudes to the Prince's figure, the author uses a stylistically neutral semantic element *disliked* which contrasts with the semantics of the headline. Thus, the secondary small-format text performs a manipulative function in relation to the neutral, from a pragmatic point of view, primary text of the publication.

An example of a non-linear expression of evaluative semantics is an article in The Economist about a legal dispute over the refusal of the administration of the city of Boston to hoist the flag of one of the Christian organisations on the City Hall. The article was titled '*Pole Dance*' (The Economist, 2022b). A superficial acquaintance with this small-format text may lead to a wrong interpretation of the article's theme, as the linear sum of meanings of two lexical units *pole* and *dance* is intended to evoke in the recipients' minds an image of morally ambiguous pole dancing in a strip club. At the same time, the dissonance between the external, formal structure of the secondary small-format text and the content of the primary text of the publication in relation to it, combined with wordplay and the ability to interpret the lexeme *pole* both as 'a dance pole' and 'a flagpole', generates a special discursive-pragmatic space, in which a negative ironic attitude of the author to the described situation emerges from the depths of the subtext to the surface accessible for perception with minimal analytical efforts. The combination of incompatible functional fields generated by the headline text in explicit and implicit forms contributes to the effect of intellectual play with the reader, who not only enjoys the process of decoding hidden meaning but also perceives the evaluative pragma-semantic components of the journalist's persuasive rhetoric.

The use of intellectual play and allusions to precedent phenomena, which largely determine modern everyday internet communication (Kanashina, 2018), is gradually penetrating the more regulated sphere of English media discourse, becoming an effective way of exerting a pragmatic impact on readers. For example, the article '*Cloud Coup-Coup Land*' (The Economist, 2023) informs readers about the recent election in Fiji, where opposition leader Sitiveni Rabuka was sworn in as prime minister, becoming only the third prime minister in the country's history. The previous two prime ministers were ousted in coups in 1987 and 2000. The article text discusses the challenges facing Rabuka, including the country's struggling economy, geopolitical concerns, and the risk of another coup. The play on words in the headline is a reference to the phrase 'Cloud Cuckoo Land', which is an idiomatic expression used to describe a place or situation that is fanciful, unrealistic, or impractical. The term is derived from a play written by the ancient Greek playwright Aristophanes, in which the main character builds a utopian city in the clouds called 'Cloud Cuckoo Land'.

In this context, the journalist is using the phrase *cloud coup-coup land* to suggest that Fiji is a place where coups and political instability are common and even expected, as evidenced by the recent election and the history of previous coups in the country. The use of the word *coup-coup* is a phonetic play on the word 'cuckoo' in the original phrase, emphasising the idea of political

instability and chaos. The headline may also serve as an immediately recognisable reference to a popular novel '*Cloud Cuckoo Land*' by Pulitzer-prize-winning author Anthony Doerr, first published quite recently – in September 2021, which may be regarded as an additional trick to attract the audiences' attention.

Thus, intellectual play refers to the deliberate and skilful manipulation of language, discourse, and cultural references to create a discursive-pragmatic space that engages readers in a process of decoding hidden meanings, while also conveying evaluative pragma-semantic components. It involves employing techniques such as wordplay, allusions, and the combination of incompatible functional fields to generate dissonance and irony, thereby stimulating the reader's analytical and interpretive faculties. Intellectual play encourages readers to engage in a multifaceted exploration of the article's primary text, enabling them to derive pleasure from the act of deciphering complex layers of meaning and appreciate the author's ironic or critical stance towards the subject matter. Furthermore, intellectual play may involve referencing precedent phenomena, drawing upon cultural, historical, or literary sources to enhance the rhetorical impact and persuasive efficacy of mass media discourse. By leveraging these techniques, intellectual play fosters a deeper level of engagement, stimulates critical thinking, and facilitates the transmission of ideas in a creative, thought-provoking manner.

The conducted research has revealed that the non-linear nature of the pragmatic effect of intellectual play is closely intertwined with the author's masterful use of stylistic techniques in the secondary small-format text. These techniques generate a secondary textual layer, imbuing it with implicatures and introducing additional shades of meaning within the otherwise stylistically neutral functional-semantic space. By employing a combination of functional-linguistic, linguistic stylistic, and componential analyses, we are able to discern the presence of intellectual play characteristics in the secondary small-format text of the headline, particularly when considered alongside the primary text of the publication.
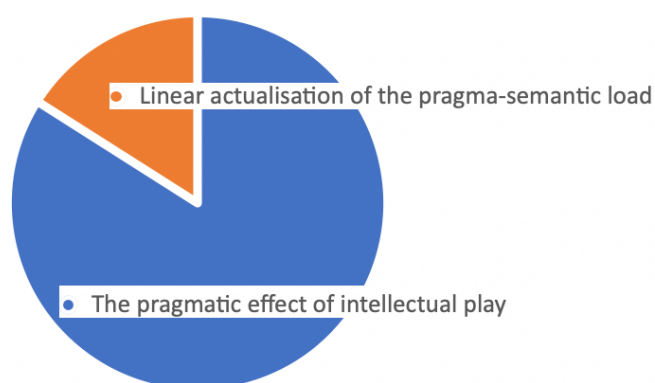

Figure 2. Distribution of impactful small-format texts with pragmatics of intellectual play

'The conducted research has revealed that the non-linear nature of the pragmatic effect of intellectual play is closely intertwined with the author's masterful use of stylistic techniques in the secondary small-format text. These techniques generate a secondary textual layer, imbuing it with implicatures and introducing additional shades of meaning within the otherwise stylistically neutral functional-semantic space'

The quantitative analysis of empirical data shows that 84% of small-format texts with a dominant persuasive function contain features of an intellectual play expressed through a non-linearly actualised pragma-semantic load in the headline (Figure 2). The most popular tools to generate the pragmatic effect of intellectual play turn out to be wordplay (43% of all studied persuasive headlines), irony and humour (56%), the use of intertextual elements (29%), stylistically coloured vocabulary (18%). Many headlines combine several linguistic indicators of intellectual play at the same time.

In the title of the article on the problems of global supply chains, *'Chain Reactions'* (The Economist, 2022a), the author uses wordplay to attract attention to the publication, establish a unique connection with the audience, and gain credibility and trust in their journalistic research, which are necessary pragmatic effects of a small-format text. The maximum level of structural and semantic compression, in this case, is compensated by the manipulative potential of the discursive element *chain*, which simultaneously enters both the thematic component of the title – *global supply chain*, fully verbalised in the primary text of the article, and the implicitly rhematic component *chain reaction*, hinting that difficulties in supply chain operations arose suddenly and progressed at an impressively fast pace, much like a chain reaction in an explosion. The fragment of the first paragraph of the article confirms the reader's suspicions and strengthens the effect of the pragmatic impact of irony arising from the overlay of functional spaces of the primary and secondary small-format texts:

The general public learned far more about supply chains last year than it probably cared to. A host of disruptions to production and shipping interacted with soaring demand for goods to produce bare shelves and rising prices. Although goods have been in short supply, the number of measures tracking supply-chain woes has proliferated at an impressive pace in recent months. All paint a picture of historically high levels of disruptions, and an uncertain path ahead (The Economist, 2022a).

The discursive elements *soaring, proliferated, impressive pace, historically high levels*, and *an uncertain path ahead* correlate with the multi-layered semantics of the headline, uniting both texts into a single impactful space.

As the empirical analysis shows, one effective technique for creating an ironic and impactful headline is the use of intertextuality. An article about the growing popularity of otters as household pets in Asian countries and the development of a black market for wild animals has the headline *'Some Like It Otter'* (The Economist, 2022c). The allusion to the well-known Hollywood movie 'Some Like It Hot' does not add additional semantic components to the pragmatic-semantic system of the secondary small-format text taken separately from the primary text. However, the combination of the wordplay *otter* vs. *hot* and the easily recognisable intertextual reference not only attracts attention to the article but also contributes to creating the pragmatics of humour, which also serves a phatic function.

The interaction of recipients with the functional-semantic space of the publication allows them to perceive the author's communicative intention at a deeper, conceptual level. A fragment from the very beginning of the article describes otters exclusively as cute and charming animals:

Otters are cute, this no one can deny. They have big eyes and snub snouts and paws like tiny little hands. They look even cuter when they wear jaunty hats and toss food pellets into their mouths as if they were bar snacks, like Takechiyo, a pet otter in Japan. Documenting Takechiyo's antics has earned his owner nearly 230,000 followers on Instagram, a photo-sharing app (The Economist, 2022c).

However, in the very last paragraph, the author effectively does not recommend keeping otters at home for a number of unpleasant reasons:

In any case, otters do not even make particularly good pets. Every year the Jakarta Animal Aid Network, a charity in Indonesia's capital, receives some ten otters from people who have struggled to look after them. Faizul Duha, the founder of an Indonesian otter-owners' group, admits that his two animals emit a 'very specific' (read: fishy) smell. They bite humans and gnaw at furniture. Their screeching can be heard blocks away. And their cages need cleaning every two to three hours. That is how often they evacuate their bowels (The Economist, 2022c).

Similar to the characters in the film 'Some Like It Hot' (men dressed as women), otters as domestic pets are not as wonderful creatures as they may seem at first glance.

Thus, the semantic load of the persuasive secondary small-format text is revealed differently on three interconnected levels of readers' reception:

(1) the level of the linear combination of the sum of meanings of lexical units included in the small-format text abstracted from the primary text;

(2) the level of the nonlinear formation of the semantic space of the secondary small-format text abstracted from the primary text;

(3) the level of the implementation of the hypertextual unity of the pragmatic-semantic spaces of the secondary small-format and primary texts, united by thematic progression, a single complex of propositions, complementary functional load, and a common potential for pragmatic impact.

In conclusion, while this study sheds light on the functional and pragmatic properties of informative and persuasive headlines in English mass media discourse, it is important to recognise the limitations outlined above. Addressing these limitations in

future research will contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of headline communication and its impact on readers in diverse contexts.

5. CONCLUSION

The present study demonstrates that applying the theory of small-format texts to the investigation of linguistic features of headlines in modern English-language press expands existing knowledge about this structural component of journalistic texts and embeds it within the contemporary cognitive-discursive paradigm. The small-format text of a headline represents a full-fledged autonomous product of modern media discourse, a separate unit of communication between the author and the reading audience. The secondary nature of small-format texts makes it possible to form a complex and comprehensive system of pragmatic-semantic space at the intersection of the functional fields of the headline and the primary text of the publication. This system reveals, complements, and adjusts the initial semantics available for the reception during quick acquaintance of the reader with the content of the printed or online version of the edition. From the perspective of the functional-pragmatic approach, small-format texts of media discourse can be divided into two groups: headlines with a dominant informative function (distin-guished by a lower degree of semantic and structural compression, formally expressed by a clear theme-rheme division) and titles primarily realising the function of exerting pragmatic impact (high degree of structural and semantic compression, nonlinearity of discursive means of expressing manipulative and persuasive pragmatic values, a key role of hypertextual links between secondary and primary speech products as the basis for the cognitive-discursive mechanism of transmitting key pragmatic elements of evaluativity and modality, which are directly related to the modification of the dynamically developing information picture of the world for readers and laying the groundwork for understanding events, phenomena, and specific personalities in a certain light in accordance with the communicative goal of the discourse producer).

The most common non-linear discursive means that implement the effect of intellectual play with the reader and, accordingly, the impact function of the small-format text of a headline are wordplay, irony, humour, and intertextual elements. The results of the present study indicate the need for a further, more detailed exploratory examination of the headline as both an independent speech product and an auxiliary rhetorical tool for adding supplemental meanings during the unfolding of media discourse content.

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Original Research

A corpus analysis of cohesion in World Health Organization speeches by the Director General on Covid-19 vaccination

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Although cohesion and coherence of a speech are significant, and there is an array of studies exploring these elements, particularly political speeches, many still struggle to apply the correct grammar and lexical cohesion as well the correct thematic structure in speech construction. This study aims to investigate the cohesion and coherence of speeches that are constructed through textual metafunction using thematic structures and cohesive devices. The study intends to answer two research questions. 1. What are the thematic structures and cohesive devices used in the speeches delivered by the Director General of the World Health Organization? 2. How are these thematic structures and cohesive devices used to produce cohesion in these speeches? This study used a mixed-method approach, combining corpus analysis with qualitative descriptive analysis. Twelve speeches from the website of the World Health Organization were chosen using a purposive sampling method. Thematic patterns and the distribution of cohesive devices in the speech corpus were analysed and identified. Findings showed that unmarked topical themes were employed the most, whereas interpersonal themes were used the least. The most dominant cohesive device was repetition, followed by reference, conjunction, and collocation. Ellipsis was sparsely employed to avoid redundancy. These mechanisms contributed to constructing cohesion and coherence, which help audiences understand the speeches better. The findings of the study may have significant implications for enhancing communication across a range of fields by offering useful insights on the efficacy of utilising cohesive devices and thematic structures in speeches, particularly those delivered by prominent public figures.

KEYWORDS: cohesion, cohesive device, Covid-19, thematic structure, World Health Organization, speech discourse

1. INTRODUCTION

Discourse analysis, whether spoken or written, draws the attention of many linguists. Cohesion and coherence are essential elements that influence effective discourse (Mahlberg, 2006). By concentrating on these two key elements, numerous researchers have examined text creation and comprehension (He, 2017). Al-Ghazalli and Majli (2019) contend that coherence and cohesion are distinct concepts, despite the perception that they are related. Tanskanen (2006), who cites Hasan (1984), cohesive harmony, or the interaction of cohesive devices, is the basis for coherence, and the denser the text is, the more coherent it is. Furthermore, Mahlberg (2006) makes it clear that achieving coherence in a discourse depends heavily on cohesion.

The Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) framework is often used by researchers who are looking into the coherence of

texts or discourses. As proposed in SFL, there are three semantic systems that interact to produce meaning in language: ideational, interpersonal, and textual (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). These metafunctions are distinct but interdependent. Xiang (2022) holds that the textual metafunction focuses on clauses as messages and can be a helpful tool in analysing a text's coherence and thematic structures. Halliday and Hasan (1976) suggest that cohesion is split into grammatical and lexical cohesion because it expresses itself partially through vocabulary and partially through grammar. By using these cohesive techniques, writers can create texts that are coherent and effectively convey their ideas through their writing (Mahlberg, 2006).

Halliday & Hasan (1976) argue that while cohesion analysis frequently focuses on the use of cohesive ties as a part of creating textual cohesion, it is important to note that those devices are

'The textual metafunction deals with cohesion and thematic structures and gives an understanding how the message is structured through coherence and organisation of language. Subsequently, it was stated in the study conducted by He (2020) that the aspects of cohesion and coherence are not widely explored in spoken discourses. It was also mentioned that while the research on speech discourse is small, most of it only consists of political speeches and other types of speeches were given little consideration'

insufficient in producing cohesion. Thematic organisation is crucial for structuring messages and improving the connections between ideas in texts. Thematic structure is crucial for structuring a text and examining its coherence and cohesion (Dejica-Cartis & Cozma, 2013). In a study on the thematic organisation of Barack Obama's press conference, Kuswoyo (2016) found that speakers can structure their speeches effectively using thematic organisation to ensure consistency and coherence. It was explained that a clause's theme directs readers to the message contained within it, and the coherence of the texts grabs their attention. Additionally, it was noted in Arunsirot (2013) that when the information flow from theme to rheme is not properly controlled by inexperienced writers like students, readers will find it difficult to follow the progression of the ideas in the text.

Discourse facilitates transactions, moves information, and builds relationships (Yule & Brown, 1986). Organisation, language choices, and presentation skills are essential for a successful speech because they help to avoid misunderstandings. Likewise, Crossley et al. (2010) assert that cohesion is essential for enhancing comprehension and making speech messages more understandable. Cohesive techniques and thematic organisation help create speeches that are clear and understandable. Also, Slagell (2009) states that speeches delivered by leaders are intended to persuade, uplift, inform, and educate the audiences. Similarly, Kuznetsova (2020) highlights that the lack of effective international tools and guidance in managing the current Covid-19 pandemic has highlighted the need for a standardised and functional global governance system. The World Health Organization (WHO), which emphasises the significance of pandemic prevention and response, plays a crucial role in assisting politicians in their decision-making processes with scientific and technical advice.

WHO plays a significant role in global health governance by leading and coordinating international health efforts through cooperation between countries. International cooperation is essential for controlling the Covid-19 pandemic. WHO promotes universal healthcare, establishes health standards and guidelines for nations to follow when managing the pandemic, and sets legally binding international regulations for pandemic responses. Dr Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, the Director General (DG), speaks at meetings and media briefings to update the public on the pandemic's latest developments and to discuss vaccinations,

guidelines, and the virus itself. Speeches by Dr Tedros must be carefully crafted to prevent confusion and misunderstandings. Concerning the importance of the role of WHO and the speeches presented by the DG, using the SFL analytical framework, this research aims to analyse the coherence of the speeches on the progress of the Covid-19 vaccine by DG of WHO in terms of the use of cohesive devices and thematic structures of the speech given the medium of communication, be it written or spoken will affect the use of cohesion and cohesive (Neumann & Fest, 2016).

Generally, the audience or listeners would be able to understand and relate with the speaker if the speech was well organised (Wu, 2010). However, Forey & Sampson (2017) have claimed that it may not always be true as the speakers may lack context and knowledge on relating and connecting the issues mentioned which causes them to not comprehend and have disagreements with the speaker. Therefore, the concept of textual meta-function was introduced and analysed to help the audience understand the message in the speech (Forey & Sampson, 2017). The textual metafunction deals with cohesion and thematic structures and gives an understanding how the message is structured through coherence and organisation of language. Subsequently, it was stated in the study conducted by He (2020) that the aspects of cohesion and coherence are not widely explored in spoken discourses. It was also mentioned that while the research on speech discourse is small, most of it only consists of political speeches and other types of speeches were given little consideration (Lan, 2020).

Chen (2018) stated that a coherent text is cohesive, unified, and easily understood by readers. Hence, with cohesion only can the text become coherent. In the study conducted by Bello-Osagie et al. (2018), it was stated that cohesion also functions to create semantic links within texts that help to encode meaning which would aid the readers to easier comprehend the text. In addition, Mahlberg (2006) mentioned that the uniformity of the text is usually built up by cohesion, namely grammatical and lexical cohesion. In regard to the significance of cohesion, it has been a popular topic studied by many researchers (He, 2020).

However, it was reported that students still had problems understanding the concept and the use of grammatical cohesion and lexical cohesion which causes them to make errors especially with the use of collocation and repetition (Rostambeik Tafreshi et al., 2017). The researcher has explained that the reason would possibly be that less attention is being paid to both aspects of cohesion. This statement could be supported by researchers such as Al-Ghazalli and Majli (2019), Chen (2018), as their studies focused on only one aspect of cohesion which has seemingly caused an inclination on the analysis of lexical cohesion. Xiang (2022) has suggested future researchers analyse both aspects of cohesion to obtain a more in-depth analysis. Therefore, to grasp the concepts of cohesion, both grammatical cohesion and lexical cohesion should be analysed and studied.

On a different note, the SFL framework has been employed in numerous studies to analyse the construction, meaning and

functions of texts. However, Lan (2020) states that there is still a gap present or in other words, there are little studies conducted to investigate the thematic structures and progression patterns of texts, specifically discourses of speech (Harman, 2013; Lan, 2020). Moreover, Kuswoyo (2016) suggested that a similar analysis can be conducted in another spoken genre. Therefore, this SFL framework is employed in this study and put forth the following research questions.

1. What are the thematic structures and cohesive devices used in the speeches delivered by the Director General of the World Health Organization?

2. How are the thematic structure and cohesive devices used to produce cohesion in the speeches delivered by the Director General of the World Health Organization?

2. LITERATURE REVIEW
2.1. Thematic structure

Understanding and constructing messages through spoken or written text are crucial components of communication (McLeod & McCormack, 2015). Speeches are typically delivered in a formal setting in front of an audience (Wu, 2010) to persuade them to accept certain points of view or ideologies (Xiang, 2022). Researchers in the field frequently examine political speeches, such as inaugural or presidential addresses (Lan, 2020). Whatever the speech type, it can be used to inspire, share an experience, tell a story, or provide information (Khoo & Abidin, 2014). Speeches should be carefully planned out and delivered with sincerity if they are to effectively convey knowledge. Therefore, when constructing a speech, cohesion, and coherence are crucial factors to consider (Xiang, 2022).

Halliday (1985) argues that the textual function of the clause is to construct a message, and the thematic structure is the basic form of the clause's organisation as a message. In the similar vein, Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) point out that a clause has the character of a message and the flow of discourse that is presented through thematic structures. The thematic structure, which consists of theme and rheme, aids the clause in realising its textual meaning. The theme is the focal point of the message, making it stand out, while the rheme that follows it provides new information (Xiang, 2022). These elements are used to help readers interpret the message's meaning.

2.2. Classification of themes

Simple theme is a structural element that consists of a single topical element (Halliday, 1985). It's also known as a *topical theme* and is divided into unmarked and marked topical themes. When the subject is in the theme position, an unmarked topical theme occurs, whereas a marked topical theme highlights the adjunct or complement as the theme. When a clause contains more than one theme, it is said to have multiple thematic structure (Halliday, 1994). *Textual theme* is identified when continuity adjuncts or conjunctions are used, whereas *interpersonal theme* is established when interpersonal elements such as modal adjuncts occupy the thematic position (Eggins, 2004). When the ele-

ments of transitivity are positioned as the theme, the *topical theme* is realised. Unmarked topical themes are more likely to have multiple themes than marked topical themes. From the perspective of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), these thematic choices play a significant role in determining the text's coherence.

2.3. Cohesive devices

SFL views language as a vast network of choices that are intertwined within the language system, which functions as a toolbox for creating meaning through grammatical and lexical choices (Halliday, 2007). Cohesion is an internal element that assists readers in connecting meaning within a text and creates a sense of connectedness. Cohesive devices, which can be classified as grammatical or lexical cohesion, are used to achieve this connectedness (Wu, 2010).

2.4. Grammatical cohesion

The relationship between grammatical elements, such as references, substitutions, ellipsis, and conjunctions, is referred to as grammatical cohesion. Personal, demonstrative, and comparative references are defined by Halliday and Hasan (1976) as any association between an element and its source. Personal reference employs pronouns to refer to a specific individual, whereas demonstrative reference employs articles or adverbs to identify the reference. Indirectly, comparative reference refers to similar referential devices such as adjectives and adverbs. Conjunctions, on the other hand, are features that connect sentences and establish semantic relationships. Rostambeik Tafreshi et al. (2017) divides conjunctions into additive, adversative, causal, and temporal categories. Substitution is the process of replacing one element with another in a noun phrase, verb phrase, or clause. Nominal substitution is the process of replacing a noun phrase with *one, ones,* or *same.* Verbal substitution involves replacing a verb phrase with various forms of *do,* whereas clausal substitution involves replacing a clause with *so* or *not.* Ellipsis is the omission of words or clauses in a sentence without changing the meaning of the text. Halliday & Matthiessen (2014) divide ellipsis into three types: nominal, verbal, and clausal.

2.5. Lexical cohesion

Lexical cohesion is the strategic use of lexis to create cohesion in a text. Reiteration and collocation are the devices at work. Halliday and Hasan (1976) also assert that reiteration includes repetition, synonyms, superordinate, and general nouns. Repetition is the most common lexical cohesion device (Helfer et al., 2018). A synonym is a type of reiteration in which other words with similar meanings replace or repeat the preceding word. Finally, superordinate and general nouns group words into more inclusive or general categories. Furthermore, Dejica-Cartis & Cozma (2013), states that collocation achieves cohesion through the association and relationship between lexical items that co-occur frequently. Collocation can be achieved by using words from the same series, such as colours, numbers, months, and more,

'The descriptive qualitative research design was used in this study to examine the use of cohesive devices in a text. Descriptive qualitative research generates descriptive data such as words or sentences to explain the research findings. Inductively, the research problem was investigated and explained. Zainuddin (2018) used this research design to examine text cohesion in previous studies. In addition, the study employed corpus analysis with the AntConc software to generate and calculate the occurrences of cohesive devices'

proximity, such as *doctor* and *ill*, or even antonyms. There is also activity-related collocation, in which the lexical items are related or known as 'natural language' (Dejica-Cartis & Cozma, 2013).

As explained by Klebanov et al. (2007), cohesion is an important aspect to consider in both written and spoken materials because it aids in achieving clear comprehension. In a study of language use in radio interviews, Bello-Osagie et al. (2018) discovered that grammatical and lexical cohesion were used to make connections in texts, with the latter being used more frequently. As cohesion devices, demonstrative references, conjunctions, and repetitions were frequently used to present arguments logically and systematically. The study also discovered that the interviewer used simple linear themes to make his speech coherent, whereas the interviewees tended to use derivative themes in their utterances. Overall, the use of cohesive devices and thematic structures aided in the creation of a coherent discourse from the radio interviews.

2.6. Thematic structure and progression patterns

Lan (2020) used the thematic structure and progression patterns theory to study Queen Elizabeth II's speech during the Covid-19 pandemic. Findings of the study showed that unmarked themes were commonly used because they assisted the audience in easily comprehending the main idea. The pronouns *I* and *we* were frequently used as themes, with *I* emphasising the Queen's authority and responsibility and *we* instilling in the audience a sense of solidarity with the Queen in the fight against the virus. Furthermore, the speech contained marked themes, with time-marked themes being the most frequently used. The background focus of the clause was provided by marked themes, which improved coherence and audience engagement. The speech focused primarily on ideational themes, followed by textual themes, with only a few instances of interpersonal themes. Likewise, Liu and Zhang (2018) examined President Trump's victory speech and found that the president employed simple and unmarked themes frequently by using pronouns as the Themes to establish a connection with the audience and highlight the sense of unity while not neglecting his identity as the president.

On a different note, Dou and Zhao (2018) examined Ivanka Trump's speech and discovered that simple themes dominated half of it, and the rest of the speech was made up of multiple themes that were a mix of interpersonal, textual, and topical themes. AlAfnan (2022) examined Trump's and Biden's inauguration speech and discovered that repetition was used to emphasise messages, collocation was used to make the speech more dynamic, and lexical devices were used to emphasise feelings and expression for clarity. Klebanov et al. (2007) examined political speeches and discovered that personal references and additive conjunctions were the most used cohesive devices, with comparative references used to compare situations. Dummy subjects, such as *it, there,* or *this* helped emphasise themes and manage semantic meanings of the text (Alwan, 2018). Olajoke (2015) examined an inaugural speech and discovered that key word repetition, synonyms, superordination, and collocation were used to highlight key issues, add impactful meanings, and ensure cohesion. Abdeen (2018) discovered that collocation assisted in identifying recurring themes in the text.

3. METHODOLOGY
3.1. Research design

The descriptive qualitative research design was used in this study to examine the use of cohesive devices in a text. Descriptive qualitative research generates descriptive data such as words or sentences to explain the research findings. Inductively, the research problem was investigated and explained. Zainuddin (2018) used this research design to examine text cohesion in previous studies. In addition, the study employed corpus analysis with the AntConc software to generate and calculate the occurrences of cohesive devices.

3.2. Sample

The sample chosen and analysed are speech texts of WHO DG Dr Tedros Adhanom, which are accessible on the WHO's official website. To keep the samples homogeneous, only speeches titled *'Director General's opening remarks at the Covid-19 media briefing'* were chosen for analysis. Another reason for choosing this speech is that it discusses the Covid-19 vaccine, which is the subject of this study. WHO plays an important role in coordinating global health governance (Hope, 2010), so the speeches delivered by their DG are informative and beneficial to the public, which is one of the main reasons the researcher chose these speech texts (AlAfnan, 2022). The researchers retrieved and analysed a total of 12 speech texts ranging in date from December 4th to January 29th, 2021.

To justify the time frame for the speeches, the researcher discovered that since the first day of administration of Covid-19 vaccination began on December 3rd in the United Kingdom, the 12 speeches within the time frame determined to focus more on vaccine updates and progress. In terms of the number of speeches, Mahlberg (2006), and Wu (2010) who conducted cohesion analysis on speech texts only focused on and analysed one speech text. This study aimed to retrieve insightful data to sufficiently discover and answer the research problem and to achieve data saturation (Creswell, 2014), so the researchers analysed 12 speech texts.

3.3. Sampling method

Purposive sampling was used to select the 12 speech texts because they are relevant to the research topic and fall within a specific time frame (Creswell, 2014). As samples are better matched to the research aims and objectives, this method improves the trustworthiness of the data and results (Campbell et al., 2020). This ensures that the data in the study is valid. Samsudin (2020), for example, used the same sampling method to answer their research questions.

