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The journal contains selected articles devoted to various languages (Slavic, Germanic, Romance, Turkic, Tungus-Manchu, Mongolian, Finnish-Ugric, Samoyedic, Yeniseian, and Oriental) belonging to different language families (Indo-European, Balto-Slavic, Uralic, Altai, Sino-Tibetan, Paleo-Asiatic). Particular attention is paid to the languages of the peoples of Russia including endangered languages and mixed language formations (pidgins, creoles). Current issues of many linguistic fields are viewed: phonetics and phonology, lexicology, onomastics, lexicography, grammar, stylistics, semantics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, historical linguistics and comparative-historical linguistics, cross-language studies, and linguistic typology. Aspects of second language acquisition, various borrowings and replications from a foreign language are addressed. Theory and practice of written and oral translation is observed. Wide range of methods of linguistic studies including data collection and data processing for corpus linguistics, methods of acoustic, perceptual and articulatory study and computer modeling of languages are described. Discussing methods of language teaching and applying results of modern scientific research for teaching native and foreign languages is encouraged. The articles published in this journal might be useful for both specialists in the fields mentioned and a wider audience including students.

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**СОЧЕТАЕМОСТЬ КАК СРЕДСТВО ОПРЕДЕЛЕНИЯ  
ЛЕКСИЧЕСКОГО ЗНАЧЕНИЯ ДИАЛЕКТНОГО СЛОВА:  
НА МАТЕРИАЛЕ МНОГОЗНАЧНОГО ПРИЛАГАТЕЛЬНОГО  
«ПАРНОЙ» В ГОВОРАХ СТАРООБРЯДЦЕВ  
АМУРСКОЙ ОБЛАСТИ  
COMPATIBILITY AS A MEANS OF DETERMINING LEXICAL  
MEANING OF DIALECT WORDS:  
BASED ON THE POLYSEMANTIC ADJECTIVE «PARNOI»  
IN THE DIALECTS OF OLD BELIEVERS OF THE AMUR REGION**

**Аннотация**

Проблема разграничения общерусской и диалектной лексики, образованной на базе общерусской, традиционно является одной из актуальных в диалектологии и диалектной лексикографии. В старообрядческих говорах Амурской области функционирует большая группа прилагательных, обладающих структурно-семантическими особенностями, отличными от соответствующих характеристик слов литературного языка. Лексико-семантическое содержание диалектных прилагательных определяется характером их сочетаемости с именем существительным, а также системными отношениями синонимии, антонимии, гипо-гиреронимии и другими, обнаруживающими их дифференциальные признаки. Смыслоразличительная способность сочетаемости в значительной степени показательна при разграничении лексико-семантических вариантов общерусских и диалектных прилагательных. Результаты проведённого анализа значений полисемичного прилагательного *парной* указывают на его особый лексикографический статус. Отмечены ограниченность его употребления в литературном языке и более свободная сочетаемость в говорах, а также отсутствие данного прилагательного в ранних памятниках письменности. Наряду с традиционными словарными значениями ‘свежий’, ‘насыщенный испарениями, знойный, душный’, ‘разо-превший, нагретый’ в говоре села Новоандреевка Белогорского района Амурской области выявлены неожиданные значения, связанные с особой сочетаемостью: *парной ребёнок* и *парная родильница*. Полученные результаты найдут применение для более последовательной иллюстрации значений многозначных слов в словарях.

**Abstract**

The problem of differentiating all-Russian and dialect vocabulary, the latter being based on all-Russian one, is traditionally one of the most discussed in dialect studies and dialect lexicography. In the dialects of Old Believers of the Amur region there is a large group of

adjectives possessing structural and semantic characteristics different from the corresponding ones of the words of the literary language. Lexical-semantic content of dialect adjectives determined by the nature of their compatibility with the noun and synonymy, antonymy, hypo/hypernymy etc relations within the language system, reveals their distinctive features. Distinctive function of compatibility is largely performed while differentiating between lexical-semantic variants of all-Russian and dialect adjectives. The results of the study of a polysemic adjective *parnoi* indicate its special lexicographic status characterized by limited use in the literary language and wider compatibility in dialects, besides it did not appear in early Russian manuscripts. In addition to traditional meanings of ‘fresh’, ‘humid, hot, stuffy’, ‘melted’, the adjective *parnoi* demonstrated unexpected meanings determined by the following compatibility: *parnoi rebjonok* (newly-born baby) and *parnaja rodilnitsa* (a woman who has just given birth to a child). The obtained results have certain implication for illustrating word meanings in dictionaries more adequately.

**Ключевые слова:** лексикография, лексика, диалект, старообрядцы, сочетаемость.

**Keywords:** lexicography, vocabulary, dialect, Old Believers, compatibility.

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## 1. Введение

Задача любого толкового словаря, в том числе диалектного, – семантизация заголовочной единицы, включающая установление семного состава слова и сообщающая о нём такие сведения, которые позволяли бы правильно понимать и употреблять его.

При семантизации слова в словарях необходимо учитывать сложный характер взаимодействия значения слова и его сочетаемости, актуализирующей, главным образом, такие семантические признаки лексемы, которые образуют ядро денотативного значения слова и имеют высокую функциональную значимость.

Сочетаемость во многом определяется природой лексического значения слова, характером его функциональной значимости. Сочетаемость активно участвует в отражении семантических различий между значениями многозначной лексемы и омонимами. Часто такая сочетаемость называется дифференцирующей (дифференциальной, диагностической, различительной).

Полисемия как наличие у одной единицы языка нескольких связанных между собой значений, обычно возникающих в результате видоизменения и развития первоначального значения этой единицы, широко представлена в системе лексики современного русского языка, определяя её национальное своеобразие. Сущность лексической многозначности заключается в том, что слово может иметь ряд произвольно-номинативных значений, связанных между собой единым семантическим стержнем и различаемых в слове характером его употребления в контексте.

Несмотря на многочисленные исследования (см., напр., [Алекторова, 1972; Арутюнова, 1980; Апресян, 1963; Виноградов, 1953; Звегинцев, 1968; Морковкин, 1984; Шмелев, 1967] и др.) проблема полисемии (в



частности, вопрос, связанный с представлением многозначных слов в толковых словарях) до сих пор является одной из важнейших в теории языка. Многозначное слово, безусловно, представляет интерес не только для словарного дела. Но именно с точки зрения лексикографии интерпретация семантической структуры наиболее трудна. «Это объясняется тем, что лексикограф вынужден рассматривать явление многозначности, динамическое по своей сути, как бы статично, в результате чего определенное углубление реальной картины представляется неизбежным» [Бродельщикова, 1984, с. 28].

Таким образом, изучение сочетаемостных свойств слова является важнейшим семантизирующим фактором определения значений многозначного слова, поэтому совершенно необходимо отражение в словарной статье его сочетаемостных возможностей. При разграничении лексико-семантических вариантов (далее – ЛСВ) каждое отдельное значение связывается с определённым набором слов, способных сочетаться с данным вариантом. Именно этот набор «распространителей» ограничивает один ЛСВ от другого.

Цель статьи – рассмотреть сочетаемость как средство определения лексического значения многозначного слова.

## **2. Сочетаемость как средство разграничения общерусской и диалектной лексики**

Общепонятная лексика, представляя собой лексическое ядро любого языка, является средством выражения наиболее значимых, жизненно важных понятий, это основа общенационального литературного словаря. Подавляющее большинство входящих в неё слов постоянно в своём употреблении и зафиксировано во всех стилях речи. Диалектная лексика ограничена территориально и характеризуется функциональным постоянством.

