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### ХЕДЖИРОВАНИЕ В РАЗЛИЧНЫХ ТИПАХ ДИСКУРСА

*В статье описываются дискурсивные особенности некоторых наиболее распространенных хеджей, встречающихся в современном английском языке, и исследуется их коммуникативное влияние на высказывание. Авторы применяют классификацию хеджирования Принса и соавторов к аппроксиматорам (которые изменяют пропозициональное содержание, передаваемое в высказывании) и “цитам” (изменяют истинную ценность высказывания) для анализа хеджирующего поведения говорящего в двух дискурсивных жанрах: интервью и политические речи.*

*Выбор материалов для анализа определяется практическим интересом исследователей к изучению использования хеджей в дискурсивных жанрах, которые значительно различаются по степени спонтанности и предполагают решение разных целей. Хотя существует большое разнообразие языковых единиц, которые могут функционировать в качестве хеджей, они делятся на две основные группы, упомянутые выше.*

*Целью статьи является выявление наиболее распространенных типов хеджей, используемых в двух типах дискурса, изучение их структурных типов, прагматических особенностей и обоснование их использования в данном типе дискурса. Исследование проводится в рамках современных лингвистических парадигм, таких как функциональная грамматика, прагматика и сравнительный анализ.*

*Авторы делают выводы о характере хеджирования, основных особенностях хеджирования и их дискурсивно-маркированных чертах.*

*Ключевые слова: хеджирование, хедж, публичные речи, интервью, аппроксиматор, адаптер, раундер, цит, выражающий правдоподобие, атрибутивный цит*

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### HEDGING IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF DISCOURSE

*The article describes discourse features of some of the most common hedges observed in modern English and explores their communicative impact on the utterance. The authors apply Prince et al.'s classification of hedges into approximators (modify the propositional content conveyed in the utterance) and shields (modify the truth value of the utterance) to the analysis of speakers' hedging behaviour in two discourse genres: the interview and political speeches.*

*The choice of the materials for the analysis is determined by the researchers' practical interest to the study of the usage of hedges in discourse genres that differ considerably in the degree of spontaneity and presuppose solution of different aims. Although there is a great diversity of linguistic units which can function as hedges, they fall under the two major groups mentioned above.*

*The aim of the paper is to identify the most common types of hedges used in the two types of discourse, study their structural types, pragmatic features and account for their usage in the given type of discourse. The study is conducted within the framework of contemporary linguistics, such as functional grammar, pragmatics and comparative analysis. The authors make inferences about the nature of hedging, key features of hedges and their discourse-marked specifics.*

*Keywords: hedging, hedge, public speeches, interview, approximator, adaptor, rounder, plausibility shield, attribution shield*

#### **Introduction**

The present article deals with hedging, a phenomenon widely used by native speakers of English in everyday conversation and writing. Despite considerable theoretical research on hedging which has been conducted since it became the topic of linguistic study in the 60s of the XX century (Lakoff, 1973; Prince et al., 1982; Crismore & Vande Kopple, 1997; Crismore & Vande Kopple, 1999, Crompton, 1997;

Cabanes, 2007, Caffi, 2007; Fraser, 2010; Brown & Levinson, 2014) the nature of hedging, classes of hedges, their pragmatics and discourse features remain understudied. Moreover, discourse-marked specifics of hedging behavior are left outside the scope of most investigations of modern English.

The practical value of the research consists in the fact that it provides insight into the use of hedges in two different discourse genres which differ in their primary purposes and the degree of spontaneity: the interview (spontaneous, informal) and political speeches (planned, formal). Appropriate hedging behavior requires awareness of the functions of hedges and structural patterns they are used in. When non-native speakers fail to hedge correctly, they may be perceived as impolite, offensive, or arrogant. If they misinterpret a hedged utterance, they may misunderstand the interlocutor's intention. Hedging is part of the target culture that foreign speakers and language learners should be aware of. The present article aims to study the frequency of hedges in the discourse types mentioned, their collocability and pragmatic functions.

#### **Materials and methods**

The present analysis focuses on the two categories of hedges, approximators and shields (Prince et al., 1982), in interviews of British celebrities and in public speeches of British Prime Ministers (2000-2013). The choice of the sources of materials was determined by the differences in the communicative purpose, degree of formality and spontaneity of the two genres, which makes the study of hedging discourse oriented. Among the methods used for linguistic assessment of the corpus data are quantitative and comparative analyses. The sources of materials subjected to investigation comprise authentic scripts of interviews with British actors, singers, musicians, TV-hosts as well as public speeches of British Prime Ministers, obtained from the BBC, the Guardian and the Independent.

#### **Theoretical background**

Research on hedging first appeared in the 1960s in the field of logic and philosophy, later researchers focused on semantic and pragmatic features of hedges. The term "*hedge*" in linguistics was introduced by G. Lakoff who defined the phenomenon as a means to make things "fuzzier or less fuzzy" (1972, p. 195). This view was further developed in the works by E. Prince, J. Frader, and C. Bosk (1982), A. Crismore

(1990), B. Fraser (2010), Crismore and W. Vande Kopple (1997, 1999), W. C. Caffi (1999), P. Brown and S. Levinson (2014) and others.

Although G. Lakoff (1972) understood hedging widely as both reinforcement and attenuation of the propositional content, today hedges are regarded in a different way, their reinforcement aspect has been laid aside. L. Hosman (1989) studied the interactive effects of intensifiers and hedges in speech and concluded that hedges have an influence on perceptions of attractiveness and credibility, while intensifiers do not. This is, probably, the main difference between these two notions.

A. Hübler (1983) in the book “Understatements and Hedges in English” shows the difference between the notions of “hedge” and “understatement”. In his view, understatement deals with the propositional content of the sentence, whereas hedging focuses on the speaker’s attitude to the situation. To prove his point of view he gives the following examples:

- (a) It is **a bit** cold here.
- (b) It is cold in Alaska, **I suppose**.

According to A. Hübler (1983), (a) contains an understatement, while (b) is a hedge because it pertains to the speaker’s attitude.

The Collins English Online Dictionary states that “*to hedge*” means “*to evade decision or action, especially by making noncommittal statements*”, and the noun “*hedge*” is defined as “*a cautious or evasive statement*” (1997, p. 365).

#### **Classifications of hedges**

The notion of hedging is a controversial issue in linguistics. Classifications of hedges are numerous and often display noticeable differences. This can be put down to the fact that the underlying principles of research on hedging are different, researchers view hedges from different perspectives, different variables are taken into consideration while classifying them, moreover, the classes of hedges subjected to analysis may vary considerably. For example, G. Lakoff (1972) focused on propositional hedging, B. Fraser (1975) considered performative verb hedging, P. Brown and S. Levinson (2014) investigated the speech act aspect of hedging, describing hedges in terms of politeness strategies.

A multidimensional approach to research on hedging was introduced by E. Prince et al. (1982). Relying on the conclusions made

in earlier studies E. Prince et al. (1982) suggested that hedges should be divided into two major classes – approximators and shields. The first class (approximators) hedge the propositional content and may be further subdivided into adaptors and rounders. Adaptors, such as *somewhat, kind of, sort of, some, a little bit*, apply to class membership and contribute to the interpretation of the utterance. Rounders, such as *about, approximately, something, around*, indicate a range, within which a notion is approximated. The other major class (shields) pertain to the degree of uncertainty about the propositional content that the speaker expresses and may reflect the extent of their involvement. These hedges fall into two groups: plausibility shields and attribution shields. Plausibility shields, such as *I think, probably, I take it, as far as I can tell, I have to believe right now, I don't see that* convey the speaker's uncertainty, doubt about what is being said. The other subclass – attribution shields – comprises expressions contributing to the truth value of the proposition, for example *according to, presumably, at least, to somebody's knowledge, etc.* They often make mention of the source of information.

E. Prince et al.'s (1982) distinction of hedges into approximators and shields is often criticized as purely theoretical. J. Skelton (1988) points out that the given classification is sustainable only in the abstract. He believes that approximators could easily function as shields. To illustrate this, he gives a phrase “It's made of something like rock”. He claims that “something like” here is an approximator as it makes the context fuzzier. But if we use “I suspect” in the same phrase it will be regarded as a shield. On the whole shields are more frequent in speech and can extend over more than one sentence.

F. Salager-Meyer (1995) includes the following classes of words in the taxonomy of hedging devices.

1) Shields: *can, could, may, might, would, to appear, to seem, probably, to suggest.*

2) Approximators of degree, quantity, frequency and time: *approximately, roughly, about, often, occasionally, etc.*

3) Hedges expressing authors' personal doubt and direct involvement: *I believe, to our knowledge, it is our view that, etc.*

4) Emotionally charged intensifiers: *extremely difficult/interesting, of particular importance, unexpectedly, surprisingly, etc.*

5) Compound hedges: *could be suggested, would seem likely, would*

*seem somewhat*, etc.

F. Salager-Meyer (1995) includes intensifiers in the class of hedges and analyzes the frequency of their occurrence and distribution in different genres. Her findings suggest that case reports and research papers contain fewer hedges than editorials, and in reviews the use of the passive voice is one of the most common hedging devices.

C. Caffi (1999, 2007) in the course of the research on *mitigation* which is defined as either lessening the intensity or force of something unpleasant or attenuation of the possible unfortunate effects on the hearer introduces another classification of mitigating mechanisms. Three major types of them are singled out: *bushes, hedges and shields*. Bushes are expressions that aim to reduce the precision of the propositional context and, as the result, affect the truth value of a proposition. Hedges are expressions that affect the emotive and relational aspects and reduce the degree of the speaker's commitment. Finally, shields are devices used to avoid personal self-ascription and disclaim responsibility, for example by assigning it to a different speaker. C. Caffi's (1999, 2007) mitigators resemble E. Prince et al.'s (1982) hedges, although the labels are applied differently.

C. Swee and H. Tan (2002) elaborate on F. Salager-Meyer's (1995) theory. According to their linguistic investigation all hedges can be grouped into 1) Adverbials (*approximately*), 2) Epistemic Verbs (*suggest, seem, appear*), 3) Modal verbs (*may, can, would*, etc.), Cognition Verbs (believe, suppose, think, surmise), 4) Hypothetical Constructions (*if*-clauses + adjectives, adverbs, nouns expressing modality), 5) Anticipatory *it*-clauses and *there is/are*.

Crompton (1997) suggests another typology of hedges: copulas, other than *be* (e.g. *The result appears to be that...*), lexical verbs (e.g. *The result suggests that...*), modal verbs (e.g. *The result might be that...*), probability adverbs (e.g. *The result possibly is that...*), probability adjectives (e.g. *It is possible that the result...*) (p. 280).

#### **Functions of hedges**

The controversial character of hedging has brought about a great diversity of views of the functional aspect of hedges. There is no consensus among linguists concerning the purposes of hedging either. G. Lakoff (1972) mentions two reasons why hedges are used in the first place: to express the speaker's uncertainty or to soften speech in order to be polite. E. Prince et al.'s (1982) and J. Skelton (1988) believe that

the main function of hedges is to convey information in an unobtrusive and unostentatious way. Crystal (1987) explains the use of hedges by the speaker's intention not to be precise, avoid further questions and their unwilling to tell the truth. According to Salager-Meyer (1994, 1995), explicit expression of facts, opinions, information or claims might not seem very appropriate, even impolite in many situations. Besides, hedging allows speakers to present information and report research results to the audience in a more precise way: "*hedging may present the strongest claim a careful researcher can make*" (1994: p. 151). P. Brown and S. Levinson (2014), Cabanes (2007) and B. Fraser (2010) consider hedges in terms of "positive" and "negative" politeness. Positive politeness strategies minimize the threat to the hearer's "positive face", make them feel satisfied, valued and relaxed, whereas negative politeness strategies serve to mitigate the effect the utterance may produce on the hearer, especially if the rank of imposition the utterance conveys is high, make it more tentative and less impinging.

What all researchers agree upon is that hedges are discourse features whose functions may succinctly be described as follows: they contribute to precision, politeness and attenuate the negative imposition.

The present research attempts to apply E. Prince et al.'s (1982) methodology to the analysis of authentic language use.

### **Study and results**

The present research aims to explore speakers' hedging behaviour during interviews and political speeches, two genres representing oral discourse. The interview is characterised by a relatively high degree of spontaneity and instantaneous decision making because in the majority of cases the interviewee cannot even predict what questions they will be asked, besides the interviewee is likely to receive loaded or inconvenient questions to which they may have difficulty in finding an answer. Public speeches by contrast are generally prepared in advance, they are expected to be well-organised and strategically planned to satisfy the goals set by the speaker. Yet, they also allow for a certain degree of spontaneity primarily due to the unexpected character of the audience's reaction. Public speeches are usually referred to quasi-spontaneous discourse genres.

### **Approximators: Adaptors**

Since the class of hedges is vast and displays great diversity, we have chosen the most frequently occurring items for our analysis. According to Prince et al. (1982) the most frequently used adaptors are *sort of*, *kind of*, *a little bit* and *somewhat*. These are hedges that affect the truth value of the proposition, make it less representative, thus attenuating its imposition.

#### **Adaptors in the interview**

Since the interview presupposes a lot of spontaneity, speakers tend to use a great number of hedges to mitigate the imposition of their utterances and sound less categorical. Quantitative comparison of *kind of* and *sort of* (the most common adaptors) allowed us to conclude that during the interview speakers tend to use *kind of* more frequently than *sort of* (57% and 43% correspondingly), although it is noteworthy that this difference is not considerable.

*Kind of* and *sort of* may modify various parts of speech and are normally used in pre-position to the modified item. The most commonly used distribution pattern for *sort of* is **Sort of + Verb** (58%), reporting verbs being the most frequent class, for example:

(1) *You sort of think: "Oh Christ, I'm going to have to just let go of the expectation and just play the part and try be as truthful about who I feel April is as I possibly can be."*

(2) *We played it on a tape cassette, and he just sort of said <...>*

In 25% of instances of *sort of* it was followed by a Noun or a Noun Phrase: **Sort of + Noun/Noun Phrase**.

(3) *It was sort of a solo flight.*

(4) *But I did study Shakespeare, that was sort of my thing.*

The pattern **Sort of + Adjective** was encountered in 17% of cases, for example:

(5) *I work with new people all the time and in different places, and it can be quite disorienting and so it's sort of nice to be working with the same person again.*

The adaptor *kind of* is used in the interview in a similar way. The most common pattern found in the corpus proves to be **Kind of + Verb** (45%). Interestingly, verbs preceded by *kind of* in our interview corpus either belong to the informal register and/or are emphatic, for example:

(6) *I had to kind of bang on people's doors for it to get made, so it was interesting.*

(7) *Sam wants to give Charlie the perfect first kiss because her first*

kiss **kind of** sucked.

This is a notable difference bearing in mind that *sort of* modified primarily reporting verbs.

In 29% of the *kind of* corpus it preceded a Noun or a Noun Phrase.

**Kind of + Noun/Noun Phrase**, for example:

(8) <...> *as opposed to kind of a failure of what she wanted him to be.*

*Kind of* may also modify **adjectives** (19.5%):

(9) *“Penny Lane” was kind of nostalgic, but it was really a place that John and I knew <...>*

Occasionally *kind of* and *sort of* were used as hesitation fillers which allowed the speaker to find the right word in case they felt doubtful or had to search for words, or have not come up with an idea, for example:

(10) *I don’t think victims are particularly attractive, in kind of as a character trait, you know?*

(11) *So it’s sort of – it’s a fabulous way to get into character. If you’ve got such an extreme costume <...>*

Instances of *kind of* modifying clauses were observed in 6.5% of the *kind of* corpus.

**Kind of + subordinate clause:**

(12) *I think that’s kind of how most people do this stuff.*

No such examples were found for *sort of*, which suggests that this hedge can hardly modify clauses.

Despite Prince et al.’s (1982) evidence for the most frequently used adaptors being *sort of*, *kind of*, *a little bit* and *somewhat* our analysis shows that this hedge is infrequent in the interview. There were only eleven occurrences of *a little bit* in the ten interviews analyzed.

The structural patterns observed in the case of *a little bit* are as follows:

**A little bit + Adjective** (39%)

(13) *I was a little bit nervous to the point that Beryl was offering so many cups of tea and biscuits to me that I think she thought she was playing Mrs. Hudson.*

**A little bit + Adverb** (30%)

(14) *But I would find moments throughout playing April and Hanna where I would understand them a little bit more as time went by.*

**Verb + A little bit** (31%)

(15) *If I watch an actor doing something like that, at a certain point*

*I think you start to switch off **a little bit** and tune out.*

A *little bit* in the hedging function was used in the preceding position to adjectives and adverbs, and in post-position to verbs. No considerable differences were observed in the occurrence rate of a *little bit* with different parts of speech

The results obtained in the course of the analysis of interviews with British celebrities point to a high frequency of *sort of* and *kind of* in the hedging function. A *little bit* was rare. No instances of *somewhat* were found.

Several situations where *almost* seemed to function as an adaptor were found in the corpus. It modified the propositional meaning of adjectives and verbs and was used in the preceding position.

(16) *He can smell the dwarves, and he knows there's something else going on the mountainside. He's **almost** telepathic.*

(17) *There's so many teenage TV series and movies and whatever else, that it's kind of a subject matter people **almost** hate to hear.*

#### **Adaptors in political speeches**

None of the above-mentioned adaptors (*kind of*, *sort of*, *a little bit*, *somewhat*) was observed in the corpus subjected to analysis. This can be accounted for by the fact that any modification of the propositional content with the aim of making it sound fuzzy or vague in political speeches will produce an undesirable effect of being perceived as an unreliable person by the public. The purpose of hedging runs counter to the requirements set for politicians: they need to sound confident and knowledgeable and avoid evasive statements.

#### **Approximators: Rounders**

Rounders represent a class of hedges which modify the propositional content presented in figures, statistics, deictic markers of time and measurements. They are normally used when the exact or precise information is of no importance to the speaker. Among the most common rounders in Prince et al.'s (1982) classification are *almost*, *about*, *approximately* and *something between*.

#### **Rounders in the interview**

Rounders such as *almost*, *about*, *approximately*, *something between* were attested in the corpus of interviews with British celebrities, however, they were infrequent. The interview rarely contains much statistical data in the first place, which makes rounders somewhat unnecessary.

Of the four rounders attested in the interview corpus the hedge *almost* proves to be the most common (72%). *Almost* used as a rounder normally modifies nouns (76%), for example:

(18) *It was **almost** a week, 5 days that we were in that green orangery thing a lovely conservatory near Bristol.*

and adverbs (24%), for example:

(19) *And it seems that, when you read about Lili's story, she would blend **almost** immediately in the world.*

The pattern **Almost + like + (Numeral +Noun) + Gerund** was frequently used in the interview with the meaning “*similar to*”, for example:

(20) ***Almost** like two magnets repelling each other.*

(21) *<...> it became **almost** like doing a one man show to the most surreal audience of people you know.*

However, it remains unclear whether *almost* functions as an adaptor or a rounder here. Such cases of ambiguity are not infrequent which proves it was not for nothing that Prince et al.'s (1982) classification of approximators into adaptors and rounders went in for severe criticism.

The rounder *about* is considerably less frequent (28%) than *almost*. It is used to modify nouns and noun phrases (usually numbers and measurements)

(22) ***About** 6 weeks ago, I traveled to Edmonton Alberta to show Connor the movie at his hospital.*

(23) ***About** a third of them were given to me by <...>*

No instances of *approximately* and *something between* were found in the interview corpus.

### **Rounders in political speeches**

According to Wardhaugh (2010) hedges are typical of colloquial spontaneous speech which leads to the conclusions that they are hardly ever in political speeches, which belong to quasi-spontaneous discourse types and are traditionally planned in advance. However, the analysis conducted on our corpus proves the opposite.