3.4. Research instruments

Google Sheets was used to analyse thematic structures in this study, while AntConc was employed to analyse grammatical and lexical cohesion. Google Sheets is a good platform for categorising themes and calculating occurrences, whereas AntConc is a free and user-friendly software for analysing large amounts of text data. Fischer-Starcke (2010) emphasised AntConc's utility in detecting patterns and frequencies between textual objects. AntConc\s Word List and Collocates tools were used to calculate the occurrences of each cohesive device.

3.5. Data collection

The researchers obtained the speech texts for analysis from the WHO official website. The researcher searched the website archives for speeches within the specified time frame. The researcher then used the keyword *vaccine* to find speeches related to the research topic. The text of the speeches was downloaded and converted to Microsoft Word documents.

The total number of words of each speech is presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1
Word count of the 12 speeches

SPEACH No.	WORD COUNT
1	988
2	1126
3	902
4	744
5	1333
6	1395
7	904
8	919
9	674
10	802
11	852
12	976
Total	11615

3.6. Data analysis

To address the research objectives and questions, the researcher used Halliday and Hasan's (1976) theoretical framework to analyse thematic structures and cohesive devices in the 12 speeches. AntConc was used to determine the frequencies and occurrences of cohesive devices, while Google Sheets was used analyse thematic organisation. The sentences of each speech are arranged accordingly, line-by-line for a more convenient analysis and to illustrate a clearer presentation. The themes were classified into interpersonal, textual, marked topical, and unmarked topical themes, and tabulated the frequency distributions in a table. Also, cohesive devices were classified and AntConc was used to attain the occurrences of the devices, as well as Google Sheets to list and tabulate the findings. We read the speeches repeatedly to carefully identify each cohesive device used, and the analysis of each device was listed down in the respective column.

The researcher used Abdeen's (2018) collocation analysis method to categorise the most frequently repeated nouns into relevant themes.

4. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) propose that SFL is a theoretical perspective that denotes language as a 'semiotic system' and examines the connections between linguistic features and social contexts. When analysing social contexts, the approach is also used to learn how language is used to achieve objectives. The theoretical framework that was modified for this study is shown below (Figure 1).
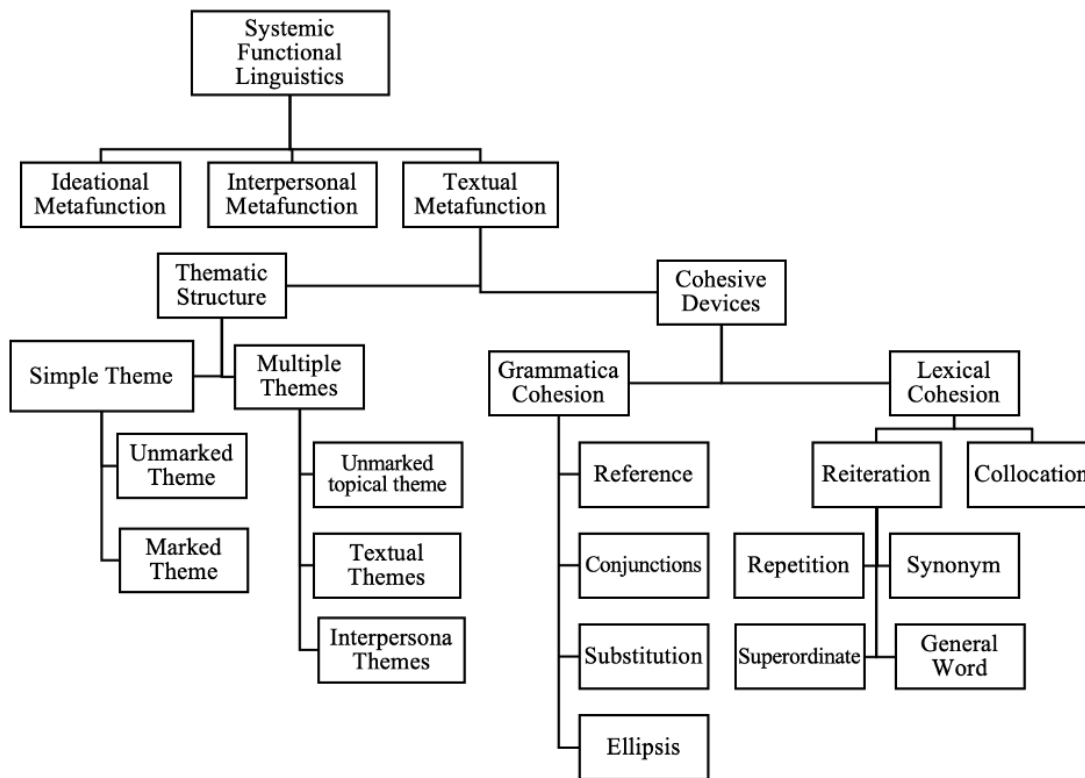

Figure 1. Theoretical framework adapted from Halliday (1994) and Halliday and Hasan (1976)

As previously stated, SFL asserts that language has three metafunctions: ideational, interpersonal, and textual, which are all reflected in a vast system network in the process of giving texts their intended meaning. Halliday (1985) holds that textual metafunction, in particular, explains how a clause is organised as a message and how it contributes to the structure's coherence and cohesiveness. Furthermore, as proposed by Halliday (1985), the mode of communication is directly related to textual metafunction. In communication, people express their meaning by using specific clause structures that reveal the speaker's or writer's idea (Xiang, 2022). Clearly, cohesive elements and thematic organisation are the key elements of how textual metafunction is achieved (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014).

5. STUDY RESULTS

5.1. Thematic structure

Table 2 summarises the findings of research question one. The table depicts the frequencies of occurrences for interpersonal themes, textual themes, and both topical themes in each speech. The total scores and percentages are calculated and shown below (Table 2). Table 2 contains a quantitative analysis of the thematic structure of twelve speeches delivered by an unknown speaker. Interpersonal Theme, Textual Theme, Marked Topical Theme, and Unmarked Topical Theme are the four types of thematic structures examined in this study. The table shows the number of times each thematic structure appears in each speech, as well as the total number of times it appears in all twelve speeches. The Interpersonal Theme appears the least, with a total of 61 occurrences which accounts for a total of 0.5% of the total word. This implies that the speaker places little emphasis on interpersonal relationships in their speeches. The Textual Theme, on the other hand, appears more frequently, with 151 occurrences across all twelve speeches, accounting for 1.3% of the total word count. This indicates that the speaker is more concerned with the organisation and structure of their speech. The frequency of Marked Topical Theme and Unmarked Topical Theme was recorded 152 and 466 times, respectively, with the latter occurring almost twice as frequently as the former. Topical Themes appear 618 times in total, both marked and unmarked, accounting for 5.3% of the total word count. These findings imply that the speaker places a high value on the topics covered in their speeches.

Table 2
Occurrences of each thematic structure in the 12 speeches

SPEECH	INTERPERSONAL THEME	TEXTUAL THEME	MARKED TOPICAL THEME	UNMARKED TOPICAL THEME
1	2	13	13	32
2	2	18	16	52
3	2	10	10	34
4	2	9	10	33
5	5	17	19	33
6	5	23	16	58
7	2	14	12	40
8	1	11	12	43
9	3	8	7	34
10	10	10	9	28
11	12	10	14	37
12	15	8	14	42
Total occurrences	61	151	152	466
Total occurrences/ word count (%)	0.5%	1.3%	1.3%	4%

5.2. Topical themes

About the theoretical framework, the topical or simple themes are the unmarked topical theme and marked topical theme. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) have explained that unmarked topical theme is realised when the subject is placed as the theme whereas the marked topical theme highlights the adjunct or the complement as the theme. The following tables are extracts from the speeches which provide some evidence of the analysis (Tables 3, 4, 5).

Unmarked topical themes are represented in Table 3 by the subject, which are usually nouns or noun phrases such as *the Covid-19 pandemic,* or pronouns such as *we* that are placed in thematic position, while the remaining information is considered the rheme. Marked topical themes, on the other hand, draw attention to the message's adjunct or complement. For instance, the marked theme is categorised as a hypothetical condition in the extract S2/L54. It functions as a complement at the end of the phrase, highlighting a particular instance or situation. The message is further emphasised or nuanced by this overt motif. The subject theme indicated for extract S5/L15 is 'On 4 February'. This sentence serves as a time adjunct by designating a certain moment in time. The highlighting of the temporal setting in which the event or action indicated in the rheme occurred is made easier by the usage of this marked theme. Additionally, the topical theme of extract S6/L33 is 'To break chains of transmission'. This conditional adjunct expresses the sentence's goal or

objective. It draws attention to the intended result or objective connected with the actions specified in the rheme. Together with the rheme, these theme patterns aid in directing audience comprehension and streamlining material in the speeches.

5.3. Textual themes

As the theme of the clause, textual theme is realised using continuity adjuncts or conjunctions (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). This type of theme is frequently seen paired with other themes, particularly unmarked topical themes, to form clauses with multiple themes.

The structure of the textual topics found in the speeches is greatly influenced by conjunctions and conjunctive adjuncts. Conjunctive adjuncts and conjunctions like *first*, *and*, and *but* as well as other linguistic tools help the audience and readers follow the discourse by giving the clauses a clear direction. The textual theme is frequently combined with unmarked topical themes to form a multiple theme clause. In the above examples, the unmarked topical themes *we* and *WHO* are coupled with the textual themes *first* and *and* respectively, to provide a cohesive message that connects the subject of discussion with further information. A conjunction like *but* may occasionally be used to divide two complete clauses, each with its own subject and complement. For instance, the conjunction *but* which introduces a contrasting aspect, follows the textual theme 'I know it's tiring' in speech S6/L29. The organisation and coherence of the speeches

are improved by the employment of conjunctions and conjunctive adjuncts in organising the textual themes. By establishing connections between words or sentences, transitions, and priorities, these language tools direct the audience and readers.

5.4. Interpersonal themes

Eggins (2004) proposed that when categories of modal adjuncts are positioned at the thematic position, the clause is structured with the interpersonal theme. While the use of the interpersonal theme is minimal, the following will present a few examples of the few occurrences. Numerous interpersonal themes are included in the excerpt stated. The interpersonal theme *Henrietta* is employed as a vocative adjunct to address as referred in speech S10/L34. The words *Thank you* and *Please* are used in the following examples, speech S11/L43 and S12/L37, as modal adjuncts in the theme position. By expressing gratitude and making a request, these modal adjuncts draw the audience in and build a bond. These phrases support the interpersonal themes by expressing messages of recognition, solidarity, and invitation to shared experiences. The interpersonal theme is further enhanced by the use of imperative and declarative phrases, in which the imperative clauses in particular encouraging the audience to act. Clearly, these speeches make use of interpersonal themes to build rapport, recognise other people's contributions, and foster a feeling of engagement and connection between the speaker and the audience.

Table 3

Extract from speeches as examples for topical themes

SPEECH/	MARKED TOPICAL THEME	UNMARKED TOPICAL THEME	RHEME
S2/L54	If you live in an area with high transmission,		please take every precaution to keep yourself and others safe.
S3/L14		We all	owe a huge debt of gratitude to the nurses and midwives who are often the first and only health professionals present to treat and comfort the sick and dying and bring new life into the world.
S5/L15	On 4 February,		WHO released the first global preparedness and response plan for COVID-19 based on the latest scientific evidence.
S6/L17		The COVID-19 pandemic	has shown us once again how a new infectious virus puts those with underlying conditions at highest risk of dying.
S6/L33	To break chains of transmission,		we must identify and find those who are infected, provide the care they need and help them truly isolate safely.
S8/L7		Governments, manufacturers, civil society, religious and community	must come together to create the greatest mass mobilization in history for equitable vaccination.

Table 4

Extract from speeches as examples for textual theme with unmarked topical theme

SPEECH/LABEL	TEXTUAL THEME	UNMARKED TOPICAL	RHEME
S2/L6	First,	we	face an immediate funding gap of US$4.3 billion to procure vaccines for the most needy countries.
S5/L12	And	WHO	convened the Strategic Technical Advisory Group for Infectious Hazards and the Global Alert and Response Network.
S6/L29		I	know it's tiring,
	but	it	's many times worse for those working or being treated in an overcrowded hospital, or for people who have had their cancer treatment postponed.

Table 5
Extract from speeches as examples for interpersonal theme

SPEECH/LABEL	INTERPERSONAL THEME	RHEME
S10/L34	Henrietta,	thank you as always for your close partnership.
S11/L43	Thank you	for your partnership and support over the past year.
S12/L37	Please	tell us about your experience working through the pandemic.

5.5. Cohesive devices

Table 6 below demonstrates the overall occurrences of each cohesive device. The results of the analysis of a few selected cohesive devices will be further explained with supplemental figures. The table shows the total number of times the DG used cohesive devices in 12 speeches. Cohesive devices are divided into two types: grammatical cohesion devices and lexical cohesion devices. Reference, conjunction, substitution, and ellipsis are examples of grammatical cohesion devices, whereas repetition, synonym, superordinate, general noun, and collocation are examples of lexical cohesion devices. The table shows that repetition is the most frequently used cohesive device in the speeches, accounting for 7,490 occurrences and accounting for 77.5% of all cohesive devices used. This implies that the DG emphasised repeat-

edly important ideas and concepts to make sure that the audience comprehends the message being conveyed. With the occurrences of 680 and 669, respectively, reference and conjunction are the most used grammatical cohesion devices. This suggests that DG frequently uses pronouns and conjunctions in their speeches to establish coherence and connect his ideas.

The use of substitution and ellipsis, on the other hand, is sparse, with only seven occurrences altogether. This implies that DG employs lesser devices to create cohesion in his speeches. With 211 and 139 occurrences, respectively, synonym and superordinate are the highest lexical cohesion devices used. This suggests that DG frequently employs these devices to create coherence by employing words with similar meanings or words that belong to a larger category.

Table 6
Total occurrences of each cohesive device used in all 12 speeches

TYPES OF COHESIVE DEVICES	OCCURRENCES	PERCENTAGE
Substitution	7	0.1%
General noun	91	0.9%
Superordinate	139	1.4%
Synonym	211	2.2%
Collocation	373	3.9%
Reference	373	3.9%
Lexical cohesion devices	441	4.6%
Grammatical cohesion devices	680	7.0%
Conjunction	669	6.9%
Repetition	7490	77.5%

Table 7

Occurrences and percentage of pronouns used for references

TYPE OF PRONOUN	PRONOUN	OCCURRENCE	PERCENTAGE
First person pronoun	I	78	11.5%
	me	1	0.1%
	my	14	2.1%
	our	42	6.2%
	ourselves	2	0.3%
	us	32	4.7%
	we	170	25.0%
	Sub-total	339	50%
Second person pronoun	you	72	10.6%
	your	20	2.9%
	yours	5	0.7%
	yourself	2	0.3%
	Sub-total	99	15%
Third person pronoun	her	2	0.3%
	his	1	0.1%
	they	23	3.4%
	it	89	13.1%
	its	14	2.1%
	itself	2	0.3%
	their	33	4.9%
	them	17	2.5%
	Sub-total	181	27%
Demonstrative pronoun	that	5	0.7%
	there	17	2.5%
	these	4	0.6%
	this	35	5.1%
	Sub-total	61	9%
	Total Occurrences	680	100%

5.6. Reference

Any association between an element and its source is known as a reference (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). There are personal, demonstrative, and comparative references. The reference depends on the use of pronouns, articles, or adverbs.

Table 7 provides an analysis of the use of pronouns in this study. The table depicts the four types of pronouns, namely: first person, second person, third person, and demonstrative pronouns, including the frequency and percentage of each type of pronoun used. Findings reported that the First-Person Pronoun category appeared to be the highest-use pronoun, accounting for 50% of all pronoun occurrences, with *we* as the most used pronoun in this category, accounting for 25.0%. This finding implies that DG wishes to connect with the readers by emphasising their shared involvement or responsibility in the presented ideas or findings. Besides, the Second Person Pronoun accounts for 15% of all pronoun occurrences, with *you* being the most frequently used pronoun (10.6%). This indicates that DG includes some level of interaction with the readers or audience, addressing them directly and establishing a personal connection. The Third Person Pronoun category accounts for 27% of all pronoun occurrences, with *it* being the most frequently used pronoun (13.1%) in this category. The relative frequency of this pronoun indicates that the manuscript prefers to refer to things or concepts in a more objective manner rather than emphasising individuals or groups of people. The Demonstrative Pronoun category accounts for 9% of all pronoun occurrences, with *this* being the most used pronoun (5.1%). These pronouns are used in the study to refer to specific things or concepts, emphasising their relevance or importance to the overall argument or findings. The number of occurrences and percentage count of various pronouns used for references in the speeches are shown in Table 8.

Table 8

Dominant pronouns and their associated references

PRONOUN	REFERENCE	EXAMPLE FROM SPEECH
we	everyone/public	S7/L45: Remember, ending this pandemic is one of humanity's great races, and whether we like it or not, we will win or lose this race.
	WHO	S7/L2: COVAX – set up by GAVI, CEPI and WHO in April last year – has now secured contracts of 2 billion doses of safe and effective COVID-19 vaccines, which we are ready to roll out as soon as the vaccines are delivered.
it	dummy subj	S11/L38: It's my sincere wish that all governments pay careful attention to this study.
	the pandemic	S12/L14 We will not end the pandemic anywhere until we end it everywhere.
	the virus	S7/L17 This is normal of every virus but at present we're helping it thrive if we don't reduce transmission and vaccinate equitably.
I	DG	S9/L21 I came into public health because I wanted to ensure that everyone everywhere has access to quality health services.
you	audience	S6/L3 In our first briefing of 2021, I want to take a quick step back and tell you what's going to be coming up in the next few weeks.
	Professor	S11/L35 Professor, thank you for this important work, and thank you for joining us today.
	Harriet	S12/L36 Harriet, thank you so much for joining us today.

Findings showed that the references used comprised of the four dominant pronouns, *we* is used to refer to both the public and the WHO. The pronoun *we* is assumed to refer to the organisation since DG gave these speeches. The pronoun *We* is used to include the audience in the discussion, highlighting group responsibility and cooperation The speeches mostly use the pronoun *it* as a dummy subject. The pandemic or the virus, which are the main subjects of discussion, are also mentioned in the speeches. When speaking directly to the audience, the pronoun *you* is used. It creates a sense of solidarity between the speaker and the audience. The pronoun *you* is also used to refer to the audience mentioned in speeches. The pronoun *I* is mostly used to refer to DG, who is the main speaker in all the speeches. Finally, the pronoun *you* refers to the audience, but it can also refer to the guests of the speeches, such as *Professor* or *Harriet*. These pronouns appear to be effective in delivering clear communication and promotes a sense of diversity and audience participation.

5.7. Conjunction

Halliday and Hasan (1976) define conjunctions as features that link sentences together to create semantic relations. There are four categories – additive, adversative, causal, and temporal. Table 9 presents the occurrences, percentages, and a few examples used in each category. The most common sort of conjunctions in the talks were additive conjunctions, *like* and *or* and *for instance*. They appeared 535 times in total, accounting approximately 80% of all conjunctions. The second most frequent type of conjunctions were causal conjunctions, which include *so, because* and *if*. Findings showed that 49 of these were used, accounting for 7.3% of all conjunctions. In the speeches, adverse conjunctions, such as *but, however* and *yet* were used 48 times, accounting for 7.2% of all conjunctions. The least often used conjunctions were temporal conjunctions, like *while, as* and *since*. It was reported 37 times, accounting for 5.5% of all conjunctions. These results demonstrate the use of additive conjunctions, which suggests a propensity for speeches to emphasise inclusion and addition. In order to communicate cause-and-effect linkages and contrast, respectively, causal conjunctions and adversative conjunctions were used. The use of temporal conjunctions to link events or denote temporal links was generally limited.

Table 9
Categories and total occurrences of conjunction used

CONJUNCTION	OCCURRENCES	PERCENTAGE	EXAMPLES
Additive	535	80.0%	and, or, for example
Adversative	48	7.2%	but, however, yet
Causal	49	7.3%	so, because, if
Temporal	37	5.5%	as, while, since
Total	669	100%	

5.8. Repetition

Olajoke (2015) mentions that repetition is simply the act of repeating the same words or phrases. The repeated words are categorised into the categories as shown in Table 10 below which shows each occurrence, percentages, and examples.

The analysis of word repetition in various categories shows that nouns made up 22.7% of all repeats, making them the most often repeated words in the speeches. These repeated nouns include *vaccine, health*, and *countries*. Verbs and prepositions were also repeatedly used, making up 19.6% and 15.4%, respectively. Adjectives, determiners, pronouns, and adverbs were less frequently used. Numbers, on the other hand, were the least repeated category, with only 34 occurrences and a weightage of 0.5%. In the speeches, repeated numbers such as *one, hundred*, and *thousand* were used to convey amounts. These results highlight the significance of nouns and functional words in communicating the speeches' messages, while numbers were only marginally significant in terms of repetition.

5.9. Collocation

McCarthy (1991) claims that collocation can be discovered through the association and relationship between the lexical items which co-occur regularly or are of a similar series such as colours, numbers, and months. The table below presents a detailed illustration of the number of themes, and nouns along with percentages in each speech.

The nouns that are frequently collocated with the six Covid-19 themes of vaccines, health, economies, time, rights, and country are shown in the table. Within the context of the theme of vaccines, the most collocated nouns include Covid-19, pandemic-world, doses, measure, rollout, virus, and a few others. Considering the pandemic, these nouns highlight the significance of vaccine efficacy and distribution. Besides, the WHO, ACT-Accelerator, care, and hospital are the common collocations in the health theme, signifying the crucial roles of healthcare facilities and public health organisations in response to the pandemic. Other collocation to the noun associated with the economies theme are workers and funds which indicate that the economy affects people and societies in time of the pandemic. As for the time theme, the common collocations include year, days, week, and today, which reflect the temporal dimension and duration of the pandemic while for the rights theme, collocations such as choice and voice are found which are mostly related to emphasising the liberties and rights of the people considering the pandemic. The last theme is the country theme in which the council, people, and leaders are the collocations observed which bring forward the concepts of the importance of involving national and international institutions to fight against the pandemic.

Table 10
Word categorisation and total occurrences of repetition analysed

CATEGORIES	TOTAL OCCURRENCES	PERCENTAGE	EXAMPLES
Adjectives	421	5.6%	important, effective, new
Adverbs	306	4.1%	more, together, quickly
Conjunctions	635	8.5%	and, but, because
Determiners	1030	13.8%	a, an, the
Nouns	1698	22.7%	vaccine, Covid-19, health
Numbers	34	0.5%	one, hundred, thousand
Prepositions	1471	19.6%	to, of, for
Pronouns	742	9.9%	I, we, which
Verbs	1153	15.4%	ensure, protect, spread
Total	7490	100	

Table 11
Nouns Collocated with the themes derived from the categorisation of nouns in speech 10

NO.	THEME	NOUNS COLLOCATED WITH THE THEME
1.	Vaccine	Covid-19, pandemic- world, doses, measure, rollout, virus, COVAX, readiness, risk, supply, transmission, vaccination, vaccine
2.	Health	WHO, ACT- Accelerator, care, hospital (place, capacity, facility)
3.	Economies	workers, funds
4.	Time	year, days, week, today
5.	Rights	choice, voice
6.	Country	council, people, leaders

6. DISCUSSION

The current study's findings are consistent with those reported in previous research. For example, findings showed that topical themes were the most used, followed by textual themes and there were limited use of interpersonal themes in the speeches of the DG. These findings supported Forey & Sampson's (2017) study. Similar with that of Lan (2020) and Harman (2013), the studies attributed the high occurrence of unmarked topical themes to its simple and direct structure, which aids audience comprehension. Likewise, supported by Dou and Zhao (2018), the use of simple themes could avoid complex elements that may cause misunderstandings or confusion. Findings also suggest that noun phrases or pronouns were positioned as the theme, which was a common occurrence as reported in Lan's (2020) study. In table 4.2, the S3/L14 extract uses the phrase *we all*, which refers to not only WHO the organisation is, but also to the audiences and readers. This finding corroborates with Harman's (2013) study which reported that the use of the pronoun *we* creates a sense of togetherness and fosters close relationships between the speaker and the audience. While it was discovered in this study that marked topical themes had fewer occurrences than unmarked topical themes, they are significant because as suggested by Xiang (2022), marked themes are structured to shape text organisation that produces coherence to the text.

Another important finding was the use of themes manifested by noun phrases and pronouns. These findings are consistent with the findings of Lan's (2020) study. Similarly, Harman (2013) highlighted that the use of *we all* in a speech fosters a sense of togetherness and creates a closer relationship between the speaker and the audience. Also, marked topical themes, which highlight specific elements such as settings, were found to be less frequent but still significant for creating coherence in the

speeches. Interpersonal themes, which convey feelings and appreciation, were present in the speeches studied, but were used less frequently used than topical themes. This finding is nevertheless in contrast with Dou and Zhao's (2018) study which reported that interpersonal themes were more frequently observed than topical themes. To add, Xiang (2022) also maintained that their study did not observe the use of interpersonal themes at all due to the nature of inauguration addresses examined. The differences in findings could be attributed to the different themes and nature of the samples examined. Overall, this study discovered that topical themes were used the most in the speeches, while interpersonal themes were used the least. DG holds a high position that necessitates maintaining a certain level of professionalism and neutrality. The speeches might be crafted to support the speaker's capacity as an organisation representative, placing an emphasis on objectivity and eliminating prejudices or subjective opinions. By using this strategy, the speeches are made to appear credible and authoritative, reinforcing the speaker's position as a leader in global health.

On the other hand, the results revealed that the two most common devices for grammatical cohesion were reference and conjunction, with substitution having a limited use which are similar with past studies. Mahlberg (2006), for example, found that other than lexical cohesion devices, references were the most frequently used devices. Furthermore, Klebanov et al. (2007) found that personal references were the prevalent cohesive devices used in the political speeches to avoid repetition. Not only that, Alwan (2018) supported that several pronouns, such as *it, there*, and *this*, are used to refer to dummy subjects that have no lexical meaning and only serve to meet the structural and semantic needs of clauses.

Similarly, the high occurrences of conjunctions in the present study are in line with that of Olajoke (2015), Wu (2010) and Klebanov et al. (2007), especially additive conjunctions. Among the other adverbial conjunctions analysed, such as *however, yet* and *in contrast, but* was found to be the most frequently used but there appeared limited use of substitution and ellipsis in this study. One possible reason of the sparse use of ellipsis could be contributed to the general pattern for formal addresses, typically by a key person like DG of WHO. It was hard to deduce that it was deliberately used less frequently as the use of ellipsis is rather context dependent. Although ellipsis can generate pauses in the speech by omitting certain words or phrases, allowing the audience to fill in the gaps, it, however, was not appropriate for the DG to deliver such an important address to the international audiences, leaving them to fill in any incorrect information.

Although these grammatical cohesion devices were not frequently used, they were still useful in avoiding redundancy and excessive repetition to produce a more coherent flow to the samples analysed. The DG may have used repetition frequently as part of a rhetorical approach to highlight important points and make an impression on the audience that would enhance in their minds. Repetition can make key ideas more salient and clearer, strengthen the speaker's message, and promote audience com-

prehension and retention. Repetition can be an effective persuasion technique since it makes a speech more interesting and remembered. Clausal substitution, which is the process of replacing an item with another clause using *so* or *not*, was realised more in the cases where substitution was used in this study.

Additionally, AlAfnan (2022) reported that lexical cohesive devices were dominant devices used in speeches. The same study suggested that lexical cohesive devices can be used to emphasise feelings and expressions in speeches for better comprehension by listeners or audiences. Furthermore, Mahlberg (2006) highlighted that repetition plays a significant role and is used more frequently and explained that the devices function to emphasise specific messages, particularly those concerning urgent or significant issues, to instil a sense of urgency in the audiences. According to Olajoke (2015), it was reported that there was minimal use of synonyms, superordinate, and collocation in speeches. These findings did, however, explain that, despite their limited use, these devices play important roles in ensuring speech cohesion. As explained by AlAfnan (2022), the use of collocations enhances the dynamics of a speech.

Finally, the Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) framework (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014), which emphasises the features of language utilised in a social context, was validated by the results of the current study. SFL analyses various ways of employing linguistic components to fulfil diverse social responsibilities and posits that language is a source of meaning making. As seen in the speeches by the DG of WHO, coherence and cohesion as documents through different linguistics cues contributed to the speeches' increased significance in addressing the Covid-19 vaccine administration issue. Likewise, the topic of the speeches contained interpersonal themes, which is one strategy for engaging listeners. This is consistent with Eggins' (2004) study, which found that the majority of central ideas are articulated using modal adjuncts in the they position.