Проблема разграничения общерусской и диалектной лексики, образованной на базе общерусской, традиционно является одной из актуальных в диалектологии и диалектной лексикографии. Например, в старообрядческих говорах Амурской области функционирует большая группа прилагательных, обладающих структурно-семантическими особенностями, отличными от соответствующих характеристик слов литературного языка. Лексико-семантическое содержание диалектных прилагательных определяется характером их сочетаемости с именем существительным, а также системными отношениями синонимии, антонимии, гипо-гиперонимии и прочими, обнаруживающими их дифференциальные признаки. Общая картина семантической трансформации прилагательных в литературном языке предложена Ю. С. Сорокиным еще в 1965 г. [Сорокин, 1965]. Перечисляя типы семантических изменений как «широко представленные в разные эпохи и на различной языковой почве», Ю. С. Сорокин отмечает усиление их темпов и размахов. Среди значительного количества просторечных и областных слов, оказавшихся вовлеченными в литературное употребление, учёный анализирует целую группу прилагательных, подчёркивая сложность процесса асси-

милляции этих слов в литературной речи, в результате чего нередко «менялось, суживалось или расширялось их значение, складывалось применение их к иным, чем в контекстах народной речи, предметно-смысловым сферам, менялись и границы их привычной сочетаемости с другими словами [Сорокин, 1965, с. 494]. Ю. С. Сорокин замечает, что «детальное исследование вклада народно-разговорной речи в русский литературный язык нового времени, сложных и изменчивых взаимоотношений и взаимовлияний народно-разговорной, диалектной и литературной речи представляет собою особую задачу» [Сорокин, 1965, с. 494].

Смыслоразличительная способность сочетаемости в значительной степени показательна при разграничении лексико-семантических вариантов (ЛСВ) общерусских и диалектных прилагательных. С одной стороны, сочетаемость отражает и подтверждает семантические признаки слова, закреплённые в общественном сознании и сформулированные в толковании, с другой – разграничивает отдельные значения многозначных слов. Большинство слов, не обладающих предметной отнесённостью значений, границы своих ЛСВ обозначает исключительно посредством лексической сочетаемости, которая наиболее трудна для лексикографического описания, так как это обуславливается как экстралингвистическими (предметно-логическими связями, укрепившейся нормой употребления слова, заданностью смысла), так и сугубо лингвистическими факторами.

Таким образом, лексическая сочетаемость является главным средством объективации различных компонентов (сем, семем) значения слова, то есть она является решающим фактором разграничения значений многозначных слов.

### 3. Языковой статус многозначного прилагательного *парно́й*

Были проанализированы значения полисемичного прилагательного *парно́й* по данным различных словарей русского языка. Для определения диалектного статуса этого прилагательного привлекались данные архива диалектных текстов лаборатории региональной лингвистики Амурского государственного университета.

Основным источником исследования послужила лексика говора села Новоандреевка Белогорского района Амурской области.

Система значений прилагательного *парно́й* в этом старообрядческом говоре, с одной стороны, сходна с литературной. Его семантические свойства с проявляющейся тенденцией к ограничению смысловых связей раскрываются в Словаре русского языка в 4-х томах (МАС).

Так, *парно́й* в сочетаниях со словами, обозначающими предметы животного происхождения (*молоко, мясо, рыба, шкура, кровь, печень* и т.п.), обнаруживает значение ‘свежий, еще сохранивший теплоту живого тела’; сочетаясь со словами *день, воздух, баня* и тому подобными, имеет значение ‘насыщенный испарениями, знойный, душный’; значение ‘разопревший, нагретый’ проявляется в сочетаниях *парной человек, парное тело* классифицируется как разговорное [Словарь русского языка, 1999, с. 205–206].



С другой стороны, помимо отмеченных в МАС сочетаний, в говоре Новоандреевки обнаруживается неожиданная, с точки зрения литературного языка, сочетаемость: *парная родильница* – ‘недавно родившая’; *парной ребёнок* – ‘новорождённый’. Например: *Родит женишнына, она тоже парная*; *Бало, пока парная, шесть недель тесто не месишь*; *Иишо парной был, до трёх дней, изуродовали его*; *И маленький народится – парной, сырой, говорят: Не ходи, он иишо парной, сырой, не сглазь!*; *Берегите, чё, он парной вялый*; *Ребеночек тоже парной, шесть недель парной, штоб никто не видел, не полюбовался*.

Приведённые примеры не демонстрируют значения ‘свежий, еще сохранивший теплоту живого тела’, хотя семантическая близость ощущается в значении степени, обусловленном присутствием сем с временным значением ‘совсем недавно’. Но значения ‘недавно родившийся’ и ‘недавно родившая’ не вполне раскрывают содержание словосочетаний *парной ребёнок* и *парная родильница*.

По славянским представлениям, ребёнок от рождения до освоения ходьбы наиболее уязвимый для негативного влияния и воздействия нечистой силы. Он «появляется на свет «мягким», податливым, точно глина, отсюда и обозначение младенца первые шесть недель – *парной, сырой*. <...> Его «доделывают» в соответствии с традиционными представлениями: выправляют нос, уши, губы, шею, трут глаза, растирают лоб... <...> Желая сделать голову круглой и ровной, её массируют во время купания, мажут жиром, молоком, повязывая двумя тряпками или пеленками. Повитуха, приняв новорожденного, крест-накрест стягивает ручки и ножки, потряхивает его <...>. Младенца туго пеленают, вытягивая ножки, а ручки прижимая к телу» [Кабакова, 2004, с. 258–259].

Показательно в этом отношении наименование недоношенного ребёнка в говорах семейских – *недопарыш*: *Недопарыша принесла, не жилец он, не жилец*. По народным представлениям, этого ребёнка следует «допарить»: *Обмажешь недопарыша тестом и в теплую печь положишь*.

Однако существует иная точка зрения на толкования слов *парной* и *недопарыш*: ребёнок появляется на свет с «неполноценной» душой (парой) и только в процессе рождения и (или) крещения получают настоящую душу [Кабакова, 2004, с. 261]. Но в говорах семейских Амурской области наименование души как пары не фиксируется, нами записаны контексты, демонстрирующие связь слов *парной* и *недопарыш* только с глаголом *парить*. Следовательно, в говорах связь с существительным *пара* либо утрачена, либо не существовала вовсе.

Таким образом, в народное понятие ‘парной ребёнок’ вкладывается представление о чём-то не вполне здоровом; незрелом, ещё не достигшем нормального состояния, которое очень точно предается синонимом *сырой*. Показательно в этом отношении отмеченное В. Далем слово *сырь* – ‘молозев; молоко в первое время после родин и отёла, жидкое’ [Даль, 1863–1866, с. 376]. В заметках Г. С. Виноградова прилагательное *сырой* в словосочетании *сырой ребёнок* определяется как ‘вялый, полный,

тяжёлый' [Виноградов, 1918, с. 21]. Во владимирских и костромских говорах отмечается аналогичное значение прилагательного *сырой*: *Мальчишек-ко сырой, то и дело хворает* [Словарь русских народных говоров, 2010, с. 231]. Это значение у слова *сырой* сближается с разговорным 'С нездоровой полнотой, излишне рыхлый; болезненно вялый, слабый (из-за излишней полноты, рыхлости)' [Словарь современного русского литературного языка, Т. 14, с. 1368].

Появление народных понятий *парной ребенок* и *парная родильница* оправдано реальной действительностью – болезненным состоянием матери-роженицы, функциональной перестройкой организма и матери, и младенца, длящейся свыше шести недель. Об особенном состоянии новорождённого и роженицы свидетельствуют многочисленные диалектные и фольклорные данные.

В русских народных говорах зафиксированы такие сочетания, как *парной мёд* – 'только-что вынутый из улья'; *парная рожь* – 'очень колосистая, и колос полный'; *парная лошадь* – 'потная, разгоряченная' [Словарь русских народных говоров, 1999, с. 53].