Politicians often use rounders to hedge utterances which contain statistics pertaining to the issue discussed. Information supported with statistical data is usually perceived by the recipient as highly reliable, and therefore sounds more convincing to them. However, everyone understands that exact numbers are of no interest to the public, few of them are going to assess the information presented to their attention,

moreover, hedging allows speakers to disclaim responsibility for what is being said and convey information in an unostentatious way. Among the most common rounders (approximators of degree) are *almost*, *about*, *roughly*, *approximately*, *nearly*, etc.

In our corpus comprising political speeches *almost* (53%) and *nearly* (40%) were rather frequent, while *about* turned out to be less common (7%).

The most common pattern for *almost* was:

***Almost + Numeral + Noun/Noun Phrase*** (62, 5%):

(24) *Leave aside that **almost** two million children are brought up in households where no one works.*

The other two patterns observed are noticeably less frequent. *Almost* modified adjectives (19%) and adverbs (18,5%).

***Almost + Adjective***

(25) *It seems **almost** impossible to believe now, that so recently, the T & G were mulcted for £50,000 by an Order of the Court.*

(26) *But despite all of them, I believe there is in every Conference a general will that seems to emerge **almost** unknowingly to set its own objectives.*

In (25) and (26) the function of *almost* is closer to that of adaptors rather than rounders, i.e. *almost* influences the truth value of the proposition attenuating its force.

The rounder *nearly* which is semantically equivalent to *almost*, modified only nouns and noun groups (usually numbers and measurements).

(27) ***Nearly** a third of your income of £37 million comes from private individuals and companies and we would like to thank them very much indeed.*

The rounder *about* always preceded statistical data presented in figures.

(28) *The £2.5bn Pupil Premium that I first wrote **about** 10 years ago.*

The rounders *approximately* and *roughly* were not found in the political speeches analyzed.

**Shields: Plausibility shields**

Shields unlike approximators do not affect the truth value of the propositional content conveyed in the utterance, they pertain to relationship between the content and the speaker. Plausibility shields

show the speaker's commitment to the truth of the propositional content, they make the statement of ideas less categorical and are intended to help the speaker disclaim responsibility for the general truth of the information conveyed in the utterance. To this group belong *I think, I take it, probably, as far as I can tell, right now, I have to believe, I don't see that*, etc. (Frazer, 2010)

#### **Plausibility shields in the interview**

Among the plausibility shields found in the interview are *I think, I suppose, I believe, I guess, as far as I'm concerned* and *I assume*. They are widely used by interviewees, which seems quite natural as in the course of the interview people express their own thoughts and opinions that they might want to make them less categorical or straightforward.

The analysis of ten interviews with British actors, TV-hosts, musicians and artists shows that among the plausibility shields attested in literature *I think* is the most common (87%), it either precedes the propositional meaning presented in the form of a clause or follows it, for example:

(29) ***I think*** when you're making an album, as the songs are piling up, one of the good things about it is that you will often write the song that you need.

(30) Actually, I would have said the opposite, ***I think***.

Several instances of *I think* may occur in the utterance.

(31) ***I think*** we in the Beatles had always liked 'Rain', but ***I think*** we thought that as a song, as a kind of radio thing, 'Paperback Writer' was a bit more immediate.

Other plausibility shields are less common in the interview: *I suppose* (6%), *I guess* (4%), *I mean* (2%). *I believe* (1%) has the lowest frequency among the plausibility shields observed in the interview.

(32) So ***I suppose*** the closer a character comes to me, the more challenging I actually – in a funny kind of way, *I think* I'd find it.

(33) So ***I guess*** I try and do things and keep people around me who to an extent normalize what is in one sense a very abnormal situation to be in on that level.

(34) You had to put off filming, ***I believe***, because of availability.

There are instances in the corpus where different plausibility shields are used by the speaker.

(34) No. No, ***I think*** it would – you'd be cutting your nose off to

*spite your face if you turned down a fantastic script and a fantastic character simply because it was set 200 years ago. I mean, apart from, I think period films now means anything from ten years ago to the beginning of time. So – you know. I mean, no. I do love period films, personally. I love the fact that you can escape into a completely different reality. I think for me, what I love about film is that it's complete escapism. And I find personally that seeing these costumes, these weird societies, helps me to forget my life, and actually just dive into the story. So I think that's why as an actress, I like being in them, as well. It's a way into a fantastic fantasy world.*

The plausibility shields *I assume* and *as far as I am concerned* were not found in our interview corpus, due to their formal character. The interview is for the most part informal, so the use of forms which indicate a high degree of formality would be a stylistic mismatch.

#### **Plausibility shields in political speeches**

Despite the evidence found in literature for the infrequency of plausibility shields in political discourse, instances of *I think* and *I believe* were observed in our corpus of political speeches.

(35) But **I think** that in our modern world, in these times of stress and anxiety...the family is the best welfare system there is.

(36) But despite all of them, **I believe** there is in every Conference a general will that seems to emerge almost unknowingly to set its own objectives. And **I believe** this Conference is in the process of doing the same thing.

(37) And it reflects those themes and priorities which the Party established in opposition and which **we believe** are the ones which should now most concern a Labour Government.

The use of the plural form *we* instead of the personal pronoun *I* is frequently used in political speeches to seek common ground (Brown & Levinson, 2014) and build rapport.

#### **Shields: Attribution shields**

Attribution shields assign responsibility to someone other than the speaker and affect the degree of the speaker's commitment. Such phrases as *according to her estimates*, *presumably*, *at least to one's knowledge*, etc. can be examples of this kind of hedges. The analysis of the two types of oral discourse, both spontaneous and pre-planned, provide no data on the use of attributive shields.

#### **Discussion**

Previous research into the problem of hedging limited the phenomena to colloquial speech only, spontaneous speech with pauses, repetitions and hesitations, conditions, the frequent usage of hedges. This viewpoint may lead to the conclusion of their extremely low frequency of occurrence in utterances pre-planned. This is partially true, as the overall frequency of hedges in political public speeches is lower as compared to interviews. However, it wouldn't be correct to say that hedging is not applicable to public discourse. Certain types of hedges used for suitable purposes are quite common there and contribute to the pragmatics of the utterance.

Interviews representing oral spontaneous speech abound in adaptors (*kind of, sort of, a little bit*), which makes the utterance less categorical, less certain, this adds a touch of casualness to what is being said. They are used in various contexts and modify different parts of speech. There are examples where adaptors are used several times in the paragraph. The discourse nature of interviews accounts for the low frequency of rounders (*approximately, something between, etc.*). On the other hand, their functional specificity makes rounders communicatively justified in political public speeches, they are used for efficiency. The use of shields in the material subjected to analysis is stylistically and functionally marked. The colloquial plausibility shields (*I believe, I think*) are used in texts of spontaneous interviews, while their more formal variants (*I assume, as far as I am concerned*) prove to be zero frequent. Political public speeches provide additional data on the use of plausibility shields (*I think, I believe*). These hedges reinforce the speaker's involvement, which contributes to the positive perception of the speech by the audience.

### **Conclusion**

Hedging is a multidimensional phenomenon combining semantic, pragmatic and cognitive aspects. The pragmatically correct use of appropriate types of hedges serves as a natural instrument of language.

The findings obtained in the course of the present research allow to suggest interpretations of hedges in two types of oral discourse, namely interviews and political public speeches. Interdependence between the type of the hedge used, its stylistic reference and communicative message of the utterance is a proven fact.

Adaptors tend to be avoided in political discourse due to their high degree of casualness. This class of hedges is used as a stylistic device

adding intrigue and increasing expectation. In the interview, on the contrary, adaptors prove to be frequently used as this type of discourse presupposes a certain degree of spontaneity and casualness.

Rounders are more commonly used in political speeches than in interviews due to their informative character. Politicians prefer to use approximate figures instead of giving exact information in their speeches. In interviews rounders accompanied by measures appear less frequently which can be explained by the absence of facts and statistics in this type of discourse. Nevertheless, rounders turned out to be commonly used in the interview with adjectives or verbal actions making the statement vague or less certain.

Plausibility shields tend to be most frequent in interviews, which is quite accountable, as the interview is organized as a string of questions asked in order to get interviewees' personal answers which are mostly spontaneous. When used in political public speeches they emphasize the involvement of the speaker and their authority.

Attribution shields are rarely used in interviews and political public speeches.

Interviews as an example of oral spontaneous/quasi-spontaneous speech are expectedly full of hedges of various types used in combination with different parts of speech. The variety of hedging devices is accounted for by the nature of the given type of discourse. The interviewees tend to use them to mitigate the utterance and demonstrate a low degree of certainty in order to protect themselves from possible criticism from the part of the interviewer and the audience. The choice of the hedging device is determined by the speaker's communicative aim, the function of the hedge and the linguistic item it modifies. The appropriate use of hedges enables the speaker to realize their communicative goal in a way most appropriate to defend themselves and save face.

The data obtained in the course of the analysis proves that political discourse, especially political public speeches, do not deny hedging. By using hedges politicians aim to produce a desirable effect on the audience and evoke a desirable emotional response from them. These hedges have the following functions: limiting the truth value of the proposition to the speaker's opinion and judgments, shifting responsibility, attenuation the impact of the speech act, mitigating the proposition, supporting the statement with facts and statistics in an

unostentatious way.

The conducted research demonstrates the role of hedging awareness in building effective interpersonal communication. The hedges under analysis in the two types of oral spontaneous and pre-planned discourse prove to be stylistically and functionally marked. Being a vast controversial area of modern communication, the topic under investigation presents interest for further linguistic analysis.

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#### ВЫРАЖЕНИЕ ПРЕДПОЛОЖЕНИЯ В РАЗГОВОРНОМ АНГЛИЙСКОМ

*В статье представлен сравнительный анализ средств выражения модального значения предположения на английском языке. Предположение представляет собой эпистемическую модальность, которая является одним из наиболее распространенных модальных значений в языках, включая*

английский, где оно реализуется различными способами: модальные глаголы (модальные вспомогательные глаголы), модальные наречия, глаголы и конструкции сообщения, модальные парентетические выражения и лексические выражения предположения.

Модальность понимается как широкая языковая категория, которая отражает сложные взаимодействия между коммуникантами, пропозициональное содержание при этом передается в высказывании и реальности. В лингвистической литературе обычно описываются три основных типа модальных значений: эпистемический, деонтический и динамический, хотя подходы к модальности, а также классификации модальных значений сильно различаются.

Существует много споров о том, какие средства обычно используются для выражения предположений. Недавние исследования по этой проблеме дали противоречивые результаты из-за отсутствия статистических данных о региональной и дискурсивной изменчивости, наблюдаемой при использовании средств, выражающих предположение. В статье приводится статистика частотности пяти вышеупомянутых средств, используемых в разговорной речи в двух разновидностях английского языка - британском и американском.

Ключевые слова: модальность, эпистемическая модальность, предположение, модальные глаголы, модальные наречия, глаголы сообщения, модальные парентетические выражения, лексические выражения предположения, разговорный язык, британский английский, американский английский.

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## EXPRESSION OF SUPPOSITION IN SPOKEN ENGLISH

*The paper presents a comparative analysis of means expressing the modal meaning of supposition in English. Supposition represents epistemic modality, which is one of the most common modal meanings*

*in world languages, including the English language, where it is realized through different means: modal verbs (modal auxiliaries), modal adverbs, reporting verbs and expressions, modal parenthetical expressions and lexical expressions of supposition. Modality is understood as a broad linguistic category which reflects complex interactions between the communicants, the propositional content which is conveyed in the utterance and reality. Three major types of modal meanings are generally described in linguistic literature: epistemic, deontic and dynamic, although approaches to modality as well as classifications of modal meanings differ a lot. There is much controversy as to which means are commonly used to express supposition. Recent research into the issue has yielded controversial results due to lack of statistics on regional and discourse-type variability observed in the use of means expressing supposition. The paper provides statistics on the frequency of the five above-mentioned means used in spoken language in the two varieties of English – British and American.*

*Keywords: modality, epistemic modality, supposition, modal verbs, modal adverbs, reporting verbs, modal parenthetical expressions, lexical expressions of supposition, spoken language, British English, American English*

### **Introduction**

The study of the category of modality gives vast opportunities for researchers as it reflects complex interactions between the communicants, the propositional content conveyed in the utterance and reality. The modal system of the English language as an area of grammar has been widely researched by different scholars who approached the issue from different perspectives and brought up different aspects of modality. The concept of modality was introduced by Charles Bally (1965) who for the first time in linguistic literature brought up a distinction between *dictum* – the propositional content/the message conveyed in the utterance and *modus* understood as the speaker's attitude to the utterance. Since then the issue has been given close attention and has been widely discussed in linguistic literature (Zolotova, 1962; Greenbaum, 1969; Vinogradov, 1975; Galperin, 1977; Panfilov, 1977; Lyons, 1977; Yermolaeva, 1978; Perkins, 1983; Huddleston, 1984, Quirk et al., 1985; Palmer, 1990, 2001; Kiefer,

1994; Coates, 1995; Bybee et al., 1994; Biber et al., 1999; Nuyts, 2001; Swan, 2005).

#### **Materials and methods**

The study presents an account of the relative frequency of the modal means used to express the epistemic meaning of supposition in present-day spoken British English. A comparative analysis has been conducted on the materials of The British National Corpus (BYU-BNC), The Corpus of Contemporary American (COCA); samples of spoken discourse obtained from British and American films (The Iron Lady, 2011; Inception, 2010; Pirates of the Caribbean, 2003; Dead Man's Chest, 2006; Harry Potter and The Half-Blood Prince, 2008; Avatar, 2009; The Theory of Everything, 2015; The Avengers, 2012; Star Wars, Episode 3, 2003; Doctor Who series (2005 - ...), season 5, episode 1), as well as fiction of British and American authors of the past two decades (D. Mitchell "Cloudless Atlas", 2004; T. Fisher "Good to be God", 2008; S. Barry "The Secret Scripture", 2008; J. Barnes "The Sense of an Ending", 2011; DBC Pierre "Vernon God Little", 2003; F. Abagnale and S. Redding "Catch me if you can", 2002, R. Bradbury "Farewell Summer", 2006; G. Wolfe "In Greens Jungles", 2001; J. Locke "Now & Then", 2010; Ph. Roth "The Dying Animal", 2001; J. Krakauer "Under the Banner of Heaven", 2003). To control the frequency variable the occurrence of each means expressing supposition was counted for 20, 000 words.

#### **Theoretical background**

##### **Approaches to modality**

V. V. Vinogradov (1975) regards modality as a major language category, an indispensable feature of any utterance and, therefore, of the text: *Every sentence includes a modal meaning as its significant constituent i.e. contains reference to reality. Any coherent expression of thought or feeling reflecting reality is produced with one of the existent intonation patterns and contains one of those means which together signify the category of modality* (1975, pp.53-87). Although V.V. Vinogradov (1975) described modality in the Russian language, his definition equally applies to the study of English. Another Russian linguist I. R. Galperin (1977) for the first time presented modality as an essentially objective textual category possessing semantic and functional character rather than grammatical. Modality is found in different parts of the text and is dependent on some extra-linguistic

factors such as the object of discourse, the communicants' personalities, their perceptions of the world, etc.). V. Z. Panfilov (1977) distinguishes two types of modality: objective and subjective modality. Objective modality reflects the objective connections, which can be observed in this or that situation (1977, pp. 37-48). Subjective modality expresses the speaker's evaluation of the degree of knowledge of these connections (1977, pp. 37-48). L. S. Yermolaeva (1978) distinguishes two major modality types – internal and external. Internal modality describes the speaker's attitude to the propositional content of the utterance, whereas external modality characterises the relationship between the propositional content and reality. The Russian scholar I. P. Krylova gives a definition of modality: "Modality is a very wide category inherent in any sentence showing the relation between the action expressed by the predicate verb and reality. This relation is established by the speaker" (Krylova, 2002, p. 7).

According to J. Lyons (1977), "the sincerity conditions that are asserted or questioned in the performance of indirect illocutionary acts all have to do with the knowledge, beliefs, will and abilities of the participants; and these are the factors which are involved in epistemic and deontic modality" (Lyons, 1977, pp. 787). J. Lyons (1977) draws a distinction between "epistemic logic" and "epistemology" both derived from the Greek "to know". Epistemic logic deals with the logical structure of statements which assert or imply that a particular proposition, or set of propositions, is known or believed, whereas epistemology is concerned with the nature and source of knowledge (Lyons, 1977, p.793). R. Huddleston (1984) sees two central branches in modal logic: possibility and necessity which correspond to epistemic and deontic types. R. Quirk et al. (1985) define modality as the manner in which the meaning of a clause is qualified so as to reflect the speaker's judgment of the likelihood of the proposition. They bring up the notions of intrinsic modal meanings such as obligation, permission and volition as a certain degree of human control is imposed upon the qualified events, and extrinsic modal meanings such as possibility, necessity, and prediction since they chiefly concern human judgment on the likelihood of the situations taking place (1985:219). A similar approach to modality is found in D. Biber et al. (1999) who also distinguish between extrinsic and intrinsic modalities. A different treatment of modality is provided by Perkins (1983) who describes

modality as a system where modal meanings can be classified in terms of general principles or laws. He believes that epistemic modality is related to the laws of reason or to rational laws (which pertain to the notions of inference and deduction), whereas deontic modality is related to the laws of society or to social laws (rules of behaviour set for a certain social group). J. Coates (1995) identifies two types of modality: epistemic and non-epistemic. According to J. Coates (1995) modality reflects “the speaker’s assumptions or assessment of possibilities” (1995, pp. 55-66) and “indicates the speaker’s confidence (or lack of confidence) in the truth of the proposition expressed” (1995, pp.55-66). In her opinion epistemic modality is more subjective, focusing on the speaker’s attitude or opinion rather than the truth value of the proposition. Non-epistemic modality or “root modality” is too broad a notion “difficult to characterize” (Coates 1995, pp.55-66). F. Kiefer (1994) identifies five types of modality: 1) epistemic, 2) deontic, 3) circumstantial, 4) dispositional and 5) boulomaic. To the types of modality traditionally found in linguistic literature F. Kiefer (1994) adds circumstantial modality which is described as the possibility or necessity of a “state of affairs” based on the circumstances (Kiefer 1994:2516); dispositional modality described as possibility based on the disposition of the agent and boulomaic modality which expresses the speaker’s desires and wishes (Kiefer 1994, pp.2516). However, although providing a more comprehensive description, F. Kiefer fails to draw connections between related types of modality such as the relationship between deontic and boulomaic modalities. Bybee et al. (1994) identify four types of modality: 1) epistemic, 2) agent-oriented, 3) speaker-oriented and 4) subordinating. Agent-oriented and speaker-oriented modalities in Bybee et al.’s (1994) significantly diverge from historical descriptions of modality and remain rather unclear as well as the notion of subordinating modality. E. Swanson (2008) singles out five modalities: a) logical possibility corresponding to the laws of logic, b) deontic possibility (rules of behaviour), c) nomological possibility (laws of nature), d) bouletic possibility (a person’s desires), e) epistemic possibility (what is known or believed). F. R. Palmer (2001) distinguishes two types of modality: propositional modality and event modality. Propositional modality focuses on the subjective attitude of the speaker about the truth-value or factual status of the proposition, whereas, event modality focuses on the speaker’s subjective attitude to

potential but not actualized performances. Propositional modality extends to the entire proposition while event modality characterises states, actions or events. F. R. Palmer (2001) gives a comprehensive classification of modality types where *propositional* modality encompasses epistemic modality (the speakers express their judgments about the factual status of the proposition) which includes speculative (expresses uncertainty), deductive (expresses inferences from observable data) and assumptive (expresses inferences from what is generally known) modality types; and evidential modality (the speakers give evidence for the factual status of the proposition, including reported (evidence gathered from others) and sensory (evidence gathered through sense perception) modality types. *Event* modality in F. R. Palmer's (2001) classification falls into deontic (speakers express conditioning factors that are external to the relevant individual) where we observe three modality types permissive (giving permission), obligative (obligation laid upon the addressee) and commissive (the speaker commits themselves to doing something); and dynamic (conditioning factors that are internal to the relevant individual) including abilitive (the ability to do something) and volitive (expresses willingness to perform an action) modality types.