7. CONCLUSION

This study sought to better understand the thematic organisation and cohesive devices employed in the speeches given by the Director General (DG) of the World Health Organization (WHO). The study found that unmarked topical themes were used the most frequently in speeches for their directness in conveying the main message, while marked topical themes were useful for emphasising certain elements. Lexical cohesion devices were used more frequently than grammatical cohesion devices, with repetition being the most common device used for emphasising urgent or significant issues, followed by references, conjunctions, and collocation. The findings of the study suggest that thematic structure and cohesive devices are two essential elements in producing coherence and cohesive in a speech to gauge a better understanding of the content delivered. These findings are following that of Halliday and Hasan (1976) which highlight the same findings. Importantly, DG's delivery of information is made easier for the audience to understand and participate in (Chen, 2018).

This study provides a few theoretical implications. First, this study fills a gap and adds to the body of knowledge about using thematic structure and cohesive devices to produce cohesion, which could be useful for future research in the field. This research has the potential to broaden and deepen our understanding of cohesion in speech discourses. Thematic structures and cohesive devices are rarely studied together as cohesion markers. However, it is in fact a good way to better understand the concept of cohesion when all aspects should be considered together. Besides, this study provides speakers with useful information on how to use various thematic structures and cohesive devices to improve coherence in their speeches, allowing audiences to easily follow and grasp the main points. Given the importance of WHO in global health governance, especially during pandemics, their addresses must be constructed cohesively, which can be achieved through cohesiveness. Consequently, the speeches chosen in the present study emphasised the thematic structures and cohesive devices. The findings of this study support the idea that thematic structure and cohesive devices denote substantial roles in producing cohesion in speeches.

This study also offers several practical implications. First, understanding the use of thematic structures and cohesive devices enables the audience to gain knowledge in analysing the speaker's intention. The findings of this study could benefit writers or editors because cohesion structured through these cohesive tools creates semantic links within texts, allowing readers to easily understand the texts. To fully comprehend the concept of cohesion, it is beneficial to consider all of its components. Researchers and students can gain a more comprehensive understanding of texts' structure and connections by looking at both grammatical and lexical cohesion. This integrated approach promotes more effective communication and comprehension while allowing for a deeper examination and appreciation of language use cohesiveness. Furthermore, this research could assist English language teachers in raising students' textual awareness of the importance of proper thematic structure and cohesive device usage in producing cohesion.

Previous studies on cohesion did not investigate both aspects of cohesion concurrently. Many studies focused on grammatical or lexical cohesion devices, leaving a gap in our understanding of cohesion. As a result, future research should consider examining both thematic structures and cohesive devices as cohesion markers in tandem, as demonstrated in this study. Furthermore, future research should delve deeper into the use of distinct topical or textual themes and their emphasis on various elements, as well as the specific roles of less dominant cohesive devices in producing cohesion.

Furthermore, future research should investigate different types of speeches, such as humorous speeches and wedding speeches, to broaden the scope of speech discourse research. More speeches collected for analysis could additionally enhance the generalisability of findings. Future research may compare the speeches studies here with those of other leaders in global health as another area of inquiry. Speeches from top officials of national or international health organisations, as well as well-known public health professionals, may be the subject of this analysis to examine the distinctive styles of thematic structure and cohesive devices used. Overall, this research lays the groundwork for future studies aimed at expanding and deepening the knowledge of cohesion in speech discourses.

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Original Research

To be or not to be critical in academic communication? Pragmatics of evaluative language in Russian academic book reviews

by Valeria E. Chernyavskaya

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Evaluation is considered a key tool in professional communication as well as a signal of the communicants' engagement in professional discourse. Linguistic analysis of evaluative devices employed in the professional field is of great importance as it indicates the level of professional reflection in the community which in its turn affects the production of a new research result. Considering evaluation is an integral concept of the review, this paper focuses on the pragmatics of evaluative language in Russian academic reviewing practice to explore how criticism contributes to the determining and advancing of a new result and what kind of linguistic choices are conducive to expressing critical attitude of the peer reviewer. The study introduces an analysis of a corpus of forty Russian book reviews in the field of sociology. The structure of the review text was analysed to reveal the contexts with linguistic instances conveying positive and negative evaluation by the reviewer (the presented result), the structure, practical value, and applicability of the academic book under review. The instances of criticism were identified based on their lexical and grammatical features, and a pragma-semantic analysis was employed to explore the contexts found. Negative evaluation was further subcategorised into direct explicit disagreement and indirect negative evaluation (mitigated evaluation). Characteristic strategies of mitigated criticism were summarised. The findings show that criticism expressed is often restrained and devoid of direct disagreement with the author. Criticism is managed by various evaluative de-intensifiers which serve to tone down and mitigate it. Praise is more prominently used in Russian book reviews to establish solidarity. The study outlines the typical strategies of criticism such as limited critical evaluation, critical judgement as an alternative opinion, presenting the peer as the collective subject, praise criticism, and default of first-person pronouns in the peer's identification. The study suggests that reviews should mark and advance a new significant result, as an implicit and vague character of evaluation might hinder scientific knowledge transfer and communication between specialists.

KEYWORDS: *language of evaluation, academic communication, critical genre, criticism, mitigation, academic book review*

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper will engage with the evaluation of ways of expressing a critical attitude in academic discourse. The main point will be that evaluation is a key tool in professional communication and the voicing of evaluation makes it possible to study the scientific community and various practices of scientific activity in the transfer of knowledge. Evaluation of and variations in evaluative language presume socio-communicative competence on the part of communicants, in accordance with Hymes' (1974) concept, as well as sociocultural knowledge (see Molodychenko & Chernyavskaya, 2022; Molodychenko, 2022; Tcherniavskaia, 2014). This extends the studies of academic genres and their features to a socio-linguistic cross-cultural perspective. The eval-

uative language highlights the academic discourse. Scholars address the construction of evaluative meanings in different perspectives and under various headings. These refer to the writer's stance towards the subject of the research, the writer's stance towards other researchers' views, and the writer's stance towards their personal statements in order to reveal and elucidate their personal viewpoint (Biber & Finegan, 1989; Biber, 2006; Gray & Biber, 2012; Hood, 2010; Hunston &Thomson, 2000; Sanz, 2011). Evaluation is considered as the system of linguistic, lexical and grammatical principles and methods at the discourse semantics level in the framework of Appraisal Theory (Martin & White, 2005; Martin & Rose, 2007) and in the conceptions following this theory.

Central to a value-based orientation in the academic text is a research rationale. Thus epistemic (cognitive) evaluation is of crucial importance. It manifests itself as logical (cognitive) evaluation and correlates with the content of scientific knowledge, methods of scientific knowledge production, its evidence-based character and practical value. Cognitive aspects are expressed through evaluative actions such as *to accept/to reject, to agree/to disagree* as well as through evaluative qualification like *true/doubtful/false, good/bad*. Cognitive evaluation is formulated by a wide range of devices: (1) epistemic qualification of knowledge value and/or a cognitive action used to express scientific knowledge (in this respect linguistic units bearing the semantics of cognitive forms, methods, ways and sources are used such as *hypothesis, typology, conclusion, observation, interpretation, to argue, to put forward arguments, to conduct experiments,* etc.); (2) evaluation (positive or negative) is expressed through the epistemic qualification of knowledge representation on epistemic grounds *(topical issue, new idea, appropriate method, evidence-based procedure, acknowledged specialist, advantage, clichéd method, error, disadvantage, weaknesses, insufficient data, unconvincing arguments,* etc.); (3) the modality of the writer's claims and views *(evidently, indisputably, one should agree, it is hard to accept,* etc.). Cognitive (rational) evaluation can also be demonstrated as emotive evaluation through the expression of a personal, positive or negative attitude of the subject to various aspects of knowledge. The emotive and expressive character of epistemic evaluation can also be illustrated through the means of (de)-intensification of the characteristics of the object or cognitive actions *(very, quite, completely, absolutely,* etc.) (Nefedov, 2021).

Scientific communication has special genres of texts with evaluation being highly explicitly expressed. These include a peer-review (of a research paper to be published or of a grant proposal), and a published journal review of an academic contribution. It is crucial that experts in modern contexts agree on the significant and increasing role of review in the scientific community. Review procedure continues to perform its fundamental gate-keeping function as well as to maintain the mechanism of gaining authority and credibility in science. Reviews also have a considerable influence on shaping new research areas and subject fields. Moreover, reviews are seen as the key genre of professional communication in the academic sphere. As such they relate to forms and methods of self-regulation in the academic community, the readiness of researchers for knowledge transfer, the exchange of views and ideas, and the role of academic criticism in generating and developing scientific results. As Hyland (2000) reveals, even though all academic genres are evaluative per se, reviews are the most explicit in appraisal and critical attitude. It is important to notice, that evaluative language should be analysed as a pragmatic tool, and following Nefedov's (2021, p. 761) definition, as a semiotic and pragmatic resource of integration of discourse participants into science and as an indicator of their engagement in the academic professional community with its shared interests and goals. Furthermore, the clear-cut, and prominent character of evaluation in the utterance structure

plays a crucial role in providing an evidence-based and precise analysis. This also enables statements that sound clear and convincing (Malyuga & Grishechko, 2021). Reviewing standards have led to detailed discussions and monitoring especially in natural sciences and medicine, for example, in the context of the annual International Congress on Peer Review and Scientific Publication (ICPRSP, 2023).

At the same time one can notice that the genre of review in the present-day Russian social and human sciences is far from being popular and is even in crisis (Stepanov, 2016). The researchers note that there are few reviews in Russian journals, including those which are regarded as leaders in their subject areas. If present, they appear irregularly, or the Review section is missing. Experts seem to be dissatisfied with the current reviewing practice in Russia as it has become routine-like and formal. Based on the Russian practice of peer-reviewing and on the experience of editing an international peer-reviewed journal in linguistics, Larina (2019) considers that those procedures and principles of scientific communication which should be regarded as fundamental and conventional for promoting a scientific result are still not recognised in Russian academic communication. As for the Russian blind (anonymous) peer-review, *'it tends to be less restrained. Those evaluated authors who hold high status can hardly accept criticism and often respond negatively'* (Larina, 2019, p. 38). However, there has emerged a strong tendency towards promoting and increasing published reviews.

The present paper focuses on published academic book reviews. Academic book reviews are distinguished from other forms of appraisal by playing a central role in promoting new scientific knowledge. In the humanities it is the academic book which is associated with personal scientific contribution and traditionally correlates with a new result and promoting scientific knowledge. Thus, the choice of the academic book to be reviewed determines among other factors, upon whether this result will receive the attention of specialists.

The *research question* stated in the framework of this paper is how scholarly criticism and the evaluative stance of the writer are expressed in reviews published in Russian academic communication. Critical scrutiny can be aimed at the content of the book, the scientific knowledge represented in it (including such aspects as novelty, originality, topicality and prospects), the structure of the book (whether it is illustrative, clear, well-investigated, verifiable), its practical value, and the application of the results obtained. Generally, criticism and critical attitude are seen as the discussion and expression of a personal opinion, both positive and negative, aimed at shaping evaluation. As such, criticism is encouraged as a necessary condition for advancing new knowledge. Discussed in a broader sense, criticism is different from the concept's meaning as discussion aimed at negative judgement, opposing another view, highlighting contradictions and drawbacks. This very aspect is basic to our research, namely the expression of negative judgments in Russian reviews in terms of their socio-cultural variations and specifics in the way criticisms are managed.

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by Valeria E. Chernyavskaya

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

The corpus for this study consisted of Russian academic book reviews in the field of sociology published between 2016 and 2022 in two journals: *Bulletin of the Institute of Sociology* and *RUDN Journal of Sociology*. These journals were chosen as they are considered as reputable in the academic communities. These are international peer-reviewed sociology journals that publish original articles and reviews and are indexed in international citation databases. The corpus contains 40 texts. The size of the corpus is approximately 44,800 words. The largest number of reviews (35 texts) was published in the *RUDN Journal of Sociology*. Five academic book reviews including collective academic book reviews were published in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Sociology*.

The analysis proceeded as follows. Firstly, the structure and composition of the review, the opening and closing sections of the text were analysed to reveal the contexts which contain linguistic instances conveying evaluation, positive praise evaluation and negative evaluation by the reviewer towards the content (the presented result), the structure, practical value, and applicability of the academic book under review. Evaluative attitudes (critical acts) were identified as positive and negative judgments, remarks on a given aspect of the book under review. Secondly, the evaluative contexts with negative evaluation were identified. As a result, 498 evaluative contexts were found, including 388 contexts which express positive evaluation and 110 contexts demonstrating negative evaluation. Negative evaluation was further subcategorised into direct explicit disagreement, opposition, criticism, and indirect negative evaluation (mitigated evaluation). The instances of criticism were identified based on their lexical and grammatical features and a pragma-semantic analysis method was employed to analyse the contexts found. The studied corpus revealed no instances of direct disagreement only mitigated criticism. As a result, four characteristic strategies of mitigated criticism were summarised.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Peer review has played a central role in evaluating a research result. As a qualitative method of evaluating the result, review is contrasted with quantitative methods which account for the number of a researcher's publications and a journal's impact factor. Functionally, peer-review as a text genre differs from a book review in terms of critical analysis principles and their subject. Peer-review often implies that the expert is anonymous, and the review itself is not available to a wide scope of specialists and scientific community. This type of review is commissioned by different stakeholders. Thus, it is firstly aimed at revealing a new significant prospective result, secondly, it is involved in deciding whether the result should be advanced economically, politically and ideologically (Biagiolli, 2002; Hirschauer, 2010; Hyland & Diani, 2009; Rheinhart, 2010). Reviews appear after the academic book is published and are open to the public and available for a wide range of specialists, experts and other readers. Such a critical review is the least formal one

and has no qualification status as it does not affect the procedure of granting academic degrees in the way that a thesis review or a paper/book review does. However, reviews convey public evaluation of the author's academic merits and influence the reputation of the author.

The international review process has introduced new journal review formats. For example, *rejoinder,* which contains both the reviewer's critical remarks and the answer of the book writer, allows making discussion objective and to balance the evaluation of the text under review. The *multidisciplinary* format implies that a book is subject to simultaneous review by specialists of various subject areas to attract attention in a broader research perspective. The *integrated* review format is used when the book reviews are collected in accordance with the topic of the issue. It can include retrospective reviews of books published a long time ago. *Review essay* is a synthesis of reviews of several books on a given topic. *Systematic reviews* involve reviewing major trends in research publications on a specific subject.

Thus, the review has specific features and performs a set of important functions in scientific communication between specialists and experts. Evaluation is regarded as a central characteristic of the review; it serves as identification of the text genre. That is why due to specific ways of expressing scholarly criticism the review has received a great deal of attention in the works of sociologists and linguists. The critical function of the review which deals with determining and advancing a new significant result is affected by numerous intra-professional conjuncture factors.

The review has several identifying genre features. First, unlike other secondary texts in scientific communication such as reports, abstracts, and overviews, the review does not fulfil a double function. It is seen as a reply of one professional peer when communicating with another specialist, researcher. On the one hand, it addresses the problems discussed in the primary text but, on the other hand, it raises new questions. The major purpose of the review is to reveal and to mark a new scientific result which contributes greatly to the scientific community rather than to give an overview of the information obtained by others. This very aspect is grounded in evaluation which serves as a comparison with what has already been achieved in science and current prospects. Moreover, the review itself can provide new information, i.e., knowledge interpretation – representation of scientific results from a different research perspective; adding, revealing of discrepancies and errors; and establishing alternative ties between the investigated phenomena and facts. The review itself might become a starting point for new discussions (see Hood, 2010; Hunston & Thompson, 2000; Kondratenko, 2022).

Along with such understanding of the review functions various sociocultural practices of reviewing indicate a number of social, institutional, political and ideological factors which lie behind scholarly criticism and affect its disputing nature. Hyland (2000) provides a detailed and multidimensional analysis of

'Arguably, expressing agreement and support in favour of the stance under consideration is one of the central strategies in the academic field and an instrument to maintain corporate solidarity in the scientific community. Positive evaluation indicates that both researchers' views coincide'

English academic book reviews in the fields of natural, social and human sciences as applied to English-American culture, showing the key differences in expressing evaluation in various subject areas. For example, in social and human science fields, in the so-called 'soft' disciplines, evaluation is conveyed in a more detailed and extensive way if compared with critical research texts in the natural sciences. This can be explained by the role of an academic book in the humanities, which serves as a major tool for presenting a new result. As such, it determines the specific character of presenting arguments and scholarly criticism in an academic book of this kind. Writing a review is affected by a number of factors, one of them being cognitive interest and presenting a personal research viewpoint of the problem. The choice of the academic book to be reviewed often depends on the importance for the expert of the problem discussed. Another factor concerns the conventional and ceremonial relationships inherent in scientific communication which relate to specialists' status and the community they refer to.

Since the 1970s, sociologists have paid attention to the inevitably selective and thus biased nature of reviews. It was noted that the reviewers demonstrated a biased attitude and were worried about what impression their review would produce. As Champion and Morris (1973) suggested, a critical function of the review is limited to the mechanism of scientific community self-preservation. When making a public evaluation of the other researcher the reviewer fears to appear badly before their colleagues and expects a positive review in response. This feature was defined as reciprocity in the review process: *'It is difficult not to think highly of somebody who thinks highly of* you' (Champion & Morris, 1973, p. 1264).

The works to be reviewed are often selected from authors among well-known specialists and familiar colleagues in their subject areas. A remarkable survey of authors who reviewed academic books has been discussed by Moreno and Suarez (2008). According to their study, English-American respondents claimed that they had never reviewed the books written by their colleagues and friends, considering such practice as unacceptable. However, Spanish researchers admitted that they had reviewed works by colleagues familiar to them and pointed out that that factor shifted or might shift their critical approach.

Arguably, expressing agreement and support in favour of the stance under consideration is one of the central strategies in the academic field and an instrument to maintain corporate solidarity in the scientific community. Positive evaluation indicates that both researchers' views coincide. Mitigated criticism which accompanies evaluation illustrates respect for the specialist/author of the work under review. Existing conventions contribute to the ceremonial nature of scientific discussion and can even shift critical attitude towards agreement. Projecting this into modern Russian contexts, it should be noted that scientists are somewhat sceptical of the role of scholarly criticism since among other factors, *'research administration hinders professional discussion rather than encourages the society to foster science'* (Guba, 2009, p. 32-33).

The sociological research line in investigating reviews as a special genre has been expanded by linguistic research. Review investigation has received the attention of researchers in various subject cultures and social practices, 'evaluative cultures', as Lamont (2009) put it in her seminal work. It is focused mainly on developments and explanatory approaches in linguistics of the 1980s-2000s. The study of the review in English-American, German and Russian academic fields has become part of functional linguistics which covers communicative functions of texts and genres. It has been incorporated in discourse-oriented research of academic discourse as a specific form of communication and cognition (Diani, 2009; Hyland & Diani, 2009; Kondratenko, 2022; Larina, 2019). The interest in the review is also caused by globalisation of language of science. It has become part of scientific writing (academic writing, academic publishing) which is used in training specialists in language and communication areas. Numerous studies conducted between 1990 and 2010 revealed that the review crystallises the sociocultural specifics of the academic field to a certain extent, and this becomes crucial in studying the genre of the review in contrastive and sociocultural research. Evaluative language reflects existing conventions, norms and non-written rules, beliefs about what is acceptable and appropriate in the academic sphere. A pivotal issue in discussing the sociocultural specifics of professional texts in the academic field is the use of mitigation devices, politeness formulae and the means that allows expression of the author's stance towards the subject under analysis and other researchers' stances in accordance with the conventions and norms present in academic communication in various sociocultural practices.

Contrastive research into evaluative language in scientific communication is oriented towards two academic traditions: the so-called western academic culture tradition, and the eastern (Asian) tradition. In the works published between the 1990s and 2000s (see Scollon & Scollon, 1991), the authors concluded that western academic culture is characterised by a more directly expressed evaluation, whereas researchers belonging to the Asian culture tend to sound less categorical. The studies by Rose (1996) and Tanaka (1997) indicate that Japanese scholars prefer indirect ways of expressing criticism as compared with English writers. The research conducted by Itakura and Tsui (2011) presents the results of the contrastive analysis of means used to express criticism in English and Japanese reviews. The empirical data suggest that in Japanese reviews negative criticism is expressed through diverse mitigation devices. This might be related to cultural values prevailing in Japan such as modesty, generosity and tolerance (Itakura & Tsui, 2011, p. 1378). These

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findings are compatible with Mey's (2004) study, which suggests that expressing harmony typical of Japan can be traced in scientific argumentation as well. Evidence obtained by Itakura and Tsui (2011) referring to the research by Slayer-Meyer and Alcaraz-Ariza (2004) indicate that French academic book reviews tend to sound authoritarian whith the author's stance expressed in a direct categorical way. As for Spanish scholars, their language is somewhat sarcastic, whereas criticism in English reviews is clearly expressed as a personal view of the reviewer.

4. STUDY RESULTS
4.1. General observations
The corpus under analysis contains reviews which are generally positive and express positive evaluation. 29 out of 40 reviews do not convey criticism as an expression of discord, drawbacks and weak points of the concepts reviewed. 498 evaluative contexts selected in the sample include 388 contexts with positive evaluation instances and 110 contexts with negative evaluation instances (Table 1).

Table 1
Distribution of evaluative instances for criticism in book reviews

BOOK REVIEWS			EVALUATIVE INSTANCES		
Total	Generally positive evaluation	Negative evaluation	Total	Positive evaluation instances	Negative evaluation instances
40	29	11	498	388	110

Thus, positive evaluation contexts tend to be more intensified. This is expressed by a large number of positive evaluative linguistic units and intensifiers. Focus on the status of the academic book's writer as a well-known, reputed professional can confirm the favourable and noncritical manner of the Russian reviews registered in the corpus. Linguistically, the status is evaluated by direct nominations of their outstanding contribution to the subject area:

(1) *Замысел книги-исследования **видного российского социолога** В.Н. Иванова [...] вызревал на протяжении более десятилетия (**An outstanding Russian sociologist V.N. Ivanov** [...] has been designing his research book for more than a decade).*

(2) *Книга написана **ведущим международным экспертом** по вопросам налоговой политики и ее влияния на экономическое развитие. Танци рассматривает экономическую роль государства в XX-XXI веках в историческом и географическом контексте (The book was written by a **leading international expert** on tax policy and its impact on economic development. Tanzi considers the economic role of the state in the XX-XXI centuries in the historical and geographical context).*

(3) *Данная книга посвящена обоснованию нового видения проблем монопрофильных городов России − именно такую позицию во Введении постулируют ее авторы Н.Ю. Замятина и А.Н. Пилясов, **признанные специалисты** в области исследований монопрофильных городов в северных регионах России (The book under review justifies a new vision of Russian monotowns − this very viewpoint is given in the Introduction by the authors N.Y. Zamyatin and A.N. Pilyasov, **respected specialists** in the field of Northern Russian monotowns).*

Criticism as discordance from a research viewpoint and reference to drawbacks is toned down. A number of previous studies of criticism in academic genres have drawn on mitigation of criticism. The above highlighted devices and linguistic choices are seen as characteristic of scientific communication in the professional community in general and have been previously discussed as mitigation devices (see Crompton, 1997; Lewin, 2005; Matsuda & Tardy, 2007; Sanz, 2011), as an evaluative praise-criticism pair (see Hyland, 2000). This study has discovered the following typical strategies used to tone down criticism: (1) limited critical evaluation, (2) critical judgment as an alternative opinion, (3) presenting the peer as the collective subject covering the opinion of a professional community, (4) praise-criticism pairs, and (5) non-use of first-person pronouns in the peer reviewer's identification. Strategies 1, 2 and 4 were drawn from Hyland's (2000) analysis of criticisms in book reviews as labelled by the author as 'hedging', 'other attribution', and 'praise-criticism pairs'.

4.2. Limited critical evaluation
To convey limited critical evaluation such linguistic means as evaluation de-intensifiers are widely used. The critical remark is de-intensified through the use of euphemisms. Critical statements, for example, are euphemised as speculation, or 'considerations':

(4) *Впрочем, **перечисленные соображения (а не критические замечания)** ни в коей мере не отменяют необходимости знакомства с книгой максимально широкой аудитории (However, **the considerations made (nor critical remarks)** do not mean that it is unnecessary to expose the book tp a broader readership).*

Another device employed to understate the scale of the drawback found is a litotes, for example, adverbs *порой, иногда, отчасти (sometimes, occasionally, somewhat)*. Such litotes de-intensifiers are used along with adjectives which express the moderate intensity of the property *'kind of criticism'* as well as pronouns and adverbs like *некоторые, несколько (some, several)* which understate the significance of the aspect criticised.

To de-intensify and tone down evaluation subjunctive structures are also largely employed instead of indicative structures. They sound like wishes and recommendations:

(5) *Рецензируемая монография многопланова, в ней поднят широкий круг вопросов социально-философского, историко-философского и теоретико-познавательного планов. Не все они, разумеется, освещены в одинаковой мере, например,* **хотелось бы** *детальнее ознакомиться с волевым потенциалом цивилизованности.* **По-видимому,** *необходима и более детальная проработка (в свете новейших достижений зоопсихологии, этологии и др.) концепции инвариантов биосоциальной организации, в частности прояснение их связей со способами коммуникации (The academic book under review is multidimensional as it covers a broad range of social, historical, philosophical and epistemological issues. They seem to be discussed in a different manner. For example, a more detailed overview of the volition potential of civilisation* **would be appreciated***. A more detailed investigation (in light of the latest developments in the field of animal psychology, ethology, etc.) of biosocial hierarchy invariants, in particular, their relations with methods of communication* **might** *be required).*

4.3. Critical judgement as an alternative opinion

When making a critical judgement as an alternative to other comments, specific utterance modality is produced. The reviewer marks their statements as probable, plausible, or alternative rather than obligatory. Adverbs like *вероятно, возможно, по-видимому (possibly, probably, seemingly)* produce a modality of probability rather than that of necessity and strong criticism:

(6) **Возможно, книге не хватает** *именно аналитического воспроизведения невыносимо тягостной устойчивой повседневности монопрофильных поселений, включенной в общероссийскую и глобальную картину регионального развития* (**The book probably lacks** *analytical display of the depressive repetitive everyday life of monotowns being part of all-Russian and regional development).*

Modality of possibility can be marked by parenthesis like *однако, стоит заметить (however, it should be noted)* being typical criticism indicators, adverb *вряд ли (hardly)* meaning doubt and limited criticism as the following examples illustrate:

(7) *Опираясь на данные проведённого социологического исследования, авторы приходят к выводу, что […]* **Стоит заметить***, что к числу причин, объясняющих ситуацию,* **можно было бы** *отнести неразвитость институтов гражданского общества, защищающих социальные права всех групп населения. Эта причина указывается в работе,* **однако** *развёрнутый сюжет на эту тему,* **к сожалению,** *не нашёл ожидаемого отражения в исследовании (Based on the results of the social study the authors conclude that […]* **It should be noted** *that one of the reasons that could explain the situation is poorly developed civil society institutions which serve to protect the social rights of all population groups. This reason is mentioned in the book;* **however,** *a full description of this aspect is* **regrettably** *absent in the research).*

4.4. Peer reviewer as the collective subject

Presenting the peer reviewer as the collective subject means that the linguistic choices constructing evaluative meanings shape the reviewers' statements as reflecting the views of the professional community, of other specialists and readers. This is achieved through involving the readers in the critical analysis. Thus, the structure of the text is dialogue-oriented towards the reader and establishes the reader's image as competent, interested, well-read and skilled in understanding the problem. This is expressed by the nomination of the reader and their professional status:

(8) *Основная проблема* **для читателя с социологически смещенной «оптикой» или ориентированного на извлечение из книги общего понимания** *характерных черт символического сопротивления в прошлом и настоящем, состоит в ее «нерепрезентативности» — это хороший набор интересных кейсов без уточнений степени их социальной типичности/симптоматичности и критериев их отбора (The major problem for* **the sociologically-minded reader or the reader focused on the general understanding** *of characteristic features of symbolic resistance both in the present and in the past lies in the non-representative nature of the book. It is a good set of interesting cases with no degree of their social typicality/symptomaticity and selection criteria mentioned).*

(9) *Безусловно,* **критически настроенный читатель** *может предъявить к книге претензии концептуального свойства в связи с отсутствием в ней анализа разных трактовок продовольственной безопасности (An unsympathetic reader* *may certainly criticise the book for the lack of analysis of various food security interpretations).*

Reader-orientation is implemented by nominating those intellectual actions that the reader is supposed to conduct in order to understand the work, *to reflect, to pursue answers, to doubt, etc.*, and by posing the questions on behalf of the reader.