В Словаре современного русского народного говора *парной* определяется как 'тёплый // разопревшийся' [Словарь современного русского народного говора (д. Деулино Рязанского района Рязанской области), 1969, с. 390]. В аналогичных сочетаниях (*парной ребёнок*) по говорам значения прилагательных оказываются разными. Существенно, что в Словаре Академии Российской 1793 г., где даётся одна из первых лексикографических характеристик прилагательного *парной*, представлены две дефиниции: *парное молоко* – 'недавно выдоенное' и *парное мясо* – 'мясо ещё недавно убитого животного' [Словарь Академии..., Т. 4, с. 717]. В Словаре 1847 г. сочетания *парное мясо*, *парное молоко*, *парная баня* объединяются в значении 'содержащий в себе пар, теплоту' [Словарь церковно-славянского..., 1847, с. 160].

Диалектные значения прилагательного *парной* раскрываются при употреблении с глаголами *родить*, *народиться* и прилагательным *сырой*. Важно также принимать во внимание характер дискурса, в котором употребляется данное прилагательное – указание на срок, определяющий границы «парного» состояния новорождённого и матери, специфические народные представления о месте роженицы и новорождённого в социуме и связанные с этим обряды. Примеры функционирования прилагательного *парной* в качестве определения к существительным *женщина*, *родильница*, *ребёнок* можно рассматривать как показатель исторических семантических связей слова, более свободного его употребления и более широкого объёма значения. В говоре Новоандреевки сочетания *парной ребёнок* и *парная родильница* могут рассматриваться как устойчивые, при этом смысловое содержание прилагательного *парной* информантами воспринимается как устаревшее.

Таким образом, наблюдения над сочетаемостью прилагательного *парной* показывают ограниченность его употребления в литературном языке и более свободную сочетаемость в говорах, отсутствие прилагательного

в ранних памятниках письменности, несмотря на принадлежность к общеславянскому корнеслову, указание в ранних лексикографических источниках лишь на сочетаемость со словами *мясо*, *молоко*, преимущественное распространение слова в северо-восточных говорах, что несомненно говорит об особом лексикографическом статусе данного слова.

#### 4. Выводы

Таким образом, разграничивая общенародные и территориально обусловленные пласты словаря, следует учитывать изменения, постоянно происходящие в них. Некоторые группы слов, ранее относящиеся к диалектной лексике, в настоящее время являются общенародными. И наоборот, ряд общенародных слов, выходя из общенародного употребления и приобретая специфическое значение, переходит в сферу ограниченного, в том числе диалектного, употребления.

Подвижность границ между общенародной и диалектной лексикой свидетельствует о постоянном развитии и изменении русского словаря. Реальная жизнь слова *парной*, его синонимов и слов одной лексико-семантической группы, несовпадение комплексов их значений в говоре со значениями слов в литературном языке требует внимательного изучения сочетаемости слова для определения его языкового статуса.

Учитывая семантику сочетающихся слов, следует, очевидно, уделять большое внимание подбору иллюстративного материала к показу семантических признаков слов, сформулированных в значении: иллюстративная часть словарной статьи должна быть чёткой, не допускающей двусмысленного толкования. Разные ЛСВ одного и того же слова в словаре должны различаться сочетаемостью. Характер сочетаемости ЛСВ многозначного слова может рассматриваться как основание для представления семантического содержания слова в словаре общего или дифференциального типа. Фактором, определяющим последовательность приведения значения заголовочной единицы, является характер сочетаемости ЛСВ слова, отражающий ту или иную степень синтагматической обусловленности каждого ЛСВ. Зависимость упорядочивания опознанного семантического спектра от характера сочетаемости может обнаруживаться в том, что первым в словарной статье указывается то значение, которое наименее обусловлено синтагматически, а далее значения располагаются по степени нарастания их синтагматической обусловленности. После установления спектра значений и определения статуса ЛСВ следует этап оформления семантического содержания слова.

Дифференцирующая сочетаемость как средство разграничения значений многозначного слова стоит в ряду других средств (денотативной отнесённости слова в каждом значении, парадигматических связей и отношений, словообразовательных возможностей и др.). Однако, на наш взгляд, она является основным инструментом различения значений многозначного слова для многих классов слов, главным образом, непредметной семантики.

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**THE USES OF ORAL HISTORY IN CYPRUS  
AND BORNEO: MEMORY AND IDENTITY**  
**ИСПОЛЬЗОВАНИЕ УСТНЫХ РАССКАЗОВ ЖИТЕЛЕЙ КИПРА  
И БОРНЕО: ПАМЯТЬ И ИДЕНТИЧНОСТЬ**

**Abstract**

For thousands of years, borders and boundaries have sprung up all over the globe, have been violated, crossed, abolished and re-established. People(s) have moved within them and came from the outside and settled, continuously displacing already established communities and being displaced in turn. The current paper focuses upon people's memories concerning recent unsettlings in the Eastern Mediterranean. The data stem from two Oral History Projects conducted in Cyprus and Sarawak. During interviews life and language experience of borderline residents of different origins was shared. The interview samples turned out to demonstrate all the three different modes of oral history narratives each with certain linguistic peculiarities: the institutional, the communal and the personal, although the personal memory dominated. Reactions to interviewer questions and lexical units used in the interviews demonstrated different degree of willingness to speak about traumatic experience connected with borderline unrest. The interviews obtained can be widely used for further research in the fields of discourse analysis and corpus studies.

**Аннотация**

Тысячелетиями по всему миру границы возникали и исчезали; их пересекали, нарушали, меняли. Люди перемещались по приграничным территориям, приходя из разных регионов, обосновывались там, при этом постоянно либо вытесняли уже устоявшиеся сообщества, либо сами были вынуждены покидать обустроенные места. В настоящей статье описываются воспоминания людей, живших в районах восточного Средиземноморья в такие нестабильные периоды. Данные были получены из двух речевых корпусов устных рассказов, сформированных в рамках проектов, выполненных на Кипре и в Сараваке. В ходе этих рассказов жители приграничных территорий делятся жизненным и языковым опытом. В полученных образцах интервью отмечаются черты всех трёх моделей устного рассказа: институциональной, общественной и личностной при преобладании личностного компонента. Реакции испытуемых на вопросы, заданные корреспондентами, и особенности использования лексических единиц в ходе интервью отражают степень готовности испытуемых говорить о своём печальном опыте во времена политической нестабильности на границе. Полученные интервью могут найти широкое применение при анализе дискурса и для корпусных исследований.

**Keywords:** borderline residents, oral history narrative, discourse, corpus studies.

**Ключевые слова:** жители приграничных территорий, жанр устного повествования, дискурс, корпусные исследования.

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## 1. Introduction

For thousands of years, borders and boundaries have sprung up all over the globe, have been violated, crossed, abolished and re-established. Oftentimes, these borders had their origins in natural borders, but other times, these borders were drawn up by powerful entities such as empires, states and individuals. Naturally, the great plains of Asia, the steppes of North and South America, central Europe and the savannahs of Africa were prime examples of human drawn borders [Volk, 2008 ; Goody, 2007 ; Mazower, 2006 ; Kaufman, 2004 ; Makdidi, 2000, 2006 ; Meskell, 1998 ; Kovacs, 2006 ; Ozturkmen, 2006 ; Passerine, 1979 ; Haugbolle, 2005 ; Brown, 2003 ; Troebst, 2003], whereas islands, especially smaller ones, typically only had natural borders, such as mountain ranges or indeed the Amur River separating Russia and China. Islands themselves do usually not have such natural borders and were and/or are divided along political lines. Examples include Hispaniola, Papua New Guinea, Ireland, or Cyprus [Leventis et al., 2008 ; Nadjarian, 2006 ; Papadakis, 2006, 2005 ; Leventis, 2002 ; Scott, 2002] and Borneo.