#### **Epistemic supposition and means of its expression**

Supposition is a modal meaning which represents epistemic<sup>1</sup> modality and lies on the “scale of certainty” or the “scale of likelihood” (Leech & Svartvik, 1994) which is a continuum of possible expressions of supposition ranging from 0% to 100%.

Supposition can be expressed by different means:

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<sup>1</sup> “Epistemic modality has to do with the possibility or necessity of the truth of propositions and is thus involved with knowledge and belief” (Lyons 1977, p.793). According to R. Huddleston (1984, p.167), “epistemic modality is concerned with the truth status of the proposition in the light of what the speaker knows. Epistemic modality is orientated towards the speaker – it is subjective.” Palmer (1986) regards epistemic modality as a certain degree of the speaker's commitment (or lack of it) to the truth value of the proposition expressed. D. Biber et al. use the term *extrinsic* to characterise this type of modality and describe it as “referring to the logical status of events or states, usually relating to assessments of likelihood: possibility, necessity, or prediction” (1999, p.485).

### 1. Modal verbs

M. Vince and P. Emmerson (2003) arrange the modal verbs which express supposition in English on the “scale of probability” as they call it.

certainty	<i>will</i>	100%
deduction	<i>must, can't</i>	95% - 100%
expectation	<i>should</i>	80%
uncertainty	<i>may, might, could</i>	30% - 70%

M. Swan (2005, p.359) suggests another scale which expresses “degrees of certainty”:

- a) complete certainty (positive or negative): *shall, will, must, can't*
- b) probability (deduction; saying, that something is logical or normal): *should, ought to*
- c) possibility (talking about the chances that something is true or will happen): *may*
- d) weak possibility: *might, could*

Modal verbs are in no way the only means to express supposition in the English language. Different degrees of certainty can also be expressed by modal adverbs, reporting verbs, modal parenthetical expressions and modal idiomatic expressions.

### 2. Modal adverbs

According to M. Perkins (1983, p.89) the class of modal adverbs includes such adverbs as *allegedly, apparently, arguably, certainly, clearly, conceivably, evidently, hopefully, most/quite likely, necessarily, obviously, possibly, presumably, probably, purportedly, reportedly, reputedly, seemingly, supposedly and surely*. They express the speaker's attitude towards the truth value of the proposition. S. Greenbaum (1969) classifies modal adverbs into: 1. adverbs that express shades of doubt or certainty:

- a. the adverbs *certainly* and *surely* that express certainty
- b. the adverbs *arguably, conceivably, possibly, presumably, probably, allegedly, reportedly, reputedly, purportedly, supposedly, likely, maybe* and *perhaps* that express doubt; and 2. adverbs that express shades of doubt or certainty and in addition they refer to the observation or perception of a state of affairs:
  - a. the adverbs *clearly, evidently* and *obviously* that express certainty
  - b. the adverbs *apparently* and *seemingly* that express doubt.

### 3. Reporting verbs and expressions

To this class belong such verbs as *believe, doubt, guess, know, suppose, think, expect, hope, infer, conclude* etc. They are used explicitly to mark a proposition as the speaker's opinion, or to convey some level of personal doubt or certainty. When these expressions are integrated into the clause structure, they usually occur as a main clause taking a that-complement clause, e.g. *I think/believe (that) they have run out of fuel.* (Nuyts 2001, p.117). Quirk et al. (1985) observe that many of reporting verbs and expressions perform the hedging function in the utterance and make a distinction between (1) Hedging expressions: *I believe, I guess, I think, I expect, I feel, I hear, I hope, I presume, I assume, I understand, I suppose, I consider, I suspect, I'm told, I have read, I have heard, I have heard tell, I can see, I may assume, I dare say, I venture to say, one hears, they tell me, they allege, they say, it is said, it is reported, it is claimed, it is rumoured, it has been claimed, it seems, it appears* and (2) Expressions of certainty: *I know, I claim, I see, I remember, I agree, I admit, I'm sure, I'm convinced, I have no doubt, it's true, it transpires, there's no doubt, it is clear, it is certain, I must say, I must admit, I must tell you, I have to say, it is probable, it is likely, it is apparent* (Quirk et al. 1985:1114).

### 4. Modal parenthetical expressions

Modal parenthetical expressions are semantically connected with the sentence and are generally used to show the speaker's attitude towards the proposition contained in the utterance<sup>2</sup>. To this class belong *for sure, sure, no doubt, surely, maybe, perhaps*.

5. Lexical expressions of supposition *to be likely to, to be bound to, to be certain, to be supposed to, to be impossible to/that, to be sure to/that*.

## **Study and results**

### **British English**

#### **Modal auxiliaries (43%)**

In the analyzed corpus the epistemic meaning of supposition was expressed by modal auxiliaries in 43% of cases. Among them the most common is the modal verb *might* which is used to express uncertainty. *Might* was found in 38% of the occurrences of modal verbs in the corpus, for example:

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<sup>2</sup> Modal adverbs (see 2) also serve as parenthesis in the sentence.

*'I'm having some alterations done,' says Sixto. 'Are you around during the day? You **might** find it disturbing.'* (Tibor Fisher "Good to be God")

*I abhor illegality in all its forms and I'm not just saying that because someone **might** be listening to this conversation.* (Tibor Fisher "Good to be God")

*But these days he **might** be reading items in the paper curiously connected to himself, or at least on one occasion, because I heard his little gasp, and looked up at him immersed in the paper.* (David Mitchell "Cloudless Atlas")

Other modals expressing uncertainty are *may* (19.6%) and *can/could* (9.2%), e.g.:

*Easier written than done, for had I slipped & plunged anew from those vertiginous walls my luck **may** not have softened my fall a second time, but foot holes had been hewn into the rock & by God's grace I gained the crater's lip with no mishap.* (David Mitchell "Cloudless Atlas")

*I asked first. – I thought – and it **may** not have been a gallant reaction – is this why you started letting me put my hand down your pants?* (Julian Barnes "The Sense of an Ending")

The modal verb *can/could* was epistemic primarily in interrogative sentences where it expressed a high degree of surprise.

***Could** food react chemically with other food, double its destiny and volume, and solidify into every heavier and denser hard fat?* (Bridget Jones's diary by Helen Fielding)

*How **can** you have lost it?* ("Doctor Who" series (2005 - ...), season 5, episode 1)

The modal verb *can't/couldn't*<sup>3</sup> (10.3%) expresses a high degree of certainty, expresses disbelief and is found in negative sentences, e.g.:

*It **can't** have been a random act because It would need to have been planned. The thieves obviously knew what they wanted.* ("Doctor Who" series (2005 - ...), season 5, episode 1)

*No. No. No. No, I **can't** be six months late. I said five minutes. I*

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<sup>3</sup> *Can't* and *couldn't* are used interchangeably in Present-time situations. *Couldn't* sounds less certain than *can't*. In past-time situations the only possible form is *couldn't* which is used due to the rules of the Sequence of tenses.

*promised. What happened to her? ("Doctor Who" series (2005 - ...), season 5, episode 1)*

*Unless Prisoner Zero escaped through here. But he **couldn't** have. We'd know. ("Doctor Who" series (2005 - ...), season 5, episode 1)*

*There is no possibility that you **could** have seen them wandering about the village. ("Doctor Who" series (2005 - ...), season 5, episode 1)*

The modal verb *must* (9.5%) expresses the speaker's certainty about the proposition, e.g.:

*My father, Fr Gaunt and I reared back against the wall as one, and the bullets that went into the two lads **must** have made queer tracks through them, because I saw sudden exploding pocks in the plaster of the old wall beside me. (Sebastian Barry "The Secret Scripture").*

*I suppose she **must** have been in her early forties, though of course she appeared to me deep into middle age, as did her husband. (Julian Barnes "The Sense of an Ending")*

*'Wow, Nancie **must've** bought a new fridge,' says Leona as I reach the hall. She's good that way, Leona, how she keeps things moving along. (DBC Pierre "Vernon God Little").*

The modal verbs *should* and *ought to* (6.9%) express approximately 70% of certainty resulting from the speaker's experience, e.g.:

*Adrian was the only person we knew who came from one. This **ought to** have given him a whole store tank of existential rage, but somehow it didn't; he said he loved his mother and respected his father. (Julian Barnes "The Sense of an Ending")*

*Hey, I've read all about your accident. That much gamma exposure **should** have killed you. (The Avengers)*

The epistemic meaning of *will* (6.5%) shows a high degree of the speaker's confidence in the truth of the proposition. It is found in both positive and negative sentences, e.g.:

*I bought it on our honeymoon in Cairo, when he was your age now. He **won't** be wearing it again. (David Mitchell "Cloudless Atlas")*

*And I hope that when you break up, as you inevitably **will** – I give you six months, which your shared pride will extend to a year, all the better for fucking you up, says I – you are left with a lifetime of bitterness that will poison your subsequent relationships. (Julian Barnes "The Sense of an Ending").*

**Lexical expressions of supposition (24%)**

The most frequently used modal expression in English is *to be sure to/that* (49%), which expresses a high degree of certainty, e.g.:

***I am sure**, when they heard the firemen give the all clear, they snuck back in in the new darkness.* (Sebastian Barry “The Secret Scripture”)

***I'm sure** we are all in agreement that we must do nothing for the moment that will further inflame the current situation.* (*The Iron Lady*, 2011)

*“And **I'm sure** you've heard many other names.” I've never understood why heavy drinking or methodically doping yourself is so attractive.* (Tibor Fisher “Good to be God”)

Both *to be sure/certain* and *to feel sure/certain* indicate strong supposition (80 - 90%). However, *to be certain to* was rarely found in the corpus (5.5%).

*What **is certain is that**, after centuries or millennia of living in isolation, the Moriori lived as primitive a life as their woebegone cousins of Van Diemen's Land.* (David Mitchell “Cloudless Atlas”)

*I know I am as afraid of having done nothing for the inmates here, of sentimentalising them and thereby failing them, I am as afraid of that as **I am certain that** I have ruined Bet's life.* (Sebastian Barry “The Secret Scripture”)

The other three expressions, such as *to be bound to* (4%), *to be (un)likely to* (18%) and *to be supposed to* (15%) express something that is alleged or assumed and indicate a medium degree of certainty.

*If she hadn't felt contempt for me before, she'd **have been bound to** after Adrian showed her my words.* (Julian Barnes “The Sense of an Ending”)

*But she's travelling first class. This is what is so unfair. She may die alone and miserable, but **it's unlikely**.* (Tibor Fisher “Good to be God”)

*I did not confess my true motives, viz., the fuller his stomach, **the less likely he was to** consume me, but instead asked him why, during his flogging, he had smiled at me.* (David Mitchell “Cloudless Atlas”)

*We live in time, it bounds us and defines us, and time **is supposed to** measure history, isn't it?* (Julian Barnes “The Sense of an Ending”)

*I need to do what a gambler on a bad run **is supposed to** do. Double up. Lose, then double up.* (Tibor Fisher “Good to be God”)

The modal expression *to be (im)possible to* (6.5%) indicates a low degree of certainty.

***It's almost possible** to be brave in here, if you add up your Nikes,*

*your Calvin Kleins, your youth, and your actual innocence.* (DBC Pierre “Vernon God Little”)

*How wonderful, how vibrant, how ridiculous. But it was a state I would give the world to retrieve. I know **it's not possible**. But still.* (Sebastian Barry “The Secret Scripture”)

*A minor chord in her tone suggested she was with him. **Not impossible**.* (David Mitchell “Cloudless Atlas”)

#### **Reporting verbs and expressions** (16%)

The reporting verbs observed in the data were *think* (38.2%), *know* (16.5%), *hope* (7.3%), *believe* (2,57%), *suspect* (1,83%), *suppose* (18,38%), *doubt* (4,04%), *guess* (9,19%), *figure* (0%). Negative and past forms (e.g.: *I don't think*) were also included in the analysis.

***I think** my wife was wrong. I think I was right; but I've noticed that being right doesn't do you much good.* (Tibor Fisher “Good to be God”).

*'Look,' said Fr Gaunt. 'I believe – **I believe** these men have no bullets. Just everyone does nothing for a moment!'* (Sebastian Barry “The Secret Scripture”).

*The youngest dendroglyph is, **I suppose**, ten years old, but the elders, grown distended as the trees matured, were incised by heathens whose very ghosts are long defunct.* (David Mitchell “Cloudless Atlas”)

*'This we read in Horace,' he said. 'Batchelors Beans?'*

***I suppose** not.'* (Sebastian Barry “The Secret Scripture”)

*The judge appointed him. **I guess** nobody else works Sundays around here.* (DBC Pierre “Vernon God Little”)

#### **Modal parenthetical expressions** (9%)

Modal parenthetical expressions *for sure* (10%), *no doubt* (7%) and the adverbs *maybe* (38%) and *perhaps* (45%) indicate different degrees of certainty and may take different positions in the sentence. With regard to position, they are very flexible and occur frequently in the initial, medial and terminal positions. They can equally be used as independent units of speech in replies, e.g.:

***Maybe** longer, who knows? But you must accept a small salary.”* (David Mitchell “Cloudless Atlas”)

***Maybe** I'm not a failure; perhaps I'm viewed as a failure by many, but to the contrary, I have triumphed over several realms of adversity.* (Tibor Fisher “Good to be God”)

***Maybe** Microsoft decided, given that at the time the decision was*

*made the Windows Mobile dead horse wasn't fully flogged, that it was best not to encourage Android users and to stick to the John Hurt thing instead. (The Inquirer)*

- **Perhaps** I didn't want to.

- **Perhaps** you didn't want to because you didn't need to. (Julian Barnes "The Sense of an Ending")

*You'll meet her again in future letters, **no doubt**. (David Mitchell "Cloudless Atlas)*

*In the time of that war there were **no doubt** many deaths, and many deaths that were no better than murder. (Sebastian Barry "The Secret Scripture")*

*To regular observers of Tyndale Corbett there's **no doubt** he's cracking up. (Tibor Fisher "Good to be God").*

#### **Modal adverbs** (8%)

Modal adverbs are infrequent in spoken language, some of them were not observed in the corpus at all. The most common adverb used was *probably* (46.8%), less frequent were *certainly* (18.7%), *surely* (11.7%), *possibly* (7.3%), *doubtless* (6.2%), *apparently* (4.6%), *obviously* (4.6%), *absolutely* (0%), *undoubtedly* (0%), for example:

*It breeds in the stinking canals of Batavia, **doubtless** the port of my own infection. Ingested, it voyages through the host's blood vessels to the brain's cerebellum anterior. (David Mitchell "Cloudless Atlas).*

*It occurs to me that probably many others have been on the beseeching trail; **surely** if prayer had any effect we'd have noticed? (Tibor Fisher "Good to be God").*

*Since it was all her mother's doing, it was **obviously** all her father's fault. (Julian Barnes "The Sense of an Ending").*

*Whoever opined "Money can't buy you happiness" **obviously** had far too much of the stuff. (David Mitchell "Cloudless Atlas)*

*There was, **apparently**, some secret masculine code, handed down from suave twenty-year-olds to tremulous eighteen-year-olds, which, once mastered, enabled you to 'pick up' girls and, in certain circumstances, 'get off' with them. But I never learnt or understood it, and probably still don't. (Julian Barnes "The Sense of an Ending")*

*She was in there all day having tests, and in the evening one of the doctors innocently phoned me to come and get her. He **probably** thought I knew she was there. (Sebastian Barry "The Secret Scripture").*

*Which means everyone, even you, will now have to tip their drivers.*

*Forever. **Probably** in cash, since there's no way to do it in the app.* (theverge.com)

- *Are you saying you can link a second gun to these crimes?*
- *Very **possibly**, ma'am.* (DBC Pierre "Vernon God Little").

### **American English**

#### **Modal auxiliaries (53%)**

In the American variety of the English language modal verbs also turned out to be the most common means expressing supposition (53%). However, in the course of the analysis certain differences concerning their relevant frequencies were observed. In the American corpus the most common modal verb in the meaning of supposition was *will* (32.2%) which was used to express a high degree of certainty, e.g.:

*Something must be done! - Life **will** do it.* (Ray Bradbury "Farewell Summer")

*She wanted the offer, but she **won't** use it.* (Philip Roth "The Dying Animal")

*Might* which was most common in the British corpus ranked second in American English (23.6%), e.g.:

*"As soon as the party's over, let's all go skinny-dipping out at Apple Crick. **Might** be our last chance before it gets too cold. Summer's gone."* (Ray Bradbury "Farewell Summer")

*They all looked and it **might have** been another animal, a squirrel or a monkey - sure, a monkey-but with transparent skin and a strange sorrowful expression.* (Ray Bradbury "Farewell Summer")

*I know that **might** sound a little gory or something, but it feels like the right interpretation to me.* (Jon Krakauer "Under the Banner of Heaven")

The modal verb *may* was three times less common than *might*, e.g.:

*"I found a fascinating story about pirates in St. Alban's, and how a girl named Abby Winter **may have** saved the town. The story was attributed to Jack Hawley."* (John Locke "Now & Then")

*My father, my mother, or my brother **may have** been consulting him in secret.* (Gene Wolfe "In Greens Jungles")

The epistemic use of *can/could* was found in 17.9% of occurrences of modal verbs. In positive sentences *could* was followed by the notional *be*, e.g.:

*He **could** be a kind of roving honorary consul, a backup for the local man in big cities, a troubleshooter in smaller ones.* (Julian Barnes

“The Sense of an Ending”)

In questions *can* and *could* were interchangeable, where *can* was far less common than *could*.

The negative *can't/couldn't* used to express improbability was used in 8.5% of the “Modal verbs” corpus.

The modal verb *must* which expresses supposition implying a high degree of certainty was used in 8.7% of all occurrences of modal verbs in the corpus, for example:

*One night I found her name in a new Manhattan phone book, the address of an apartment her father **must have** bought for her on the Upper East Side. But going back was a bad idea and I didn't try. (Philip Roth “The Dying Animal”)*

*He **must have been** reeling from the effect of the drugs they'd given him to have considered drinking this red concoction in the first place. (John Locke “Now & Then”)*

Instances of the epistemic use of *should* were scarce (1.8%), e.g.:

- *Is that a local saying?*

- *It **should** be. A few years back I found a corn snake wrapped around my bedroom doorknob. (John Locke “Now & Then”)*

No occurrences of *ought to* were found in in the American corpus.

**Modal parenthetical expressions** (24%)

Modal parenthetical expressions are rather common in American English, the most frequent of them are *perhaps* and *maybe*, for example:

***Perhaps** dear old Jack is not serving your best interests as captain? (Pirates of the Caribbean, Dead Man's Chest, 2006)*

*“**Maybe**,” said Doug slowly, “**maybe** they're afraid to tell, or can't tell, or won't.” (Ray Bradbury “Farewell Summer”)*

*No doubt* is the least common parenthetical expression in the corpus.

*It assured the hostelryes of at least a minimum rate of occupancy, and **no doubt** most of the operators felt the presence of the pilots and stewardesses would attract other travelers seeking lodging. (Frank Abagnale “Catch me if you can”)*

**Reporting verbs and expressions** (16%)

Among the most common reporting verbs are *I think* (used both in positive and negative sentences) and *I know*, e.g.:

***I think** they'd find a way to make it work in your case. (Inception, 2010)*

***I didn't think** he was an alcoholic, but he was a two-fisted drinker and I worried that he had a drinking problem.* (Frank Abagnale "Catch Me If You Can").