4.5. Praise-criticism pairs

When positive and negative evaluation clash, positive evaluation comes to the forefront. Negative evaluation is de-intensified as the remarks and weaknesses mentioned by the reviewer are presented along with the significant result.

(10) *Что касается методологического подхода (качественного), то автор* **совершенно обоснованно обращается к нему для подтверждения гипотезы о […] Действительно,** *«качественные методы более чутки к тому, что респонденты говорят и делают»...,* **но зачем тогда использовать приемы количественного подхода? Выборка слишком смещена** *в пользу Санкт-Петербурга... Перекос в пользу Санкт-Петербурга можно было бы объяснить рассмотрением его как кейса, а не как 'основного поля' […]* **Все сказанное выше не означает, что книгу не нужно читать – обязательно нужно, потому что** *в ней показаны важные тенденции развития российского общества...* **Однако следует читать книгу** *как кейс со множеством ограничений концептуального и методологического харак-*

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*тера, отстраняться от политизированных выводов автора и воспринимать неполитизированные выводы не как 'доказательства', а как вероятностные суждения, требующие дальнейшей проверки (As for the methodological approach (qualitative) the author **reasonably turns to it in order to confirm the hypothesis abou**t [...] Indeed, 'qualitative methods are more sensitive to what respondents say and do'..., **however, why are quantitative methods used then? the sample is largely shifted** towards St Petersburg... **This shift towards St Petersburg could be explained** by regarding it as a case rather than 'the main field' [...] All of the aforesaid does not mean the book is now worth reading. It must be read as it covers key trends in Russian society... However, the book should be read as a case study with numerous concept and methodology limitations. The reader should not focus on the author's politicised conclusions, and they should address non-politicised implications as probable speculations requiring further verification rather than 'evidence').*

Critical contrast between vices and virtues of the book is made through a balanced evaluative pair of statements based on a 'positive/negative' principle. The reasoning follows the scheme: the opening thesis (the author's viewpoint given in indirect speech), the reviewer's evaluative statement, the reviewer's arguments. Transition to the evaluative statement is signalled by an adverb *действительно (indeed)* used to demonstrate that the reviewer is certain about the thesis whereas the question asked on behalf of the potential reader *но зачем тогда использовать приемы количественного подхода? (however, why are quantitative methods used then?)* implies disagreement with this viewpoint. Explicitly, the reviewer's disagreement is expressed by linguistic units of *смещена, перекос (shifted, the shift)* meaning irregularities and errors in the methods used. Support and positive evaluation are explicitly expressed by the phrase *обязательно нужно читать (it must be read)*. Disagreement is expressed in a toned-down manner, as an alternative stance.

Similarly, a balanced praise-criticism evaluation is shown here:

(11) *Именно заключительная часть книги вызывает после ее прочтения **неоднозначные впечатления**: осторожность в прогнозах и рекомендациях (у крупнейшего специалиста МВФ) вызывает **едва ли не разочарование**. Подбираясь к финалу, читатель, очарованный масштабной работой автора, явно настроен на более смелые выводы и прогнозы, но в итоге Танци, по сути, **не предлагает ничего принципиально нового**, а его позиция периодически удивительно напоминает позицию Адама Смита и отчасти позицию Джона Кейнеса... развитие экономики каждой конкретной страны все же является для Танци главной целью... Но тогда **вызывает недоумение** то, что Танци акцентирует внимание на дальнейшей стратегии развитых стран, не уделяя внимание странам развивающимся. Безусловно, книга представляет **огромный интерес** для тех, кто изучает экономическую роль государства в различные исторические периоды, в том числе в современных развитых странах. Язык и стиль книги также можно* отнести к ее **очевидным достоинствам** *(It is the final part of the book that causes **ambiguous impressions** after reading it: caution in forecasts and recommendations (from the leading IMF specialist) is **almost disappointing**. Approaching the final statements, the reader, fascinated by the large-scale work of the author, is clearly inclined to more daring conclusions and forecasts, but in the end, Tanzi, in fact, **does not offer anything fundamentally new**, and his position from time to time surprisingly resembles the position of Adam Smith and partly the position of John Keynes [...] development of the economy of each particular country is still the main goal for Tanzi... But then it is **puzzling** that Tanzi focuses on the future strategy of developed countries, not paying attention to developing countries. Of course, the book is **of great interest** to those who study the economic role of the state in various historical periods, including in modern developed countries. The language and style of the book can also be attributed to its **obvious merits**).*

The peer reviewer's critical stance is marked here by words and phrases, such as: *неоднозначное впечатление, разочарование, недоумение, ничего нового (ambiguous impressions, disappointing, anything fundamentally new, puzzling)*. However, disagreement is de-intensified through the use of a litotes *едва ли не разочарование (almost disappointing)* and linguistic unit with positive semantics – *огромный интерес, очевидные достоинства (of great interest, obvious merits)*.

4.6. Non-attendance of first-person pronouns in the peer reviewer's identification

A characteristic tendency towards expressing negative evaluation as non-categorical and unemotional is also seen in the use of the personal pronoun. *I* is not used to express a personal stance of the subject criticised. In the sample under analysis there are no examples of using the personal pronouns *я (I)* or *мы (we)* (the plural of modesty, the so-called we-of-modesty) as well as authorised structures like *с моей/нашей точки зрения (from my/our point of view)* to illustrate the subject's stance in first person. As the researchers claim (Matsuda & Tardy, 2007; Hyland, 2000; Sanz, 2006; 2011), in academic communication authorisation based on using personal pronouns should perform two major functions. On the one hand, first-person pronouns can serve as ways of toning down the message and thus indicate the non-absolute but subject-related, personal nature of claims, especially when expressing negative evaluation. On the other hand, the author's voice with first person pronouns does express critical reflection as it helps to identify the reviewer's personal viewpoint and highlight new meanings thus conjoining the scientific result and overcoming uncertainty and the ambiguity of claims.

5. CONCLUSION

This study has provided some evidence from a sociological academic review context for previous observations of the current reviewing practice in the Russian academic environment as it has become rather formal and ritualistic. It has also shown that certain mitigation devices which have been discussed in previous studies in relation to academic criticism in different sociocul-

tural practices were also registered in the corpus of Russian book reviews. The observations suggest that noncritical reviews prevail in the sample under consideration. They seem to convey no negative evaluation and reveal no direct controversy or open questions in the academic books reviewed. This may indicate that in Russian academic communication the review has started to shift from a critical genre and explicit encouragement of critical comments towards possibly more positive attitudes of criticising other academics' books, in a way that is approaching a presentation. In fact, one of the central functions of the review is to inform readers about new results, and this aspect becomes more important than critical discussion and persuasion. Discussion expressed in Russian sociological book reviews is often restrained, devoid of debate and direct disagreement with the author. Criticism is accompanied by various evaluative de-intensifiers which serve to tone down and mitigate it. Scholarly criticism is often

expressed through praise criticism, limited critical evaluation, critical judgement as an alternative opinion and presenting the subject under criticism as one of those belonging to the professional community rather than an individual expert. It might be suggested that the implicit and generalised character of evaluation can hinder the reproduction and exchange of scientific knowledge and communication between specialists. Further investigation of reviews and of the evaluative language pragmatics in professional academic communication will help to give a full sociolinguistic description of norms and forms of scholarly criticism. This will then stimulate researchers to analyse the academic culture in Russian science, in particular, in terms of contrastive linguistics. Linguistic analysis employed in the professional field is of great importance as it indicates the level of professional reflection in the community which in its turn affects the production of a new research result.

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Original Research

Manifestations of politeness and power in problem-solving business telephone calls

by Irina S. Lebedeva and Evgeniya V. Ponomarenko

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The article features some of the research findings obtained during an analysis of patterns of polite behaviour typical of subordinate and superior speakers in business telephone settings. The overall objective of the research was to describe how politeness manifests itself in opening, message and closing routines of business telephone calls and what factors play out in the choice of politeness strategies. The aims of the research presuppose the solution of the following research questions. Is there any discernible correlation between the degree of politeness and the social factor of power/social role in problem-solving business telephone interaction? Does the ranking of imposition affect the use of politeness? How does the setting affect politeness? What impact does the business telephone call environment and its restrictions have on patterns of polite behaviour? Are patterns of politeness different in different problem-solving call routines? The study is conducted within the framework of the lingua-pragmatic, socio-cultural and conversation analyses. The research methods include data collection, observation, quantitative analysis, comparative analysis, and evaluation. The corpus used for the analysis features samples of authentic problem-solving business telephone interaction which include transcripts of task-oriented calls made in the workplace. The materials have been obtained from the audio sections of Business English textbooks. The analysis reinforces assumptions about the heterogeneity of business telephone interaction. Manifestations of politeness show a lot of variability and dependence on a vast range of variables, including social (power / acquired social role, distance between the interactants, gender). The opening and closing routines of problem-solving calls are inherently formulaic and show the interactants' adherence to positive politeness. The message part is more task-oriented and structurally complex, hence the greater diversity of patterns of polite behaviour observed here.

KEYWORDS: *business telephone interaction, problem-solving, conversation analysis, politeness, power, facework*

1. INTRODUCTION

Since the telephone became a ubiquitous medium of communication, telephone business talks have constituted a major part of 'in-house' and 'out-of-house' business interaction. With the advent of the mobile phone, communication via telephone became even more interactive, as the telephone provided users with place-independent reciprocal availability anytime and anywhere (Caronia et al., 2009) and allowed interactants to ask questions and provide feedback instantaneously, thus performing multiple tasks much more effectively and, obviously, quicker (Roberts, 1998).

This study aims to describe how politeness manifests itself in opening, messaging, and closing routines of business telephone calls and what factors play out in the choice of politeness strategies. To achieve this aim, the study will address the following research questions.

1. Is there any discernible correlation between the degree of politeness and the social factor of power/social role in problem-solving business telephone interaction?
2. Does the ranking of imposition affect politeness?
3. How does the setting affect politeness?
4. What impact does the business telephone call environment and its restrictions have on patterns of polite behaviour?
5. Are patterns of politeness different in different problem-solving call routines?

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

The corpus used for the analysis features samples of authentic problem-solving business telephone interactions which include transcripts of task-oriented calls made by customer service employees and sales managers, professional and lay clients, superiors and their subordinates, and colleagues. The materials

'If the vocal cues are distorted in a conversation, the odds of communication failure are enhanced, giving no chance for the interactants to remedy it due to the absence of other channels of communication. This entails another set of distinctive features of telephone interaction: telephone conversations tend to have clearly defined boundaries, are well-structured, succinct, and inherently formulaic; there are rigid turn-taking rules that govern telephone interaction'

have been obtained from the audio sections of Business English textbooks: The Business (Intermediate, Upper-Intermediate, Advanced); Business Result (Upper-Intermediate, Advanced); Business Benchmark (Upper-Intermediate); Market Leader (Intermediate, Upper-Intermediate, Advanced); Oxford English for Careers and others.

The study was conducted within the framework of linguistic-pragmatic, sociocultural and conversation analyses. The research methods include data collection, observation, quantitative analysis, comparative analysis, and evaluation.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND
3.1. Features of business telephone interaction

Being interpersonal communication by nature, telephone interaction can be roughly described as 'face-to-face' communication due to its formulaic character and distinctive features: telephone interaction is instantaneous, sometimes it is a matter of seconds, which encourages interactants to produce short turns (Hopper, 1992), thus permitting them to get their work done faster; communication via telephone is dyadic (Hopper, 1992), there are only two parties present, which contributes to confidentiality; telephone interaction is characterised by the absence of visual cues, which means that it is limited to only one channel of communication – vocal.

If the vocal cues are distorted in a conversation, the odds of communication failure are enhanced, giving no chance for the interactants to remedy it due to the absence of other channels of communication. This entails another set of distinctive features of telephone interaction: telephone conversations tend to have clearly defined boundaries, are well-structured, succinct, and inherently formulaic; there are rigid turn-taking rules that govern telephone interaction.

Turn-taking is central to conversational analysis (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Sacks et al., 1974) where interactants are described as producing utterances – turns, which, for their part, form sequences. A crucial component of turn-taking is repair, which deals not only with turn-taking errors, but also with word recovery problems, editing, corrections, etc. (Levinson, 1983). Repair can be self- or other-initiated and the incorrect utterance – self- or other-repaired. Levinson (1983) suggests another component of turn-taking – the 'local management system' – a mechanism for the organisation of smooth turn-taking consisting of

two components: (1) the turn-constructional component, which describes the basic units of talk – turn-constructional units (TCU), the end of which constitutes a point of possible speaker change – transition-relevance place (TRP); and (2) the turn-allocation component (TAC), which describes turn-allocation procedures: (a) if the current speaker selects a new speaker, they must speak; (b) if the current speaker does not select a new speaker, then any party can self-select; (c) if no one self-selects, the current speaker may continue talking.

Another principle of turn-taking is the adjacency pair – a sequence consisting of two adjacently positioned utterances produced by different speakers, ordered as the first-pair component and the second-pair component, where the use of the second component, either preferred or misreferred is predetermined by the type of the first component, as in question-answer, greeting-greeting, request-granting/refusal (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 293-294). Although the adjacency pair is fundamental to conversation organisation, it sometimes allows for insertion sequences embedded in between its adjacent components, thus causing them to stand apart (Schegloff, 1968).

A typical telephone call has a rigid structural organisation that consists of routines called core sequences (Schegloff, 1986), which are highly patterned, especially if they are used to open or close a conversation.

Telephone talk routines are as follows: (a) *the opening* consisting of highly explicit core sequences: summons-answer, identification-recognition, greetings, and ways of saying, 'how-are-you?'. Although these sequences may not all appear in any given call opening, those that do appear, will follow the given order. Saying 'how-are-you?' generally presupposes phatic communication and also allows the participants to introduce a topic and express their concerns (Schegloff, 1986). Bercelli & Pallotti (2002) include another core sequence into the opening routine – 'getting down to business' in which the reason for the call is stated; (b) *the closing routine* consisting of two core sequences: pre-closing and its acceptance, and an exchange of farewells (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973); (c) *the message part* (Stenström, 1994, p. 12), the meaningful task-oriented section of telephone talks following the opening and preceding the closing, is highly flexible and largely dependent on the interactants' aspiration to accomplish particular tasks and pursue specific goals (Hutchby, 1996). Schegloff (2004, p. 79) contends that the structure of the message part may depend on whether a given conversation is a 'designed' or 'by-product' one. Due to the goal-oriented character of telephone business conversations which concern business matters at hand, they should be classified as designed interaction, and problem-solving interaction is so to an even greater extent. The structural organisation of telephone conversations is restricted by institutional/'in-house' constraints and could also be culture-specific (Amthor Yotsukura, 2002).

Another interesting observation pertains to the degree of urgency of a specific telephone call. This factor plays out if we compare, for example, calls received by an insurance company call-centre (Forey & Lockwood, 2007, p. 317) and emergency

calls (Frankel, 1989; Meehan, 1989; Tracy, 1997; Tracy & Agne, 2002). In the case of an insurance company call-centre (low urgency calls), the structure of the message part, the opening and closing routines is much more elaborate and features relative redundancy. The message part of low urgency calls apart from obligatory structural elements, such as collecting information, checking whether it is correct, explaining reasons for information gathering, establishing the purpose, clarifying, empathising, apologising, providing clear explanations, giving news, agreeing and disagreeing may contain from one to several optional sequences, such as identification of the purpose of the call, summarising or restating the key points, sales initiation, sales inquiry, etc. (Koester, 2010). The routine structure of an emergency call is simple and 'unextended' (Zimmerman, 1992, p. 419) and characterised by a high degree of reduction. As a rule, it contains obligatory elements, such as asking for help, gathering information and problem-solving. According to Amthor Yotskura (2002), business telephone calls also feature reduction, the degree of which could be linked to contingency. If the contingency is high only mutual identification is mandatory, and greetings are optional. In calls that the interactants treat as relatively non-serious, other sequences can be observed, for example, greetings and 'how are you?' (Scollon, 2014; Tracy & Agne, 2002).

Some of the above-mentioned features of telephone interaction facilitate analysis and contribute to the viability of the findings as telephone audio scripts provide the researcher with the same information as was available to the interactants themselves due to the absence of multi-modal interactional cues. Conversely, the instantaneous character of telephone calls often involves quick turn-taking, complicated shifts, and changes in participant groupings, and overlap, that is two parties speaking simultaneously, which might pose difficulties for data collection and transcription. Communication via mobile phone increases the chances of sound distortion as compared to landline connection due to the presence of third parties, outside noises, physical movement of the participants and other adverse factors that might cause disruptions. Although telephone connection has improved considerably in the past few decades, the risks of disruption, interruption and, therefore, misinterpretation are still high.

3.2. An overview of politeness

Until the 1970s, *the social-norm* approach to politeness was prevalent. Politeness was viewed as a set of norms prescribing how to behave and communicate with others. According to Fraser (1990), each society has a particular set of social norms consisting of explicit rules that prescribe a certain pattern of behaviour or a way of thinking in a context. The implication is that actions conforming to the rules of etiquette are seen as polite, and those violating them – as impolite. Pizziconi (2009) reinforces the culture-bound nature of the rules of polite/impolite behaviour. The 1970s saw a shift towards the view of politeness as a category of pragmatics (Lakoff, 1973, 1989; Leech, 1983; Brown & Levinson, 1978), which was triggered by the classic pragmatic theories of Austin (1962) and Grice (1975). Lakoff

(1973, 1989) elaborated on Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle (CP) and proposed the first two rules of pragmatic competence (be clear, be polite) and the Politeness Principle (PP) featuring a number of maxims (don't impose, give options, make the other person feel good, be friendly). Leech (1983) elaborates on the list by adding the maxims of tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement, and sympathy, and explains what drives interlocutors to violate Grice's (1975) maxims. Leech (1983) introduces a social dimension in the speech act implementation which is measured on the cost-benefit, authority, social distance, optionality, and indirectness scales. He contends that politeness is inherently situational, and that the degree of politeness differs from situation to situation.

The present research is predicated upon Brown and Levinson's (1978) influential theory of politeness which describes politeness as positive and negative 'face work'. The researchers introduce another useful concept into linguistic description – the face-threatening act (FTA) and classify interactional strategies as bald on-record, off-record, positive politeness, and negative politeness strategies. Brown and Levinson (1978) observe that the choice of an appropriate politeness strategy depends on three contextually dependent social variables: the relative power of the speaker and hearer (P), the social distance between them (D), and the ranking of imposition (Rx) that every utterance intrinsically acquires in a cultural or situational context.

In 1981, Fraser and Nolen (1981) introduced the concept of conversational contract (CC), *'an initial set of rights and obligations'* (Fraser, 1990, p. 232), that determines the participants' expectations at the initial stages of communication. The conversational contract is context-dependent and can be renegotiated during interaction. According to this view, being polite means *'operating within the then-current terms and conditions of the CC'* (Fraser, 1990, p. 233).

Later theories of politeness shifted the focus towards interpersonal relations. For example, the theory of rapport management (Spencer-Oatey, 2008), and the neo-politeness theory (Mullany, 2004; Holmes & Stubbe, 2015) describe politeness in extended social contexts in terms of avoidance/mitigation, including conflict avoidance. Eelen (2001) and Watts (2003) criticised traditional views of politeness and proposed a discursive model, which, however, did not receive any further support.

3.3. Problem-solving business telephone calls

Business telephone interaction is heterogeneous. Several genres or *'types of text distinguished by their function or their form'* (Matthews, 2007, p. 157) can be identified in this communicative domain: service encounters, problem-solving calls, meeting-arranging calls, and information-based calls. They serve different goals and have distinct structures of the message part. Problem-solving is inherently unidirectional as one of the interactants plays a dominant role in the conversation, they elicit and impart information, instruct, and direct their interlocutors, find out the cause of the problem and negotiate the solution. Message part sequencing follows a strict pattern and, as a rule, includes

'Problem-solving is inherently unidirectional as one of the interactants plays a dominant role in the conversation, they elicit and impart information, instruct, and direct their interlocutors, find out the cause of the problem and negotiate the solution. Message part sequencing follows a strict pattern and, as a rule, includes identification of the existing problem, negotiating solutions, solution provision, solution assessment and evaluation. If the evaluation is negative, further solutions are proposed. Therefore, problem-solving is often associated with disagreement and conflict'

identification of the existing problem, negotiating solutions, solution provision, solution assessment and evaluation. If the evaluation is negative, further solutions are proposed. Therefore, problem-solving is often associated with disagreement and conflict.

4. STUDY RESULTS

The analysis of 50 problem-solving calls allowed the researcher to determine their structure. The following routines consisting of sequences were identified: (1) opening, (2) inquiry, (3) claim, (4) claim details discussion, (5) solution-agreement / solution-rejection, (6) solution implementation, (7) closing. Manifestations of politeness and power were analysed at each stage separately. The use of politeness strategies was investigated in openings, the message parts, and closings separately.

Example 1. Opening.

Claud – boss, P+; Janet – employee, P-.

Claud: *Claud Belnaud.*

Janet: *Hi Claud, (.) It's Janet (.h) You: wanted to chat?*

Claud: *Hi Janet, (.) Great you've got my message (.hh) Thanks for getting back to me so quickly*

Janet: *You're welcome (.h) How can I help?*

Claud: *(.) Well it's about your preliminary report (.h) <There are> a couple of things I think we need to discuss.*

Janet: *Yes sure, (.h) no problem (.h) I: have it in front of me.*

Claud: *Hang on, (.) <I'll just,> find my notes. (2.8) [1] E:r okay, (.hh) The first point is <on page> eleven, (0.2) third paragraph. (0.2) [2] What do you mean exactly?*

Janet: *[3] <O:kay, (.) let's have a look> (.hh) [4] E:::rm (.) Oh (.) yes, (.h) capitalisation of costs in your factories. (.h) [5] We think that these costs should be expenses in the P and L.=*

Claud: *=[6] But, (hh) no, sorry, I'm afraid I disagree. (.hh) [7] They were necessary for the upgrade of our plants. (h) [8] Surely you agree that we have keep up with our competition?*

Janet: *[9] Yes of course, (.h) but lots of the items we tested are clearly <normal repair and maintenance expenses.> (.h) [10] One can't really justify including such costs under machine upgrades.*

Claud: *Mmm, I see it differently. (.h) Our machines have been developed to produce a wider variety of products (.) to improve the running efficiency of the <equipment>, (.) to keep us in business.*

(.hh) This was a sizeable investment on our part. (.h) The figure we're talking about shows the commitment we've made to the future. (.h) >I mean, we're going to be getting benefits from these upgrades for years! (.) Our balance sheet should show this.

Janet: *I'm sorry, (.) these figures are too material for us to ignore, (.h) there are some expenses whi[ch]*

Claud: *[Co]mpanies do this all the time an' I might add their auditors accept it. (.) I suggest you consider this again. (.h) I'm sure you'll find it reasonable when you think about how important these investments were for this company.*

Janet: *(.hh) Alright, (.) we'll look at these costs again. (.h) Let's move on to the next point.*

In [1], Claud draws Janet's attention to the issue he wants to discuss. He goes on-record as the threat to the interlocutor's face is relatively low because the speech act is performed in the interlocutor's best interests, the ranking of imposition is minimal. The conversation evolves in a cooperative way. In the next move, Claud asks an on-record question although he realises that asking a question is an intrinsically face-threatening act, it *'impinges on the hearer's desire for autonomy and free will'* (Brown & Levinson, 1978), which is due to Claud's superior role in the conversation. Janet demonstrates her cooperative disposition in [3] by using *let's* as a marker of the positive politeness strategy (include both speaker and interlocutor in the activity) and in [4] by using an elliptical sentence as a marker of the positive politeness strategy (use in-group identity markers). She says what she thinks about the issue under consideration in [5] and, assuming that her viewpoint might not be approved of, mitigates the statement by using *we* as a marker of the negative politeness strategy (impersonalise speaker and hearer) indicating that she is talking on behalf of her company. She also addresses Claud's positive face showing that they belong to the same expert group by using *P&L* as a marker of the positive politeness strategy (use in-group identity markers). In [6] Claud expresses disagreement, mitigating it by using *sorry* (apologise) and *I'm afraid* (hedge) as a marker of the negative politeness strategy. Then he expresses his view of why the company's costs cannot be referred to as expenses in [7]. Here he uses the positive politeness strategy, giving reasons to indicate that he is open to cooperation. Being aware of Janet's disposition to cooperate, Claud addresses her positive face wants using the positive politeness strategy (be optimistic) in [8]. Janet wants to be perceived as highly cooperative, so to show this she uses *yes, of course, but* as a marker of the positive politeness strategy (avoid disagreement). In [10] Janet makes another attempt to convey the idea that her views on the issue are different from Claud's. The ranking of imposition of this move is high, it needs extensive redress and face work. Janet realises that it can be perceived as face-threatening by the interlocutor and to attenuate the possible impact of the move she mitigates it by using *really* as a marker of the negative politeness strategy (hedge). She simultaneously demonstrates her solidarity and cooperative disposition by using the pronoun *one* instead of *you* as a marker of the positive politeness strategy (impersonalise speaker and hearer).

Example 2. The message part.

Clerk – receptionist, P-; Mr. Steel – professional client, P+.

Client: *Good da:y! Am I speaking to the right person if I want to book a conference?*

Clerk: *Yes, Sir. (.h) How many people will be attending the conference?*

Client: *Approximately sixty people. (.) We'd like to hold a conference for all our sales reps.*

Clerk: *Fi:ne. (.h) Couldju give me your name, (.h) and the name of the company, please?*

Client: *Sure! (.h) I'm <Peter Steel>, sales manager for <Ibcon> Software Solutions in London.*

Clerk: *Thank you, Mr Steel. (.hh) [1] Now then, what were the dates you were thinking of?*

Client: *[2] The weekend of the third and fourth of July would be great!*

Clerk: *Right. (.h) [3] Ju::st let me check. [4] Yes, we would have enough available rooms for that weekend. [5] I assume, you and your colleagues will be staying overnight, Friday an' Saturday?*

Client: *[6] We planned to arrive Friday lunchtime, and le:ave after the award ceremony, at about three pm Sunday. [7] However, (.h) three of the managing directors will be attending too. [8] Yo::u do have suites, donchu?*

Clerk: *[9] <Of course, Mr Steel>! (.h) [10] We have spacious deluxe suites ranging from a hundred an' twenty (.h) to six hundred an' fifty square meters. [11] All our rooms have twenty-four-hour room service, (.h) and Internet access. (.) Our convention centre holds up to two hundred people.*

Client: *[12] <It sounds fantastic>! (.) [13] How far are you from the airport?*

Clerk: *[14] About thirty miles. (.) If you like, (.h) we could arrange two coaches to collect you from Munich airport, (.h) and take you back on Sunday.*

Client: *<One last question,> (.) couldju make up an offer, and post it to me along with some brochures?*

Clerk: *<Of course>, Mr Steel! (.h) I'll post the offer to you t'morrow, at the latest.*

In [1], the receptionist asks the client for further information in a tentative way using *the time shift* as a marker of the negative politeness strategy (be conventionally indirect). Mr. Steel reacts in the same way, using *would* as a marker of conventional indirectness [2]. To give a response, the receptionist needs to check on the database, and in [3] tells Mr. Steel to understand that he will have to wait. Requests are intrinsically face-threatening, especially a request to wait, which increases the ranking of imposition. Moreover, in view of the receptionist's subordinate status, which plays out in this situation, more facework is required. To minimise the imposition, the clerk uses *let me* (be conventionally indirect) and the adverb *just* (hedging). In [4] the ranking of imposition is relatively low, there are rooms available, however the clerk sustains negative facework using the indirect *would* (be conventionally indirect). In [5] the receptionist shows that he is aware of the hearer's wants through positive politeness (assert the speaker's concern for the client's wants),

however, in order not to sound too imposing he hedges the utterance with *I assume* as a marker of negative politeness. Mr. Steel expresses agreement in [6], the ranking of imposition is low, however, he uses *planned* as a marker of negative politeness (be conventionally indirect) to sound delicate. In [7] he goes on-record and in [8] he expresses strong hope and certainty using the tag, *don't you?* The receptionist expresses confirmation by [9] using the honorific *Mr.* as a marker of negative politeness (show deference). In [10-11] the clerk goes on-record to give the details of the rooms available. Mr. Steel attends to the receptionist's positive response and shows his interest by using *It sounds fantastic!* as a marker of the positive politeness strategy (exaggerate interest) in [12]. In the adjacency pair [13-14], both parties go on-record because the question-answer sequence is inherently informative by nature. The ranking of imposition in this scenario is minimal.