The Eastern Mediterranean has been a particularly contested area [Hodgkin, Radstone, 2003]. People(s) have moved within it and came from the outside and settled, continuously displacing already established communities and being displaced in turn [Anderson, 2006]. This chapter is intended to analyse some of the memories associated with more recent unsettlings in the Eastern Mediterranean and more specifically with Cyprus. The data used in the following stem from two Oral History (henceforth OH) (see more on oral history theory e.g. in [Abrams, 2010 ; Hamilton, Shopes, 2008 ; Denis, 2007 ; Perks, 2006 ; Merikle, Meredyth, 1998 ; Portelli, 1997 ; Frisch, 1995]) Projects, one conducted from 2009 to 2012 in Cyprus and partly funded by the European Union. The so-called SHARP project<sup>1</sup> aimed at adding its voice(s) to the cultural conversations taking place across the island by making them public. The other one is ongoing at the time of this writing and is taking place on both sides of the Sarawak - Kalimantan Barat border on Borneo.

In the Cypriot iteration of the project, over 100 interviews were conducted on both sides of the Green Line which since 1974 separates the northern Turkish Cypriot part from the southern Greek Cypriot one. Trouble between the two communities had been brewing even before Cyprus had gained its independence from Britain in 1960 and would still worsen afterwards.

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<sup>1</sup> More information on the project and a sample of the interviews can be accessed at <http://www.sharpnetwork.eu>.

Issues of identity [Nair-Venugopal, 2009 ; Canefe, 2007, 2006], problematic relationships and differing historical accounts would continue to divide the two communities even today. And while not explicitly discussed here due to space restraints, the overall SHARP project relates to such issues of memory, memorialisation and the search for identity [The memory bank, 2014 ; Sa'di, Abu-Lughod, 2007 ; Nuttall, Coetzee, 1998 ; Frank, 1995 ; Schacter, 1996] by specifically analysing production settings, processes, the training of interviewers, the interviews themselves and the collective interpretation of this data via new media means and debriefing events [Linde, 1983 ; Duffy, Jonassen, 1992 ; Bamford, 2003 ; Stokes, 2001 ; Giorgis et al., 1999 ; Wileman, 1993 ; Sinatra, 1986].

Interviewees would typically be older members of both communities: the Turkish Cypriots in the north and the Greek Cypriots in the south. Additionally, a member of the Armenian minority (see more about it in [Armenian Diaspora]) living in Cyprus was also interviewed. A twofold outcome was expected: the sensitizing of the young regarding the older generation's experiences, and, secondly, reassuring the elderly that their memories and inputs are valued by society and making them understand that new media can go a long way in ensuring that their voices are heard and will continue to be heard.

This essay will show that politically instrumentalised stereotypes about the Other are just that, stereotypes, and how individual memories narrated by eyewitnesses and other grassroots accounts speak a different language. Of particular interest in the interviews were questions about how individuals from the two Cypriot communities interacted with each other in the events leading up to the 1974 intervention / invasion of the island by Turkish troops and how these events shaped people's lives and attitudes afterwards. Finally, the hope is expressed that these interviews will contribute to individuals' empowerment and their better understanding of the historic processes which shaped and are continuing to shape their lives and their ethics in sharing an island.

## **2. Cyprus and the OH project**

Contemporary Cypriot society is beset by what Cypriot writer and artist Alev Adil claimed, is a 'secret archive of inherited amnesia.'<sup>2</sup> In many ways, the traumatic experiences [Dawson et al., 1999] of the 1950s, 60s and 70s have left deep traces in the local society or societies, depending on what kind of concept of the 'local' one applies.

The project presented here is part of a number of such projects being carried out in Cyprus at the time of this writing. Other projects are for example The Living Memory Project (Nikoletta Christodolou), The Life Stories Project (Olga Demetriou and Rebecca Bryant) and the Cyprus 2015 project (Ahmet Sözen). At the time of the writing of this text, most of them were in their final stages and are slated to go officially online within the following months or are already online. Thus, issues of reconciliation through remembrance, of official versus unofficial histories, the imagining of homelands, senses of belonging,

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<sup>2</sup> Alev Adil, performing on 5 March 2012 at ARTos Foundation, Nicosia.

fractures of struggle, or 'Memory, Truth, and the Journey towards a New Past' (Catia Galatariotou) have all found a way into the public discourse and are eliciting information from important cross-border memories.

Moreover, what is becoming evident through these projects is that such memories are not confined to a certain region only. Especially in a shrinking world, these memories continue to traverse the globe; crossing borders, intersecting in many places, mingling with other local memories and sometimes returning with much cross-fertilised thought [Briel, 2008, 2012; Butler, 2007; Field, 2012; Hamilton, Shopes, 2008]. Cyprus is no exception. All of the project's interviewees have had experiences abroad, in the UK, in the USA, in Turkey and a host of other countries, sometimes voluntarily, sometimes involuntarily due to the political processes taking place.

This ex-territorialisation might actually have allowed them to take a more disaffected viewpoint from others who have never left the island and reach different conclusions. In terms of practicalities, the interviews conducted for the project had several interviewers. These were mostly MA students from the University of Nicosia's MA in Media and Communication who received training on questionnaire design, camerawork, interviewing techniques and post-production. All of them were given free rein to find their interviewees and all of them were rather successful, with many of them easily finding two or three interviewees within the space of a few days. However, it was felt that the training would allow for the interviewers to get a better grip on what they were attempting to do and to sensitise them to the technological as well as the human factors involved. Feedback showed that this information was appreciated, but that some of them also just set out to 'do their own thing', overwhelmingly with positive results. Some of the interviews were shot with a professional camera, others with a camera-equipped mobile telephone, still others with a typical budget home camera. This diversity was intended. As part of the remit of the European Grant funding the project it was given specifically to allow non-specialists to experiment with new media and their use in social research.

The three interviews selected and discussed below were conducted in the autumn of 2011 by one interviewer (the author) and a cameraman as pilots to be shared with the other interviewers. Interviewed were George, a middle-aged Greek Cypriot media worker, Ali, a retired Turkish Cypriot contractor and now a second-hand bookshop owner, and Nora, an Armenian-Cypriot writer and educator. The interviewer and the cameraman were both non-Cypriots; the interviewer was of German origin and the cameraman had a Serbian background. As discussed in many ethnographic texts, the relationship between 'foreign' interviewers and local respondents is always fraught with difficulty<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> As an example, consider Landolf Scherzer's 2005 *Der Grenzgänger* (The Border Rambler). In his reportage, the author wanders the length of the stretch of land that until 1989 used to be the German-German border. Through his low-key and conversational narrative, he is able to understand and portray people living along this once impenetrable border. And he readily acknowledges that the willingness of his respondents was mostly due to the fact that they felt he was one of them.



At the same time, the foreignness of the researcher might also allow for answers not readily provided to locals. Other project interviews were conducted by Greek and Turkish Cypriots, sometimes in English, sometimes in Greek, sometimes in Turkish. Most of the interviews with Greek Cypriots were, in fact, conducted in English, as were the interviews discussed below. Interestingly enough, English was none of the participants' native language. Also, these were the first or pilot interviews conducted for the OH project, and this explains why there were still sometimes awkward moments when the interviewers did not exactly know how to respond to a given interview situation.

### **2.1. The first interview: George**

George is a seasoned Cypriot media worker in his early 50s. He grew up in Cyprus and then moved to the UK and the USA for study and work. He returned to Cyprus, working in the media industry and has numerous film production and director credits to his name. Among the films he has directed is one which deals with the Cyprus crisis and the events of 1974. Right from the beginning of the interview, it becomes clear that he has an easy rapport with the camera, having worked in front of and behind the camera for many years. Judging by his gestures and occasional frowns, he seemed a bit tired, if not wary at first, but this turned into concentrated and willing collaboration with the interviewer. Indeed, one has the impression that he is relieved to tell his story (once again).

He begins his story with life in the early 1970s but then very quickly moves onto the traumatic events of 1974. He recounts his childhood memories of the war and of hearing enemy airplanes passing above. After the end of the war, the airport in Nicosia was closed for civil aviation and nowadays it is very rare to hear an airplane crossing the sky over Nicosia. George states that he had forgotten this episode until he went to London, and for the first time in a long while he was confronted by airplane noise.