*"It just gives me a sense of peace, and **I know** it's true," and it becomes a part of his own unique*

*article of faith. That is not a product of a schizophrenic, broken brain."* (Jon Krakauer "Under the Banner of Heaven")

*"I know life is (...) crazy, but I'm here to tell you there's a purpose behind it."* (Jon Krakauer "Under the Banner of Heaven")

*I figure* is the least common in the corpus, e.g.:

***I figured**, he's twenty-one, at long last we can talk.* (Philip Roth "The Dying Animal")

**Modal adverbs** (5%)

Among the most common modal adverbs in the corpus are *probably*, *certainly* and *obviously*.

*You're **probably** aware that relations between the Council and the Chancellor are stressed.* (Star Wars Episode 3, 2003)

*It was such a small-town production, and Libby, while **certainly** adequate for this role, was an unlikely candidate for Broadway stardom.* (John Locke "Now & Then")

*I figured if Rachel was calling for drinks instead of sending Tracy to the kitchen for them, both girls were **obviously** needed on the beach to tend to our demanding guests.* (John Locke "Now & Then")

The least common was *undoubtedly*. No instances of *doubtless* were found.

**Lexical expressions of supposition** (2%)

Lexical expressions of supposition are the least common means expressing supposition in American English. Among them the most common is *I'm sure*, for example:

***I'm sure** we can, Captain, but I must get the manager to approve a check this large," she said.* (Frank Abagnale "Catch me if you can")

*Dusk had become night, and though I couldn't see it, **I'm sure** she smiled.* (John Locke "Now & Then").

Other lexical expressions of supposition (*I feel sure*, *be bound to*, *be likely to*, *be supposed to*, *it's possible that*) are less common, e.g.:

*Look, **you're supposed to** be winning the hearts and minds of the natives.* (Avatar, 2009)

*- Fava will try to dissuade you, **I feel sure**.* (Gene Wolfe "In Greens

Jungles”)

“Well, I don't know much more than what **you're likely to** have heard.” (John Locke “Now & Then”).

The least common is *be bound to*, e.g.:

“But some girls can run faster than the others, so **they're bound to** win. Don't you see how unfair that must seem to the losers?” (Gene Wolfe “In Greens Jungles”).

### Conclusion

The conducted analysis shows that in spoken English modal verbs remain by far the most common means of expressing epistemic supposition in the two varieties of the English language: British and American. In American English they are even more frequent than in British English (53% and 43% correspondingly).

The figures obtained in the course of the analysis concerning the frequency of the other four means expressing supposition show considerable differences in the two varieties. In British English lexical expressions of supposition rank second, which points to their relative frequency; whereas in American English they are the least common. Modal adverbs are the least common in the British variety and equally uncommon in American English. However, the results obtained in the course of the present analysis do not suggest that this is true for all discourse types.

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### МЕТАФОРИЧЕСКИЙ ПЕРЕНОС В СОВРЕМЕННОМ ДИСКУРСЕ МАСС-МЕДИА

*Актуальность данного исследования состоит в том, что оно связано с новыми научными направлениями в корпусной лингвистике и лингвостилистике. Ученые не достигли единодушия в том, как именно метафорический перенос функционирует в современных средствах массовой информации и как актуализируется метафора, таким образом, исследования все еще продолжаются. Авторы исследуют стилистические средства в рамках современного дискурса СМИ. В работе применяется корпусный подход к исследованию функционирования в средствах массовой информации стилистических приемов со значением формы или пространства.*

*Предмет исследования - использование метафор со значением формы в средствах массовой информации. Объектом является тринадцать стилистических приемов с метафорическим переносом, основанным на сходстве с геометрическими фигурами в предложениях, взятых из периодических изданий. В эмпирическом исследовании использовался корпусный подход, частотный анализ и качественный анализ. Следующие результаты были получены по вопросам этого исследования. Наиболее часто упоминаемыми графическими элементами были "точка", "квадрат" и "сектор". Тем не менее, "точка" встречалась наиболее часто в журналах и газетах. Наименее часто слово "граница" встречалось в журналах и газетах. Кроме того, "сегмент" был наименее частым в журналах, а "сфера" в газетах. В ходе анализа выяснилось, что наиболее часто используемый элемент из примеров - метафора, а наименее -*

идиома.

*Теоретическая значимость этого исследования указывает на тот факт, что собранные теоретические результаты могут внести определенный вклад в корпусные исследования, применяемые в анализе стилистических приемов формы или пространства. Практическая значимость этого исследования заключается в определении того, насколько популярно использование геометрических понятий в качестве средства выразительности в дискурсе средств массовой информации.*

*Ключевые слова: функциональная стилистика, графические объекты, метафорический перенос, корпусный подход, Британский национальный корпус.*

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#### **METAPHORICAL TRANSFER IN MODERN MASS MEDIA DISCOURSE**

*The topicality of the present study is that it opens new scientific areas in stylistics and corpus studies. Scholars have not reached a consensus about how exactly metaphoric transfer is functioning in modern mass media and how a metaphor works, thus, research is still underway. We continue to study stylistics within the scope of the modern mass media discourse. The authors apply corpus-based approach to investigation of occurrence of stylistic devices with the meaning of form or space in mass media.*

*The subject of the work is the use of metaphors with the meaning of shape in mass media. The object includes thirteen stylistic devices with metaphorical transfer based on similarity with geometric shapes in eighteen sentences taken from periodicals. The empiric research used corpus-based approach, identification of frequency of occurrence, and qualitative analysis. The results of the qualitative research answered the proposed questions of this study. The most frequently mentioned graphic items used were “point”, “square”, and “sector”. However, “point” was the most frequent in both magazines and newspapers. The least frequent was “border” in both magazines and newspapers. Also,*

*“segment” was the least frequent in magazines, and “sphere” in newspapers. After analysis, it was revealed that metaphor was the most frequently used means of expressiveness out of twenty-seven examples idiom - the least frequent among the examined.*

*The theoretical significance of this research pinpoints the fact that the collected theoretical findings can add to the corpus-based studies in the analysis of stylistic devices of form or space. The practical significance of this research lies in identification of how popular the use of geometric notions as a means of expressiveness in mass media discourse is.*

*Keywords: functional stylistics, graphic objects, metaphoric transfer, corpus-based approach, British National Corpus, qualitative analysis.*

### **Introduction**

The issues of expressiveness attract lot of attention in the present linguistic studies as they are closely connected with everyday practice of communication at interpersonal and corporate levels. Expressiveness in mass media has been an object of thorough research in pragmatics, rhetorics, stylistics and literary studies.

The vast use of expressive means in media is characterised by its influence potential and the dominant role of metaphor among them. Particular purposes may differ as to linguistic and extralinguistic factors. In the course of time many scholars have been analysing metaphor in different domains, among of them T.G. Dobrosklonskaya, N.R. Galperin, V.A. Kukhareno, I.V. Pashkova, P. Simpson, K. Wales, and others. This research adds to analysis of shape metaphors in the domain of written mass media discourse.

The **theoretical significance** of this research is predetermined by the necessity to analyse the functioning of shape metaphors in printed media and connected issues of linguostylistics, the theory of metaphor and publicist discourse. Moreover, this research can expand the scientific understanding of corpus-based approach applied to analysis of stylistic devices of form or space.

**The examples**, which serve as an integral part of empirical body of the present research, were taken from famous periodicals such as the Wall Street Journal, the Financial Times UK, the Financial Times Europe, CNN, etc.

This paper is primarily focused on stylistic devices of form or space and how they are reflected in the domain of written mass media discourse. In geometry, shape is a certain field that is limited by borders either dots or lines, thus, referring to their form. It is customary to use reference to shapes in written speech to delineate forms with the aim of making a certain effect.

Briefly, human mind uses shapes to perceive information consciously or subconsciously by the brain. Words are associated with concrete explanation, process, fact or phenomenon. In particular, conceptualisation of space is intertwined with certain communicative intention, i.e. to inform, to comment, to argue, etc. For instance, people got used to delineate essential boundaries for given information in order to make better visual representation or for better understanding. Other concepts are given in geometry, i.e. figures (circle, square, etc.) or shapes. In this article, metaphors referring to such items served as the main **object** of the present research.

Hence, the **goal** of this research was to investigate the use of stylistic devices of form and space with metaphoric transfer in the written mass media discourse with the aim of analysing its use within the context and to reveal how frequently particular objects are met.

**The practical implication** of this research is that the collected material can be used in the preparation of methodological manuals on the stylistics and metaphoric transfer. The research is determined to identify how widespread the use of geometric information in mass media discourse is.

According to the suggested goal the study aims to answer the following research questions:

1. What is the most and the least popular stylistic device of form and space used in written mass media discourse?
2. In what way are stylistic means of form and space met within the analysed context due to the need for expressiveness?

#### **Materials and methods**

The study was based on corpus-based approach and secondary data analysis to identify the occurrence of stylistic means of form and space with metaphorical transfer based on similarity of shapes.

The corpus method was chosen because this study helps to determine the frequency of use.

Corpus linguistics is viewed by some linguists as a research tool or

methodology, and by others as a discipline or theory in its own right (Yu. N. Marchuk, M. McCarthy, E. Malyuga, G. Leech, T. Nazarova, L. Burnard). Corpus-based approach can support empirical investigations of language variation and use and it also helps to identify frequency of occurrence for this particular research.

The object of the research were stylistic devices of form or space with metaphorical transfer based on the similarity of shapes with thirteen geometric objects: dimension, scale, line, point, round, circle, border, sphere, angle, square, sector, segment, pyramid.

The empirical body of the present paper is based on qualitative method. The process of the research was conducted during the period of three months and involved data collection and interpretation. The main data was taken from periodicals.

The research carried out was divided into several steps:

1. to investigate periodicals;
2. to find out data with examples;
3. to interpret data;
4. to find frequency of occurrence in The British National Corpus;
5. to draw relevant conclusions.

The stylistic devices of form and space were identified in the Wall Street Journal, the Financial Times UK, the Financial Times Europe, CNN, Bloomberg, Vox, the Economist, the Guardian, BBC in twenty-seven sentences.

The data of thirteen geometric objects was analysed and provided in charts. The data reflected in Figure 1 (see Figure 1) demonstrate the first half of geometric objects analysed. The empirical analysis involved corpus-based approach and investigation of frequency of occurrence in the British National Corpus. Figure 2 (see Figure 2) finds out the second half of graphic objects.

The British National Corpus provided the data reflected in newspapers and magazines. Hence, the charts were divided into two columns named out as newspaper and magazine.

### **Expressive means and stylistic devices with the meaning of shape and form**

Stylistics is one of the branches of linguistics which studies the style of written or spoken speech. Doing research on what stylistics is, linguists stress its functional nature. For example, K. Wales in her “Dictionary of Stylistics” writes: “The goal of most stylistics is not

simply to describe the formal features of texts of their own sake, but in order to show their functional significance for the interpretation of the text; or in order to relate effects to linguistic “causes” where these are felt to be relevant” (Wales, 2001).

According to P. Simpson, “stylistics is a method of textual interpretation in which primacy of place is assigned to language (Simpson, 2004).

We rely on the famous definition of stylistics by I.R. Galperin: “Functional style of language is a system of interrelated language means”. He distinguished five major functional styles in the English language which have become traditional:

1. belles-lettres (poetry, emotive prose, style of drama);
2. publicistic (oratory, essays, articles in newspapers, journals) / newspaper (brief news items, newspaper headings, advertisements);
3. scientific prose (humanitarian sciences, exact science, popular scientific prose);
4. official documents (style of diplomatic documents, legal documents, military documents);
5. colloquial style (everyday speech such as dialects and slangs).

We have limited our study to publicistic (newspaper) style to demonstrate some examples based on the weekly magazines’ publications written by both US and UK journalists.

#### **Trite metaphors in mass media discourse**

Studies on the theory of metaphor are based on the assertion that our conceptual system is largely metaphorical. At the same time, trite metaphors are widely used – these are phrases that have lost semantically motivated connections of meanings. The process of comparing the properties of the compared objects is beyond the scope of its use and is perceived as given reality.

Metaphors that are firmly integrated into the language are often not even perceived as such. At that, specialists in stylistics and rhetorics are considering the extent to which “triteness” is important for the functional load of discourse and conclude that the metaphor will in determine the process of our thinking, behaviour and structuring of everyday experience to various extents (G. Lakoff, H. Ortega-y-Gasset).

Analysing the example written below, we should notice that the metaphoric expression “support from every angle” expressed through

geometric shape “angle” is emphasized. That is a small trick promoting the reader to find easily the metaphor denoting the idea of “getting support from everyone and everywhere”.

*"We won, we won together. We have tremendous evangelical support. We have tremendous support from every angle," Trump said of Pence. "You can't break up a team like that" (CNN, August 22, 2019).*

Set expressions are fixed and modified phrases. Their form can never be replaced with another one. So, they are distinguished as “culturally accepted phrases”. Let us consider the following sentence.

*"Vicious circle: Federal Reserve officials had a serious problem late last year. Fears on Wall Street about an imminent recession threatened to become a self-fulfilling prophecy" (CNN, March 10, 2019),*

The set expression “vicious circle” means the problem arising as a consequence of a trouble-solving process. The article taken from CNN is about the obstacle that the Fed officials used to face a year ago. According to the author, after some attempts to fix the problem they did not get into any success moreover, it became even more serious than before.

It is necessary to mention that the form of a set expression "vicious circle" is inflexible, which means that it is settled and cannot be changed, otherwise, the main concept of the phrase will be lost.

Some lexical means can also contain the reference to shape and form concepts. For example, phrasal verbs.

*E.g. "The National Rifle Association is set to square off against the city of Los Angeles as the gun-rights group seeks to overturn a law requiring contractors to disclose all business ties to the organization". (Bloomberg, August 11, 2019)*

The sentence displayed above is an example of a phrasal verb involving geometric shape. The expression "square off" can be defined as "arguing or fighting with somebody over something". The two parts of the phrasal verb can stand separately and both of them has its initial meaning in the English language.

Stylistics has its devices which add to the emotive and expressive loading of the text. Analysing these devices we can distinguish the imagery function of various verbal means with the meaning of form and shape. It is the way to show the reader the deep concept and idea of the text. They are also classified into symbol, synecdoche,

personification, simile and metaphor.

Metaphor has various definitions such as “displacement of some qualities from one objective to another” or the definition given by “Oxford English Dictionary”: “A type of speech in which the phrase or name is transferred to a different subject or an action” (OED, 2002).

From ancient times the term "metaphor" was defined as a transfer of meaning from one word to another. Metaphor is one of the strongest and most powerful ways of creating a clear image which is an already existing notion in mind. To create an image, it is better to bring the notion from not real imagination into reality. It makes the language more colourful by using figures of speech. In this way, it is easy to make some vague notions or statements much more perspicuous.

The term “conceptual metaphor” is one of the most important cognitive mechanisms based on the establishment of relationships between conceptual structures belonging to different fields of knowledge (domains) (G. Lakoff) .

There have been discovered a lot of conceptual metaphors that structure our ideas and conceptual systems at the same time the ones that are used in everyday language. On the basis of executed research, we are inclined to believe that geometric shapes in metaphoric expressions have a vast and frequent use in the cognitive process of conceptualization and profiling language action in modern English.

As a matter of fact, using geometric metaphors in mass-media is considered to be a creative technique that expresses some unusual thoughts in a figurative way. They also assist the reader to get some detailed information about such complicated and multidimensional sphere as economics.

#### **The use of metaphor with the meaning of form and space**

We have studied the use of stylistic devices of form or space with metaphorical transfer based on the similarity of shape with thirteen geometric objects such as dimension, scale, line, point, round, circles, border, sphere, angle, square, sector, segment, pyramid to analyse their occurrence in the written media context. The research was based on periodicals taken from the Internet. The following examples demonstrate how these items are actualised in mass media discourse.

We overlooked one of the most researched issues as metaphoric expressions with the meaning of geometric shapes such as, “debt spiral”, “square deal”, “pyramid scheme”, “vicious circle”, “put on the

line”, “breaking point”, “circle the wagons”, etc. Literally, writing metaphors instead of using phrases in their initial and direct meaning gives to the written material a special style and uniqueness. To follow the etiquette the author is always assumed to create a personal style of writing. In most cases that is possible only via metaphoric expressions, for they give the writer an opportunity to be original, creative and escape from being obvious while covering any kind of topic.

There are several types of mass media articles which serve for specific communicative intention. According to T.G. Dobrosklonskaya (2005) the following types of mass media articles can be distinguished:

1. News, based on transfer of message.
2. Informational and analytical texts (analysis, opinion, comment), encompassing expanded topic provided with evaluation, opinion, and commenting part.
3. Articles of a problematic nature (features/feature articles) related to current events or sustainable topics.
4. Advertising texts that implement the impact function.

Reading a lot of writings by different famous linguists we support the idea that geometric metaphors are supposed to be in the row of ones that cause difficulties in the translating procedure.

The first four examples indicating geometric shapes via metaphoric expressions are taken from the BBC and the Financial Times. They are expressed through words “sector” and “segment”.

*“Individuals want to know if they can ever trust the system again, and current crises in the European banking sector continue to stoke those concerns (Financial Times, 19.12. 2010)”*.

*“We are confident that the microprocessor market segment is functioning normally, and that Intel’s conduct has been lawful, pro-competitive, and beneficial to consumers” (BBC, 27.07.2007).*

So, the reshaping of the sentences is exposed by the geometric shapes “sector” and “segment” which are presumed as a part of a circle in their initial meaning. In this case the metaphor “sector” is associated with a significant part of economics that deals with other spheres as well. Unlike the word sector, segment creates an association with the part of the commodity market that gains consumers appearing with the same preferences.

*“Trump never clarified what he meant — and by “clarified,” we mean “told anybody what movie he was talking about” — when*

*discussing how racist Hollywood was, but a segment on Laura Ingraham's show on Fox News about The Hunt seemed a likely culprit for spurring his ire" (Vox, Aug 10, 2019).*

The geometric shape "segment" is adapted to give the sentence a deep concept that denotes the word "piece". In this case using the word piece instead of segment would surely make the sentence too straightforward. So, the author decided to give a key meaning to the written material through metaphor that is depicted by geometric shape "segment".

*"McQueen (and his stunt double) tore through the streets of San Francisco in the green Mustang to create the 1968 film's most iconic segment". (CNN, August 16, 2019)*

The expression "iconic segment" can be analysed and comprehended only from metaphoric point of view. As for this sentence we should mention that the author was supposed to justify the iconic moment by attaching the geometric shape "segment" denoting the noun "moment".

Based on our findings, we can state that geometric shape "angle" has a vast use in mass-media. We have taken a few instances from thousands of them that show the structure and form of the sentences involving metaphors imposed on geometric shape "angle".

*"On the other hand, the company is entering a conventional wholesaler market without much experience or an innovative angle" (Financial Times, Wednesday 24, 2019).*

The sentence consists of a metaphoric expression "innovative angle". As a matter of fact, the direct meaning of the geometric shape "angle" is "a figure formed by two rays". In this case, the author used geometric shape "angle" that denotes the noun "approach".

The statement for the word "angle" is also suitable for the forgoing example as well.

*"Although the plot could be construed as an opposites-attract romantic comedy about a small business owner (Billy Gardell) who falls for a nurse (Folake Olowofoyeku), co-creator Chuck Lorre started off his TCA panel for his new show by mandating that the romantic comedy angle is our entrance point to the series" (CNN, August 14, 2019).*

The forthcoming sentences carry the same idea. At this point the noun "angle" highlights the words prospective, viewpoint, opinion,

attitude, notion, outlook, stance, etc. The authors use the geometric metaphor “angle” without destroying the primal meaning. They reinstate the main notion drawing on geometric shape, otherwise the sentences would not be captivating enough.