Example 3. Closing.

George – sales manager, P-; Silke – professional client, P+.

George: *George Shaw, Sales Department, speaking.*

Silke: *Good morning! (.h) It's (Silke Kauss) from Compunet in Germany. (.) We spoke last month.*

George: *<Give me a moment,> (0.8) A::::H now I remember! (.) You were interested in our microchips, weren't you.*

Silke: *Yes, that's right. (.) In fact, that's the reason I'm calling. (.) Is the price that you quoted for the >MC seven eight seven microchips< still current?*

George: *Ye:s, (.h) I quoted eighteen US dollars per chip, if you agreed to take a thousand pieces.*

Silke: *Yes! (.hh) Looking at my notes from our call, that's the price I have. (.) We actually need two thousand five hundred pieces. (.h) >How about making us an additional concession for such a large order<?*

George: *Okay Silke. E:::r may I call you (.) Silke?*

Silke: *Of course.*

George: *Call me George. (0.4) Now, (.h) as this is the first order that you've placed with us, (.h) I could knock fifty cents off the price if you agreed to pay by a bank draft.*

Silke: *That sounds great, Mr Sha- (hh) sorry, (hh) George. (.) A bank draft is perfectly acceptable. (.) If you fax me the invoice t'day I'll transfer the amount immediately! (0.4) So how soon can we expect delivery?*

George: *>I seem to remember informing you< that delivery usually takes six to eight weeks.*

Silke: *That's right. (.) It's here in my notes. (.) The problem is, we heed the chips rather urgently. (.h) Is there any way that you could speed up delivery?*

George: *Just let me check if we have any in stock, (0.6) Ah! (.) Well, Silke, ((LS)) we have fifteen hundred in stock, (.h) which we could send by air freight. (.) You should then have them within a few days. (.) We could send the remainder (.h) by the end of next week.*

Silke: *Okay, George. (.h) [1] I mush dash! (.h) [2] I've got a meeting in a few minutes. (.) [3] Bye!*

George: *[4] Bye!*

In [1] Silke initiates an on-record pre-closing due to the urgency she experiences in the situation. In [2] she attends to the hearer's positive face (give reasons) by justifying her early departure. In [3] she gives the formulaic farewell *(bye)* without waiting for the interlocutor's response. George answers by using positive politeness (assert common ground) in [4].

5. DISCUSSION

In problem-solving calls *opening routines* positive politeness (42%) and on-record strategies (38%) were equally common, which, on the one hand, points to the fact that openings are highly formulaic positive politeness activities, aimed at creating an atmosphere of cooperation, support and comfort. On the other hand, the frequency of on-record moves indicates that the interactants are experiencing a certain degree of pressure linked to urgency and need for efficiency and clarity rather than face work. The volume of negative politeness was unexpectedly high (20%), it was prevalent in the reason-for-call sequence. Off-record strategies were relatively rare (1%). Assertion of common ground (positive politeness) was by far the most common in openings, the second most common positive politeness strategy was to offer or to promise, though the number of cases was relatively small, if compared with common ground assertion. Making an offer or a promise was used by less powerful interactants (the party receiving the call) and marked a pre-emptive move giving the caller a chance to announce the reason for calling. Positive politeness was more common in subordinates, whereas negative politeness was typical of superiors, usually the caller, in the reason-for-call move, which is intrinsically face-threatening requiring extensive face work. On-record politeness did not show dependence on power, it was rather related to the degree of urgency the interactants experienced during the call.

In the *inquiry* on-record strategies prevailed (61%) due to the task-oriented character of this routine, while negative politeness was only half as common (31%) as its use was restricted to questions asked by the calling party. Positive politeness (7%) was found in thanks and acknowledgements. The number of off-record moves was negligible (1%). In the inquiry routine, the distribution of politeness strategies displayed a strong correlation with power. On-record strategies prevailed in the speech of superiors, predominantly clients, who were goal-oriented. Negative politeness was prevalent in the speech of less powerful interactants, usually managers. It manifested itself in the use of negative politeness strategies such as, 'be conventionally indirect' and 'question, hedge'. This reinforces Brown and Levinson's (1978) assumption about questions. If asked by subordinates, these speech acts become inherently face-threatening with a high degree of imposition. For this reason, subordinates either opt for avoidance strategies (avoid performing the act) or resort to a high degree of negative politeness. Positive politeness characterises the speech of less powerful participants.

In the *claim* section, on-record strategies (44%) were prevalent due to their task/goal-oriented disposition and the presence of a high degree of contingency. Negative politeness

(33%) ranked second, with positive politeness accounting for 19%. Off-record strategies were relatively uncommon (4%). On-record strategies were predominantly used by superiors, whereas negative – by subordinates.

In the *claim details discussion,* on-record strategies prevailed (59%). This stage of the call is more efficiency-oriented than 'face' oriented. Negative politeness was less than half as common (26%), and positive politeness (12%) was even less frequent. The least frequent was the off-record strategy (3%). No dependence on power was observed.

The *solution-acceptance routine* is positive-face oriented. The number of positive politeness strategies (49%) was relatively high, they prevailed in offering a solution, solution-acceptance, and thanks sequences. Positive politeness prevailed in the speech of powerful interactants. Negative politeness (29%) was used by subordinate speakers in solution-suggestions to minimise the imposition and potential threat of the non-acceptance of the solution. On-record politeness accounted for 21%. Positive politeness was used by both superiors, the party who accepted the solution (give gifts, attend to hearer) and subordinate speakers (offer, promise). Negative politeness (24%) was more common in the case of subordinates, usually company representatives who offered help.

In the case of *solution-rejection,* interactants performed a considerable amount of face work due to the intrinsically face-threatening nature of rejection. Negative politeness (44%) was equally used by subordinate and superior speakers. On-record strategies (35%) and positive politeness (19%) (offer, promise) were used by those who offered help/a solution. The strategy of giving reasons was used by those who rejected help. Off-record strategies were infrequent (2%). Powerful interactants, usually clients, went on-record more often. Positive politeness (offer, promise) was more typical of subordinate speakers, usually those who provided help.

At the *solution implementation* stage of the problem-solving business call, interactants were largely on-record (58%) due to their task and efficiency-oriented disposition. The risk of the negative imposition at this stage was relatively low, as most issues had already been either resolved or at least clarified. Negative politeness (23%) was used to lower the potential risk in directions and positive politeness (19%) – in positive evaluations and appraisals. Superiors went on-record in directions when they provided information, whereas subordinate speakers used negative politeness strategies when they performed the same speech act. Positive politeness was typical of the speech of subordinates, usually those who provided services.

The *closing routine* of problem-solving business telephone calls is inherently formulaic (farewells, thanks, offers of help, offers of further collaboration), leading to the prevalence of positive politeness (80%). The most common positive politeness strategies observed in this routine were asserting common ground, giving gifts to the client, and making offers and promises. Negative politeness (12%) and on-record (8%) strategies were relatively infrequent. No correlation with the social variable of

power was observed. The frequency of the strategies in the speech of subordinate and superior speakers was relatively equal, as observed in the study.

6. CONCLUSION

The study reinforces assumptions about the heterogeneity of business telephone interaction. Manifestations of politeness show a lot of variability and dependence on a vast range of variables, including social (power/acquired social role, distance between the interactants and gender). The present research has attempted to deal with at least some of them.

1. The analysis was restricted to problem-solving business telephone calls. In view of the existence of other genres of telephone interaction, for example, service encounters, problem-solving calls, meeting-arranging calls and information-based calls with their distinct structures, especially those of the message part, and the variability of genre-dependent goals that interactants pursued at each stage, the author projected that any attempt to encompass multiple factors would blur the details, although a comparative analysis across genres would certainly be of scientific interest.

2. To obtain information about the use of politeness in different routines and sequences statistics were collected for each adjacency pair in the routine.

3. During the analysis of politeness strategies used by subordinate and superior speakers the research examined the power/acquired social role variable.

The analysis showed that the *opening routine* was inherently formulaic, in the summons-answer and identification-recognition sequences both subordinate and superior speakers went on-record. In greetings and 'how-are-you?' exchanges, positive politeness prevailed, no correlation with power was found. In the reason-for-call sequence superiors either went on-record or resorted to negative politeness – indirectness and hedging, whereas subordinates tended to use the positive politeness strategy of offer, promise. This result seems rather inconclusive in view of the different tasks performed by the participants in the call.

The *closing routine* is also formulaic and shows the interactants' adherence to positive politeness in both closing sequences – pre-closing and farewells. The most common politeness strategies observed are giving gifts to hearer and asserting common ground.

The message part of problem-solving calls showed a greater diversity due to the structural complexity of this section. In the *inquiry* sequence, superior speakers go on-record, whereas subordinates use negative politeness strategies (be conventionally indirect, question, hedge) and positive politeness strategies (use in-group identity markers, give gifts to your interlocutor, seek agreement). In the *claim,* superiors either go on-record or turn to hedging or apology. Subordinates use both positive (assert common ground) and negative (hedging, apology) politeness. In the *claim details discussion,* superiors go on-record, choose hedging and indirectness to protect their 'negative face', or attend to the interlocutor by asserting common ground (positive politeness). Subordinates act in a similar way, this stage doesn't give any correlation with power. In the case of *solution-acceptance,* superiors go on-record and use positive politeness strategies (give gifts to hearer or notice, attend to hearer). Conversely, subordinates continue to protect their negative face by hedging and being indirect even in the case of solution acceptance. *Solution rejection* is a face-threatening act with a high ranking of imposition. Superiors either go on-record or use negative politeness strategies (question, hedge, be conventionally indirect, apologise). Subordinates offer, promise (positive politeness) and use strategies of negative politeness (question, hedge and be conventionally indirect). The ranking of imposition of the *solution implementation* move is low, this affects the strategies used by interactants. Superiors go on-record, whereas subordinates use strategies of negative politeness (question, hedge and be conventionally indirect) and positive politeness (seek agreement).

The present research reinforces the necessity for greater attention to social variables in telephone interaction research and the ranking of imposition, the pragmatic factor, which might prove key to the use of politeness.

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Original Research

American telephone voice: Socio-phonetic features of identity in professional and non-professional discourse

by Tatiana I. Shevchenko and Tatiana V. Sokoreva

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The study is concerned with the role of socio-phonetic characteristics of American speakers' voices in identifying gender and age identity in professional and non-professional communication. We have to develop and test the methodology previously applied in such specific areas as corpus analysis, forensic phonetics, multi-modal research, and intraspeaker variability to address the problem of identifying personality by voice. The aim of the research is to view variations in the prosodic forms of American English speakers and examine age-related and gender-specific prosodic features in telephone communication. The study intends to address the following research questions: How do the following prosodic features contribute to distinguishing age- and gender-related changes in the human voice: mean pitch, maximum pitch, minimum pitch, pitch range, mean intensity, jitter, shimmer and harmonics-to-noise ratio? Which combinations of features are associated with young, middle-aged, and senior voices of men and how much are they different from or similar to women's voices? The auditory and acoustic computer analyses were conducted on American English dialogues with 30 speakers, equally balanced for gender (5 men and 5 women in each age group) and three age groups (young, middle-aged, senior), taken from the American telephone speech corpus to measure the prosodic parameters of pitch, pitch range, intensity, jitter, shimmer, and harmonics-to-noise ratio supported by statistical data processing in Minitab programme. The apparent-time technique of data presentation and the comparative analysis allow discovery of the dynamics of voice changes over time which could be later applied to personality identification. Comparing the data based on eight parameters' values in three age groups balanced for gender we have found that although all the selected measurements proved to be relevant for either gender group, the age-related trajectory of voice dynamics may be different in male and female voices regarding their specific prosodic characteristics. Prosodic features of mean pitch, maximum pitch and minimum pitch have been confirmed to define both individuals and groups of people of a certain age and gender and could be considered as both speaker-identifying and group-identifying characteristics. Voice quality features, apart from being previously found to signify the emotional states of speakers, may also be observed to characterise certain age and gender groups; hence, they may also serve as speaker-identifying characteristics.

KEYWORDS: *telephone voice, prosody, age, gender, American English, socio-phonetic features*

1. INTRODUCTION

In the present study, the human voice is applied as a cover term for a complex of prosodic characteristics which indicate the social categories of age, gender, and style. Thus, the sociolinguistic perspective provides for a fair account of the voice impact which is due to concrete features of pitch, pitch range, intensity and voice quality measured objectively by a computer programme. These features are utilised by the community in a number of professional and non-professional types of discourse. The areas which could be specified are:

– public speaking (politicians, for instance, tend to have voice coaches or/and image makers who instruct public figures how to use their voice effectively to influence the audience);

– acting (professional training of actors is a vital means of projecting an image in building up the desired characters. The chances are that voicing in films, especially dubbing, is made by different actors for the purpose);

– news reading in mass media (the particular presentation of the message, especially the commentary, has to sound impartial and objective for which a certain voice quality is necessary);

– singing (singing requires a long-term practice and care of the performer's voice in special musical institutions);

– business (training staff for call centres and other ways of promotion in commercials needs voices with social attractiveness and the gift of persuasion; the voices are tested and rated for intelligibility and social acceptability through surveys);

– forensic phonetics (in criminology the recorded voice of an individual may serve as evidence on the grounds of forensic speech analysis supported by objective facts and the expert's decision);

– health service (voice pathology caused by age, injury and disease is treated in medicine, as the environmental changes of the present century keep aggravating the situation despite the introduction of new technologies for the sake of human communication);

– academic activity, lecturing in particular, has been traditionally associated with the voice of a learned professional whose impact is partially based on the voice characteristics;

– Internet-mediated communication in social network may include video and audio messages which need to be identified as belonging to certain people; Internet-mediated communication through various gadgets appears to be displacing traditional telephone communication;

– face-to-face interaction of people presents the most common means of oral speech discourse where the human voice is only part of the multimodal communication.

The present study is focused on voice features in terms of prosody which were found in telephone recordings. We claim that these features will be equally well-employed both in professional and non-professional communication. The complex of prosodic features will facilitate the recognition and evaluation of particular individuals. To pursue this aim, the study will address the following research questions: How do prosodic features such as mean pitch, maximum pitch, minimum pitch, pitch range, mean intensity, jitter, shimmer, and harmonics-to-noise ratio contribute to distinguishing age- and gender-related changes in the human voice? Which combinations of features are associated with young, middle-aged, and senior voices of men as different from or similar to women's voices?

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

Sound material for analysis was taken from free online resources of Linguistic Data Consortium, Switchboard-2 Telephone Speech Corpus, a collection of about 2400 two-sided telephone conversations among speakers from all areas of the United States (Godfrey et al., 2021). The Switchboard Corpus represents the telephone voice database where the speakers agreed to a selected topic and to being recorded. Nobody spoke twice with the same interlocutor and on the same topic. Thus, the speaking conditions under control provide for emotionally neutral, calm, friendly type of speech. There is no comment on the speakers' voice pathologies in the corpus annotation. The technical recording characteristics: sound sample type is 2-channel ulaw with an 8000 Hz sample rate.

For the present research the samples of 30 American English speakers, equally balanced for gender (5 men and 5 women in each age group) in three age groups (10 young adult speakers aged 20-39; 10 middle-aged adults aged 40-59; 10 senior speakers aged 60-69) were selected. By presenting three generations of speakers (young, middle-aged, senior) we observe the human voice characteristics in the *apparent time*, i.e., in the dynamics of life-time development.

The style of telephone conversation is considered to be representing both professional and non-professional registers. We focused on the basic features of pitch, pitch range, intensity and voice quality.

The methods used in the study include the acoustic analysis of the speech signal using the PRAAT computer programme (Boersma & Weenink, 2017) aimed at identifying the following measurements of the data: mean pitch – F0 mean (Hz); minimum pitch – F0 min (Hz); maximum pitch – F0 max (Hz); pitch range – F0 range (st); mean intensity – Int mean (dB); jitter (microsec); shimmer (%); harmonics-to-noise ratio – HNR (dB).

All the measurements were taken from the accented syllables in the phrases. While calculating pitch and intensity parameters, some of PRAAT's values were hand-corrected to remove pitch tracker errors. Low F0 values, typically a result of a creaky voice, were excluded from the analysis. The pitch range values were converted from Hertz into semitones by means of the Semitone online converter.

Jitter is a measure of the irregularities in the frequency at which the vocal folds vibrate. It shows the deviation from true periodicity of a presumably periodic signal of a sound wave. The present study appeals to the parameter of jitter (local, absolute) that is the average absolute difference between consecutive periods calculated in seconds, namely in microseconds – μs (1000 microseconds equal to 1 millisecond). The threshold for pathology is claimed to be 83.200 μs (0.083 ms) according to certain studies (Deliyski, 1993).

Shimmer, a cycle-to-cycle variability of the period amplitude of vocal folds vibration, is used as one of the measures showing the micro-instability of the voice. The present research resorts to shimmer (local) that is the average absolute difference between the amplitude of consecutive periods, divided by the average amplitude, measured in percentage points. The threshold for pathology is stated to be 3.81% (Deliyski, 1993).

Harmonics-to-noise ratio is an acoustic parameter used to estimate the level of noise in human voice signal, measured in decibels (dB). The HNR of 0 dB means that there is equal energy in the harmonics and in the noise (Boersma & Weenink, 2017).

The statistical analysis of the obtained data was realised by finding the median values of all the parameters as well as conducting a Kruskal-Wallis statistical test in order to trace the significant differences in the above-mentioned parameters, the factors being age (three levels: young, middle-aged, senior) and gender (two levels: male and female). The received data were also subjected to a comparative analysis aimed at revealing age-related and gender-specific characteristics in the analysed speech

samples. The statistical analysis together with graphic representation of the results were performed using Minitab and Excel programmes.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3.1. Previous research

When two people start a telephone conversation their first words may indicate a lot of socially relevant information about their age, gender, social status and where they come from. Thus, the interlocutor's voice may either help to identify an old acquaintance or give the first impression about a new one, thanks to its segmental and prosodic characteristics (Shevchenko & Sokoreva, 2019). Listeners judge the age and gender of speakers on the basis of both prosodic and segmental cues fairly accurately (Helfrich, 1979).

Prosodic characteristics are reported to have a constant decline with ageing, which concerns fundamental frequency and intensity levels, articulation slowing down and voice quality changes (Linville, 2001). Along with a physiologically determined drop in vocal tract capabilities the prosody of an ageing voice is prone to constant development caused by the necessity to maintain word accentual prominence, intelligibility, and clarity of speech.

The aged-related changes embrace all the prosodic characteristics of human speech: duration, fundamental frequency, and intensity, with gender-specific modifications of the general trend. In view of the constant loss of high-pitched registers in elderly people's speech the accentual prominence, essential for speech intelligibility, is achieved by means of greater variance in the prosodic characteristics of accented syllables. The parameters which proved significant in that respect in telephone voices across the three generations are: increase in the accented syllables duration with age which is a sign of slower tempo and compression of unaccented syllables; increase in maximum intensity of accented syllables compared to unaccented syllables intensity values; increase in pairwise variability indices for maximum fundamental frequency values which is indicative of greater variance of the high pitch values in older people's speech (Shevchenko & Sokoreva, 2018).

Thus, prosodic prominence in an ageing voice is affected by pitch, intensity and duration that contribute to keeping up the word accentual patterns adding to intelligibility and clarity of speech despite the naturally occuring changes in vocal anatomy and physiology.

Among the personality features in prosody, rhythm is not the least in providing for speech comprehensibility and clear enunciation. The stress-timed rhythm of English based on accentuation turns to be even more contrastive in most of the parameters regarding ageing voices. The acquisition study found that English rhythm takes longer to acquire than the syllable-timed rhythm of the French language, for instance (Grabe et al., 1999). Thus, the rhythmic prosodic properties gradually develop over the lifespan of an individual especially if a stress-timed, or accent-based speech rhythm is concerned.

Yet the study of how rhythmic prosodic properties change with age can mainly rely on the *apparent time* method of comparing the phonetic characteristics of speech produced by subjects who belong to different generations since a longitudinal study often remains an inaccessible task. The *apparent time* technique was used to study various age and gender peculiarities of American speech rhythm at the beginning of telephone conversations (Sokoreva & Shevchenko, 2016). The research results proved the idea that fundamental frequency is as important in identifying the rhythmic patterns of speech as duration: the variability of maximum pitch measures showed an increase with age that reach the highest point in the speech of the 'senior' group. This fact can be accounted for either by the lifespan development of an accent-based type of rhythm or by the instability of elders' speech (Linville, 2001). Thus, even the first phrases of a speaker in a telephone conversation can give you the key information about their social characteristics that are manifested by means of certain prosodic and eventually rhythmic features of speech.

Age-related changes in prosody typically described as a result of physical decline appear to be signs of speaking skills development when they are applied to middle age, a relatively advantageous stage of life, both socially and physically, before and at which most dramatic prosodic changes emerge. Through social practice people develop more effective ways and speech habits to optimise communication, and that experience has a direct impact on speech prosody. Thus, the adult life-long trajectory of prosody development proves to be gaining in effective communication, whatever the physical background may suggest.

In English language acquisition, age-related changes in prosody are described as development and improvement of language skills, while in adult life they are reported as features of decline and deterioration caused by biological processes (Beck, 2010; Helfrich, 1979; Linville, 2001). It was found that prosody development in American English, especially in middle-aged speakers, resulted in a sustained or enhanced contrast between accented and unaccented syllables by means of F0, intensity and duration due to the increase in accented syllables and feet durations, in a wider pitch range and in F0 variance. Despite the limitations of the telephone communication channel which diminishes the effects of pitch and intensity factors the contrast proved to increase with age (Shevchenko & Sokoreva, 2018). Physical decline and deterioration, previously reported in prosodic studies, appear to be counterbalanced by compensating changes which provide for accented syllables prominence that facilitates word recognition in speech.

Most of the changes occur before or at middle age, a life stage, which is argued to be positively assessed both socially and physically. Older people's speech remains intelligible and comprehensible due to their compensating ways of using prosody which facilitates intelligibility against the background losses in pitch and intensity maxima. The optimistic perspective on adult life-long prosody development gives evidence of the presence of age-related positive effects which facilitate communication.

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3.2. Developing methodology: a note on multimodality

The telephone corpus provides a unique opportunity to explore the effect of the human voice on the perception of the speaker's personality which is devoid of the visual channel information. Other media emphasise the role of visualisation in the modern world. In this context we could draw on the research which is aimed at comparing the relative force of the two types of information, aural and visual, in film making and Internet-mediated videos (Potapova et al., 2020). The perceptual range of interpretations of multimodal mono- and poly-ethnic communication was considered, and informational features perceived by the recipients were noted. Communication modalities were separated by the two tasks: first by listening to the recorded talks and then by watching the videos without the sound. Of particular interest for the present research is the ranking of features reported by the American participants in the experiment based on listening to the recorded material. Among the features which came on top of the list of prosodic clues for American speakers in contrast to the British ones were intensity and voice quality followed by pitch and tempo. Russian participants put tempo on top, while voice quality was also second (Potapova et al., 2020, p. 126). The data suggested that both intensity and voice quality are important parameters of speaker identification and assessment in American oral discourse, voice quality is likewise relevant for the perception of Russian listeners and should be included in our research agenda.

Further improvements in research methodology by shifting accents to certain parameters previously ignored could be also made on the basis of forensic phonetics findings. It was verified in recent research that not only maximum F0 values but also minimum F0 levels as well as mean pitch data present relatively reliable and constant points of reference in the pitch patterns employed by each individual (Potapova et al., 2022).

We, therefore, find it necessary to include and have a closer look at the parameters of both maximum and minimum F0 levels, as well as mean pitch, intensity, and voice quality features (jitter, shimmer, HNR) to observe age- and gender-related characteristics which could be part of personality identification and evaluation.

3.3. Intraspeaker variability

Although corpus analysis provides robust evidence of socially relevant demographic changes in the population which are bound to be reflected in their voices, there is another aspect of intra-speaker variability which is just as relevant for speaker identification. This is the knowledge of inter-speaker variability, part of which is conditioned by style, or genre of speech, the pragmatics of the speaker's intentions and their emotional state (Dunashova, 2021). The results of the recorded speech analysis, available in open sources through free access, proved to be Very specific, demonstrating an amazing diversity of images one great man, a linguist and lecturer, can put on. Concerning the general tendency of ageing voice losses, the 15 years period of time was found to operate against the sonority and resonance of the man's modal voice, but the lecturer managed to disguise it in his public performances (Dunashova, 2021).

The above-quoted study which is based on the speech production of an outstanding individual, nevertheless, calls for scientific scrutiny of case studies as well as big data research with special reference to age, gender and style as the major social factors affecting the voice of the individual. The study also confirmed the necessity to include voice quality characteristics which are prone to change with time.

4. STUDY RESULTS
4.1. Pitch characteristics

Aimed at revealing the variation in the prosodic forms of American English speakers and examining age-related and gender-specific prosodic features in telephone communication we analysed the speech samples of 30 American English citizens engaged in phone conversations. Studying the prosodic characteristics of three generations of people (young, middle-aged, senior) we obtain the human voice characteristics in the *apparent time*, i.e., in the dynamics of life-time development.

The findings of pitch values are summarised in Figure 1. The data obtained on the pitch of the interlocutors' voices vividly illustrates that middle-aged speakers, both male and female, have the highest *mean pitch* values. However, the interval between maximum and minimum pitch values (*pitch range*, or *pitch span*) is wider in the speech of senior people, both men and women.

These findings may be interpreted as the fact that middle-aged people have higher-pitched voices, but when they become older, they demonstrate a wider pitch range, i.e., a more skilful command of their voice. It may be explained by the fact that senior people try to convey their ideas more clearly, tend to influence younger interlocutors and be understood by them. Therefore, they use all the possibilities of voice, choosing the correct intonation with the help of high and low tones and highlighting important points.

Telephone communication also plays an important role here, since in the absence of visual contact it becomes harder for elderly people to effectively keep up the conversation with their interlocutors.
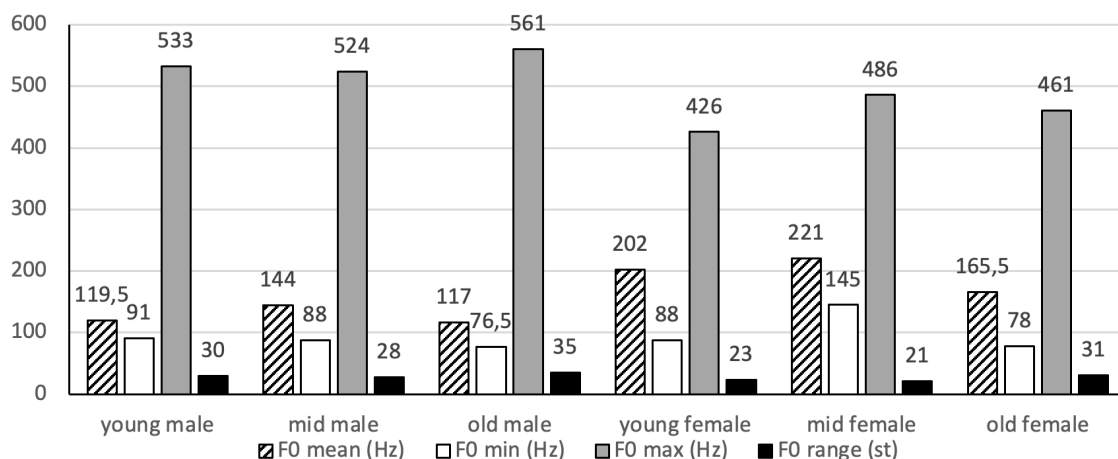
Figure 1. Pitch characteristics in three age groups across men and women

At the same time, it should be mentioned that the voice of senior people becomes lower with age, since both male and female senior speakers in the present research have the lowest *minimum pitch*. It may be accounted for by the tendency of the vocal folds to become less flexible with age and losing their ability to vibrate at a high pitch. It can be also pointed out that among men young participants have the highest minimum indicator, even higher than the minimum pitch of young female speakers. It is due to the fact that at a younger age men have a higher voice and are less able to produce low-pitched sounds.

As for women, their vocal folds develop differently. Female speakers in the present research corpus have the highest minimum pitch in middle age, which is much higher than that of men. However, in the voice of senior female interlocutors this figure then decreases sharply. That is why it can be said that at an older age women produce lower sounds. Factors that may account for this finding include *'intrinsic muscle weakening, ossification and calcification of laryngeal cartilages, and changes in vocal fold mass'* (Linville, 2001, p. 174).