His statement is an ample reminder that specific memories (autobiographical/traumatic) consist of both psychical and social elements, which are oftentimes combined, as in this case. In his answers, George dispels the myth that all the people were mostly afraid of the 'Turks'. For him the fear of EOKA B, a Greek Cypriot paramilitary shaped after EOKA A, which had fought the British in the Cypriot anti-colonial struggle, and which now exacted strikes against Turkish Cypriots, was the scarier enemy. But he also acknowledged that the belligerent events of 1974 had changed his life. However, he also stated that many use these tragic events to their own devices, oftentimes creating (ideological) barriers to innovation and social progress in society. He exemplifies this attitude when he tells the story of his return to Cyprus in the 1980s working for CNN World Report. At one point, he wanted to cover another item, the breaking AIDS crisis. However, he was asked, 'Why do you want to cover this? We have the Cyprus problem which needs solving first!'

When responding to the last interview question about changes taking place in Cyprus for some kind of re-unification of the two halves, George can be

seen and heard letting out a long and deep sigh, which might be interpreted in two ways: a) as a sign of resignation, or b), a sign that not everything is lost, but that in Cyprus, things take longer than in other parts of the world.

## 2.2. The Second Interview: Ali

Ali, an amicable Turkish Cypriot in his early 70s, is a shop owner in the beautifully restored Büyük Han Market in the Turkish northern part of Nicosia. He has had many professions in his life – he worked as a carpenter and in construction, is a collector of books and stamps and he is a sportsman. After his retirement, he opened a second-hand book and curiosity store in the aforementioned Büyük Han. He is active in the community and whenever one walks by his shop, one can see many people inside it enjoying his hospitality.

It is clear from the start that, just like George, Ali is also comfortable in front of the camera. He jokes and laughs a lot and is clearly enjoying himself. He proudly mentions that he has been interviewed by foreigners many times over and relishes the memories and this present interview.

Very early on in the interview, Ali comments on the fact that he is fluent in English, Turkish and Greek and thus speaks all three of the island's languages. This allows him to position himself as an expert not just on his own Turkish Cypriot ethnic background, but also as an interlocutor for the two other official languages of the island. He grew up in Limassol but moved to Istanbul when he was 19 and then to Kyrenia (Greek: Κερύνεια, Turkish: Girne) and Nicosia after his retirement. His father and mother had remained in Limassol and then 'moved' to Kyrenia. This was directly after the 1974 war and their move was an enforced patriation (from what had become Greek-Cypriot 'territory' to Turkish-Cypriot 'territory'). It is not surprising Ali uses the hyperbolic and safe word 'moved', rather than 'flee' or something similar, as this is one of his ways of coping with the difficult political situation in Cyprus, then and now. He is also keen to stress that he had good relations with the Greek community. 'If I want to buy something [at a house/shop], I was invited to the house.' This in his eyes was a sign of inclusion in the Greek community.

Prodded to tell one of his stories from the old days, he responds: 'Every day is history', insinuating that for him the small events count as much as the big ones. And, indeed, he does not tell a story until the close of the interview; the story of a burglary at his house (in Istanbul, not in Cyprus!), which prompted him to stay away from it for a whole week. Psychologically, this might be explained as a belated reaction to the Cyprus events (the forced removal of his parents from and the loss of their family home) and his replaced fear. Just as he was away from Cyprus during some of the unrest, thus avoiding major calamities for himself, he now stays away from his house longer than objectively necessary in order not to be exposed to a perceived risk. Apart from being a gifted narrator and performer, Ali is also a master of evasion. Asked whether he sees the 'old days' of both communities living together peacefully returning again, he replies: 'This is a political question. I keep away from that. ... I am a very good mathematician and am also good at hunting.' A while later

he comes back to the subject, though: 'We pay politicians to do things for us. That's it. We do not need to be involved. A normal life is better.' This statement speaks very clearly to his politics, at least when talking to us. He stays away from them, even implying that politics are 'un-normal.' He also stresses the use of the word 'happy' when referring to himself, which appears time and again. And, lastly, he stresses that 'if you have so many problems in the past, you work on your body.' Besides that, according to his statements, you also withdraw further into your private matters.

Throughout the interview, Ali puts great emphasis on his hobbies: 'I judge international stamp [competition]s. I have been in exhibitions. I am also a chess player....' He is proud of his body and mentions that he has been a runner and still goes walking in Troodos, the highest mountain range and spanning both parts of Cyprus. This last element is again a hint that he does not see Cyprus as a divided entity.

### **2.3. The third interview: Nora**

The third interviewee, Nora, exemplifies the fact that the political and violent episodes in recent Cyprus history not only affected Greek Cypriots as the majority of inhabitants on the island, Turkish Cypriots as the largest minority on the island, but also other minorities, such as Armenians and the Maronites.

Nora is a teacher in her 40s at the Armenian School in Nicosia and also a prolific writer of poetry and shorter prose. She asked to be interviewed at home where she 'feels comfortable'. Just like the other two interviewees, it is clear that she is relaxed in speaking to the camera. Being a teacher and celebrated artist, she is used to explaining things in public and giving her opinion. She is composed and keen to tell her side of the story. She begins by telling the interviewer that there are 3000–3500 Armenians still living in Cyprus and that they have always been active in the arts, culture and the music of both communities. She is obviously proud of her heritage, but also emphasises that 'the Armenian diaspora has always integrated well... . Armenians are not foreigners, but separate.'

Nora recalls her childhood in Limassol and especially a cat which also features in one of her short stories, 'Ledra Street'. In the beginning of the interview, and especially when referring to her childhood, her eyes sparkle and she laughs and smiles a lot, so much so that at one point she asks for a minute to regain her composure. This light-heartedness would give way to a more earnest expression when talk about the events of 1963 and 1974 begins.

She recalls the day the sirens went off and her childhood ended, using words such as 'bittersweet' and 'traumatic'. Like the other interviewees, she reiterates the stories told by her parents and grandparents about how good life was in the old days, i.e. before 1963, when all communities would live together peacefully. Significantly, it was her mother who talked about the old days while her father did not dwell on them at all. And just like George, who first had to go abroad to meet a Turkish Cypriot, she said that she did not meet one until 1974.

Nora also declared that she only realised that she was living on a divided island when she moved from Limassol, which was by the seaside and far from the Green line-dividing the two communities, to Nicosia, the divided capital which sits on the Greenline. And it was this event, the first-hand experience of division which set her off on her writing career, looking back at what she had lost and assessing the present. And, she alleges, such a move does not work if you write about barbed wire and borders, but rather, one needs to have them reflected and embedded in the emotions of the characters described. She thereby hopes to capture those times and by having people reflect on what has been happening hopes they might possibly change their attitudes for the better. Shejoy fully recounts one of her readings in New Zealand and how she had the impression that her stories really moved people.

### **3. Analysis of the interviews**

When analysing the interviews, it becomes clear that all three individuals interviewed seemed to enjoy the telling of their stories. They are experienced narrators and have many elements of their stories readily available. They view their speaking as empowerment and also as a bridge between their professional and private selves.

Significantly, all three stress that the old days were better, a sentiment shared by the majority of the people interviewed. This might have several reasons. For one, this is a mind-set oftentimes found among older people, and since all interviewed were older than 40 years of age, most of them significantly so, this might be a general sentiment which appeared time and again. For another, this age group still remembers the 'old days' and they are aware of the fact that a common, shared life had been possible for both communities before, whereas this is not the case for the younger generation. While, generally, much banter and goodwill was displayed and visible in the interviews, when it came to individual events in the early 1960s and in 1974, the mood changed, at least for George and Nora.