*“From one angle, the industry’s prospects look bright. Demand is rising for products that promote health “naturally” (The Economist, 17.09.2015).*

*“And this was a white nationalist terror attack. But it was also, a bit more specifically, a brutal example of an anti-Latino hate crime. So, on Monday I examined how news outlets, both in English and Spanish, are covering this angle” (CNN, August 6, 2019).*

*“The pattern is known as a cross sea and occurs where waves from different weather systems meet each other at right angles” (The Guardian, July 6, 2019).*

*“But Stefan Stalman at Autonomous wrote: “Various angles of the story leave a bitter aftertaste for us, in particular the close association with Mr Wind- horst, the logic around H2O acting as a quasi-bank and the inherent difficulty of the center in Paris to impose certain standards on its far-flung independent local activities” (Financial Times, July 8 2019).*

Observing the geometric shape “sphere” we got to the point that metaphors involving this noun are not so popular in mass-media. After some commitments we were able to identify the noun "sphere" through different articles written in newspapers and magazines. Unfortunately, it is not an easy task to determine the current geometric shape penetrating in metaphoric expressions.

The next example outlines economics as a system of producing, spreading, exchanging of material goods, their consumption and represents a set of different relations.

Analysing the empirical material, we can suppose that among English-speaking society the extension of economic field creates an association of surroundings which is considered to be a characteristic of a geometric shape sphere.

*“In the economic sphere, most states, rich or poor, western or eastern, have become filters, trying to manage inflows and outflows of goods”. (Financial Times, December 28, 2010).*

In mass-media, the noun “square” appears very frequently but rarely in a form of metaphor. Alike many other geometric shapes square does

not supersede too many ideas expressed in their initial meaning.

*“We’re on the public square, we have a more public voice, which means we can get kicks in the face sometimes.” (Financial Times, July 8, 2019)*

Usually politicians prefer to use some metaphoric expressions that will not evoke a feeling of highly self-assessment among society. In the example the geometric shape “square” executes the expressions such as to be the best candidate or share citizens’ love.

*“The case of Bernard Madoff, a New York financier who has allegedly confessed to running a pyramid scheme that destroyed up to \$50 billion of his clients’ money, has all three traits” (The Economist, December 18, 2008).*

*“Madoff, now 81, was arrested in December 2008 on allegations that the prestigious asset management firm he ran in Manhattan was in fact a pyramid-type scheme that swindled billions of dollars from thousands of people. (CNN, July 24, 2019).*

*“Agnifilo argued that the prosecution's own witnesses will testify that they loved being part of Nxivm -- an organization that prosecutors have deemed a pyramid scheme, but others call a cult” (CNN, May 8, 2019).*

“Pyramid scheme” is the way of deceiving the investors by means of getting money and never pay them back or pay them not the exact amount of funds.

The fraudulent income making pattern is described through the metaphor “pyramid scheme”. The allocation of financial resources between the downstream participants and the upstream members is acquired through the comparison which is illustrated via noun “pyramid”. Since, the one is the explicit indicator of the huge gap between the very top and the bottom of the geometric shape.

In written discourse such words are met to highlight, comment, interpret, inform about certain phenomenon or to make an effect. As we can see from the example, point demonstrates limits. Although, it helps to understand the current situation.

*The rapid influx of funds from a just-passed \$4.6 billion congressional aid package will place new demands on agencies that have said that thousands of migrants a day have strained their infrastructure to a breaking point (...) (Wall Street Journal, June 29-30th 2019)*

According to Merriam Webster, a breaking point symbolizes ‘the point at which a situation becomes critical’ or ‘the point at which something loses force or validity’(Online 1).

The next example of “scale” is met as an idiom with the preposition up + facilities. Cambridge Dictionary says it is ‘something in size, amount, or production’.

*The agencies will have to rapidly scale up facilities in the face of persistent logistical obstacles. (...) (Wall Street Journal June 29-30th 2019)*

Therefore, we can conclude facilities in this context is meant to be any objects. The main purpose of such use is to highlight the measurement.

In contrast, line may have different meanings in various contexts. It may reflect the way of behave.

*That line brought the mostly black audience to its feet for a standing ovation. (...) (Wall Street Journal June 29-30th 2019)*

The next example demonstrates the use of round in context. This particular example illustrates the form in the domain of sport.

*Venus Williams yielded a peak BBC audience of 2.1m and her second-round victory over Magdalena Rybarikova was the highest-viewed singles match of all, with a peak audience of 2.4m. (...) (The Guardian, July 6, 2019)*

It can be concluded that the use of round in this sentence is highlighted by some period or cycle associated with sport activities. We can suggest that the use of round in this way can have a communicative aim which is to inform target audience about a certain event.

Although, the next example is about the use of round along with the standing audience with the aim to describe how audience behaves. The author uses such geometric object to highlight the form.

*There is a buzz that comes from a standing audience crowding round a vast peninsula stage to follow a story told through dialogue, music and dance. (...) (The Guarding, July 6, 2019)*

It can be suggested that situationality of the word round in this context is rather acceptable than square because of the common position when audience gathers.

Another example reflects the use of circle in set expression. The time, as a concept, is discussed among various scholars, linguists, philosophers, psychologists. As it is seen from the sentence below,

circle, as a semantic unit, is used in general sense.

*Adding to the general sense that time is a flat circle, the new characters include a corrupt mayor played by star of the 80s cult hit *The Princess Bride*, Cary Elwes, and a journalist intent on harassing Nancy at her summer job at the *Hawkins Post* (a local newspaper, children. *Time to die* played with relish by Gary Busey's lookalike son, Jake. (...)) (The Guardian, July 6, 2019)*

Therefore, the time, which is met accordingly is explaining eternity, never-ending process which will repeat and never end.

Another example of circle in context is described below. Thus, vicious circle is reflected as a sequence of undesirable cause and effect of any situation when both intensify situation and led to negative consequences.

*Deutsche has been battling what its own chief financial officer has called a "vicious circle" of declining revenue, high running costs, a falling credit rating and the increasing cost of funding. (...)* (Financial Times, July 8, 2019)

Since this is a set expression which is regularly used in figurative sense, it is mentioned in inverted commas.

The next we will look upon the word 'border' in the written mass media. Here we can see the example taken from Financial Times Europe, is met in a narrower context. This can be associated with certain obligations and limitations or even restrictions.

*The locals have grown intolerant towards cross-border commuters accusing Italians of job-stealing and driving down wages. (...)* (Financial Times, July 24, 2019)

Herewith, the word dimension is also met in this sentence in a narrower context. It is used as explanation of IT system and the functioning of particular action.

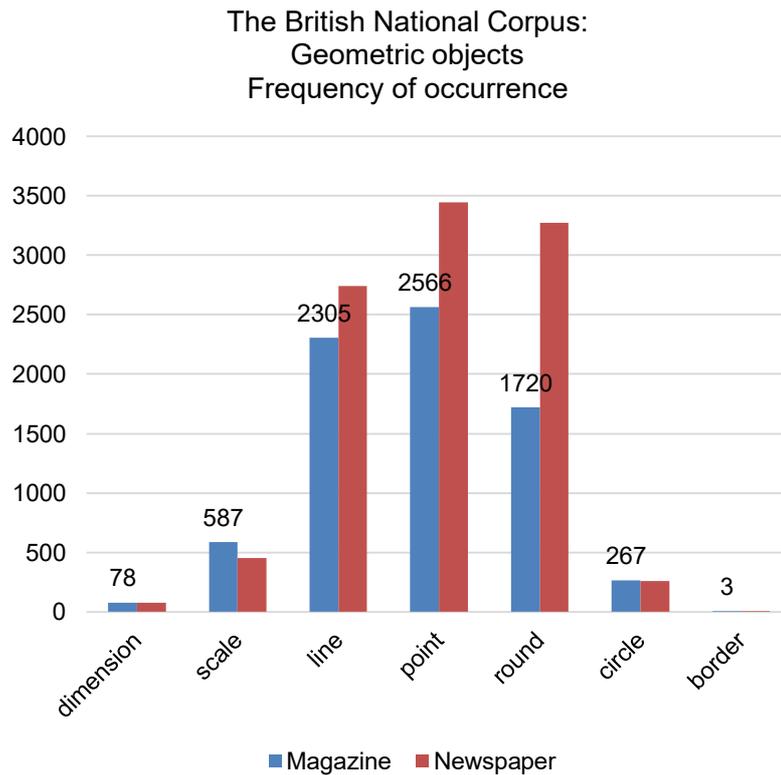
*But Japan was slower, compared with China, to apply two-dimensional QR bar codes for mobile payments, which have become the dominant payment method in Chinese stores over the past five years. (...)* (Financial Times, July 24, 2019)

To sum up, trait metaphors with the meaning of form and space can be met in different contexts, which are influenced by interlinguistic and extralinguistic factors. Nevertheless, they are to pursue certain communicative intention and produce a pragmatic effect.

## **Results**

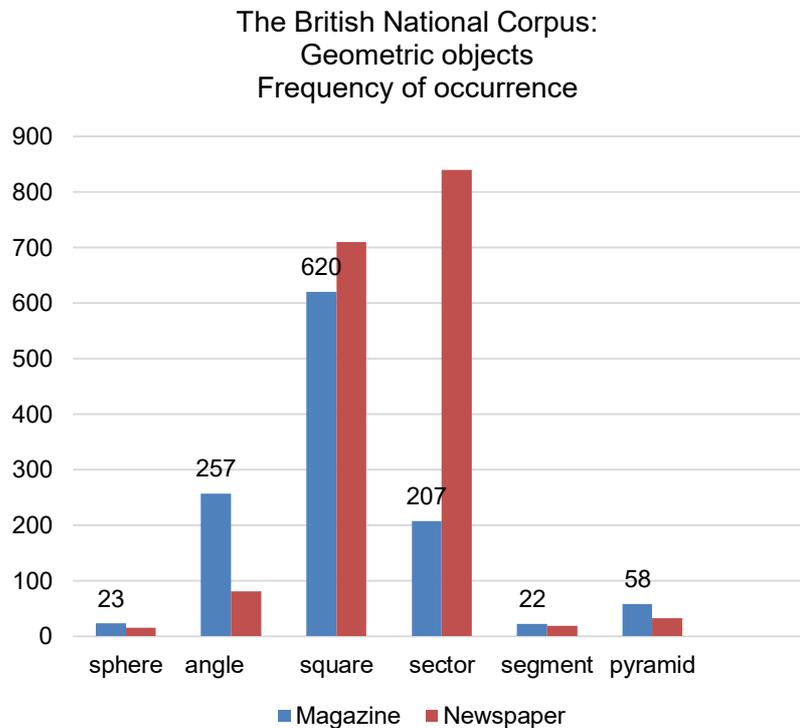
The data collected were analysed based on corpus-based approach and secondary data analysis, where media texts taken from modern English-language periodicals belonging to the category of quality press were the main focus of investigation.

According to data provided by The British National Corpus, the results demonstrated that “dimension” was met 78 times in magazines and 75 in newspapers, “scale” was identified 587 times in magazines and 452 in newspapers, “line” was revealed 2305 times in magazines and 2742 times in newspapers, “point” was pointed out 2566 times in magazines and 3447 times in newspapers, “round” was identified 1720 times in magazines and 3275 in newspapers, “circle” was mentioned 267 times in magazines and 259 times in newspapers, “border” was seen 3 times in magazine and 2 times in newspapers (Figure 1).



*Figure 1. Words with metaphorical transfer based on the similarity of shape with geometric objects in the British National Corpus*

The second part reveals that “sphere” was used 23 times in magazines and 15 times in newspapers, “angle” was met 257 times in magazines and 81 in newspapers, “square” was seen 620 times in magazines and 710 times in newspapers, “sector” was identified 207 times in magazines and 840 in newspapers, “segment” was found out 22 times in magazines and 18 in newspapers, “pyramid” was revealed 58 times in magazines and 32 times in newspapers (Figure 2).



*Figure 2. Words with metaphorical transfer based on the similarity of shape with such geometric objects in the British National Corpus*

Based on the data provided by the corpus, the chart represents that

the most frequently identified item both in magazines and newspapers was “point”. The least frequently used item in both magazines and newspapers was “border”.

Based on the data provided, the chart represents that the most frequently identified item was “square” in magazines and “sector” in newspapers. The least frequently used item was “segment” in magazines, and “sphere” in newspapers.

In the course of analysis, we have identified the following word combinations in twenty-seven examples: “angle” - support from every angle; “square” - to square off (idiom); “sector” - banking sector (metaphor); “segment” - market segment (metaphor); a segment on Laura Ingraham’s show; “segment” - most iconic segment; “angle” - innovative angle, comedy angle; from one angle; covering this angle; right angles; various angles of the story; “sphere” - the economic sphere; “square” - public square; “scheme” - a pyramid scheme (2); a pyramid-type scheme (all metaphors); “point” - breaking point (metaphor); “scale” - scale up facilities (idiom); “line” - line brought the mostly black audience (personification); “round” - second-round victory (set expression), crowding round; “circle” - a flat circle, “vicious circle”(2) (metaphors); “border” - cross-borders commuters (set expression); “dimension” - two-dimensional QR bar codes (set expression).

To sum up, there were identified twenty one metaphor, 1 one personification, three set expressions and two idioms.

### **Conclusion**

The present study has analysed the use of thirteen stylistic devices of form or space with metaphorical transfer based on the similarity of shape with geometric figures in the domain of mass media.

According to the analysis based on corpus-based approach, it was revealed that the most frequently used stylistic devices of form or space used were “point”, “square” and “sector”. However, “point” was the most frequent in both magazines and newspapers.

The least frequent was “border” in both magazines and newspapers. Also, “segment” was the least frequently used in magazines, and “sphere” in newspapers.

The present research provided twenty-seven examples, where word combinations with the meaning of form and shape are met as metaphors, personifications, phrasal verbs, idioms and set expressions.

It can be suggested that words with metaphoric transfer can be met in modern mass media discourse either more or less frequently. It depends on the concrete goal which is set to be achieved and type of message for the target audience.

Bearing in mind the aforementioned, it can be concluded that the use of graphic information is quite popular in modern mass media discourse. However, it is useless to state the unimportance of geometric object in articles from mass media.

The interconnection with graphic information and language is obvious; it helps to determine how exactly any information should be perceived. It helps to delineate shapes, borders, etc. Spatial conceptualisation is useful expressiveness tool.

As for the issue of stylistics, the study revealed that the most frequently used stylistic means that were met in this research was metaphor and the least frequent was idiom.

Stylistic means can teach how to gloss over the meaning, thus, making it quaint. Figurative meaning has been considered a tool of pragmatic impact by many scholars, writers and poets. However, it may not only be used in poetry or literature.

Modern mass media is trying to grab audience's attention. Since all spheres are influenced by globalization, intervention of modern technologies in business, target audience needs information to be provided even in a more cunning way.

Target audience is ready to read reader-friendly, professional articles that are actualised with a certain purpose. Nevertheless, nowadays people are less susceptible to advertisements, they are more receptive for breaking news.

The study has shown that the most frequently used stylistic device is metaphor and it can be intertwined with graphic information. Whatever the effect might be, it is advisable to polish the way target audience perceives the events.

Being one of the most influential press in the world, the quality periodicals aim at a certain target audience and have different sections for several purposes; it may be proposed that popularity of eloquent message is increasing. The way to grab reader's attention can be realized only with the help of language. The right strategy can be used via applicable spatial conceptualization.

The results of the present study accord with the previous studies in

applied linguistics, where it was stated that use of stylistic means in media can be explained by communicative intention used for a transfer of important message bearing in mind already existing forms.

Focusing on the information provided, quite often target reader is not familiar with the background information behind the topic discussed. One of the main responsibilities of the information is that it should be concrete, authentic, reliable, catchy, rather moderate, grotesque and silver-tongued.

Further research can touch upon other types of discourses and genres as the sphere of trite metaphor actualisation.

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**ТЕХНОЛОГИЯ “FEEL – FELT – FOUND” И ДРУГИЕ  
ПЕРСУАЗИВНЫЕ СРЕДСТВА ИЗМЕНЕНИЯ  
ПОСТКОММУНИКАТИВНОГО ПОВЕДЕНИЯ  
РЕЦИПИЕНТА**

*В статье рассматриваются технологии персуазивности, эффективные с точки зрения изменения посткоммуникативного поведения реципиента в атмосфере сохранения гармонии с ним. Особый акцент сделан на технологию “feel – felt – found”, которая включает в себя три отдельных этапа: выражение поддержки (этап «feel»), ссылка на личный опыт (этап “felt”), предоставление альтернативы (этап “found”).*

*Цель технологии “feel – felt – found” – поменять отношение реципиента к ситуации и смотивировать его на осознанное принятие точки зрения говорящего. Автор подчеркивает, что технология “feel – felt – found” соотносится с кооперативным общением и восходит к теории вежливости П. Браун и С. Левинсона (Brown & Levinson 2014), поскольку при ее использовании говорящий делает акцент на общих моментах, объединяющих его с реципиентом, а именно на схожих чувствах, которые были испытаны. Автор подкрепляет свои рассуждения примерами общения «продавец – покупатель» и также демонстрирует, что в некоторых ситуациях “feel – felt – found” не всегда используется в полном варианте, а задействует лишь два или даже один этап ее реализации.*

*Технология поиска решения, как правило реализованная различными вопросительными формами, является также необходимой для того, чтобы убедить реципиента поменять свою точку зрения относительно предмета коммуникации. С помощью поиска решения говорящему представляется возможным выяснить, какие факторы препятствуют согласию и, принимая их во внимание, предложить варианты переубеждения*

реципиента. В случае возникновения сомнения во время переговоров автор выделяет технологию разрешения сомнений, в основе которой, как и в технологии “feel – felt – found”, также лежит выражение понимания высказанного несогласия.

Комплексное использования описанных технологий персуазивного воздействия эффективно с точки зрения увеличения воздействующего потенциала сказанного.

Ключевые слова: персуазивность, теория вежливости, технологии персуазивности, технология “feel – felt – found”, выражение поддержки, ссылка на личный опыт, предоставление альтернативы, технология поиска решения, формирование чувства общности, разрешение сомнений.

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#### **THE “FEEL – FELT – FOUND” TECHNIQUE AND OTHER PERSUASIVE MEANS OF CHANGING POST COMMUNICATIVE BEHAVIOUR OF THE RECIPIENT**

*The article explores persuasive techniques considered useful in terms of changing post-communicative behavior. The study views “feel – felt – found” as the key technique of the objection handling which includes three standard steps: 1) empathize with the customer and show how you feel; 2) appeal to somebody else’s experience and say that other people felt the same; 3) present what other people found. Depending on certain situations, it is possible to skip any of the mentioned steps while performing the technique.*

*The aim of the “feel – felt – found” technique is to deal with objections and change the recipient’s attitude towards the object of communication. The author emphasizes that “feel – felt – found” can be viewed as a cooperative technique as its nature goes back to the principles for constructing polite speech described by P. Brown and C. Levinson (Brown & Levinson 2014). Likewise politeness principles, “feel – felt – found” involves claiming common empathy which*

*improves the quality of social interaction and shortens the distance between the speaker and the recipient.*

*The “feel – felt – found” technique is commonly used by sales agents to close a sale. The “search for a solution” technique including various interrogative forms is considered to be essential to persuade the recipient to change his or her mind. “Search for a solution” gives the speaker the opportunity to find out the factors preventing the agreement and, as a result, make a suggestion which can handle the objection. “Address concerns” is the technique which helps someone to deal with concerns or criticism. The study stresses that the best way to change post communicative behavior is to address concerns directly by the means of various linguistic devices.*

*The use of the mentioned techniques together can increase the communicative impact of the utterance. Ample examples demonstrate the main results of the study.*

*Key words: persuasion, politeness theory, persuasive techniques, the “feel – felt – found” technique, empathy, appeal to somebody else’s experience, presenting the findings, the “search for a solution” technique, claim common ground, “address concerns” technique.*

### **Введение**

В современном мире умение убеждать и воздействовать на реципиента является важным элементом общения в различных ситуациях. Особую актуальность данные навыки приобретают в случае несогласия сторон, когда собеседник придерживается иной точки зрения, имеет отличные воззрения или испытывает сомнения по поводу услышанного. При возникновении перечисленных факторов переубеждение реципиента – сложная задача, особенно если речь идет не о конфликтном, а о кооперативном способе разрешения ситуации. В данной статье мы рассматриваем такие лингвистические технологии воздействия и техники их реализации, которые позволяют изменить посткоммуникативное поведение реципиента на осознанном уровне и сохранить гармонию в общении с последним. Такие технологии мы называем технологиями персуазивности.