As for *maximum pitch*, the data collected gives us grounds to suggest that men do not lose the ability to produce high pitches. Their pitch range widens, because along with lower and deeper sounds that appear with age, they still can produce higher-pitched sounds. Senior male speakers in the present research data have the highest maximum pitch levels in comparison with younger participants. This figure is even higher than that of all the female interlocutors, among whom middle-aged women have the highest maximum pitch. Therefore, it can be noted that older men possess higher-pitched voices, which may be due to physical changes of larynx. As a result of the disorganisation of collagen fibres and an increase in the density of the vocal folds male speakers are able to produce higher-pitched sounds, a tendency previously found in other studies (Linville, 2001, p. 172).

In senior women, on the contrary, the vocal folds atrophy and maximum pitch decreases. This is proven by the data of the present research which demonstrates that female participants tend to reach their highest values of mean, minimum and maximum pitch in middle age but gradually lose that quality as they get older.

Thus, although both female and male speakers demonstrate the highest mean pitch in middle age, their pitch range widens as they get older. While men develop the ability to pronounce higher sounds with age, women's voices, in contrast, tend to phonate at lower levels. Men and women, as we can observe from the data retrieved, have different trajectories of pitch dynamics with age.

4.2. Intensity characteristics

In the process of *intensity* analysis, age-related differences have been reported both for men and women. The data obtained indicate that representatives of younger generations have the highest intensity (65 dB for male speakers and 66,5 dB for female speakers), although their values differ by only 3-5 decibels compared to scores of middle-aged participants (62 dB for men, 64 dB for women) and senior speakers (60 dB for men, 62 dB for women). This information may prove the fact that elderly men and women find it difficult to sustain high intensity during conversation. Lower intensity may appear as a result of age-related changes in the respiratory and phonatory system. Because of the loss of elasticity of lung tissues, senior speakers become less able to drive air out of the lungs with great force. Lower airway resistance in elderly men affects the valving capacity of their larynx and makes them speak quieter than young and middle-aged interlocutors. In addition, in the speech of senior men there are more glottal gaps that may also be a reason for lower intensity levels. For elderly women lower indicators may be due to the loss of respiratory and phonatory control with ageing.

4.3. Jitter and shimmer

Many scientists consider that coming to robust conclusions about the effect of ageing on *jitter* and *shimmer* levels is impossible (Linville, 2001, p. 174). Nevertheless, in the process of the

present analysis several results have been obtained. In telephone talks, it is senior speakers who have the highest jitter indicators (Figure 2). Both male and female senior people are ahead of younger representatives in this characteristic. Besides, male jitter values are much higher than female ones. It is difficult to find concrete factors that influence changes of vocal fold vibration, but elderly women exhibit greater aperiodicity in vocal fold vibrations which may be the reason for the increase in jitter indicators (Linville, 2001, p. 131). The present findings on jitter in female senior voices give more evidence on that point.

As for shimmer (Figure 3), the collected data does not show significant variation for women, while men's indicators differ only by 1-2%. Among male speakers the elderly people have the highest values.

Based on our data, it may be concluded that the results demonstrate exclusively considerable jitter increase as a function for older age respondents. It means that in the speech signal of senior speakers one period differs greatly from the next one. This is a sign that speech pathologies affecting the periodicity of the speech signal may develop with age, and female voices have proved to be healthier in that respect than male ones. However, the slight difference in shimmer of men's voices shows that speakers in the present study do not have any serious pathology which influences the amplitude perturbation of their voice signal. Consequently, although intensity values do not differ greatly in all ages, it can be said that in telephone communication young male and female speakers tend to speak louder in comparison to older interlocutors.
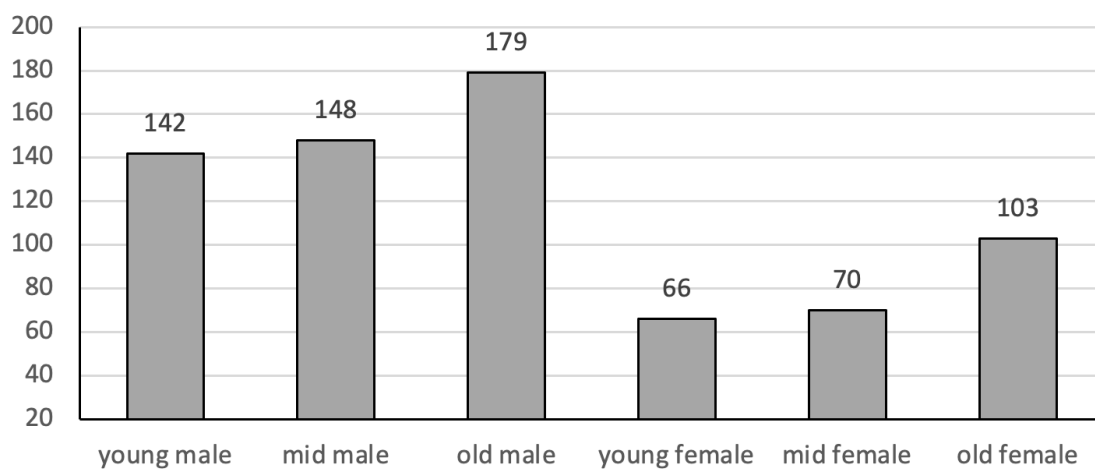

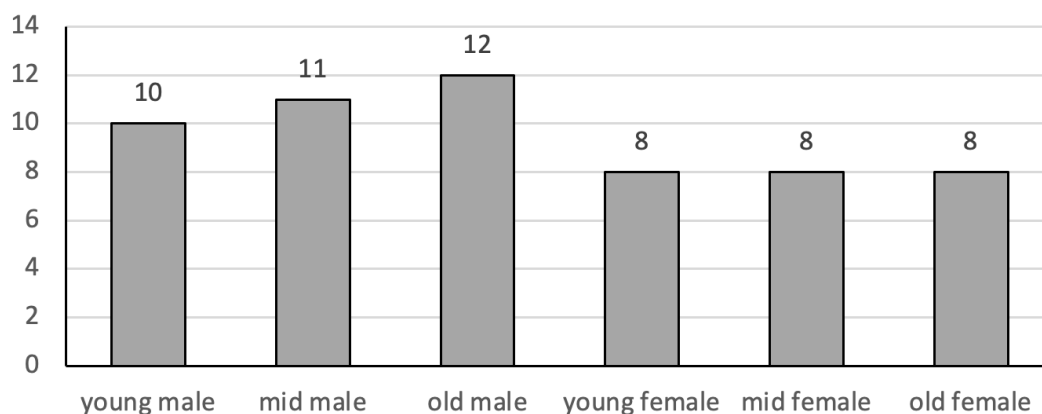*Figure 2.* Jitter values (μs) in three age groups across men and women

Figure 3. Shimmer (%) in three age groups across men and women

4.4. HNR characteristics

According to the analysis, the *harmonics-to-noise* ratio is almost the same for men of all ages (Figure 4). In the present research there is a small difference only in the voice of elderly

male speakers. However, this situation is quite unusual. The harmonics-to-noise ratio measures the amount of noise present in the voice signal. The lower the HNR is, the more noise, i.e., there is hoarseness in the speech. Since men's voices tend to become

hoarser with age, this indicator usually tends to be lower for them. But we can see this tendency in the speech of female interlocutors. The registered data shows that young participants have the highest HNR among women. It means that their speech is clearer, and their voices are more melodious. It is interesting to notice that young women's voices are much more harmonious than men's voices. Even the highest HNR among male speakers is almost twice as low compared to the female data. Nevertheless, the female HNR values decrease for elderly

women. Their voices become hoarser and breathier. HNR may also go down because of some laryngeal pathology such as incomplete closure of vocal folds or irregular glottal cycles.

There is a well-established tendency for younger people to possess more melodious voices in comparison to older generations. However, in the present study female speakers demonstrate this tendency in a more convincing way, while men's HNR is identical in young and middle-aged periods, with a slight drop in seniors.
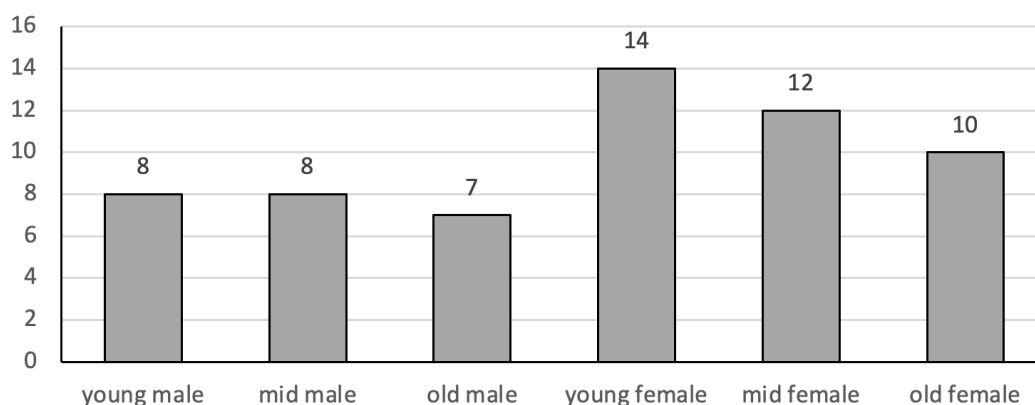

Figure 4. HNR (dB) in three age groups across men and women

5. CONCLUSION

Summarising all the data mentioned above, it can be concluded that the electronic analysis of telephone communication in English has revealed significant age-related phonetic changes in the speech of Americans which could be further specified as gender differences.

Firstly, among young, middle-aged, and senior speakers, both men and women of middle age have the highest mean pitch of voice. However, it is the elderly generation that demonstrates the widest pitch range. It has been discovered that senior men's voices acquire higher tones with age, while the voices of senior women become lower.

Secondly, although shimmer analysis has not shown substantial difference in all ages, the jitter level has turned out to be higher for senior speakers who have more periodic deviation in their voice signal.

Thirdly, in terms of intensity, we have found that young participants in telephone conversations have the highest indicators, i.e., they speak louder in comparison to older interlocutors.

Finally, data on the harmonics-to-noise ratio has displayed significant difference only in the speech of female representatives, among whom it is young women who have the most melodious and harmonious voices.

By comparing the data based on the measurements of eight parameters in three age groups and male and female gender we have found that although all the selected measurements proved to be relevant for either gender group, the age-related trajectory of voice dynamics may be different in male and female voices.

The common features are the dominance of young voices' intensity and HNR values, middle-aged voices' mean pitch and older people's pitch range at the expense of minimum pitch drop. A jitter increase with age is also common for both gender groups.

What makes the two gender groups different is the tendency for female mean pitch to be always higher, but for pitch maxima values to be still higher in the men's group, and what is especially noticeable, is the increase of pitch values in elderly men's voices, while elderly women lose their higher pitch prevalence.

There is also a difference in the degree of dominant voice quality change. Women's HNR drop is more impressive, whereas men's jitter increase with age shows higher values. There are physiological and cognitive reasons suggested by physiologists to account for the differences evidenced by the research.

Thus, gender- and age-specific prosodic features are some of the most important factors in identifying speakers in a telephone conversation. This study can be a sufficient basis for further research into professionally diverse types of telephone interaction between representatives from different social groups and can serve as a useful source of information about speech exchange on the phone for English learners.

By referring to the study of intraspeaker variability (see 3.4.), we can end on a positive note and present the results in a different light. We could illuminate the perspective of long-term lecturing or other forms of public speaking as well as singing which have proved to facilitate the preservation of clear voice quality and control of other vital speech characteristics.

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Original Research

Language and cognition behind simile construction: A Python-powered corpus research

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Despite the recognised role of similes in cognitive and communicative processes, there is a limited understanding of their construction and use in specific contexts, such as online food reviews. The study aims to explore the use of the 'like + gerund' simile pattern within the Extrinsic Food-Related Frame (FrF) − comparisons with inedible objects − in online food reviews and to understand the cognitive mechanisms guiding this specific form of simile construction and interpretation. To that end, the study addresses three research questions. How do reviewers use 'like + gerund' similes within the Extrinsic FrF to express their perceptions and experiences? What cognitive mechanisms underpin this specific form of simile construction and interpretation? Do these hyperbolically contrastive similes function as a form of aggressive narrative? The study employed a Python-powered corpus analysis of the Amazon Fine Foods Reviews dataset, focusing on 'like + gerund' simile detection, refinement, and frame detection, followed by cognitive mechanism identification, allowing for a systematic exploration of the cognitive mechanisms behind simile construction within the Extrinsic FrF. Study findings suggest that reviewers often use these similes to express striking or unexpected comparisons with inedible objects, emphasising their perceptions and experiences in an engaging and memorable way. Further, the analysis identified several cognitive mechanisms underpinning this unique form of simile construction and interpretation, suggesting a complex interplay between language, cognition, and personal and cultural experiences. The study also found that these hyperbolically contrastive similes can potentially function as a form of aggressive narrative. Such linguistic aggression, however, is not viewed as necessarily harmful or negative, as it is often a tool used by reviewers to express their experiences more vividly and persuasively. Study results have exposed how figurative language, particularly similes, shape our cognitive and communicative processes, expanding our understanding of the interplay between language, cognition, and consumer behaviour in specific contexts. This has both theoretical implications for cognitive linguistics and metaphor theory, and practical implications for narrative construction in online reviews.

KEYWORDS: *simile, metaphor, conceptual metaphorisation, gerund, online discourse, cognitive linguistics, corpus linguistics, computational linguistics, framing, speech aggression, Python*

1. INTRODUCTION

The role of figurative language, particularly similes, in shaping our cognitive and communicative processes has been a topic of interest for researchers across various disciplines. Similes offer a unique lens through which to explore the relationship between language and cognition, as they involve the comparison of different entities or concepts, often bridging between the familiar and the unfamiliar.

Given the multifaceted nature of similes, we argue that the path towards their all-encompassing exploration lies in the adoption of a restricted approach that implies building on both domain- and grammar-specific limitations. Hence, in this study the domain of our research is limited to online food reviews as a specific arena of unrestrained opinion exchange which we deem as a convenient and illuminative source for data harvesting, while

grammatical limitations are projected in our focus on the 'like + gerund' construction as the only pattern eligible for analysis. In the context of cognitive linguistics, focusing on the 'like + gerund' pattern is justified by a number of arguments that make it particularly suitable for the current research.

1. *Action-based.* Gerunds, being verb forms, are inherently action-based. They denote activities or states, making them particularly suitable for conveying experiential information. When used in similes, the 'like + gerund' pattern allows reviewers to compare food experiences with other action-oriented scenarios, providing rich metaphoric observations.

2. *Vivid imagery.* Similes with the 'like + gerund' pattern often generate more vivid imagery than other forms of similes. This is because they involve actions or processes, which are dynamic and engaging, rather than static comparisons.

3. *Experiential semantics.* In cognitive linguistics, there is a focus on semantics as being experiential and context-dependent. The 'like + gerund' pattern aligns with this focus, as it often connects the food being reviewed to a wider range of experiences, beyond the mere taste or look of the food.

4. *Cognitive mechanisms.* Analysing the 'like + gerund' pattern may open up unique observations explaining the cognitive mechanisms behind simile creation and interpretation. This pattern might reveal how reviewers map characteristics from one conceptual domain (the domain of the gerund's action) onto another (the domain of the food being reviewed), a fundamental process in cognitive linguistics known as 'conceptual metaphorisation'.

5. *Pragmatic considerations.* Focusing on one specific pattern is a pragmatic choice that allows for more in-depth analysis. The 'like + gerund' pattern is an interesting choice due to its potential to reveal the interplay between action, experience, and food description.

The overall trajectory of the study thus centres around exploring they ways in which figurative language is used by reviewers to frame their experiences and opinions related to food. Framing, as used in this context, implies detection of different categories, or frames, within the dataset, whereby the allocation of each frame is attributed to different linguistic and cognitive mechanisms fuelling the process of simile construction. In this study, such frames will be referred to as Food-Related Frames (FrFs). Leaping ahead, dataset analysis ultimately prompted us to allocate five FrFs.

1. *Intrinsic FrF* includes comparisons made strictly within the same class of objects, in our case – the realm of food (comparing one food with another in terms of taste, smell, texture, colour, etc.).

2. *Extrinsic FrF* includes comparisons with inedible objects, as a direct juxtaposition to the Intrinsic FrF.

3. *Conceptual FrF* includes comparisons that convey the experience of taste or texture by bringing up analogies with related experience, often in a figurative and picturesque way.

4. *Experiential FrF* includes comparisons driven by narrowly personal, subjective contextual experiences overtly hinging upon references to an individual's background and memories derived from lived sensations (making references to temporal, geographical, physical, sensory, interpersonal, domestic and other lived experiences).

5. *Referential FrF* includes comparisons that involve references to cultural and commonly familiar subjects, as they rely on shared cultural understanding and emphasise shared knowledge rooted in cultural awareness of broadly recognised references (well-known people, brands, etc.).

Given the broad nomenclature of detected frames, this study will only focus on the Extrinsic FrF in the context of online food reviews to narrow down its scope of inquiry for the benefit of a more detailed investigation of the issue at hand. Extrinsic FrF involves comparisons with inedible objects classified as categorically extraneous to food items proper and used by reviewers

to express their perceptions and experiences related to food. Ultimately, the study aims to explore the ways in which similes of the 'like + gerund' pattern falling within the Extrinsic FrF are employed by reviewers as figurative linguistic tools to frame their experiences and opinions related to food. The central research questions driving our investigation are as follows.

1. How do reviewers employ 'like + gerund' similes within the Extrinsic FrF to express and reinforce their perceptions and experiences?

2. What cognitive mechanisms guide this specific form of simile construction and interpretation in food reviews?

3. Given the hyperbolically contrastive nature of the Extrinsic FrF, can such similes be viewed as a form of aggressive narrative?

By delving into these questions, we aim to identify the key linguistic and cognitive attributes that guide simile construction and use in this specific context.

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

To address the research question, this study employed Python-powered corpus analysis, which involved five key steps geared towards its ultimate research objectives.

1. *Simile Detection.* The data corpus used in this study is sourced from the extensive Amazon Fine Foods Reviews dataset (Stanford Network Analysis Project, 2023) available on Kaggle, boasting 500,000 reviews. Our focus was on the detection of the 'like + gerund' pattern within this sample, which was administered using Python programming language, harnessing the potential of regular expressions (regex) to isolate instances of the targeted simile pattern within the body of reviews.

2. *Simile Refinement.* Following the detection step, we manually refined the list of similes by removing false positives. This quality control process was necessary to ensure validity and reliability and fortify the analysis by mitigating the risk of misleading interpretations.

3. *Frame Detection.* The refined list of similes subsequently underwent frame detection. This entailed discerning the underlying FrFs that the reviewers tapped into while crafting their similes. This step was pivotal in comprehending the broader context and the latent motivations that directed the choice of similes by the reviewers. As mentioned in the Introduction, the resulting list of FrFs included Intrinsic, Extrinsic, Conceptual, Experiential, and Referential FrFs, of which the Extrinsic FrF shall be the focus of this particular study.

4. *Cognitive Mechanism Identification.* Finally, based on the correlations established in the previous step, we identified the predominant cognitive mechanisms guiding simile construction.

The cumulative results from these sequential stages were systematically documented in an Excel file, with distinctive sheets allocated for each simile pattern. By leveraging the power of computational linguistics, we are able to provide a novel perspective on how language and cognition intersect in the formation of similes within the Extrinsic FrF, thereby enriching our understanding of figurative language use.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3.1. Linguistic-cognitive background of simile research

A simile, in essence, is a rhetorical device that creates an explicit comparison between two distinct items. This comparison is typically signalled by the use of the word 'like' or 'as'. For instance, in the phrase *Truth is like a torch*, 'truth' is the item being described (known as the target, or topic), and 'torch' is the item it's being compared to (known as the source, or the vehicle). The statement highlights a shared attribute between the two, which may not be explicitly stated but rather inferred from the context.

Unlike a straightforward comparison, similes usually draw parallels between items from entirely different domains. These elements might seem unrelated or incompatible, but the simile highlights a single shared aspect, resulting in an unexpected yet insightful comparison. While at first, the juxtaposition between truth and a torch may seem incongruous, it is intended to underline a shared characteristic, suggesting that both are illuminating. Thus, unlike direct comparisons, similes frequently connect objects from dissimilar realms, emphasising one common aspect and leading to a creative and insightful analogy.

However, the structure of a simile is not entirely interchangeable, as the comparison cannot be reversed without altering the meaning. *A torch is like truth* does not convey the same idea as the original simile. This asymmetry indicates that the target and source hold different roles within the comparison.

The structure of similes can vary, but they typically follow one of three configurations: (1) Noun Phrase is like Noun Phrase, (2) Noun Phrase is like Clause, or (3) Clause is like Clause. These formats allow for more intricate sources, providing a richer description of the target. For example, in *A politician making promises is like a child making sandcastles*, the simile incorporates a complex source and a complex target to amplify the comparison within the 'Clause is like Clause' configuration.

Expanding on the analysis of similes, several linguistic and cognitive research studies have provided deeper groundwork unravelling the nature and functioning of similes.

Kittay and Lehrer (1981) propose that similes work as an 'analogy engine', boosting comprehension by creating a cognitive bridge between the target and the source. This resonates with Bowdle and Gentner's (2005) theory of career of metaphor, which also sees analogy as the core of simile comprehension. The strength of their argument lies in the acknowledgment that similes are cognitive tools enabling learners to connect new information to their existing knowledge, underscoring Vygotsky's (1962) theory of learning as a social process.

Bredin (1998) emphasises the conversational utility of similes as predicative comparisons, in which the predicate describes the subject. His perspective aligns with Sperber and Wilson's (1986) Relevance Theory, which suggests that the figurative language seeks to optimise relevance to the listener. It is also not unusual for similes to be utilised to add humour or irony to the narrative (Hao & Veale, 2010; Veale, 2013; Tartakovsky et al., 2019), hence enhancing the texture and interest of the dialogue.

This observation, underpinned by the pragmatic functions of language, suggests that similes aren't merely cognitive tools but also serve to foster social connections and enrich conversations (Akopova, 2016).

Marhula (2018) explores the explanatory power of similes, resonating with the spotlight model of attention (Posner, 1980) which suggests that attention works like a spotlight, highlighting specific information for processing and working as an explanatory tool. This perspective aligns with functionalist views of language, arguing that similes accentuate specific aspects of a subject, thereby increasing their salience. This stance confirms the ability of similes to facilitate a more profound and nuanced understanding of the target.

Kao (2022) dives into the cognitive mechanisms of similes, positing that they are a form of analogical reasoning contributing to creativity. His view echoes the structure-mapping theory of Gentner (1983), which argues that understanding arises from identifying relational similarities. The underlying argument posits that the speaker's mental representations and the context play a crucial role in the interpretation of similes, illustrating the role of individual cognition and environmental factors in language comprehension.

Cuenca and Romano (2022) adopt a discourse processing perspective on similes. Their approach aligns with the construction-integration model of discourse understanding (Kintsch, 1988) that posits the comprehension process as an active construction of mental models. They argue that similes engage readers or listeners actively in the interpretative process, thus presenting similes as a tool for fostering cognitive engagement within discourse.

Veale (2019) sees similes as a form of 'conceptual blending', a term coined by Fauconnier and Turner (1998) to describe the cognitive operation in which elements from different mental spaces are blended into a new space. His study suggests that similes can bring together disparate domains to generate novel insights, thereby promoting creativity and innovation.

Carston and Wearing (2011) examine similes from a semantic-pragmatic perspective, focusing on their capacity for dual reference. Their work foregrounds the intricate interplay between literal and figurative meanings within similes, thus emphasising their multifaceted nature.

Dancygier (2021) explores the emotive function of similes, elaborately building on the theory of emotion as a communicative tool and emphasising that similes serve to express the speaker's emotions subtly. This not only highlights the expressive power of similes, underlining their utility in conveying attitudes and sentiments, but also brings into focus the role of contextual modulation in simile interpretation aligning with Recanati's (2005) contextualism that argues that the meaning of a simile isn't fixed but is influenced by the broader linguistic and situational context.

In summary, these studies collectively underscore the diverse functions and mechanisms underlying similes, illuminating their cognitive, communicative, and expressive roles. The re-

search spans a wide range of perspectives, illustrating that the comprehension of similes is a complex process contingent upon individual cognition, discourse dynamics, and contextual factors.

3.2. The intricacies behind simile vs metaphor debate

An investigation into similes as a subject of linguistic and cognitive inquiry is bound to bring up the issue of simile vs metaphor differentiation. Similes and metaphors are related yet distinct figures of speech: while both draw parallels between different items, the way they are understood, perceived and used can vary significantly. For the purposes of ensuring clarity and sufficiently substantiating the premises of this research, this paragraph will deal with the key arguments pertaining to the issue of simile vs metaphor differentiation.

As has been pointed out and soundly justified in the previous studies, metaphors categorise one item as another, creating a direct substitution *(My job is a jail)*, while similes highlight similarity without total substitution *(My job is like a jail)*.

Another point of difference between the two rhetorical devices are their cognitive and communicative implications. Similes tend to be more assertive, stating a likeness, whereas metaphors offer a more impactful way of categorisation. Both figures of speech have specific functions, and speakers often choose one over the other depending on their intent and the degree of similarity or familiarity they wish to convey. Thus, similes might be preferred when illustrating less 'apt' similarities, or when the comparison is novel or less conventional. Metaphors, on the other hand, are often used for more conventional and/or descriptive and picturesque comparisons. With repeated use, metaphors might even evolve from a novel comparison to a conventional categorisation – a process termed the 'career of metaphor' (Bowdle & Gentner, 2005).

In their 2004 study, Croft and Cruse (2004) delve into the subject of 'mappings' that exist between the source and the target, which they identify as the primary distinguishing element between similes and metaphors. They suggest that similes, typically in the form of 'A is like B', present a more limited mapping across the two domains, while metaphors propose more extensive mappings. It's important to note, however, that this general rule applies most fittingly to more conventional examples, and less conventional similes might also display expansive mappings akin to those found in metaphors. A notable factor affecting their conclusions is the nature of the data being analysed – whether it is artificial or natural.

Research into simile mappings has been an active field in cognitive linguistics, with a variety of studies adding to our understanding of the subject. Building on the groundwork set by Croft and Cruse (2004), subsequent research has explored the intricacies of these mappings in greater detail. One such study is by Yang and Loewenstein (2019), who argued that similes and metaphors both employ similar processes allowing for selective mappings based on shared properties and subject to variations in perspective change. However, they argue that while metaphors encourage more abstract and interpretive mappings, similes are more literal and straightforward in their comparisons. Hao and Veale (2009) take this discussion into the realm of computational linguistics. They developed an algorithm to identify and understand creative similes in English, relying on a process that recognises the mapping between the source and target. In doing so, they provide a concrete example of how understanding these mappings can have practical applications. Studies like these underscore that simile mappings, especially in creative or unconventional examples, can demonstrate considerable depth and complexity, suggesting the potential for further research in this area.

In the realm of empirical psychological studies Glucksberg and Keysar (1990) and Glucksberg and Haught (2006) strive to demonstrate that metaphors and similes differ in terms of both 'interpretability' and 'meaning'. Their research offers a comprehensive review of various findings in the field, leading to certain key deductions. Firstly, when participants in Glucksberg and Keysar's (1990) study were asked to associate characteristics with both figures of speech, they conjured basic-level properties in the case of similes but associated inherent properties of the superordinate category in the case of metaphors. This means that a simile such as *Her eyes are like stars* will by and large invoke properties like 'shiny', 'bright', and 'distant'. However, should the same be expressed metaphorically, as in *Her eyes are stars*, the associated properties are most likely to be linked to descriptive figurative entities rather specifically to the literal properties of a star, such as 'captivating', 'mesmerising', 'extraordinary', and 'unique'. This difference could potentially confirm the categorical nature of metaphors and the comparative nature of similes. Secondly, Glucksberg and Haught (2006) suggest an alternative to Bowdle and Gentner's (2005) 'career of metaphor hypothesis', proposing their 'quality-of-metaphor hypothesis'. This hypothesis posits that exceptional metaphors, where the vehicle concept is an exemplary and prominent representative of its category, are most effective as categorisations, whereas weaker or limited metaphors might work best as comparisons, regardless of how conventional they may be. In this light, a statement like *I felt like a leaf in the wind* in the context of feeling aimless or directionless conveys a specific message: feeling like you are not in control with no purpose to pursue. This expression, however, does not function well as a categorisation assertion, as the phrase *I felt I was a leaf in the wind* doesn't quite encapsulate the same feeling of being subject to external forces as *I felt like a leaf in the wind* does. According to Glucksberg and Haught (2006), comparison and categorisation can be seen as complementary approaches to understanding metaphors, with the selection of strategy dependent on the quality and aptness of the metaphor. Similes or comparisons are utilised when a categorisation doesn't make much sense, and categorisations are used when the metaphor is apt, be it novel or conventional. However, the work of Glucksberg and Haught (2006) remains somewhat contentious.