And this is not surprising, given the nature of the events discussed. This also implies that when doing research on events which might have induced trauma in respondents, special care needs to be taken. Studies on Holocaust survivors have proven that traumatic experiences are hard to relate, as they have had a profound effect on the respondent. Ali would be included here, as his refusal to acknowledge any of these issues is in itself an attempt to keep these events at bay. Different respondents react differently to the re-telling of a trauma-inducing event. Some might go quiet, whereas others use the interview to cathartic effect in that pain is extra-territorialised (Dawson, 1999). In our sample the respondents acted in very different ways: George told a story about his fear of hearing airplanes which is due to his experiences in the 1974 war, whereas Ali refused to recall any traumatic experiences. Nora has tried to work through the events by becoming a writer. In George's and Nora's case, this retelling might have a cathartic effect to help overcome any trauma by cladding the experience into a stock narrative and thus making it a manageable part of



oneself's history. In Ali's case, any trauma associated with the events was downplayed and evaded, which is another, but perhaps not the healthiest, way of managing it.

For all interviewees, one might apply the theory of compartmentalisation of events into several modes. A. Portelli [Portelli, 1997, pp. 24–27] stipulates that oral history narratives generally adopt three different modes: the institutional, the communal and the personal. In oral history narratives, each one of these is characterised by the usage of a different personal pronoun: the third person singular for the institutional, the first person plural 'we' for the communal and the first person singular 'I' for the personal. In our sample, all three modes appear, although the personal memory dominates in two accounts, suggesting that agency is at a prime for both these interviewees, but an agency which is mostly reduced to personal and less to institutionalised interactions.

Due to the perceived evasion strategies employed especially by the second respondent, both interviewer and cameraman experienced a certain kind of frustration, as they had had other topics in mind. All three interviewees used emplotment strategies in which they presented themselves to the interviewer in a certain light (the politically interested media professional, the generally happy apolitical semi-retiree, and the writer trying to make fictionalised sense of events) and by refusing to discuss certain topics. This might be stated outright or with the use of certain words (e.g. 'troubles' rather than the more appropriate 'deadly raids' or 'war' for the unrests in the 1960s and the Turkish intervention/invasion of 1974). The interviews can thus also be read as an exercise in narrativity and how to structure modern-day narratives within contested and intercultural social settings and offer personal solutions on social challenges. In this sense they are also literary undertakings, but 'literary' applied in a broad sense and more and more inclusive of and dependent on new media and technology.

It should go without saying that sometimes interviews do not go according to plan. In the case of the Ali interview, even the cameraman intervened twice and proposed clarifications on the questions posed. But this was more of a problem for the interviewers than for the respondent and rightly so. Oftentimes, for the success of an OH interview it is important that the respondent has the feeling that s/he is in a position of power and can speak from this position. And despite the frustration felt by an interviewer, the yield from such an interview might actually be quite good, as different strategies such as not talking about certain events can be observed and analysed as easily as ones in which issues are discussed outright [Stoler, 2006].

All three respondents were content with being interviewed at their respective places of work, George in his office, Ali in his shop and Nora at home where she spends much of her time writing. George was able to tell a story right away, perhaps also because the airplane story was one he had recounted numerous times. Ali had so many stories that it was hard for him to concentrate on any one in particular. And Nora of course has written down many of her stories, but was willing to give insights into their creation process. It is



remarkable that all three of them were not keen to speak directly about politics, with George being more open than Ali or Nora. George stressed the fact that he did not leave Cyprus permanently, because for him it was worth fighting for a solution on the island itself and thus stay true to his roots. Ali did not explain why he moved back to Cyprus following his retirement, but his life on the island is ample proof that he considers it his home. However, Ali refrains from speaking about politics and sees his own body rather than the country of his residence as a construction site. In all three cases, the interviews revealed how much the Cyprus problem has intervened in their lives and altered their life choices and attitudes. All three of them made their choices accordingly: George came back to Cyprus and entered the media field to perhaps affect some changes in the thinking of the population in the south; Ali came back restricting himself to his own body and the book and tourism trade; and Nora began her writing career.

It is fair to say that without the events of 1974, their lives would have moved on different tracks but they have found coping mechanisms and coherence systems to deal with the ensuing changes: George and Nora in a more professional capacity, Ali in a more private one. In all three, composure appears to have been achieved through the retelling of their stories, be it politically, apolitically or artistically.

#### **4. Malaysia – Indonesia**

The Malaysia and Indonesia Project was undertaken 2014 and 2015. After preparatory lectures and training, in 2015 20 interviews were conducted near a village along the Kalimantan Barat-Sarawak border on the Indonesian side<sup>4</sup>. It became clear that while some local issues were particular to the area and culture (e.g. geographical issues as large rivers and mountain ranges), many other items were similar to issues people faced in Cyprus: ownership of fields, the difficulty of family reunions, fire fighting across borders and similar. If it was the problem with drought and water supplies in Cyprus, it was the problem of electricity in Kalimantan. People were unhappy with the border, slicing into their lives and making commerce and day-to-day life difficult. What irked them particularly was the border's administration by a remote government and through non-compassionate and non-local military personnel. Other than that, a large part of the interviews was taken up by a discussion of prices of goods and utilities in both countries and ways to make life easier despite the border.

In particular, one interview stood out, with the village elder, Nugen. When we first arrived at his house, he was just coming in from the forest, having cut some bamboo. He gave the impression as somebody who was well grounded and who is making the best of a difficult situation. People around him deferred to him and were keen to seek his advice.

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<sup>4</sup> All interviews and additional information can be found here: <http://www.xjtlu.edu.cn/en/departments/academic-departments/english-culture-and-communication/research/border-studies-in-kalimantan>.

As many other men interviewed, he used to be an 'ojek rider', one of the people involved in bringing goods across the border on motorbikes. Before he took this job, he said, he did not really know there existed a border. They were free to cross the border until 1985 when a border post was erected. In commerce, he makes no difference between Malaysia and Indonesia and will sell where he gets the best price.

He remembers the land exchanges between Malaysians and Indonesians affected by the border and stated that the governments paid compensation. While this is no apparent problem to him, he does state that other villagers were less forgiving of this process and still claim village ancestral lands on both sides of the border. He categorically states the oneness of Malaysian and Indonesian local culture and states that there has never been any trouble at the border. He does regret that the villagers cannot send their children to Malaysia for schooling as schooling in Malaysia is free, but only to citizens. Especially secondary schools are closer on the Malaysian side than on the Indonesian one, making the journey appreciatively longer for village school children.

The biggest festival in the village is Thanksgiving. On this occasion, friends and relatives from the villages across the border are invited to participate and that they do. Nugen is very interested in having good relations with the villagers across the border and seeks to defuse any tensions.

His posture during the interview is relaxed, he answers questions with little hesitation and it is clear that he has a leading role in the village. He does not focus on individual bad events, but paints a picture of a village caught up in big politics but coping with the fallout. He is future oriented, but advises his fellow villagers not to lose their roots and to not move away to the cities, no matter whether in Malaysia or in Indonesia: "I advice the people to not sell their land if they want to have a better life." Here he is all Village Chief and, against his own advice, values local customs higher than financial benefits in the city.

It is also clear that the border is a partitioning device, but on a local level, there is little evidence that such a device is working on an ideological level; day-to-day events, exchange rates and border patrols weigh heavier on people's minds than the question of Malaysian or Indonesian identities. If at all, the Indonesian soldiers rotated in to guard the border are at times seen as the intruders and not the people from the other side of the border.

## 5. Conclusion

The series of interviews undertaken aimed at providing an up-to-date snapshot of Cypriots and Kalimantan inhabitants and the interviewees' views on the past and its relevance for the present. From the four interviews discussed above, it became clear that all three individuals were and still are affected by the events of the 1960s and 1970s and that while individual composure has been achieved, closure on the other hand, individually, communally or bi-communally, has not. The remaining interviews speak to the same fact: all Cypriot respondents agree that the status quo is untenable (unless one, like Ali, uses most of one's intellectual defences to expunge politics) and in need of

change. In Borneo, the attitude towards the border is more relaxed. It does not appear to hold an ideological thrall over villagers as it does in Cyprus. People have learned to live with it.