Персуазивность относится к контролируемому (осознанному) взаимодействию индивидов, во время которого инициатор общения пытается убедить собеседника пересмотреть свое

отношение к проблеме и изменить его посткоммуникативное поведение посредством передачи информации, при этом не лишая последнего свободы выбора (Perloff, 2017, с. 8). В современном прочтении персуазивность представляет собой комбинацию основных принципов убеждения, известных еще с времен Аристотеля (этоса, логоса и пафоса) за исключением той особенности, что в наши дни в силу изменения социальной жизни задача персуазивности не «столько сформировать знание, сколько сформировать мнение», с учетом особенностей собеседника и аудитории (Стернин, 2012, с. 10). Персуазивность выделяется среди других типов воздействия следующими признаками: (1) персуазивность – это *открытый* тип социального воздействия (Sorlin, 2016, с. 128); (2) предпочтения собеседника позиционируются как более значимые для убеждающего, чем его собственные; (3) персуазивность основывается на осознанном убеждении: обе стороны взаимодействия понимают, что происходит процесс оказания воздействия; (4) персуазивность подразумевает лишь *попытки* индивида повлиять на реципиента; (5) персуазивное воздействие оставляет адресату свободу выбора (Perloff 2017). Перечисленные выше отличительные особенности, которые представляют из себя некую «заботу» о собеседнике, показывают, что использование технологий персуазивности позволяет достичь поставленных целей в атмосфере *эффективно* выстроенного социального контакта между убеждающим и убеждаемым (Cockcroft, 2015, с. 185). Эффективность использования технологий персуазивности проявляется в сохранении коммуникативного равновесия с собеседником в процессе достижения цели (Стернин, 2001, с. 62). В результате исследования удалось выделить несколько технологий персуазивности, которые используются для того, чтобы убедить реципиента поменять свою точку зрения.

#### **Материалы и методы**

Материалом исследования послужили аутентичные учебные курсы общего и делового английского (The Business, CAE Practice Tests), учебный подкаст по бизнес – коммуникации “Business English Pod”, а также материалы рекомендательного характера по эффективному ведению бизнеса, представленные в современной литературе и в сети Интернет. При анализе материалов

исследования авторы использовали лингвистический, лексико-семантический и системно-интерактивные методы.

### **Результаты и обсуждения**

#### **Технология “feel – felt – found”**

Одной из самой популярной технологией персуазивности, которая позволяет изменить убеждения реципиента, является технология “feel – felt – found”. Убеждение с помощью этой технологии включает в себя этосный, логосный и пафосный компонент персуазивности и осуществляется в три этапа, которые выстроены в логической последовательности. Технология “feel – felt – found” используется в случае несогласия или сомнения реципиента в истинности предоставляемой информации и имеет **целью** поменять отношение последнего к ситуации, смотивировать его на принятие точки зрения говорящего. Полный вариант технологии включает в себя три этапа, каждый из которых может функционировать самостоятельно: 1) выражения поддержки (этап “feel”); 2) ссылка на личный опыт (этап “felt”); 3) предложение альтернативы (этап “found”). Самая распространенная ситуация использования данной технологии – это общение между продавцом - консультантом и потенциальным клиентом, которому свойственно выражать свое сомнение по поводу покупки предлагаемого товара или услуги. Рассмотрим более подробно функционирование каждого этапа данной формулы.

1. **Выражения поддержки** (этап “feel”) позволяет расположить к себе реципиента посредством выражения понимания и демонстрации разделенности его чувств, что восходит к теории вежливости П. Браун и С. Левинсона (Brown & Levinson, 2014), которые утверждали, что для успешной реализации кооперативного общения необходимо сформировать чувство общности, т. е. показать, что говорящий и реципиент – это тот тип людей, которые имеют схожий набор ценностей, целей и желаний. В своей совместной работе “Politeness: some universals in language usage” П. Браун и С. Левинсон выделяют три возможных способа формирования чувства общности: 1) говорящий демонстрирует, что желания реципиента также представляют для него интерес; 2) говорящий подчеркивает, что он и реципиент принадлежат к одной и той же социальной группе или категории людей, из чего

следует следующее: если мы принадлежим к одной и той же группе людей, следовательно мы разделяем одни и те же желания и установки; 3) говорящий делает акцент на общих моментах, объединяющих его с реципиентом, даже если они не принадлежат к одной социальной группе или категории людей (Brown & Levinson, 2014, с. 103). Выражая понимание/поддержку во время реализации этапа “feel”, говорящий подразумевает, что его и реципиента объединяет схожее эмоциональное состояние, которое они испытали. На когнитивном уровне данный этап технологии работает по ассоциативному принципу: если говорящему знакомы схожие чувства, то следовательно он и реципиент имеет что-то общее, что подсознательно сокращает дистанцию в общении и улучшает связь между участниками коммуникации. Этап “feel” соответствует пафосному компоненту убеждения и используется, когда необходимо обратиться к эмоциям реципиента и его эмоциональным предубеждениям, а также показать, что говорящий разделяет чувства реципиента относительно предмета обсуждения. Грамматически на этапе “feel” технология может реализоваться как с помощью простых предложений, так и с помощью сложноподчиненных предложений с придаточным изъяснительным (object clause); лексически выражение понимания осуществляются словами, имеющими отношения к чувствам, ощущениям и эмоциям (*feel, understand, know, mean*). Следующие фразы являются примером реализации данного этапа технологии: *I know what you mean..., I know how you feel, I see..., I understand...* Выражая поддержку таким образом говорящий подразумевает, что он испытывал схожее эмоциональное состояние и поэтому понимает и поддерживает чувства реципиента.

2. **Ссылка на личный опыт** (этап “felt”) заключается в следующем: говорящий упоминает свой предыдущий опыт или опыт других знакомых ему людей, которые как и реципиент имели схожие чувства. Упоминание говорящим похожего опыта усиливает логосный компонент аргументации, поскольку доказывает справедливость предыдущего этапа: после приведения в пример личного опыта реципиенту становится ясно, почему его чувства, несогласие и сомнения понятны говорящему. Стоит отметить, что на данном этапе одновременно усиливается не только логосный, но и этосный компонент убеждения, поскольку

возрастает доверие к личности говорящего, а следовательно и к последующим выдвигаемым им идеям, предложениям и советам. В общении «продавец – покупатель» может также упоминаться ссылка не только на личный опыт продавца, но и на опыт других покупателей или известных личностей, удовлетворенных обсуждаемым товаром. На когнитивном уровне упоминание опыта третьей стороны работает по схеме “*Everybody says U*”, которая означает следующее: все говорят U, следовательно U – правда (Sorlin 2016). Грамматически ссылка на личный опыт реализуется посредством глаголов прошедшего времени, а также сравнительных конструкций (например *like you*) или наречием *same*, что снова соотносится с формированием чувства общности П. Браун и С. Левинсона. Лексическая реализация ссылки на личный опыт также как и на этапе выражении поддержки осуществляется с помощью глаголов, относящихся к чувствам. В общих чертах данный этап технологии может быть представлен фразой “*I/they felt the same*”. Воздействующий потенциал таких высказываний возрастает, когда говорящий ссылается на опыт публичного человека (в таком случае еще сильнее усиливается этосный компонент убеждения), так как сила фразы известной личности сопоставима с нормой, не подлежащей сомнению. Когда звезды, воспринимаемые многими как образец успеха, некий эталон и знатоки мира, дают свою оценку об отличных свойствах рекламируемого продукта, то их мнение воспринимается как авторитетная истина. Поэтому прямая ссылка на мнение публичной личности, а также на его чувства является прекрасным средством убеждения. Ссылка на опыт третьего лица может также употребляться не только в составе технологии “*feel – felt – found*”, но и самостоятельно как **технология апелляции к авторитету**.

3. **Предоставление альтернативы** (этап “*found*”). Цель данного этапа заключается в обозначении альтернативных воззрений, которые вытекают из собственных наблюдений или опыта других людей. Альтернатива способна развеять сомнения реципиента, адаптировать его отношение к предмету обсуждения, акцентируя внимание на положительном результате. Представление альтернативы является логичным следствием из этапов “*feel*” и “*found*”, что снова «укрепляет» логосный компонент аргументации. Грамматически данный этап

реализуется при помощи глаголов прошедшего времени и сложноподчиненных предложений с придаточным изъяснительным (object clause) или следствия (adverbial clause of result), а лексически – с помощью глагола *find*. Соответственно третий этап технологии может осуществляться фразой “*But then I/they found that...*”. Предложенные альтернативные воззрения на основе технологии “*feel – felt – found*” вызывают у реципиента ответный эмоциональный отклик и в результате реципиент приходит к пониманию, что поддержка предложенных идей – это разумное решение.

Рассмотрим и проанализируем примеры, которые наглядно демонстрирует использование технологии “*feel – felt – found*” в возможных ее вариантах.

(a) *Customer: \$32,000?! How do you justify that?*

*Salesperson: I understand how you feel. Like you, a lot of our customers felt that this was more than they wanted to spend. However, they soon found that they were saving money. After you start using the software, you'll reduce your operating costs by 25-30%.*

*C: As much as that?!*

*S: Yes, more in some cases – but that's the average saving. Have I answered your question?* (Allison, 2009, с. 69).

Данный пример – фрагмент беседы продавца и потенциального покупателя, который выражает свое сомнение по поводу высокой цены предлагаемой услуги (*\$32,000?! How do you justify that?*). Для того, чтобы переубедить своего клиента и доказать, что высокая цена справедлива, обоснована и выгодна, продавец сначала соглашается с ним, выражая свое понимание (*I understand how you feel*), затем ссылается на опыт других покупателей, что реализуется сравнительной конструкцией и глаголом *felt* (*Like you, a lot of our customers felt that this was more than they wanted to spend*) и в итоге предлагает альтернативу, которая содержит наблюдения упомянутых людей и начинается с вводного слова *however*, противопоставляя высказанное сомнение итоговому результату (*However, they soon found that they were saving money*). Таким образом, в примере (a) используется полный вариант технологии “*feel – felt – found*”.

(b) *I understand how you feel. My daughter has a walnut allergy, and like you, I have to know what's in the food my daughter eats.*

*We've had other customers who share your concern, and they felt just as you do.*

*Here's what we found helped them. Our labels list all known allergens. While the other customers couldn't get the full ingredient list, they could spot the specific ingredients that are known to trigger a known allergy, because all of our labels list out every ingredient that has a known allergic reaction.* (<https://myragolden.com/2018/01/30/the-feel-felt-found-method-for-empathy/>)

Данный пример – ответная реакция продавца-консультанта на запрос клиента предоставить полноценный состав готовой еды. Если перечислить основные ингредиенты не представляет проблемы, то предоставление полного списка может быть невыгодным из-за нежелания раскрывать основной секрет приготовления блюда и конкуренции на рынке производителей. Однако отказ осуществить поступивший от клиента запрос может подорвать репутацию производителя и создать впечатление о некачественном составе, который не должен быть оглашен. В таком случае технология “feel – felt – found” позволяет корректно и эффективно убедить реципиента в невозможности выполнить то, что он требует. Выражение поддержки (этап “feel”) позволяет продемонстрировать клиенту понимание того, что его запрос действительно важен: *I understand how you feel. My daughter has a walnut allergy, and like you, I have to know what's in the food my daughter eats.* Далее продавец ссылается на опыт других покупателей, которые испытывали схожее беспокойство по поводу состава блюда: *We've had other customers who share your concern, and they felt just as you do.* Предложение альтернативного варианта разрешения ситуации посредством описания того, к какому выводу пришли предыдущие клиенты, помогает корректно переубедить реципиента в том, что полный список ингредиентов необязателен.

Следующие два примера (c) и (d) – это инструкция для применения, которая была разработана специально для работников компании “Apple”. Данные фразы представляют собой образец построения коммуникации с потенциальными клиентами в случае возможных сомнений по поводу их продукции.

(c) *Customer: This Mac is just too expensive.*

**Genius: I can see how you'd feel this way. I felt the price was a little high, but I found it's a real value because of all the built-in software and capabilities.** (<https://gizmodo.com/how-to-be-a-genius-this-is-apples-secret-employee-trai-5938323>)

(d) **Customer: I want an iPad but I need a mouse. I can't deal with all this touching.**

**S: I may know how you feel. I'm a mouse fan and felt as if I'd get to ...but I found it becomes very easy with a little practice** (<https://gizmodo.com/how-to-be-a-genius-this-is-apples-secret-employee-trai-5938323>)

Диалоги (c) и (d) также доказывают, что технология “feel/felt/found” является универсальным средством переубеждения реципиента.

Как было отмечено выше, технология “feel – felt – found” необязательно используется в полном варианте: в некоторых ситуациях достаточно применение лишь одного или двух этапов, что и представлено в следующем примере:

(e) **Interviewer: ...and as I was saying, I'd feel embarrassed about having a massage. There's a lot of flab around at my age – too many rich meals.**

**Fiona: But an aromatherapist isn't interested in your figure! However, it's true that many people feel inhibited about their bodies, and a body massage might seem intrusive to them. My advice to anyone feeling that way would be not to bother with massage.**

**Interviewer: Surely you aren't advising them against aromatherapy?**

**Fiona: I didn't say that. But there are alternative ways to benefit from essential oils. One of them is to have a foot reflex treatment. All you have to take off is your shoes and socks – and it's as relaxing as a massage. In fact, it's more effective.**

**Interviewer: In what way?**

**Fiona: The foot reflex treatment offers you the benefits of reflexology combined with a specially prepared aromatherapy cream. So you have both the essential oils and the reflex massage addressing your particular health problems.**

**Interviewer: Sounds more up my street. But come on, Fiona, for an old sceptic like me, does it really do anything, apart from relax you?**

**Fiona: It certainly does! I regularly help clients with digestive and**

*respiratory problems, and they're all amazed at the results.*

*Interviewer: Right! When can I book an appointment?* (Osborn, 2012)

В представленном диалоге *Interviewer* – журналист, который выражает распространенную идею непринятия ароматерапии из-за чувства стыдливости своего тела (*and as I was saying, I'd feel embarrassed about having a massage. There's a lot of flab around at my age – too many rich meals*). Фиона, работник спа-центра, не считает нужным использовать выражение понимания и поддержки со своей стороны за использование ароматерапии. Возможно, фраза *“I know how you feel”* звучала бы неуместно и неискреннее по отношению к пожилому и полноватому человеку от сотрудника спа-центра, которая вероятнее всего стройная и молодая девушка. Фиона начинает свою аргументацию с фразы *“But an aromatherapist isn't interested in your figure!”*, но понимая, что это слабый аргумент для мужчины подкрепляет его **ссылкой на опыт других людей**: *However, it's true that many people feel inhibited about their bodies, and a body massage might seem intrusive to them*. После упоминания чувств и ощущений, схожих с опасениями журналиста Фиона предлагает вариант альтернативный массажу: *My advice to anyone feeling that way would be not to bother with massage... But there are alternative ways to benefit from essentials oils. One of them is to have a foot reflex treatment. All you have to take off is your shoes and socks – and it's as relaxing as a massage. In fact, it's more effective*. Данное предложение сделать массаж ступней заинтересовало реципиента, что и доказывает его вопрос *“In what way?”*, требующий рассказать поподробнее об альтернативном варианте. Продолжение диалога содержит описание преимуществ массажа ступней, после чего реципиент в результате просит записать его на подобную процедуру. В данном диалоге для убеждения журналиста используются и другие технологии персуазивности, однако именно технология *“feel – felt – found”* способствовала изменению скептического отношения реципиента в сторону принятия идеи релаксации в спа-центре. В результате использования данной технологии персуазивности посткоммуникативное поведение реципиента было изменено.

#### **Технология поиска решения**

Как и *“feel – felt – found”*, **технология поиска решения**

эффективна в ситуациях общения продавцов-консультантов и потенциальных покупателей в случае выражения несогласия или сомнения по поводу предложенной услуги или товара. В этом случае возникает необходимость более точно выяснить, какие факторы препятствуют согласию, для того чтобы было возможным предложить возможные варианты переубеждения реципиента. Технология поиска решения помогает консультанту понять эти факторы и, руководствуясь полученной информацией, внести предложение, которое будет актуально для клиента в данной ситуации. В английском языке технология реализуется посредством различных вопросительных форм следующего формата: *Do you mean, why...? Can you find ... to ...? You are (probably) asking yourself if it's worth..., is that right? Is...the only reason you don't ...? If you like..., could you make the decision by...? Can I ask if there's a particular reason for...?* (Allison 2009, с. 70). Следующий диалог демонстрирует функционирование технологии поиска решения:

(f) *Customer: Can you give me a discount?*

*Salesperson: Well, I'm glad you asked me that. Our philosophy is that if we gave discounts, we'd have to compromise on quality and service – and I'm sure you'd agree that would be a mistake, wouldn't you?*

*C: Yes, I suppose it would.*

*S: So tell me, is the membership fee the only reason you're not ready to sign up now?*

*C: Yes. I've just bought a new car, you see.*

*S: Right. So, if I could postpone your first payment to next year, would you be ready to sign up today? Would that make sense?* (Allison, 2009, с. 70)

Вопрос продавца-консультанта “*So tell me, is the membership fee the only reason you're not ready to sign up now?*” помогает ему выяснить возможные причины неготовности клиента подписать контракт. В данном случае технология поиска решения использована с успехом, так как клиент предоставляет необходимую информацию о том, почему он не согласен с предлагаемыми условиями (*Yes. I've just bought a new car, you see*). Полученная информация является для консультанта ключом к решению проблемы, так как он получает представление о том, что

необходимо предложить клиенту: *Right. So, if I could postpone your first payment to next year, would you be ready to sign up today? Would that make sense?* Данная технология помогает осознать истинные желания и предпочтения реципиента, что является прекрасным фундаментом для дальнейшего оказания персуазивного воздействия и убеждения реципиента принять иное решение.