Utsumi (2007) introduces the concept of 'interpretive diversity' as the most compelling explanation for the difference between the two figures of speech. This idea essentially refers to

the semantic richness of the figurative interpretation of a topic-vehicle pair, which is determined by both the number of features involved in the interpretation and the uniformity of salience distribution of those features. Simply put, it means that the greater the number of distinct features or attributes brought into play when interpreting a simile or metaphor, and the more evenly these features are perceived or highlighted (their salience), the richer and more diverse the interpretation becomes. Utsumi (2007) suggests a positive correlation between this interpretive diversity and the difference in comprehensibility of metaphors and similes. This means that topic-vehicle pairs that elicit a more diverse range of interpretive features should be easier to understand through a categorisation process. In other words, when the meaning of a figure of speech can be comprehended by grouping the associated features into a broader category (for example, perceiving 'lion' as a symbol of courage and strength in *He fights as a lion*), this tends to enhance our preference for, and understanding of, the metaphorical form. So, the richness of a metaphor, or its ability to encompass a wide range of related features or meanings, can make it more effective and comprehensible to the listener or reader. This, in turn, can influence our preference for metaphors over similes, given that metaphors tend to provide a more compact, efficient means of conveying complex ideas or feelings. Notably, however, the ease of comprehension will also depend on the cultural, linguistic, and personal knowledge of the listener or reader.

Israel et al. (2004) propose a functionalist explanation for the difference between similes and metaphors. They argue that metaphor and simile might function differently, depending on the communication needs of the speaker. According to them, since metaphors are categorical, they are commonly used to categorise one thing as another in an attempt to convey something new about the subject. This makes them highly suitable for the introduction of novel or unfamiliar ideas. On the other hand, being primarily comparative, similes are used to highlight specific resemblances between two things and are useful when the intention is to clarify or explain something by comparing it to a familiar object or idea. The authors also point out that this functionalist perspective does not suggest that all similes are always used for explaining and all metaphors for introducing new ideas, but rather that these are tendencies derived from the cognitive and communicative functions they typically serve. They stress that it's the context in which the figures of speech are used that ultimately determines their precise function.

The functionalist perspective on simile vs metaphor debate has been explored in various other studies, each offering unique findings that help understand the interconnection and difference between these figures of speech. Fogelin (1994) maintains that similes, because of their comparative structure, are better suited to express intricate or multi-faceted comparisons than metaphors. This utility aligns with the functionalist viewpoint, highlighting the unique role of similes in communication. Gibbs's (1994) research on figurative language suggests that similes and metaphors can serve different functions based on the cognitive

demands of the task. For simpler tasks, similes can be more effective due to their straightforward comparative structure, while for complex tasks requiring novel insights, metaphors can be more beneficial. Glucksberg et al. (1997) suggest that similes can serve a 'correction function'. When a metaphor is found to be potentially misleading or overly broad, a simile can be employed to refine the comparison, highlighting only specific similarities while avoiding others. These studies, among others, underscore the multi-faceted functional nature of similes and metaphors and their unique role in human communication (Grishechko et al., 2015). The functionalist explanation continues to evolve with ongoing research, offering a deeper understanding of this vital aspect of language.

More recently, Steen (2011) added another layer to the discussion by suggesting that metaphors are often used more implicitly than similes, and this affects how they are processed and interpreted. Metaphors can be presented in more subtle and covert ways, making them potentially more challenging to interpret, whereas similes are typically more explicit and easier to understand. Steen's (2011) suggestion builds on various studies exploring the nuanced differences between these two figures of speech, such as Giora's (2004) study on Graded Salience Hypothesis suggesting that figures of speech, such as metaphors and similes, are understood differently based on their salience or prominence in the mind of the reader or listener. Similes, due to their explicit comparative structure, are often more salient and thus easier to understand, while the complexity and abstractness of metaphors can impact their persuasive power. At the same time, although more difficult to process, when understood, metaphors can have a profound effect, potentially more than similes, which are easier to comprehend but may not deliver the same depth of meaning. These studies add to the argument that the implicit nature of metaphors can influence their processing and interpretation. However, it is essential to once again note that the ease or difficulty of interpretation can also depend on individual cognitive abilities, cultural factors, and context.

Thus, studies suggest that while both metaphors and similes are used to create analogies and highlight resemblances between different things, they tend to serve different cognitive and communicative functions. Metaphors, due to their categorical nature, are often used to introduce new or complex ideas and can be more subtle and harder to interpret. Similes, on the other hand, due to their comparative nature, are typically used for clarification or explanation, and they are generally more explicit and easier to understand. Yet importantly, the exact function and interpretation of both similes and metaphors depend significantly on the context in which they are used.

4. STUDY RESULTS

In our Python-powered corpus analysis of 500,000 Amazon Fine Foods Reviews, we detected 29,355 instances of the 'like + gerund' pattern within the dataset. To ensure the validity and reliability of the analysis, we manually refined the list of similes by removing false positives, which included instances

where the pattern appeared in contexts unrelated to simile construction, such as sentences describing actions or preferences without a comparative intent. After refinement, we obtained a total of 10,689 valid instances of the 'like + gerund' pattern eligible for further analysis. The refined list of similes underwent frame detection to identify the underlying FrFs that influenced the choice of similes by the reviewers. The analysis revealed the distribution of similes across different FrFs. Table 1 presents the classification of similes into FrFs along with the number of similes and their corresponding percentages of the total valid similes.

Table 1

Classification of similes in Food-Related Frames (FrFs)

FRAME	NUMBER OF SIMILES	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
Intrinsic FrF	3,259	30.49%
Extrinsic FrF	3,027	28.32%
Conceptual FrF	2,404	22.49%
Experiential FrF	1,213	11.34%
Referential FrF	786	7.36%

To comprehensively look into the Extrinsic FrF, we analysed the action descriptors expressed by the gerund and the object references expressed by the objects within this frame. Similes within the Extrinsic FrF were analysed to identify the specific actions or states reviewers associated with the inedible objects. Table 2 presents a breakdown of the action descriptors used in the Extrinsic FrF similes, along with their frequencies and percentages of occurrence in the sample.

Table 2

Action descriptors in Extrinsic FrF similes

ACTION DESCRIPTOR	NUMBER OF INSTANCES	PERCENTAGE
Eating	4,406	41.22%
Drinking	2,476	23.16%
Chewing	1,290	12.07%
Biting into	977	9.14%
Swallowing	629	5.88%
Licking	325	3.04%
Trying	211	1.97%
Cooking	193	1.81%
Sucking on	143	1.34%
Getting	39	0.37%
TOTAL	10,689	100%

The object references (i.e., objects immediately following the 'like + gerund' pattern used in the Extrinsic FrF similes were further categorised to identify the types of inedible objects commonly employed for comparison. Table 3 below presents the breakdown of the object references, their respective categories configured by us on the basis of group classification, as well as frequencies, and percentages within the Extrinsic FrF similes following the sample analysis.

Table 3

Object references in Extrinsic FrF similes

OBJECT REFERENCE CATEGORY	OBJECT REFERENCE EXAMPLES	NUMBER OF INSTANCES	PERCENTAGE
Hardware	hardware screws, nails, foam insulation, piece of caulk, sandpaper, packing peanuts, styrofoam, sawdust, gravel, rubber band, wad of rubber, belt, bubble wrap	3,577	33.46%
Material	cardboard, metal, rubber, paper, plastic, pieces of plastic, plastic bag, wood, shoe leather, teak, felt, cotton, silicone	3,300	30.87%
Nature	rocks, a bowl of rocks, air, air bubble, hay, water, sea water, flower water, sand, mud, dirt, jellyfish, tree bark, grass	2,661	24.89%
Drugs	cough medicine, cough syrup, pill, meds, nasal spray	764	7.15%
Chemical produce	cleaning solution, sunscreen, battery acid, detergent, perfume, cologne	356	3.34%
Misc	tea bag, front yard, slivers of candle wax, change, chalkboard, sponge, poker chip	31	0.29%
TOTAL		10,689	100%

Following this, we also singled out descriptors that accompanied the detected object references. These descriptors included the following: *dry, chewy, sour-ish, soggy, crumbly, soft, big, sweet, vaguely sweet, smooth, salty, salted, small, flavoured, tortilla chip flavoured, brewed, liquid, tasteless, dirty, tangy, metallic, leathery, pungent, bitter, burnt, dense, gooey, sticky, greasy, oily, spongy, bubbly.*

5. DISCUSSION
5.1. General observations

The results of the current study have provided a compelling exploration of the sensory experiences of food and beverage consumers, notably identifying key mechanisms that reveal a complex interplay of cognitive and linguistic factors that shape these experiences. Given the significant intertwinement of cognition, language, and sensory perception in the formulation of food and beverage experiences, this discussion draws upon several theoretical perspectives to offer a comprehensive interpretation of the findings.

Our primary finding from the analysis of the Amazon Fine Foods Reviews was the detection of 10,689 valid instances of the 'like + gerund' simile pattern. This finding is particularly significant, indicating that simile constructions are common in the reviews, serving as useful communicative tools that aid in conveying nuanced descriptions and comparisons. Moreover, the abundant presence of similes in the reviews found in the sample adds to the overall appeal of the text, injecting elements of humour, irony, and creativity.

When dissecting the simile structure, we observed the preponderance of the Intrinsic and Extrinsic FrFs over others. This suggests that reviewers uniformly leverage experiences both within and outside the direct realm of food to explain their food-related experiences. This could be interpreted through the lens of Kittay and Lehrer's (1981) analogy engine concept, where the reviewers draw on their existing knowledge to describe novel experiences. Similes in this context act as cognitive bridges that connect new (food) experiences to already known (intrinsic or extrinsic) concepts, boosting comprehension and enhancing the narrative's appeal.

The prominent use of the Extrinsic FrF, which is the focus of this study, is also interesting from a cognitive perspective, as it seems to corroborate Gentner's (1983) structure-mapping theory. By associating the eating experience with non-food items or actions, reviewers are drawing on relational similarities, bringing about a richer and more creative understanding of the food products. This observation also resonates with the argument by Kao (2022) on the role of similes in facilitating analogical reasoning and creativity.

Another aspect worth discussing is the distribution of action descriptors and object references within the Extrinsic FrF. The most common actions associated with non-food objects included *eating, drinking,* and *chewing,* which could be seen as an extension of the analogy engine concept, where familiar actions are used as a bridge to connect novel experiences. At the same time, the recurrence of these action descriptors aligns with Posner's (1980) spotlight model of attention, as these similes help draw

the readers' attention to specific aspects of the product by associating it with familiar actions, thereby enhancing their understanding.

The object references within the Extrinsic FrF were predominantly associated with hardware, material, and nature. It is intriguing to observe how reviewers connect food experiences with elements like screws, nails, cardboard, rocks, air, and water. This connects with Veale's (2019) perspective on similes as a form of conceptual blending. By comparing food experiences to disparate domains, reviewers create a unique blend that generates novel insights and amplifies the communicative richness of their reviews.

As seen in our study, the use of similes in Amazon Fine Foods Reviews not only fosters cognitive engagement within the discourse but also enriches the dialogue by adding texture, humour, and creativity. This aligns with the construction-integration model of discourse understanding proposed by Kintsch (1988) and further reinforces the view by Cuenca and Romano (2022) on the role of similes in discourse processing. Interestingly, our findings also underscore the emotive function of similes. As seen from the descriptors accompanying the object references, similes serve as a subtle yet effective way to express the reviewers' emotions. This aspect is aligned with Dancygier's (2021) research on the emotive function of similes and further emphasises Recanati's (2005) contextualism. The nuanced interpretations, the richness of the language, and the expressive power of similes depend on the broader linguistic and situational context.

Thus, the use of similes in Amazon Fine Foods Reviews extends beyond linguistic ornamentation, revealing a rich tapestry of cognitive underpinnings that facilitate comprehension, draw attention, enhance creativity, and convey emotions. The findings reaffirm that the comprehension of similes is a complex process, rooted in individual cognition, discourse dynamics, and contextual factors, bringing into focus the complex interplay of cognition, language, and sensory perception in shaping food and beverage experiences.

5.2. Cognitive mechanisms

The discussion below further validates and elucidates the cognitive mechanisms implied in our original discussion, including the analogy engine, spotlight model of attention, structure-mapping theory, and the role of similes in contextualism. Cognitive mechanisms in simile construction can be grouped into the following categories.

1. *Associative Memory.* Simile creation relies on the mechanism of associative memory. This involves recalling and linking different memory units based on their similarities. For instance, in *It's like eating sweet smooth silk*, the reviewer links the taste of the product to the texture of silk based on the shared attribute of smoothness. Here, the mechanism of associative memory aids in the construction of a vivid and evocative comparison. This underscores that we

understand and express abstract or unfamiliar concepts in terms of more concrete or familiar ones. Hence, comparing a food item to an inedible object is a cognitive strategy that communicates subjective experience of the new or complex flavours and textures people encounter.

2. *Analogical Reasoning.* Analogical reasoning is a cognitive process where one maps similarities from a known domain (source) onto an unknown or less familiar domain (target) to aid understanding. On a deeper level, these cognitive processes are related to schema theory, which suggests that people interpret new experiences based on existing cognitive structures, or 'schemas', shaped by past experiences. As such, when participants liken their consumption experiences to inedible objects, they are likely drawing upon established schemas related to the target, which could include not just their sensory characteristics, but also emotional associations, memories, or cultural connotations tied to these foods. This is evident in examples like *It was like eating sawdust* and *It's like chewing rubber bands*, where reviewers apply their prior knowledge of non-food items to create a vivid analogy, thereby enriching the descriptions.

3. *Creative Imagination.* The construction of similes also involves a significant degree of creative imagination, which is a cognitive ability that allows individuals to generate novel and unique ideas by combining or restructuring existing knowledge in unusual ways. This is evident in instances such as *Kind of like those first-generation Power Bars, you know, the ones that tasted like eating your front yard* and *Literally like eating a piece of rubber*. These examples showcase how reviewers imaginatively compare food experiences with unrelated objects or scenarios and highlight the fact that the use of similes reflects the role of creativity in language use. According to the cognitive linguistics perspective, creativity is not limited to 'poetic' language but is a fundamental part of everyday language use. The variety of similes found in our study underscores this point, illustrating how participants draw on their creative resources to express their sensory experiences.

4. *Emotional Expression.* As noted in the original discussion, similes also serve as emotional expressions. This involves cognitive processes related to the recognition, understanding, and communication of emotional states. For instance, the simile *Some people might not like how it smells at first, and how the texture is like eating jelly-fish, chewy and almost tasteless* not only communicates a bitter taste but also expresses a strong negative emotion towards the product. This is an example of a negative sensory experience, which in the study often centred around disagreeable textures, underscoring the integral role of texture in consumption experiences. These descriptions also reveal the power of language in constructing these experiences, as participants use linguistic tools or expressive vocabulary to convey the tactile sensations and emotional reactions associated with unpleasant textures. This finding explicitly aligns with the theory of embodied cognition, which suggests that our cognitive processes, including language, are profoundly shaped by our bodily experiences. Here, the language is clearly grounded in the reviewer's

'In the 'like + gerund' pattern, the gerund serves as an action descriptor, portraying a significant element of the reviewers' experience. It signifies the specific action that the reviewer equates to their experience with the food product, such as eating, drinking, chewing, biting, and even non-gastronomic actions like cooking. On the other hand, object references stand as a proxy for specific sensory experiences or real-world objects, which act as vivid symbols for the consumers' experiences. These references can range from daily items like paper or water to more unexpected and creative analogies like salty rock or sour-ish cardboard'

bodily experience of texture, illustrating vividly and overtly how sensory perception, cognition, and language intersect in shaping consumption experiences.

5. *Attention Directing.* Similes can serve to direct attention to specific aspects of an experience, which aligns with the spotlight model of attention. For example, the simile *It's like eating a mouthful of tortilla chip flavoured sand* draws attention to both the unusual texture and flavour of the product.

6. *Sensory Perception.* Similes often involve sensory perceptions such as taste, touch, smell, and sight. They leverage the cognitive process of sensory integration, where different sensory information is processed to create a comprehensive understanding. In the simile *It's like drinking mud*, the sensory perception of drinking a liquid with the texture of mud paints a vivid picture of the experience.

7. *Sensory Detail Encoding.* This mechanism pertains to how our sensory receptors (in this case, mainly those involved in gustation and olfaction) process and interpret various qualities or attributes of food. In the context of this study's dataset, this cognitive mechanism is crucial in producing similes that compare food's sensory attributes such as taste, texture, and smell to a vast range of object references. This mechanism works by creating mental representations of sensory experiences that can be recalled and used for comparison. For instance, the descriptors *dry, chewy,* or s*oggy* involve encoding the tactile and kinaesthetic sensations experienced during eating. Descriptors like *sour-ish, sweet,* or *salty* involve encoding the gustatory sensations, and *pungent, burnt,* or *metallic* involve encoding olfactory sensations. Descriptors like *small, big,* or *bubbly* can involve visual encoding as well as tactile experiences. It's noteworthy that sensory detail encoding isn't a passive process – rather, it often necessitates active attention to the sensory details of the food, highlighting the intricate nature of the cognitive mechanisms at play in forming these similes.

These cognitive mechanisms interplay dynamically in the construction of similes, providing a rich, nuanced, and engaging account of the reviewers' food experiences. Importantly, simile construction commonly relies on a combination of cognitive mechanisms at play, rather than a single cognitive 'incentive'.

5.3. Action descriptors and object references interplay

Dataset analysis shows that consumers frequently employ similes to paint vivid, evocative descriptions of their product experiences. They rely heavily on their past experiences, sensory perception, and creative imagination, harnessing them to bring the abstract concepts of taste, texture, and aroma to life. In the 'like + gerund' pattern, the gerund serves as an action descriptor, portraying a significant element of the reviewers' experience. It signifies the specific action that the reviewer equates to their experience with the food product, such as eating, drinking, chewing, biting, and even non-gastronomic actions like cooking.

For example, *in It was like eating air*, the gerund *eating* represents the physical act of consuming the product. The comparison to 'air' conjures up an image of the product being light, perhaps insubstantial or lacking in flavour. The simile highlights the product's perceived deficiency, with the user's expectations not aligning with their experience.

On the other hand, object references stand as a proxy for specific sensory experiences or real-world objects, which act as vivid symbols for the consumers' experiences. These references can range from daily items like *paper* or *water* to more unexpected and creative analogies like *salty rock* or *sour-ish cardboard*. The object chosen for comparison further accentuates the sensory dimensions of the product's features, such as its taste, texture, smell, or even sound. For instance, in *It was like drinking brewed hay*, the action of 'drinking' implies the liquid form of the product, and the object reference 'brewed hay' illustrates an undesirable flavour. The reviewer thereby conveys dissatisfaction with the beverage's taste, likening it to a typically non-palatable, earthy substance.

The use of these similes indicates that consumers engage in associative memory, analogical reasoning, and creative imagination when formulating their reviews. They draw upon their vast banks of lived experiences to construct comparisons that communicate their experiences with the product in a way that is relatable and tangible for other potential consumers.

A thorough examination of the dataset allowed us to detect several patterns in the interplay between specific action descriptors and object references. These patterns illuminate how users' sensory experiences of food products trigger specific cognitive mechanisms, leading to the formation of these similes.

1. *Eating and Intangible or Insipid Substances.* One of the recurring patterns we found is that the action descriptor *eating* is frequently associated with objects that denote insipidness, intangibility, or a lack of substance, such as *air, cardboard,* or *sawdust*. This correlation may be a consequence of sensory imagination and perception, where a food product with a lack of flavour or distinctive texture is likened to substances that are typically not associated with gastronomic pleasure. This implicates a heavy focus on Sensory Perception as a key cognitive mechanism at play. The product's lack of flavour or distinct texture stimulates the cognitive process of sensory perception that draws from the database of prior sensory experiences to compare the insubstantial nature of the product to intangible or flavourless substances.

2. *Drinking and Harsh or Unpleasant Substances.* The action descriptor *drinking* often pairs with object references that connote harshness or undesirability, such as *battery acid, sunscreen,* or *mud.* This pattern signifies the engagement of Associative Memory and Analogical Reasoning. Associative memory links the unpleasant taste of the beverage to previously experienced non-palatable substances. Subsequently, through analogical reasoning, the understanding of the unpleasant experience is enhanced by mapping these unpleasant characteristics onto the less familiar domain of the reviewed product.

3. *Chewing and Hard or Rubber-like Materials.* Our data shows that the action descriptor *chewing* is commonly matched with hard or rubbery materials, such as *rocks, rubber bands,* or *gravel.* This pairing suggests a dynamic interplay between Sensory Perception and Associative Memory. The hard or resistant texture of a product as perceived by the senses triggers associative memory, which then recalls the sensation of chewing non-edible, resistant materials.

4. *Biting and Tough or Resistant Substances.* Similarly, the action descriptor *biting* often correlates with object references denoting toughness or resistance, like *soggy cardboard.* This pattern reveals the working of Sensory Detail Encoding and Emotional Expression. Sensory Detail Encoding is triggered when physical resistance is encountered while biting into a product, recalling memories of biting into similarly resistant materials. Simultaneously, Emotional Expression aids in communicating the frustration or disappointment associated with the challenging experience.

5. *Cooking and Hard or Unyielding Materials.* In the dataset, *cooking* is often paired with hard or unyielding materials such as rocks. This alignment indicates the involvement of Associative Memory, Analogical Reasoning, and Attention Directing. The extended cooking time or the effort required to cook a product stimulates associative memory, which equates this experience with cooking hard substances. Through analogical reasoning, this analogy helps in understanding the challenging cooking process. Also, this analogy serves to direct attention to the extraordinary effort required in cooking the product.

6. *Sensory Transfer.* During our analysis, we also identified instances of sensory transfer in the Extrinsic FrF similes. Sensory transfer occurs when the action descriptor and the object reference do not match semantically, creating a figurative comparison that emphasises the sensory experience. Examples of sensory transfer similes include phrases such as *like drinking grass* and *like chewing air.* These similes evoke an unconventional sensory experience related to the object being described, implicating a strong correlation with Creative Imagination, employed to form unconventional comparisons and add depth and nuance to their descriptions.

The 'like + gerund' pattern in Extrinsic FrFs provides rich, nuanced observations highlighting consumers' product experiences. The interplay between action descriptors and object references, as evidenced in the data analysis, creates compelling, vivid imagery, helping to communicate the multidimensional sensory experiences of food consumption. The use of similes in reviewers' experiences thus carries significant importance. Similes allow individuals to draw parallels between two disparate objects or experiences, and this comparative structure has been vividly observed in our study. Language scholars argue that similes act as 'semantic prisms', breaking up abstract experiences into comprehensible segments, allowing them to be understood in terms of the familiar. By connecting their food and beverage experiences to familiar comparisons outside of the realm of food, participants utilise the cognitive framework established by the simile to interpret, understand, and communicate their experiences effectively.

5.4. Observations on potential aggressive narratives

Our exploration reveals the intricacies of simile usage in online reviews, showcasing the utility of such figurative language as a mechanism for expressing emotive intensity, often verging on speech aggression. This linguistic behaviour is attributable to a blend of cognitive mechanisms, such as Emotional Expression, Creative Imagination, and Associative Memory, among others.

The rhetoric of online reviews is intrinsically persuasive and evaluative, providing a platform for consumers to articulate their experiences and influence the perception of potential consumers. The creative usage of similes, with the strategic pairing of action descriptors and object references, as we have observed in our findings, amplifies the emotional valence and persuasive potential of these reviews. For instance, *drinking battery acid* juxtaposes an everyday activity – drinking – with a substance synonymous with harm and unpleasantness – battery acid. The resultant imagery serves as a potent embodiment of the reviewer's negative experience, thereby creating a memorable and persuasive narrative.

Furthermore, our findings underscore the subtle nuances of expressing dissatisfaction or disappointment. Similes using insipid or intangible substances like *eating air* or *drinking mud* can signify a lack of quality or taste, possibly indicating a form of passive aggression. Here, an absence of sensory satisfaction is translated into tangible comparisons. The use of familiar and relatable objects in these comparisons enhances the shared understanding of the displeasure being communicated, illustrating the cognitive process of common grounding in language use.

Additionally, we observe the role of creative imagination in formulating original and unexpected similes, such as *sucking on dirty change* or *like trying to eat a poker chip.* Such comparisons might initially seem outlandish, but they serve to magnify the unsatisfactory experiences of the reviewer in a unique and evocative way. The amplified expressiveness contributes to the emotive intensity, often creating a dramatic and exaggerated depiction of the reviewer's experience.

This leads us to consider a potentially broader impact of these similes on online discourse. The Spotlight Model of Attention becomes pivotal here, guiding readers' attention towards specific displeasing aspects of the reviewer's experience. The

negative depiction is amplified by drawing analogies to displeasing real-world objects or experiences, influencing the reader's perception and potentially swaying purchasing decisions.

Linguistically, several aspects can hint at speech aggression in the simile examples used in online reviews. These can be broadly categorised into two sections, which are lexical choices and figurative construction.

1. *Lexical Choices.* The choice of words, both for action descriptors and object references, can indicate the presence of speech aggression. Words that denote unpleasant, harmful, or otherwise negative connotations can serve as clear markers of aggression. For instance, *licking a dirty chalkboard* or *chewing gravel* use words that are inherently associated with discomfort.

2. *Exaggerated Comparisons.* The use of hyperbolic or exaggerated comparisons can signal an aggressive stance. For example, *drinking sunscreen* creates a stark, intense image that goes beyond mere dissatisfaction and veers into the territory of aggressive condemnation.

3. *Incongruent Pairings.* Similes that pair routine actions with undesirable or harmful substances also highlight an aggressive tone. An example like *cooking rocks* combines a familiar, everyday activity with a decidedly non-culinary object, serving to shock the reader and emphasise the reviewer's displeasure.

4. *Creative, Unorthodox Similes.* Linguistic creativity can also hint at speech aggression. Unconventional or unexpected comparisons, such as *eating slivers of candle wax in your cereal*, not only grab attention but also serve to markedly dramatise the negative experience, effectively enhancing the aggressiveness of the speech.

5. *Usage of Insipid or Intangible Substances.* Similes like *eating a salted air bubble* or *chewing shoe leather* that involve insipid or intangible substances often indicate passive aggression, expressing disappointment or dissatisfaction in a subtle yet impactful manner.

One might argue that the above elements, combined with the context of the review, work together to create an aggressive narrative. Importantly, however, we do not view such linguistic aggression as necessarily harmful or negative, as it is often a tool used by reviewers to express their experiences more vividly and persuasively. However, identifying these elements can provide a valuable lens to understand the dynamics of online review discourse and the persuasive power of emotive language therein.

From a discursive point of view, linguistic aggression helps to establish the reviewer's stance and position in the online discourse community. It functions as a persuasive tool, underscoring the reviewer's experience and potentially influencing other users' perceptions of the product being reviewed. It's a strategy to claim authority and assert credibility in the community, often engaging readers more effectively than a bland, neutral tone.

Cognitively, linguistic aggression can engage the reader's associative and experiential memory, leading to a more profound understanding of the review. Encountering a creative simile, the brain automatically draws on sensory experiences and emotions

associated with that unconventional comparison, creating a more vivid and memorable representation of the reviewer's experience. This level of cognitive engagement can result in a stronger impact and deeper comprehension of the review.

Our study supports the notion that this form of linguistic amplification is not necessarily harmful. Instead, it may contribute positively to the richness of the discourse and help to facilitate a more nuanced understanding of the reviewers' experiences. Its role is to amplify and add drama to the narrative, rather than incite negativity or hostility. Hence, understanding this aspect of online review discourse can help unravel how users employ language as a strategic tool to express, persuade, and engage in the digital space.

6. CONCLUSION

This study explored the 'like + gerund' simile construction within the confines of online food reviews, specifically focusing on the Extrinsic Food-Related Frame (FrF) which was defined as a frame including comparisons with inedible objects. The key research questions centred around how these similes articulate the perceptions and experiences of reviewers, what cognitive underpinnings inform this specific simile construction and its interpretation, and whether such similes can contribute to aggressive narratives.