For the interviewers in Cyprus, in both cases they became better able to appreciate the fraught process of reconciliation and normalisation when they were introduced to individualised life stories [Linde, 1983 ; Frank, 1995], not only from their own community but from the ‘others’ as well, thus creating a different perspective from the official records on both sides.

The interviews conducted during this project made it clear that much of the Cypriot memory and identity research work is still going on and that the Indonesian work has just begun. In Cyprus, all respondents were trying to make sense of their own identity vis-a-vis the general political situation in returning to individualised events in their pasts. As there are other ongoing projects scattered across the island, OH has of recent times, become an important tool in working through memories and collecting them. In Kalimantan, this process is not as advance, but in both cases the next task will be to provide a more centralised way of accessing all these diverse interviews and thus making it easier for future researchers to evaluate this much needed material. It is important to involve the next generations, as they will become the guardians of this knowledge and should be given as many narrations as possible to evaluate [Meyerhoff, 1992 ; Baldwin et al., 1990]. Due to the technology available today, especially video equipment and easy storage facilities, this job is becoming easier as time goes by. Yet, more training, motivational discourse and institutional support are all still required in order to get projects such as the current ones off the ground, a task the EU, UN and national governmental and non-governmental institutions [UK Oral History Society ; US Oral History Association] all need to work on together in order to provide the grounds for success.

Such projects can be proposed and conducted in many places. With technological developments advancing, such undertakings have become easier to manage and although some training is necessary, this can be effected with relative ease. Technological developments have also allowed for these project to be run and owned locally while still allowing for global exposure. Lastly, the border between Russia and China is a strong candidate for such work and indeed some of it has already been undertaken, e.g. by Anna Zabiako from the Amur State University. It is hoped that many more such projects will follow.

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**NB:**

The videos of the Cypriot interviews are available from September 2016 at <http://www.xjtlu.edu.cn/en/departments/academic-departments/english-culture-and-communication/research/border-studies-in-kalimantan>. Should you have trouble with these, please email me ([holger.briel@xjtlu.edu.cn](mailto:holger.briel@xjtlu.edu.cn)).

## APPENDIX I

### Borderlands Project

#### Sample questions (generated by the Workshop Group, Kuching, Feb. 2014) Written responses 1–3

Questions	Answers
a) What are your earliest memories of the border?	a) Seeing logo of Republic of Indonesia, Garuda b) Immigration building during my trip to Pontianak by bus via Tebedu c) Not much: I never feel Serikin as the border
b) What did your parents/older people tell you about the border?	a) Small stalls and cheaper price sold by Indonesian people b) Hygiene c) Warned me to beware of strangers, take care of won belonging and not to bring along many valuable things.
c) Have you ever crossed the border and if yes, for what purpose? Where and how do you usually cross the border?	a) Yes, to buy things, e.g. cloth/clothes at Tebedu by car. b) Yes, by bus on vacation c) Yes, to Pontianak by bus for a visit
d) Does the border have an impact on your life? If yes, how?	a) No b) Yes, new experience and eye opening c) No
e) Do you have relatives across the border? Do any of your friends/neighbours have?	a) Yes. Friends. b) No c) No. However, my friend have some relatives
f) How do you get your information about what is going on on the other side of the border?	a) From village people nearby b) Just following a tour guide organized by my in-law c) From the newspaper
g) How do you feel when you are on the other side? Have you had problems on the other side? Do you know of people who have had problems?	a) The language is different a little bit and also money exchange b) Yes, my wife: Hygiene (WC) language, living standards c) Normal except for the language difference
h) If people cross the border, what are they likely to purchase? How safe is cross-border trade?	a) To buy clothes, household. Safe enough b) Cheaper local products; imitated products; pretty safe c) I bought Baju Kebaya and hat and others buy imitated bags, clothes etc.: safe

## APPENDIX I

### Borderlands Project

#### Sample questions (generated by the Workshop Group, Kuching, Feb. 2014) Written responses 1–3 (continuation)

i) Do you own property across the border?	a) No b) No c) No
j) Can you imagine a relationship with somebody across the border?	a) No b) Yes, not going to be easy and successful c) No
k) The idea of a borderless world vs. - nationalism - can they coexist peacefully?	a) No idea b) Cannot c) cannot
l) How do you hope the border will look like in 20-year time?	a) No idea b) More controlled c) More advanced, cleaner, more organised

## APPENIDX II

### Borderlands Project PONTIANAK - INDONESIA

#### Sample questions

#### Written interview 1

What are your earliest memories of the border?

I am not sure if I have earliest memories of the border. As my life is mostly far away from the border, I also did not have too much interest in it before. I only got close to the border when I and some friends conducted the border blogger movement program in the middle of 2011. That program was established to empower the border people to sharpen their awareness about their life by sharing their life story through web blogs.

What did your parents/older people tell you about the border?

From my source of information, there were no borders between Indonesia-Kalimantan and Sarawak-Malaysia a long time ago. There was only one people, a sub-ethnicity of the Dayak, living in both in Kalimantan and Sarawak. But after that, the line across the country made them separate.

Have you ever crossed the border and if yes, for what purpose? Where and how do you usually cross the border?

Yes. Some friends and I crossed the border to meet our Malaysian friend and we spent our relaxed time in a small restaurant in the Sarawak area, near the border. We crossed the border in Entikong in the Sanggau district, one of the formal borders between Kalimantan and Sarawak Malaysia.

Does the border have an impact on your life? Which?

Yes. I recently became more interested in borderland life. It's so unique, challenging, and beautiful. Many different ways of life can be find on the border. Also, we hear from its people about how they understand the "nation"

concept. People who live on the border are more reachable by the Malaysian services instead of their own country's. For examples: Indonesians who live across the border have it easier to consume many Malaysian products, such as foods, but also services such as hospitals, education, radio and television. It is caused by the long distance of their village from the capital city of their district, province, even country.

Do you have relatives across the border? Do any of your friends/neighbours have?

Yes, I have some friends who live on the border.

How do you get your information about what is going on on the other side of the border?

I get the information from many media: internet, mobile phone connection, and sometimes I get it directly from person-to-person talks.

How do you feel when you are on the other side? Have you had problems on the other side? Do you know of people who have had problems?

If I were living on the border, that would be so challenging! Maybe I will see a new life that I never imagined before! Many people I asked always told me about their problems. Especially difficult to access government services such as health, educational, infrastructures, etc. services.

If people cross the border, what are they likely to purchase? How safe is cross-border trade?

Which border that you mean? There are formal and informal borders between Kalimantan-Indonesia and Sarawak-Malaysia. People become easier to establish the trade in the formal border, but they have to be more careful if trading via the non-formal border, that is illegal but they are looking for a better life!

Do you own property across the border?

No, I don't.

Can you imagine a relationship with somebody across the border?

Yes. I have some friends on the border. No problems with the relation, we can build our communication via the cellular phone and internet.

The idea of a borderless world vs. – nationalism – can they coexist peacefully?

Yes, if the government always tries to empower the people there. But if the government never gives it attention, nationalism is only a joke!

How do you hope the border will look like in 20 years time?

Become a modern border!



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**ФОНЕТИЧЕСКИЕ СРЕДСТВА ВЫДЕЛЕНИЯ ПОДЛЕЖАЩЕГО –**  
**ЭЛЕМЕНТА «НОВОГО» В ИСПАНСКОЙ ФРАЗЕ**  
**PHONETIC MEANS OF SIGNALING «NEW» SUBJECT IN SPANISH**

**Аннотация**

В статье обсуждаются средства выделения подлежащего, относящегося к категории «новое», в испанском языке. Функциональная нагрузка фразового ударения и его роль в актуализации этого члена предложения в испанской фразе дискутируется. Фонетическая выделенность подлежащего сопровождает его вынесение в финальную фразовую позицию. В то же время в испанском языке зарегистрированы случаи реализации фразового ударения на инициальном подлежащем-«новом». В статье представлены результаты трёхэтапного эксперимента с участием мексиканских информантов, включающего анализ их письменных переводов, чтения и неподготовленной речи. Подтверждена возможность выделения подлежащего-«нового» фонетическими средствами без вынесения его в финальную позицию.