Следующий пример показывает, как технология поиска решения способна ненавязчиво помочь определиться покупателю с выбором в сторону более дорогостоящего продукта:

(g) *Customer: Hello.*

*Customer: I'm looking for a camera for traveling. Do you have any recommendations?*

*Clerk: What kind of pictures do you want to take?*

*Customer: Well, I'm the member of a tennis club, and want to take a picture of landscapes or tennis.*

*Clerk: O.K. You want the camera which can take both far and near. Don't you? Well, have you used a camera before?*

*Customer: I have used a digital camera. But the camera was cheap and low resolution.*

*Clerk: I see. I see. Camera A is a high resolution camera. A has extremely good resolution compared with other cameras. Although this camera does not have a strong zoom, its sensor is almost the same as a single-lens camera.*

*Customer: I see.*

*Clerk: For a single lens camera, buying only the lens can cost 100 thousand yen. Compared to this, this camera is a bargain.*

*Customer: Ah, I see.*

*Clerk: **But, it's a little expensive, right?***

*Customer: Well, I think, camera B is good at price.*

*Clerk: Hahaha, yes, camera B is reasonably priced. But its performance is low compared with camera A.*

*Customer: If I use the two cameras will I be able to tell the difference?*

*Clerk: Once you compare the pictures taken by these cameras, you will understand the difference immediately. The picture itself is very high quality. But, camera B and E are lower resolution, and the picture is a little bit lower quality.*

*Customer: Is there also difference in normal size pictures?*

*Clerk: Yes, whether the picture is small or large, there is a difference*

*Customer: Considering A has single-lens level performance, it is surely reasonable.*

*Clerk: I think so too. **The general price of a single-lens is about 100 or 200 thousand yen. Considering these prices, camera A is a good choice.***

*Customer Certainly, I'm interested in this camera.*

*Clerk Considering its performance, it is a bargain.*

*Customer I think I'll go home, compare the pictures, and think a little more.*

*Clerk I see. Thank you. (<https://www.aclweb.org/anthology/C14-1161>)*

В данном случае технология поиска решения необходима продавцу для того, чтобы понять, каковы истинные желания реципиента. Это является необходимым для персуазивного воздействия и последующего убеждения покупателя остановить свой выбор на более дорогостоящей камере А. Разделительные вопросы “*You want the camera which can take both far and near. Don't you?*” и “*But, it's a little expensive, right?*”, реализующую данную технологию, позволяют справиться с этой задачей. Выяснив, что основной сомнительный фактор относительно покупки дорогой камеры А, – это цена, продавец говорит, что стоимость схожей по параметрам камеры обычно намного выше. Отсюда следует вывод, что покупка камеры А – это более разумное решение: *The general price of a single-lens is about 100 or 200 thousand yen. Considering these prices, camera A is a good choice.* Помимо разделительного вопроса консультант также использовал противопоставление параметров двух камер посредством антитезы, что позволило ему выделить преимущества камеры А на фоне камеры В и убедить реципиента в том, что камера А может быть более правильной покупкой: *Once you compare the pictures taken by these cameras, you will understand the difference immediately. The picture itself is very **high quality**. But, camera B and E are **lower resolution**, and the picture is a little bit **lower quality**.*

**Комплексное использование технологий “feel – felt – found” и поиска решения**

Поскольку несогласие реципиента и его колебания по поводу покупки предлагаемого товара/услуги является непростым с точки зрения убеждения, говорящий может комбинировать технологию поиска решения и этапы технологии “feel – felt – found”, что позволяет увеличивать воздействующий потенциал сказанного. Ниже представлены примеры комплексного использования описанных технологий персуазивного воздействия в общении «продавец – покупатель».

(h) *Customer: Listen, your proposal looks great, but I just don't feel ready to take the plunge!*

*Salesperson: I know exactly what you mean* (выражение понимания/поддержки). *It's a big decision to make, isn't it?* (поиск решения)

*C: Yeah. I'm just worried that I won't have enough time to do everything.*

*S: Oh, I see* (выражение поддержки). *Finding enough time is always a problem, isn't it?* (поиск решения)

*C: Things are busy at work, and I don't have time for the garden, let alone the pool.*

*S: Ok. Well, I understand* (выражения поддержки). *We all want to get a product we can actually use, don't we?*

*C: Sure.*

*S: So if we include the automatic chlorinator and robot pool cleaner options, I can guarantee that you will spend less than ten minutes a week on maintenance* (поиск решения). *Are you comfortable with that?* (Allison, 2009, с. 71)

Данный пример наглядно иллюстрирует реализацию персуазивного воздействия. Во-первых, продавец смог выявить у клиента, какие факторы формируют его отношение к предложенному продукту с помощью технологии поиска решения, которая реализуется посредством неоднократного использования разделительных вопросов (*It's a big decision to make, isn't it?*; *Finding enough time is always a problem, isn't it?*). Ответ потенциального покупателя “*Yeah. I'm just worried that I won't have enough time to do everything*” показывает, что временной фактор является определяющим. Своевременное выражение поддержки также помогает найти нужный эмоциональный отклик в сознании реципиента и сократить дистанцию общения (*I know exactly what*

*you mean, Oh, I see, Well, I understand*). Стоит отметить, что продавец-консультант в данном примере также использует формирование чувства общности и апелляцию к желанию для того, чтобы усилить эффект технологии поиска решения: ***We all want to get a product we can actually use, don't we?*** В конце диалога, делая новое предложение клиенту, продавец использует технологию поиска решений в комплексе с ссылкой на выявленные ценности собеседника: *So if we include the automatic chlorinator and robot pool cleaner options, I can guarantee that you will spend less than ten minutes a week on maintenance.* Продавец понимает, какой результат хотел бы получить покупатель (не тратить много времени на уход за бассейном) и объясняет ему, что с помощью предложенной услуги, он сможет сэкономить время, которое для него представляет особую ценность. Как видно из ситуации, использование технологий персуазивности в данном случае оказывается эффективным, бассейн продан.

#### **Технология разрешения сомнений**

**Разрешение сомнений** является значимым не только в ситуациях общения «продавец – покупатель», но в любых видах переговоров, если участники коммуникации имеют неоднозначное мнение по поводу обсуждаемого вопроса и если говорящий ожидает, что предложенная им идея может быть подвержена критике. Искусный коммуникант может заранее продумать, какие сомнения по поводу его позиции могут возникнуть у других участников коммуникации и быть готовым среагировать на них, т. е. развеять данные сомнения. Данная технология обладает наибольшим воздействующим потенциалом, если говорящий не отрицает факт существования неоднозначности предложенной идеи, а наоборот озвучивает возможные негативные стороны своей позиции и доказывает, почему ее стоит поддержать. Для реализации данной технологии говорящий может использовать сложные предложения с придаточным условия: *If you're worried about costs, then let me show you what the returns will be*; сложные предложение с придаточным причины: *As far as the impact on foot traffic is concerned, it will be very short-term; No, this won't mean more work for you, because we'd be able to afford another full-time person.* Техника противопоставления является также эффективной: *I understand this seems expensive, **but** I've got three ways to bring the*

*costs down.* В последнем примере говорящий также использует **выражение поддержки**, демонстрируя свое понимание несогласия с его позицией (***I understand this seems expensive***), что усиливает эмоциональный компонент персуазивного воздействия. Рассмотрим диалог между коллегами одной компании, где используется технология разрешения сомнений:

*Steve: Well, imagine it's crunch time on a big project. Would we want our employees heading off to a training seminar? I think that would affect the quality of both the project and the training. With an online component, employees can do it any time.*

*Martin: That makes sense.*

*Gail: Yeah, I can see the flexibility too, but I'm a bit more concerned about quality. I'm not convinced that employees will give it their all in online training.*

*Pam: Fair point Gail. The classroom idea may be more costly, but we need to see real improvements to make this all worthwhile.*

*Steve: Sure, I brought these things up with Lexis. And what I told them is that I'd like to make final payment contingent on a mid-point assessment and positive feedback from the participants. They agreed.*

*Pam: Hmm... that's a good way to light a fire under someone. Make us happy or you don't get paid. I'm in.*

*Gail: I like it. Martin?*

*Martin: I'm coming around to the idea.*

*Steve: Listen, I understand that the online piece comes with question marks. Employees may or may not enjoy it as much as classroom delivery. But remember, it's not all online.*

*Martin: Okay. And you said we have the option of switching if things don't work out.*

*Steve: That's right. So, are we all on the same page here with the blended delivery? Shall I contact Lexis with the good news? (Business English Pod)*

В данном диалоге Стив пытается убедить своих коллег в преимуществах использования онлайн тренингов для сотрудников их компании. Однако с самого начала своей аргументации Стив сталкивается с сомнениями других участников коммуникации: *Yeah, I can see the flexibility too, but I'm a bit more concerned about quality. I'm not convinced that employees will give it their all in online training... The classroom idea may be more costly, but we need to see*

*real improvements to make this all worthwhile.* Для того чтобы развеять сомнения, Стив использует выражает свое понимание относительно услышанной критики (*Listen, I understand that the online piece comes with question marks. Employees may or may not enjoy it as much as classroom delivery*) и подчеркивает, что тренинг не полностью состоит из онлайн-компонента (***But remember, it's not all online***). Указание такого фактора, как возможный отказ от предложенной идеи в случае отрицательных отзывов и результатов, также помогает Стиву настроить коллег в сторону принятия его идеи: *Sure, I brought these things up with Lexis. And what I told them is that I'd like to make final payment contingent on a mid-point assessment and positive feedback from the participants. They agreed.* Обозначенная свобода выбора, характерная для персуазивного воздействия усиливает воздействующий потенциал сказанного и позволяет успешно развеять сомнения в процессе аргументации.

#### **Выводы**

Технологии персуазивности позволяют достичь поставленных целей в атмосфере неконфликтной коммуникации между убеждающим и убеждаемым, что особенно актуально, когда мнения двух сторон не совпадают. Эффективность использования технологий персуазивности проявляется в сохранении коммуникативного равновесия с собеседником в процессе достижения глобальной цели – убеждения реципиента. В результате проведенного исследования автору удалось выявить такие технологии персуазивности, которые особенно эффективны в случае несовпадения мнений реципиента и говорящего. Технология “feel – felt – found” осуществляется поэтапно и включает в себя выражение понимания, ссылку на личный опыт (или ссылку на опыт других людей), а также предоставление альтернативы. Комбинация данных этапов обеспечивает сбалансированное функционирование логосного, этосного и пафосного компонента убеждения, что повышает эффективность технологии. Особенность технологии “feel – felt – found” заключается в том, что каждый этап может использоваться как в комплексе, так и самостоятельно, если того требует ситуация, при этом эффективность воздействия не снижается. Технология поиска решения способствует выявлению факторов, которые формируют

несогласие реципиента, что помогает понять, как поменять его мнение. Технология разрешения сомнения позволяет говорящему успешно среагировать на возможную критику и переубедить реципиента относительно его позиции. Использование выявленных технологий (комплексное и самостоятельное) является эффективным средством воздействия в случае необходимости изменения посткоммуникативного поведения реципиента.

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#### **ХЕДЖИРОВАНИЕ В ТЕКСТЕ НАУЧНОЙ СТАТЬИ (НА ПРИМЕРЕ АНГЛИЙСКОГО ЯЗЫКА)**

*Данная статья посвящена комплексному изучению реализации компенсационной коммуникативной тактики хеджирования в текстах научных статей, написанных естественными носителями и не носителями английского языка (в том числе русскоговорящими) с учётом их гендерной принадлежности.*

*Научная новизна данной работы заключается в том, что реализация компенсационной стратегии хеджирования рассматривается в текстах научных статей на английском языке, написанных естественными носителями английского языка, а также русскоговорящими исследователями, публикующими свои работы на английском языке.*

*Целью исследования является изучение и описание формы и функций хеджирующих средств, а также выявление различий в использовании хеджей носителями и русскоговорящими не носителями английского языка, принимая во внимания их гендерную принадлежность. Цель исследования предполагает решение следующих задач:*

- 1) Описать существующие компенсационные стратегии, современные подходы к изучению концепта хедж и хеджирующая стратегия;*
- 2) Рассмотреть особенности реализации компенсационной стратегии хеджирования в тексте научной статьи, написанной на английском языке естественными носителями языка с учетом*

*их гендерной принадлежности;*

3) *Изучить особенности реализации компенсационной стратегии хеджирования в тексте научной статьи, написанной на английском языке русскоязычными не носителями английского языка с учетом их гендерной принадлежности;*

4) *Сравнить хеджирование в текстах научных статей, написанных естественными носителями и русскоговорящими не носителями английского языка;*

5) *Выработать рекомендации для исследователей, пишущих на английском языке.*

*Результатом проведённого анализа являются разработанные автором рекомендации для авторов англоязычных статей. Полученные результаты могут быть использованы для дальнейших исследований в области изучения текста научной статьи.*

*Ключевые слова: хеджирование, компенсационная стратегия, хедж, компенсатор, научный дискурс, британский вариант английского языка, гендерный аспект.*

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### **HEDGING IN ACADEMIC WRITING**

*The present article is aimed at studying the notion of hedging, the frequency of hedges and their functions in academic writing. It also focuses on their use by native speakers of the British variety of the English language and by non-native speakers. Attention is given to the writers' gender.*

*Relevance of the research topic. The notion of hedging has been investigated in many scholarly papers and approached in different ways over the past twenty-five years. The significance of the paper is also determined by the fact that hedging is an integral and indispensable part of academic writing. The paper presents particular interest for non-native researchers who contribute to English research journals. The scientific novelty of the paper includes comparison of the*

*use of hedges by native and non-native English speakers. The writers' gender is also taken into consideration.*

*The principal objective of the paper is to study hedging devices in research articles written by native and non-native speakers of English with attention to the authors' gender. It also aims to trace the differences in the use of hedges by the two above-mentioned groups.*

*The objective of the paper implies the following tasks:*

*1) To study the notion of hedging, approaches to the study of hedges, the existing definitions of hedges, their properties and functions;*

*2) To analyse hedging technologies used by native speakers of English (female and male) in writing research articles;*

*3) To analyse hedging technologies used by non-native speakers of English (female and male) in writing research articles;*

*4) To conduct a statistical and comparative analysis for both groups of speakers;*

*5) To work out recommendations for inexperienced non-native writers of scientific articles in the field of linguistics.*

*The results obtained in the analysis can be used for teaching theoretical and practical courses of English grammar, stylistics and discourse analysis.*

*Key words: hedging, compensatory strategy, hedging device, academic writing, scientific discourse, British English, gender.*

### **Introduction**

The research is aimed at studying the notion of hedging, the frequency of hedges and their functions. The paper focuses on the use of hedges in academic writing by native and non-native speakers of the British variety of the English language.

The notion of hedging has been investigated in many scholarly papers and approached in different ways over the past twenty-five years (Biber, 2016; Brown, & Levinson, 2014; Fraser, 2010; Lakoff, 1972; Larina, 2009; Maryukhin, 2010; Osipiv, 2012). Hedging is an integral and indispensable part of academic writing. The paper presents particular interest for non-native researchers who contribute to English research journals. The scientific novelty of the paper includes comparison of the use of hedges by native and non-native English speakers. The writers' gender is also taken into consideration.

### Material and methods

There is general agreement that hedging should be regarded as a rhetorical strategy, which enables people to interact effectively in different spheres of life. Hedging is considered to be a means of mitigating the illocutionary force of the utterance, which reduces the speaker's commitment to avoid possible face-threats in order to protect the interlocutor from potential harm or negative effects caused by the speech act. The term hedging is also used with reference to a range of textual strategies which apply hedges in a context to fulfill different communicative purposes such as politeness, mitigation, vagueness and modality. Hedging is one of the most essential features of written texts. Unhedged statements and conclusions are open to criticism and could even be treated as intellectually dishonest.

Hedging can be expressed with the help of various lexical items, grammatical devices and syntactic structures, depending on the speaker's or writer's purposes. Because of the fact that hedging is mostly treated as a socio-pragmatic phenomenon, there is still no absolute agreement on the issue concerning what linguistic devices should be referred to as hedges. That is why it is quite problematic to find one universal classification of hedging devices that would include and describe all the existing forms of hedges. Nevertheless, many researchers point to major features of hedges which should be taken into account. Therefore, it is relevant to divide the existing classifications into two groups: the former are based on the forms of hedges and the latter describe their functions.

For the purpose of the research, the functional approach to classifying hedges suggested by Prince, Frader and Bosk (1982) was chosen. They divided hedges into two classes according to their functions in the text: approximators and shields and described their functioning. The first one was based on propositional content solely and was also subdivided into two subclasses: adaptors and rounders. Adaptors, such as *somewhat*, *kind of*, *sort of*, *some*, *a little bit*, *largely*, *relatively* applied to class membership and contributed to the interpretation of an utterance.

e.g., You seem to be **somewhat** disappointed.

The timetable in Oslo is still **a little bit** unclear.

Rounders, such as *about*, *approximately*, *something*, *around*, *almost* were supposed to denote a range, where the notion is approximate.

e.g., Newborn pandas weigh **around** 100 to 200 grams and measure **something** 14 to 17 centimeters long.

His blood pressure was **about** 150/95 mm Hg.

Both subclasses indicated that the situations given in the examples were close to the expression modified, but not exact.

The second class, shields, implicated a level of uncertainty in terms of the speaker's involvement. There were two subclasses, too: plausibility shields and attribution shields. Plausibility shields such as *I think, I suggest, probably, I take it, as far as I can tell, I have to believe, right now, I don't see that*, were expressions that conveyed doubt.

e.g., But **I don't see that** we have any other options.

I wish I had an umbrella **right now**.

**As far as I can tell**, they don't have this one.

Prince et al. (1982) underscored that unhedged statements implicated that the indicated information was drawn from logical reasoning, while messages marked by plausibility shields demonstrated that the speaker exercised plausible reasons.

The second subclass, attribution shields were expressions such as *according to somebody's estimates, presumably, at least to somebody's knowledge*, which ascribe the responsibility of the statement to someone other than the speaker, often applying plausible reasoning.

e.g., She was not very arrogant, **according to his estimates**.

She'll **presumably** come later.

He hasn't spoken to them since Friday, **as far as I know**.

Making use of attribution shields, the speaker usually contributes to the truth of the message.

*The Journal of Pragmatics* was used as the main source of research articles. It is an interdisciplinary journal of language studies, which was first released in 1977. It comprises a wide range of academic research articles on pragmatics (cognitive, experimental, historical, interpersonal, multimodal, theoretical and etc.) and related fields such as discourse analysis, semantics, sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, interactional linguistics, psychology, media studies, sociology, and the philosophy of language. There are about 950 contributions from all over the world in the online archive of the journal.

For the purpose of the paper, 20 research articles were collected from different volumes of the Journal of Pragmatics that were released

in 1992-2018. The word count for each article comprises 6000-8000 words. The articles belong to the spheres of linguistics and sociolinguistics and represent results of scientific research. For the purpose of statistical and comparative analysis, the authors of the articles were chosen on the basis of the following criteria, which also determined the next three stages of analysis of the collected articles:

- Origin (10 research articles are written by British native speakers of English, and the authors of the rest 10 articles are characterized as non-native English speakers. From there, the collected articles were divided into two groups.);
- Gender (Within each group of both native and non-native authors of the research articles there are 5 female and 5 male writers. It determined the further subdivision of the articles for the analysis.)

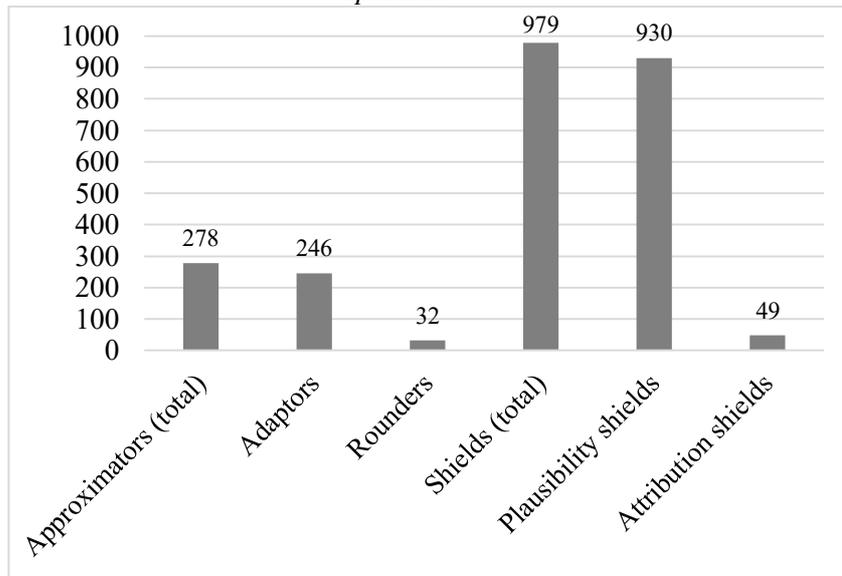
After the research articles were collected and sorted out, they were subjected to thorough statistical and comparative analysis. First, hedges were identified and collected from those articles. Second, the gathered hedging expressions were counted and classified according to their functions and what parts of speech functioned as hedges. And finally, the obtained results were compared with the regard to the authors' origin and gender.