Our findings elucidated that reviewers deftly employ 'like + gerund' similes within the Extrinsic FrF as a unique medium to convey their experiences and impressions. This study confirmed that such similes generate vivid, action-based depictions of food experiences, extending the reach of the reviews to a diverse experiential spectrum.

Research findings highlighted several key cognitive mechanisms involved in the construction of similes in online food reviews. Firstly, we identified the role of associative memory in forming connections between different memory units based on their similarities, thereby facilitating picturesque and evocative comparisons. Secondly, we observed that analogical reasoning, a cognitive process allowing for mapping similarities from a familiar domain onto an unfamiliar one, significantly influenced the simile construction process. This was strongly associated with schema theory, suggesting that reviewers were likely drawing upon established cognitive structures formed by past experiences to create their comparisons. The third cognitive mechanism was creative imagination, which permitted the reviewers to generate novel comparisons by reorganising existing knowledge in unconventional ways. This underlined the creative potential inherent in everyday language use. Next, we found that similes often served as means of emotional expression, with reviewers using language to effectively communicate their emotional states, thereby revealing a link between sensory perception, cognition, and language. Similes were also found to guide attention towards specific aspects of a food experience, aligning with the spotlight model of attention. Moreover, we recognised the role of sensory perception and sensory integration in the construction of similes, as these processes allowed reviewers to

form comprehensive understandings of their experiences. Lastly, the cognitive mechanism of sensory detail encoding emerged as crucial in creating mental representations of sensory experiences for later recall and comparison. This mechanism emphasised the active attention paid to the sensory details of food, showcasing the complexity of cognitive processes involved in simile formation. These diverse cognitive mechanisms dynamically interact in the construction of similes, offering a rich, nuanced, and engaging depiction of reviewers' food experiences.

The study highlighted how consumers frequently use similes to express their experiences with food products, painting vibrant descriptions using action descriptors and object references. The 'like + gerund' pattern was found to be a common formula, with the gerund representing an action associated with the food experience and the object references serving as symbolic representations of their sensory experiences. Examples ranged from commonplace items to more creative analogies, illustrating consumers' reliance on past experiences, sensory perceptions, and creative imagination to describe the abstract concepts of taste, texture, and aroma. Patterns in the interplay between action descriptors and object references were identified, which revealed how certain food experiences triggered specific cognitive mechanisms. For instance, *eating* was often associated with insubstantial or bland substances, indicating sensory perception. *Drinking* was linked to unpleasant substances, demonstrating the role of associative memory and analogical reasoning. *Chewing* and *biting* were tied to hard or tough substances, emphasising sensory perception and emotional expression. Additionally, sensory transfer in similes highlighted the creative imagination at work. These

linguistic patterns underscore the richness of similes in expressing multi-dimensional sensory experiences of food consumption. By drawing on a vast array of comparisons outside the realm of food, reviewers utilise the cognitive framework provided by the simile to effectively interpret, understand, and convey their experiences. As semantic prisms, similes break down abstract experiences into comprehensible segments, making them accessible and relatable to the reader.

In some instances, these similes verged on forming an aggressive narrative due to the hyperbolic, contrastive nature of the Extrinsic FrF. However, these instances were found to predominantly serve as tools to enhance the expressiveness and persuasiveness of the reviews, rather than in any way promote negativity or upfront aggression.

The implications of this study extend to the broader landscape of cognitive linguistics, contributing to the understanding of how experiential semantics shapes figurative language. It underscores the dynamic interplay between language and cognition, and how this relationship manifests in real-world contexts such as online reviews. The study's relevance is accentuated by the increasing significance of online reviews in moulding consumer perceptions and decision-making processes. Understanding how figurative language, specifically 'like + gerund' similes, are employed in such contexts provides a window into the persuasive power of language.

Acknowledgements

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Book Reviews

Language, power and intercultural communication: The policies and politics of translation (a review)

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Are language translators merely invisible professional service providers in today's global market? Or cultural mediators with creative talents and social responsibilities in today's institutional social practices? Given the rapid adoption of AI algorithm technologies, what are the best ways to teach languages at universities to prepare our students for the fast-changing professional world? *Language, Power and Intercultural Communication: The Policies and Politics of Translation* seeks to reveal these answers through the lens of language, intercultural communication, and translation.

This 214-page monograph offers a refreshing perspective on the postmodern cultural, ideological, and political role assumed by Romanian-English translators when (re)presenting cultural identities and (re)constructing artistic and sociopolitical realities through multimedia-empowered and power-informed multimodal discourses at the intersection of culture, films, media, communication, social, political, semiotics, information technology, and translation studies in the twenty-first century. Drawing on the synergy of the pure theoretical and the applied aspects of language translation, the author transcends the traditional interpretative lens of social and political changes developed by the German philosopher Karl Marx and demonstrates the innovative analytical potential of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in the postmodern understanding of translation as an evolving social practice marked by diversity and mobility entrenched in the collective memory that keeps shaping and being shaped by the politics of manipulation.

The monograph reveals a clear stance on the postmodern turn. A sure strength of this monograph is the multifaceted incursion into the empowering role of language (and translation

by extension) itself as a social practice that informs cultural, ideological, and political changes in the contemporary era. By emphasising how different standpoints may affect the interpretative lens engaged by the translator in the (re/de-)construction and (re)presentation of cultural, ideological, political, philosophical, artistic, and linguistic realities, the author looks beyond the policy framework and delves into the inter-determinacy between language, power, intercultural communication and policies and politics of translation in broader social and cultural contexts. The author's positionality compasses future pedagogies towards the solid development of the translator's meta-knowledge and intercultural sensitivity as a supra-cultural mediator.

Another merit of this book is the Romanian-English corpus used in this book. The two corpora of multimodal film artistic and political discourses, the Romanian politician Mircea Geoană's and Traian Băsescu's 2009 televised presidential election discourses and the Romanian 2008 film *Nunta Mută* (Silent Wedding), directed by Horaţiu Mălăele, are fruits of the author's meticulous considerations, strategising and prioritising norms, policies, the use of subtitling aids, and the carefully instrumented approach to criticism under a broader European Union institutional framework.

There is a growing awareness of the omnipresent yet less visible role of language translators and interpreters through their discursive practices in a wide range of justice-critical scenarios under the institutional framework from a global perspective. However, the conventionally held utilitarian view on the intricate role of language translators in the multi-/intercultural and political discourses under the broader context of globalisation has seemingly remained unchallenged in the interconnected

fields of culture, film, media, communication, socio-political, and translation studies, particularly in a European country characterised by its predominantly socialist ideology under the European Union framework.

Overall, the innovative monograph contributes to the growing knowledge of the translator's challenges and responsibilities when moving from local to global cultural audiences and engaging with cultural mediation and social practices. The contribution of this monograph is mainly three-fold: (1) an integrative approach to translation studies marked by its clear interdisciplinarity stance in postmodern social practices; (2) a new frontier in the analytical utility of the CDA method in the technology-enabled subtitling practice using culturally and politically responsive multimedia corpus; and (3) in-trend polysystemic mapping of cultural and political pulses (re)represented by fluid cultural identities in the inter-semiotic web of intersecting systems.

On a practical note, the author essentially destigmatises the culturally nuanced and politically sensitive role of translators. More often than not, translation is never a one-on-one match between the source culture and the target culture. There are layers of intricate filters, techniques, and devices that may manipulate political interests, financial benefits, cultural identities, public integrity, and professional ethics through the communicative channel. In today's technical advances fuelled by algorithm intelligence applications such as ChatGPT, expecting a mechanic role of translators working with creative texts on budget and on time is unrealistic. For professional users in public relations and human resources departments of commercial organisations, simply applying a universal service-level agreement (SLA) framework in outsourcing business-critical localisation documents to a pool of agencies is equivalent to treating translation as an inhuman mechanic product. For language education institutions, this book makes a sobering recommendation to renovate the way languages are taught at schools, universities, and training institutions.

As highlighted by the author, a holistic and poly-systematic approach to language education can be helpful in preparing language students for the future professional world. For creative artists and journalists in the cultural industry and news media, this book provides a deeper dive into the level of creativity, complexity, agency, and human ingenuity involved when co-creating a culturally intelligent product in the market. This monograph can be a valuable reference to the inner working of cultural and creative representation of the original work to improve meaningful interprofessional collaboration built on shared understanding and mutual purpose.

Considering the points raised above, *Language, Power and Intercultural Communication: The Policies and Politics of Translation* is recommended for managers, hiring and outsourcing decision-makers, as well as other types of users of translation services, including but not limited to filmmakers, marketers, and journalists who work with translators and interpreters.

News & Events

RUDN University News

Specialised Translation Seminar at RUDN University

On June 2, 2023, the Department of Foreign Languages at the Faculty of Economics hosted a scientific seminar focused on *Specialised Translation: Optimising the Teaching Process*. The seminar featured a presentation and an engaging discussion led by Professor Alexandra Anisimova of the Department of English Language Studies at the Faculty of Philology, Lomonosov Moscow State University. The primary objective of the seminar was to refine the methods used to teach specialised translation. The agenda centred around the development of major skills, including understanding the role of translating terminology in specialised translation education, selecting the most appropriate approach for translating terms, and leveraging a corpus of professional texts to identify equivalent terms.

Throughout the seminar, participants had the opportunity to delve into existing methodologies for translating terms in the humanities and socio-political sciences, explore the effective employment of a professional text corpus when confronted with multiple equivalents for a term, and discuss strategies to foster student engagement with the subject matter and foster a positive connection with instructors.

The seminar proved to be an invaluable platform for the exchange of ideas and strategies aimed at enhancing the teaching of specialised translation. Participants gained valuable insights into effective approaches and techniques that can contribute to an optimised learning experience in this field.

Seminar on Profession-Oriented Communication

The Faculty of Economics' Department of Foreign Languages recently hosted a thrilling international scientific seminar titled *Profession-Oriented Communication and Translation: Scientific and Methodological Aspects*. Attendees eagerly delved into engaging discussions, all centred around a captivating presentation on the ever-important topic of the prospects and challenges in the context of cross-cultural competence in Business English communication skills. The seminar offered an exceptional platform for brilliant minds to exchange ideas and perspectives on this crucial aspect of the professional world.

Adding to the seminar's allure, the organisers had the honour of inviting a distinguished guest speaker Dr Valentina Budinchich, a highly respected professor and the Dean of the Faculty of Foreign Languages at Alpha BC University in Belgrade, Serbia. Professor Budinchich shared her invaluable expertise, captivating the audience with her profound knowledge and thought-provoking observations.

The seminar proved to be a melting pot of intellectual curiosity, as participants explored a wide array of topics. One of the many highlights was examining the promising avenues and hurdles associated with cross-cultural communication in the realm of business English. Attendees exchanged views, experiences, and innovative strategies to navigate this ever-evolving landscape.

To immortalise the wealth of knowledge and groundbreaking research presented at the seminar, a remarkable collection of materials has been published. Indexed by the Russian Science Citation Index (RSCI), this compendium features contributions from the seminar's attendees, as well as the exceptional graduate and MA students of RUDN University. The compilation showcases cutting-edge studies in the fields of phonetics, lexicology of professional English, Chinese, and German languages, speech impact, linguistic pragmatics, translation studies, and intercultural communication.

The seminar was a resounding success, leaving participants inspired and empowered with fresh insights and innovative approaches to profession-oriented communication and translation. With the stage set for future collaborations, the faculty eagerly anticipates even greater breakthroughs in the dynamic field of language and cross-cultural interactions.

International Student Conference Explores Globalisation and Regionalisation in the 21st Century Economy

On May 18, 2023, the 8th International Student Scientific Conference on *World Economy in the 21st Century: Globalisation and Regionalisation* took place at RUDN University. Co-organised by prestigious institutions like the Armenian State Economic University, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Lebanese University, and others, the event fostered an exchange of ideas on pressing global development issues. The conference, held within the Multilingual Environment project, featured 14 sections covering a wide range of topics, including digital assets, national economic transformation, financial system contradictions, management paradigms, cities as economic drivers, Latin America's role, Ibero-American innovation, Russia-China relations, regional development, foreign economic trends, digital transformations in Asia and Africa, and legal aspects of business.

Distinguished scholars, including Dr Inna Andronova, Dean of the Faculty of Economics at RUDN University, and Dr Alexey Maslov, Director of the Institute of Asian and African Studies at Lomonosov Moscow State University, presented papers on modernising the 21st-century economy, addressing globalisation requirements, and socio-economic challenges worldwide.

The conference aimed to promote scholarly discourse, providing a platform for students and researchers to share their thoughts and ideas. With certificates awarded to participants, selected Russian papers will be published in the electronic scientific journal *Innovative Economy*, while foreign language articles will be featured in the conference proceedings. For more information and conference materials, visit global-rudn.ru.

Russia and Algeria Strengthen Cooperation in Science and Education

On May 22, 2023, a collaboration agreement was signed between RUDN University and the University of Constantine 3-Salah Boubnider in Algeria, marking a significant milestone in the partnership between the two institutions. The Algerian delegation was represented by Kebbabi Saliha, Vice-Rector for International Affairs at the University of Constantine 3-Salah Boubnider; Prof. CHERABI Abdelaziz, a professor at the University of Constantine 3-Salah Boubnider; and Ms Benmaza Sonia Faranaz, an advisor at the Embassy of the Republic of Algeria in Russia. RUDN University was represented by Larisa Efremova, Vice-Rector for International Affairs; Inna Andronova, Dean of the Faculty of Economics; Darya Sokolan, Deputy Dean for International Affairs; Vitaliy Zhalnin, staff member of the International Protocol Department; and RUDN University graduate Muhammed Selim.

The agreement solidified the ongoing cooperation between the universities that began in 2019. It encompasses joint scientific events such as conferences and science schools, collaborative supervision of doctoral students, and joint publications. This partnership aims to foster knowledge exchange and enhance academic collaboration between Russia and Algeria. By combining their expertise and resources, the two universities seek to promote research, encourage academic mobility, and nurture a vibrant intellectual environment.

The signing of the agreement is a testament to the commitment of both institutions to strengthen educational ties and deepen scientific cooperation. It opens up new avenues for joint initiatives and creates opportunities for scholars and students from both countries to engage in meaningful academic exchange and contribute to advancements in various fields of study.

Engaging School Tour Wraps Up Academic Year at the Faculty of Economics

On May 22, 2023, an exciting school tour marked the grand finale of the academic year at the Faculty of Economics. As part of this special event, visitors to RUDN University had the unique opportunity to meet faculty members and students, immersing themselves in the vibrant atmosphere of the esteemed faculty.

This time, the excursion predominantly welcomed 11th grade of secondary school students. The students were greeted by Elena Egoricheva, Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Economics for Pre-University Activities. Leading the way, she guided them through the university and the faculty, showcasing prominent locations such as the university library, the coworking space, the winter garden, and ultimately settling in an auditorium where students had the chance to ask questions and engage in meaningful discussions.

The young participants expressed their enthusiasm for actively participating in various events hosted by the faculty throughout the academic year. They eagerly seized this opportunity to learn more about the competitive advantages of studying at RUDN University. As a special treat, senior students were also invited to join the gathering, sharing their experiences about their student life. They revealed the secrets of navigating the educational process, internships, and practical training, providing valuable guidance to the eager school students.

The tour not only offered a glimpse into the academic world but also served as an invaluable platform for intergenerational exchange. It showcased the supportive and inclusive environment that RUDN University provides, emphasising the importance of mentorship and the seamless transition from school to university life.

The Faculty of Economics at RUDN University remains committed to nurturing future talents and inspiring young minds. With this successful school tour marking the end of the academic year, the faculty eagerly looks forward to welcoming a new wave of aspiring students in the coming years, continuing its mission to provide quality education and empower the next generation of leaders in economics and beyond.

Faculty of Economics at RUDN University Meets with Colleagues from Al-Farabi KazNU

In April of 2023, Professor Svetlana Balashova, Head of the Department of Economic and Mathematical Modeling, and Associate Professor Konstantin Gomonov, embarked on a scientific mission to Al-Farabi KazNU in Kazakhstan. Over the course of two days, they delivered lectures on *Sustainable Development through the Circular Economy Concept* and *Inequality of Opportunities as a Barrier to Sustainable Development*. An engaging meeting with fourth-year students was held to promote the MA programme in International Project Management and attract students to study within the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States University (CISU) and the Eurasian University Network.

The visiting professors actively participated in a departmental meeting with the Management Department of the Higher School of Economics and Business at Al-Farabi KazNU. The purpose of this meeting was to present the new digital MA programme *Data-driven Management and Business Analytics*. Current issues and tasks related to CISU students were discussed and plans for the 2023-2024 academic year were coordinated. Additionally, possibilities for collaborative research endeavours were explored.

A meeting was also held with the Dean of the Higher School of Economics and Business at Al-Farabi KazNU, Dr Lyazat Bimendiyeva. During this productive discussion, prospects for expanding cooperation in the field of digital disciplines and enhancing academic mobility for faculty members were explored.

The encounter between the Faculty of Economics at RUDN University and Al-Farabi KazNU showcased the commitment of both institutions to fostering academic collaboration and enriching the educational experience for students. Through such exchanges, knowledge is shared, and new opportunities for joint initiatives and research emerge, paving the way for a brighter future in the realm of economics and digital education.

Leadership in Sustainability: RUDN University Successfully Completes Independent Assurance of SDGs

RUDN University has become the first Russian university to undergo independent auditing and public assurance of its non-financial sustainability report, making significant strides in the pursuit of sustainable development goals.

The university prepared an ESG (Environment, Social, Governance) report and specific indicators of sustainable development, which were audited by a leading auditing organisation within the global network of PricewaterhouseCoopers International Limited. Furthermore, the report underwent a process of public assurance by the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs. ESG represents a commitment to sustainable development through responsible environmental stewardship, social responsibility, and high-quality corporate governance. When selecting a university, both Russian and international prospective students consider its rankings and evaluate its commitment to achieving sustainable development goals. They examine how the university responds to these goals, how it supports them, and what contributions it makes towards their realisation. RUDN University, as an international university, actively engages in this direction. Recently, it presented its first sustainability report, a significant milestone that unveils the university's approaches and projects in the ESG agenda.

The university management faced the challenging task of prioritising from the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), each equally important. Recognising the impossibility of implementing initiatives for all goals simultaneously, RUDN University focused on the primary achievement of five SDGs: SDG 4 Quality Education, SDG 8 Decent Work and Economic Growth, SDG 17 Partnerships for the Goals, SDG 3 Good Health and Well-being, and SDG 9 Industry, Innovation, and Infrastructure

The report, which upheld the criteria of transparency, consistency, confidence, and sincerity, emphasises the university's awareness of the impact of its activities on the environment and the socio-economic development of the regions it serves. The university prepares engineers, medical professionals, and agrarians for developing economies, conducts research on SDG-related topics, and provides ecological expertise and analytical support for projects initiated by industrial partners and government structures. However, it is impossible to advocate for SDGs without implementing sustainable development principles within the university itself. This includes internal relationships among staff and students, sustainable practices on campus, waste management, and resource consumption.

The content of the report inarguably holds great significance for the RUDN University community, offering a fresh perspective on the university. For instance, in 2021, the university managed to reduce electricity consumption in its Moscow campus by 12% compared to 2018, despite the introduction of new equipment and increased network load in dormitories during the period of distance learning. Electricity consumption decreased by 11%, and water consumption by 32% in the Moscow campus compared to 2019, highlighting a major accomplishment.

RUDN University's commitment to sustainability aligns with its mission to contribute to the global sustainable development agenda. By actively pursuing the SDGs and implementing sustainable practices within the university, RUDN sets an example for other educational institutions and demonstrates its leadership in fostering a more sustainable future.

RUDN University and SberObrazovanie Collaborate to Launch a Joint MA Programme

This year, those willing have the opportunity to enrol in the *Product Management* programme offered by RUDN University in collaboration with Sber's online platform Academy Edutoria. The programme is open to students from all around the world, allowing them to pursue their education regardless of their location. The classes will commence in September 2023, and students can submit their applications today.

Product Management is an interdisciplinary field that combines IT, business analytics, and marketing. Students in this programme will gain competencies in managing the entire lifecycle of a product, from its creation and promotion to successful market launch.

The programme is offered by the Higher School of Industrial Policy and Entrepreneurship at RUDN University, led by Svetlana Murtuzalieva, a candidate of economic sciences and the Deputy Director of the Higher School of Industrial Policy and Entrepreneurship.

In the core curriculum of the MA programme, students will cover a set of fundamental disciplines. Additionally, there is an opportunity to choose optional courses. Upon selecting four or more additional subjects, graduates will receive not only the main diploma but also a professional retraining diploma from RUDN University.

Core Disciplines include Digital Transformation and New Business Models, Managerial Economics, Theory of Management, Modern Strategic Analysis, Professional Foreign Language, Product Marketing, Pricing and Monetisation Strategies, Product Management, Product Management Strategy, Sales Management and Promotion Channels in the Digital Environment, Product Competitiveness Management, and Computer and Digital Technologies in Product Management

Elective Disciplines include Customer Centricity and Design Elaboration, Managerial Psychology, Emotional Intelligence and Leadership, Business Communication and Negotiation, Flexible Leadership Skills, Applied Methods of Data Collection and Analysis, Presentation Techniques, UX Design, Business Process Management and Modelling, CRM and Sales Automation, Basics of Programming, Economics for Non-Economists, Advanced Excel, Python/SQL, and Entrepreneurship.

The programme is designed to be equally effective for students with technical and humanities backgrounds. Enrolling in the *Product Management* programme, its participants will gain access to all it takes to become sought-after professionals in the dynamic field of product management and ultimately propel their careers to new heights.

Institute for Scientific Communications Holds a Seminar on Scientific Publications at RUDN University

Russia is home to numerous distinguished scientists with a global reputation. It is crucial for them to share the secrets of successful publications, particularly with talented students and young researchers, in order to multiply the achievements of Russian science and strengthen its position on the global stage.

On June 14, 2023, the Institute for Scientific Communications hosted a scientific seminar on *Technologies for Preparing Articles in High-Impact Journals.* The seminar is organised by RUDN University, the Institute for Scientific Communications, and the Consortium for Sustainable Development and Technological Leadership. The event took place at the Faculty of Economics of RUDN University, with Dr Inna Andronova and Dr Yulia Konovalova serving as the moderators. The seminar addressed the following key topics.

Stakeholders in the promotion of scientific publications.

Mechanisms for promoting scientific journals.

Global university rankings (ARWU, QS, THE).

Publication activity rankings based on Scopus (SCImago) and Web of Science (Leiden ranking) data.

Challenges in promoting scientific publications.

Scientific systems in different countries.

Open access in science and public repositories.

Marketing strategies for promoting scientific journals.

This seminar fostered knowledge sharing and collaboration among researchers, enabling them to enhance their publication strategies and navigate the rapidly evolving landscape of scientific communication. Participants gained valuable insights into the promotion of scientific publications and learned about the latest advancements in the field.

By facilitating the exchange of expertise and experiences, this seminar at RUDN University strived to empower researchers to contribute to the advancement of science in Russia and strengthen the country's position in the global scientific community.

RUDN University Strengthens Russia-Africa Dialogue

On May 19, 2023, the second informal dialogue titled *Russia-Africa: Borderless Economic Education* took place at the Faculty of Economics of RUDN University. Participants offered ideas for Russian-African academic cooperation, joint scientific projects, and research endeavours.

'RUDN University is fostering scientific and academic collaboration with African and Asian countries. If people are unaware of where to start communicating with each other, if they have never been to Africa, then our task is to build this bridge so that we can engage in more frequent exchanges,' stated Dr Inna Andronova, Dean of the Faculty of Economics at RUDN University.

Foreign graduates of Russian universities at the meeting emphasised the demand for Russian education in African countries. Lubinda Haabazoka from Zambia stated that thousands of Zambians are currently receiving government scholarships to study in Russia.

'In Zambia, we have an English education system, and there is a lack of diverse economic specialties; only economic theory is available. Zambia needs to exchange experiences with Russian universities and invite Russian students to universities in the Zambian capital,' explained Dr Lubinda Haabazoka, Director of the Business School at the University of Zambia and graduate of the Rostov State Economic University.

N'Goran Koffi Celestin shared that RUDN University recently signed a cooperation agreement with the ETIC University, aiming to develop economic education in Africa.

'We are graduates of RUDN University, and today we need to work together. The education we received here is of high quality. We should be proud of it and use our knowledge to develop our own countries,' emphasised Dr N'Goran Koffi Celestin, Dean of the Faculty of Economics and Business Management at ETIC University in Cote d'Ivoire, and a graduate of the Faculty of Economics at RUDN University.

It is also important to involve students in the development of trade and economic relations between Russia and Africa. Kasonde Aaron Mweva, a student at the Faculty of Economics at RUDN University, presented the project of a Summer School in Zambia for RUDN students and the Business School of Zambia. Over two weeks, economists will collaborate on a joint project aimed at introducing competitive products produced in Zambia or Russia to the global market. The project's goal is to demonstrate that international trade contributes to the development of bilateral relations between Russia and Zambia.

'The Summer School is my first international project. It will allow young people from both countries to get to know each other, make friends, and learn about the cultures of our nations. The projects developed at the Summer School will be presented to representatives of the country's business community, potential investors for their implementation,' added Kasonde Aaron Mweva .

Participants of the meeting acknowledged that professional growth is a crucial stage in education. To promote Russian education abroad, it is necessary to organise internships and practical training for foreign students in domestic companies, support start-ups, projects, and scientific research.

TLC News

TLC Shows Remarkable Improvement in Scopus Ratings: A Milestone Achievement

Training, Language, and Culture has recently achieved a significant milestone by demonstrating substantial improvement in its Scopus ratings. This remarkable progress reflects the journal's commitment to excellence and its growing impact in the scholarly community.

In 2022, TLC's CiteScore rose to 1.1, signifying a substantial growth in citations received per document and indicating a higher degree of recognition and relevance of the published research within the academic community. The SJR (SCImago Journal Rank) elevated to 0.247, reflecting the journal's enhanced measured scientific influence. The SNIP (Source-Normalised Im-

pact per Paper) also experienced a substantial boost, reaching 0.741, highlighting the growing impact of the journal's articles within its specific research domain.

The improved ratings carry profound meaning and implications for both the journal and the scholarly community it serves. Firstly, the enhanced CiteScore demonstrates that the published articles in *Training, Language, and Culture* are gaining more visibility and attracting a greater number of citations. This signifies the growing recognition of the journal as a reliable and valuable source of scholarly information.

Secondly, the elevated SJR emphasises that the articles published are increasingly influential within the academic sphere. It indicates that the research findings and insights presented in *Training, Language, and Culture* are making a significant impact on the development and advancement of the respective fields of training, language studies, and cultural research.

Lastly, the improved SNIP underscores the contextual impact of the journal's articles. This metric considers the characteristics of the journal's field and measures the significance of its publications within that specific context. The heightened SNIP signifies that TLC's articles are contributing significantly to the scholarly discourse and the broader research landscape, making a valuable and relevant impact.

TLC's progress in its Scopus ratings reflects the unwavering dedication of its editorial team, reviewers, and contributors to delivering high-quality research and promoting academic excellence. For more information and to explore the latest research published in *Training, Language, and Culture,* visit our official website at rudn.tlcjournal.org and immerse yourself in the world of scholarly discoveries.

TLC Achieves K1 Category in Higher Attestation Commission (VAK) Index

We are delighted to announce that *Training, Language and Culture* has achieved the K1 category in the Higher Attestation Commission (VAK) Index. This recognition signifies the journal's exceptional quality and scholarly impact within the field.

In 2022, the Higher Attestation Commission (VAK) of Russia has officially introduced a classification system for scientific journals, including the implementation of quartiles akin to those used in the international scientometric database, Scopus. Under this new system, VAK journals are divided into quartiles, with 25% falling into the K1 category, 50% into K2, and the remaining 25% into K3. While not a strict quartile in the literal sense, these categories serve the same purpose and provide a comprehensive overview of a journal's standing within the VAK system.

The categorisation of journals relies on a set of both quantitative and qualitative indicators. These indicators encompass various aspects, including scientometric measures such as the Science Index, Hirsch-Index, Gini Index, average Hirsch Index of authors, and average number of article views per year. Additionally, qualitative indicators such as the quality and uniqueness of scientific articles, author authority, peer review quality, and the journal's organisational standards are also considered. While individual indicators may not provide a complete picture, considering them collectively eliminates any potential bias and provides a more objective categorisation. The introduction of the quartile system within the Higher Attestation Commission Index signifies a remarkable step towards transparency and standardisation in the categorisation of scientific journals in Russia, enabling researchers to navigate the publishing landscape effectively.