The search of hedging expressions resulted in 1257 tokens in 10 research articles (60000-80000 words). The collected examples were first classified according to their functions in the text: approximators and shields.

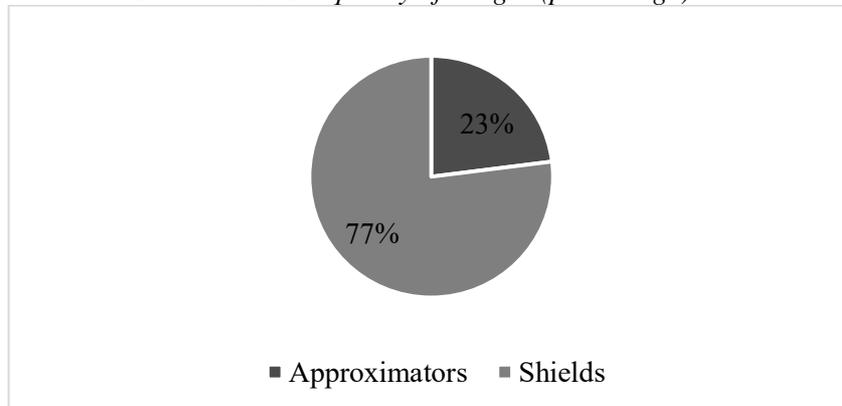
### **Results**

The present research shows that the most frequent class of hedges employed by **native speakers** of English in academic writing is shields. The number of tokens in each class is given in figure 1 below. The percentage of their use is demonstrated in pie-chart 1 below. The figures illustrate the frequency of the two classes of hedges and their four subclasses.

Figure 1. Frequency of hedges in research articles written by native speakers



Pie-chart 1. Frequency of hedges (percentage)



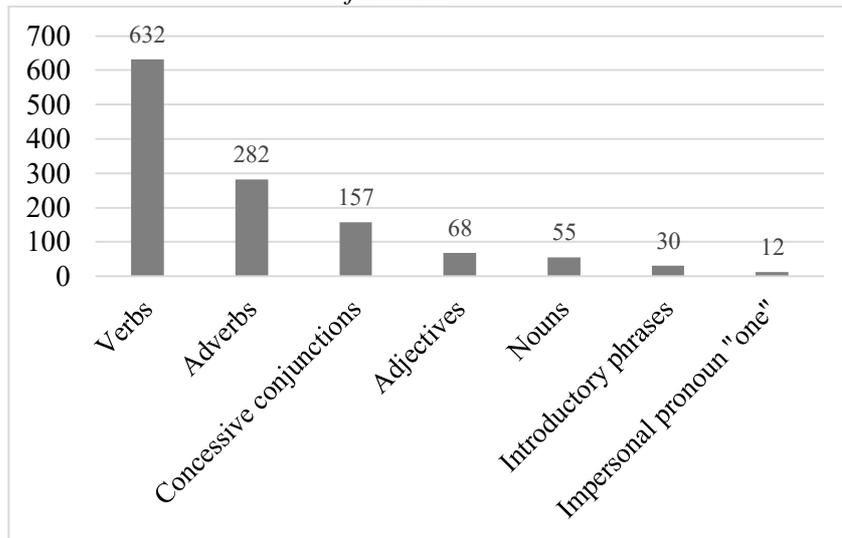
As is seen from the above figures representing hedging devices employed by native speakers of English in academic writing, shields are almost three times as frequent as approximators (979 and 278

tokens respectively). This demonstrates that the authors avoid using exact figures and characteristics, often referring to opinions of other acknowledged researchers. Examples of the two types of hedges are given below.

1. “**While** (*plausibility shield*) the precise nature of that role is still subject to continuous investigation, interactional phoneticians **seem** (*plausibility shield*) to agree that clusters of specific prosodic cues **can** (*plausibility shield*) be described for different linguistic varieties which occur in the vicinity of turn-endings, and are treated by conversationalists as potential signals for turn-completion or turn continuation, respectively.”;
2. “As a result, syllable duration and rate of articulation **may** (*plausibility shield*) vary across intervals, **according to** (*attribution shield*) the number of syllables in each interval.”;
3. “Our perception of a stretch of British English speech as rhythmic is created by the distribution of its stressed syllables at **roughly** (*rounder*) regular intervals of time.”;
4. “This explains the observation in this data set and in others that participants tend to rhythmicise their speech **particularly** (*adaptor*) strongly towards the end of their turns.”.

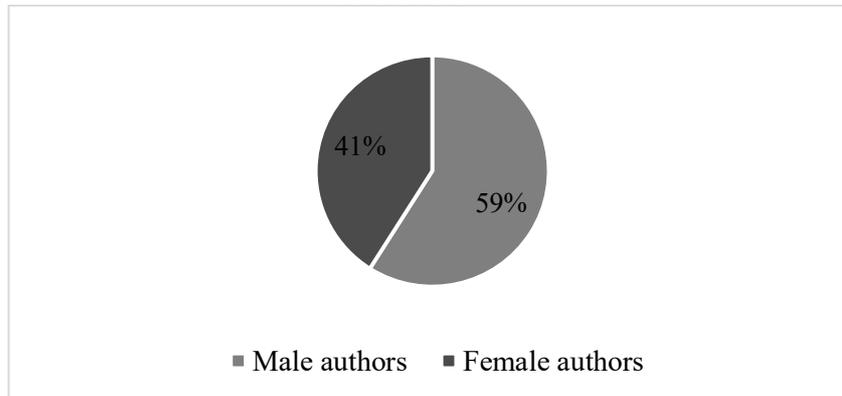
According to the part-of-speech classification, it is possible to differentiate between hedging nouns (e.g., assumption, suggestion), verbs (modals (e.g., may, could) and epistemic verbs (e.g., suggest, assume), adverbs (e.g., mostly, generally), adjectives (e.g., probable, possible), impersonal pronouns (e.g., one), concessive conjunctions (e.g., even though, although) and introductory phrases (e.g., according to, to my knowledge). When the part-of-speech distribution is taken into consideration, it is easy to determine whether hedges are mostly employed in propositional content or embrace the whole speech act. The results obtained are presented in figure 2 below.

Figure 2: The use of different parts of speech in the hedging function



For the purpose of the comparative analysis, gender of the authors was also taken into consideration.

Pie-chart 2. Percentage of hedges employed by male and female researchers

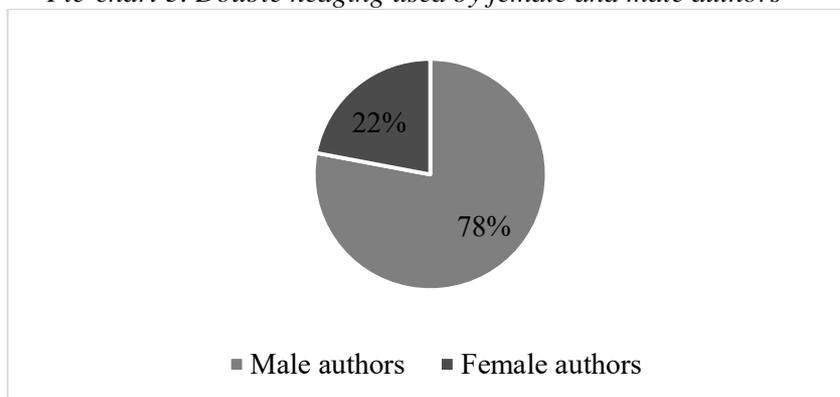


As is seen from pie-chart 2, male researchers employ hedging expressions more often in comparison with female authors. There are about 80-100 hedges

Occurrences of double hedging can also be found in research articles by female authors.

1. “However, **one could** argue that the rhythmic pattern is not disrupted by an absence of speech...”;
2. “This finding **seemed to suggest** a state of affairs in which phonetic boundaries do not enact interactional ones...”;
3. “The effect of role **seems relatively** minor, and unlikely to be practically meaningful.”;
4. “This is **probably especially** true of role-related rights and obligations”.

*Pie-chart 3. Double hedging used by female and male authors*

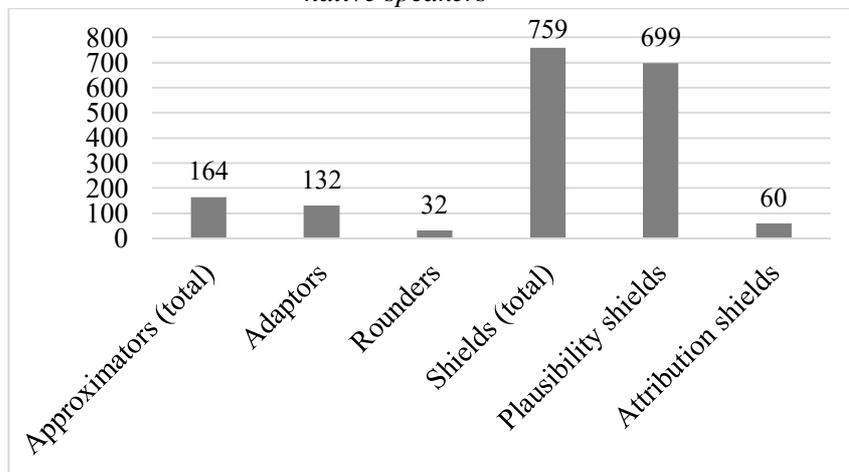


As is seen from the above pie-chart, male researchers use double hedging more frequently, thus making their research findings less categorical and restricted.

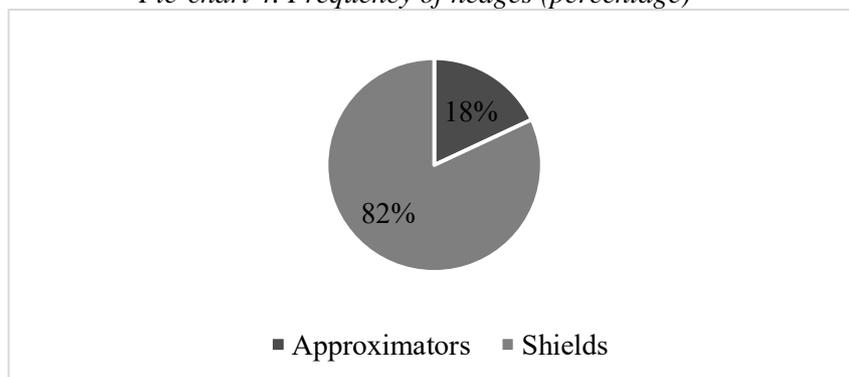
The statistical and comparative analysis of the articles written by native English speakers has shown that hedging expressions are used quite frequently in academic writing. Researchers often employ hedges while presenting their findings and making conclusions in order to avoid prospective criticism. The most frequently used hedges are plausibility shields, namely modal and epistemic verbs, which enable authors to regulate the truth value of their statements. Speaking of gender characteristics, the analysis has shown that male researchers tend to employ hedges more frequently. Double hedging is also used more often by male authors. On the average, there are about 80-100 hedging expressions to 7000 words.

The present research shows that shields are employed by **non-native writers** more frequently than approximators (759 and 164 token respectively). The results are reported in figure 3 and pie-chart 4 below. They show graphically the relative frequency of 923 tokens sampled in the articles written by non-native authors.

Figure 3. Frequency of hedges in research articles written by non-native speakers



Pie-chart 4. Frequency of hedges (percentage)

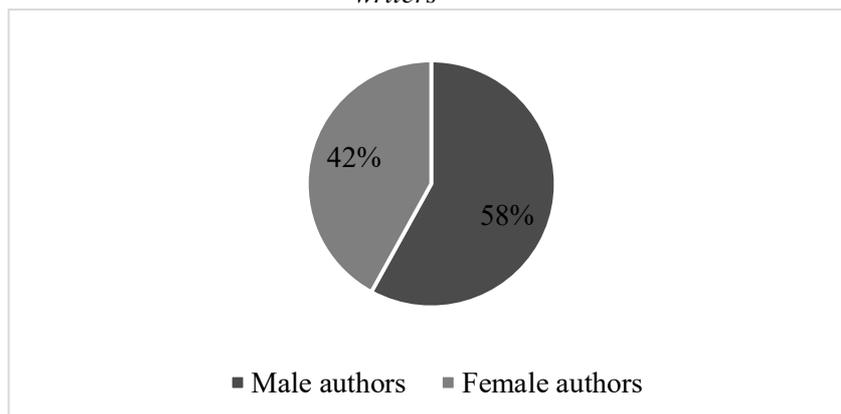


The above figure and pie-chart demonstrate that non-native speakers tend to use shields more often, thus avoiding categorical statements,

reducing responsibility for the statement and referring to some other recognized researchers. Examples of different types of hedging expressions extracted from the articles are given below:

1. “In the following example (2), the pattern is **basically** the same as in (1) but knowledge is not explicitly mentioned in the enclitic clause.” (adaptor);
2. “They are difficult to square with the functional categories used here, but ‘external’ is **roughly** equivalent to information-seeking functions.” (rounder);
3. “At the same time, the scope of -gi/-ki has been **claimed** to be the whole sentence, not a single word or phrase” (plausibility shield);
4. “It was shown above that the enclitic pattern can involve epistemic as well as other kinds of verbs, that the crucial new information may be obtained from verbal or non-verbal sources, and that the pattern occurs across both polarities, **even though** it is more common in negative clauses that already express that the matter is counter to expectations.” (plausibility shield);
5. “They analyzed 504 metaphors in some transcripts of the MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour **according to** a nine-category taxonomy.” (attribution shield).

*Pie-chart 5: Percentage of hedges employed by female and male writers*



Pie-chart 5 demonstrates graphically the discrepancy between the number of hedges used by male and female non-native speakers in the articles. Shields prevail over approximators in every article.

Speaking of double hedging, it is important to highlight that there are no occurrences of these in the research articles written by female non-native authors, while the number of double hedging used by male writers comprises 7 tokens (100%). Examples of double hedging are presented below.

1. “In addition, interlocutors **should generally** avoid dedicated means for asking questions (polar and constituent interrogatives) altogether in favor of more covert means of procuring information.”;
2. “In this respect, **one should** bear in mind that self-repairs are a very special kind of linguistic input.”;
3. “An imperative form, for example, makes relevant the immediate fulfilment of the request and is used when the requester **can assume** the requestee’s compliance.”.

The use of double hedging contributes to making statements sound more tentative thus less open to criticism.

The statistical and comparative analysis of the research articles written by non-native speakers of English has shown that hedging expressions are employed quite often. The most frequently used types of hedges are shields, namely plausibility shields, which enable researchers to appear less categorical and restricted. As for gender characteristics, the articles written by male authors turned out to be more hedged.

The comparative analysis of the hedging behavior of native and non-native speakers has shown that although there are a lot of common features in organizing research articles, there are still many more differences.

### **Discussion**

The main objective of the present study was to identify the frequency and functions of hedging devices used by native and non-native authors in academic writing. The research was conducted on the basis of the British variety of the English language.

The linguistic investigation into hedging enables us to conclude that it is one of the salient features of English scientific discourse, which abounds in hedges. Hedging should be regarded as a rhetorical strategy,

which enables people to interact effectively in different spheres of life. Hedging is considered to be a means of mitigating the illocutionary force of the utterance, which reduces the speaker's commitment in order to avoid the possible face-threat and protect the interlocutor from the potential negative impact of the speech act. For the purpose of the paper, the functional approach to classifying hedges was chosen.

To analyse hedging devices in academic writing, 20 research articles (140000 words) written by native and non-native speakers of the British variety of English were collected from the *Journal of Pragmatics* and used as the main source for the analysis. Special attention was given to the gender of the authors.

The statistical analysis of the 10 research articles written by native speakers of English has shown that shields are almost three times as frequent as approximators (77% and 23% respectively). This demonstrates that the authors avoid using exact figures and characteristics and they also avoid unequivocal statements, often referring to opinions of other acknowledged researchers. As for the part-of-speech distribution, verbs in the hedging function are the most numerous in research articles written by native speakers. This signals the authors' choice to reduce their involvement into the propositional context, ascribing the responsibility for the statement to someone else. As the research shows, modal verbs are used more often than epistemic verbs (69% and 31% respectively), as they allow to express certainty or uncertainty about what is being described. It enables authors to sound less categorical, disclaim responsibility and show openness to any other new research findings.

The gender analysis of the native speakers shows that male authors employ hedging devices more often than female researchers (59% and 41% of the total number of tokens respectively). The occurrence of hedges is more than 100 tokens in every article by the male writers. Plausibility shields are the most numerous hedges in both male and female research articles. They enable authors to demonstrate a certain degree of doubt, to appear tactful and, as a result, to avoid prospective criticism. The number of hedging introductory phrases is higher in articles written by female researchers. This proves that female authors tend to appeal to somebody else's opinions more often while presenting their findings in research articles. The analysis of parts of speech also showed that modal verbs, adverbs and concessive conjunctions can be

found among the most frequently used shields. An interesting feature can be observed: the number of double hedging used by male writers comprises 21 tokens, which results in 78% of the overall number of double hedging employed in the 10 research articles (27 tokens in total).

The statistical analysis of the 10 research articles written by non-native speakers has given identical results: shields prevail over approximators (82% and 18% respectively), which enable researchers to sound less categorical and more tactful. The most frequently used hedges are plausibility shields, namely modal and epistemic verbs, which can affect the truth value of the propositions.

When the gender of the authors was taken into consideration, the analysis showed that researchers tended to use hedges more frequently in their articles. Nevertheless, the number of attribution shields is higher in comparison with those in the articles written by male authors (35 and 27 tokens respectively). This proves that female writers tend to refer to opinions of other recognized researchers more often thus making their statements more trustworthy.

The comparative analysis of the 20 research articles written by native and non-native speakers of English has shown the similarities and differences in the use of hedges by native and non-native authors. All the researchers use shields more frequently in order to reduce their commitment to their statements and conclusions. Verbs in the hedging functions, namely modal verbs, are the most numerous hedges in the analysed research articles, as they enable to affect the truth value of the proposition and disclaim responsibility for what is being described most successfully. Speaking of gender characteristics, the number of hedges employed by male authors is higher than that of female writers. As for differences in the use of hedging devices, it is necessary to note that native authors apply hedges naturally, systematically and frequently, giving special attention to making hedged conclusions, which proves that hedging is an integral and indispensable part of the English language. Non-native researchers are unaware of underlying rules of the use of hedges, that is why they employ them at random, sometimes overusing them which makes them sound redundant or omitting at all thus they appear categorical. An interesting feature can be observed here: although non-native speakers use hedges less in their research articles, German-speaking authors employ hedges as

frequently as native speakers of English and in much similar ways. Attribution shields, namely introductory phrases such as *according to*, *to smb's knowledge*, are employed more often by non-native authors of research articles. This demonstrates that non-native speakers refer to other acknowledged researchers more often in order to appear trustworthy. Occurrences of double hedging are found in every analysed research article written by native authors, which shows that double hedging is a widespread phenomenon in academic writing. As for non-native writers, German-speaking male authors only employ double hedging.

### **Conclusion**

The conducted analysis enables us to give recommendations for inexperienced non-native writers of scientific articles in linguistics:

1. Focus on the use of hedges, as hedging is an indispensable part of the English language, and research articles abound in hedges.
2. Focus on plausibility shields, as they will allow you to avoid prospective criticism.
3. Do not overuse hedges in order to avoid sounding redundant.
4. Remember about double hedging, as it is a salient feature of research articles written by native speakers.

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