**Abstract**

The article deals with the means of signaling «new» subject in the Spanish utterance. The function of phrasal accent and its role in subject marking are under discussion. The «new» subject phonetic prominence accompanies its moving to phrasal-final position. At the same time phonetic prominence of the initial subject in Spanish has been registered. The article presents the results of three-step experiment with Mexican speakers of Spanish, including the analyses of their written translation, reading and non-prepared speech. The possibility of «new» subject phonetic prominence in non-final position is proved.

**Ключевые слова:** подлежащее-«новое», фразовое ударение, мексиканский вариант испанского языка, эксперимент, фонетическая выделенность.

**Keywords:** «new» subject, phrasal accent, Mexican Spanish, experiment, phonetic prominence.

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## 1. Введение

Вопрос о функциональной нагрузке испанского фразового ударения является одним из наиболее актуальных и дискуссионных в современной литературе по испанскому языку. Как и в других языках мира, фразовое ударение в испанском высказывании, как правило, реализуется на том, что ново, важно и актуально в рамках данного контекста или речевой ситуации. В статье рассмотрены особенности позиции главного фразового ударения в испанском языке на материале нераспространённых и распространённых двусоставных испанских предложений с подлежащим-элементом «нового».

Изучение интонационных средств в выделении лексического элемента, принадлежащего к категории «новое» в испанской фразе, было предпринято несколькими авторами. В работе М. Л. Зубизарреты «Просодия, фокус и порядок слов» [Zubizarreta, 1998] показано, что подлежащее «новое» получает необходимое фонетическое выделение (фразовое ударение) в финальной позиции, обязательной, по мнению автора, для коммуникативно важного слова, например:

*¿Quién compró los discos?*  
*Los discos los compró una muchacha.*  
*Кто купил диски?*  
*Диски купила девушка.*

Случаи выделения фразовым ударением нефинального подлежащего-элемента «нового» также описаны в современной испанистике, однако вопрос о предпочтении носителями языка того или иного способа маркировки подлежащего (с вынесением его в финальную позицию или фонетическим выделением в начале фразы) дискутируется.

Среди тех, кто допускает фонетическое выделение инициального подлежащего, обсуждается сфера распространения этой функции фразового акцента: часть лингвистов ограничивает её действие случаями реализации ударения контраста, другие приводят примеры с выделением нефинальным фразовым ударением элементов «нового».

Так, примеры реализации фразового ударения на подлежащем-«новом» приведены в работе К. Габриеля [Gabriel, 2010]:

*(Who bought the newspaper?)*  
*María compró el diario en el kiosco.*  
*Мария купила газету в киоске.*

Автор отмечает, что так как большинство исследований проводится не на материале спонтанной речи (информантам предлагают для озвучивания готовые примеры с тем или иным порядком слов), сложно говорить о предпочтении испытуемыми тех или иных вариантов позиции подлежащего и его фонетической выделенности. В исследовании К. Габриеля на мате-

риале спонтанной речи аудиторы-носители аргентинского варианта испанского языка восприняли все варианты прочтения (с инициальным и финальным акцентированным подлежащим) как нормативные.

Л. О. Лабастия подтверждает возможность существования этих вариантов порядка слов и фонетической выделенности как финального, так и инициального подлежащего-«нового» в аргентинском варианте испанского языка [Labastia, 2006].

Т. Фейс в работе на материале кастильского диалекта испанского языка [Face, 2008] приводит данные о том, что при свободных ответах на вопросы к подлежащему информанты в 70% случаев совершали перестановку членов предложения с тем, чтобы этот член предложения оказывался в конце, где и получал выделение фразовым ударением. Однако в остальных случаях он был фонетически выделен «на месте» (*in situ*).

В проведённом Т. Леал-Мендес и К. Ши эксперименте на материале мексиканского варианта испанского языка зафиксировано, что коммуникативный центр, выраженный подлежащим-«новым», был выделен фразовым ударением без изменения словопорядка: «Mexican Spanish speakers will prefer sentences with SVO order, accompanied by prosodically-realized narrow focus on the subject in response to ‘Who ate?’ type questions over VOS word-order» [Leal-Méndez., Shea, 2012, p. 21].

Этот вывод не совпадает с результатами, представленными в работах других авторов: такая стратегия выражения «нового» допускается, однако не является приоритетной [Bresnan, 1971 ; Gutiérrez-Bravo, 2002].

Имеющиеся в литературе данные свидетельствуют о большей, чем принято считать, подвижности испанского фразового ударения, однако однозначного ответа на вопрос о его приоритетной позиции при выделении подлежащего-«нового» в испанском высказывании нет. Проблема находится в стадии разработки и может быть решена только после экспериментального исследования на разнообразном и представительном материале.

## 2. Экспериментальная часть

Для выяснения роль фразового ударения в выделении подлежащего-элемента «нового» в испанском языке была проведена серия экспериментов с участием мексиканских информантов, проживающих в США.

### 2.1. Первый этап

Экспериментальным материалом на первом этапе послужили 70 микродиалогов, реплики-стимулы которых являются вопросом к подлежащему, а реплики-ответы представляют собой нераспространенные (35) и распространённые (35) английские предложения (ответы на вопрос к подлежащему, содержащие «новую», запрашиваемую информацию), например:

- *Who left?*
- *The students left.*

- *Who visited the professor?*
- *The student visited the professor.*

В качестве информантов на первом этапе экспериментального исследования выступили восемь человек (четыре мужчины и четыре женщины) в возрасте от 50 до 58 лет. Все испытуемые родились в Мексике, но проживают в США не менее 20 лет. Все информанты имеют высшее образование, активно используют оба языка (английский и испанский) в ежедневном общении как на работе, так и в социально-бытовых ситуациях.

Испытуемым было предложено перевести на испанский язык английские микродиалоги, расположенные в случайном порядке, по возможности сохраняя лексический состав английских примеров. Время выполнения задания не ограничивалось. Р е з у л ь т а т ы перевода мексиканскими испытуемыми английских фраз на испанский язык представлены ниже.

45% реплик-ответов на вопрос к подлежащему, состоящих из грамматической основы, были переведены мексиканскими информантами с подлежащим в инициальной позиции:

- *What fell down?*
- *The tree fell down.*
- *¿Qué cayó?*
- *El árbol se cayó.*

В 55% исследуемых фраз подлежащее-элемент «нового» находится в конце предложения:

- *¿Qué cayó?*
- *Cayó el árbol.*

При переводе реплик-ответов на вопрос к подлежащему, состоящих из подлежащего, сказуемого и дополнения, мексиканские информанты показали следующие результаты.

1. 72% полученных переводов соответствовали структуре английской фразы:

- *Who bought the CDs.*
- *A woman bought the CDs.*
- *¿Quién compró los CD?*
- *Una mujer compró los CD.*

2. 28% полученных переводов соответствовали структуре OVS:

- *¿Quién compró los CD?*
- *Los discos compactos los compró una mujer.*



## 2.2. Второй этап

Ц е л ь ю второго этапа эксперимента было определение позиции фразового ударения в полученных на предыдущем этапе переводах с нефинальным подлежащим-элементом «нового».

В качестве информантов выступили шесть мексиканских учащихся в возрасте от 20 до 22 лет, мужчины, владеющие английским языком не выше элементарного уровня, слушатели подготовительного отделения Техасского университета в Эль-Пасо. Перед испытуемыми была поставлена задача прочитать диалогические единства в естественной манере. До начала чтения информантам было предложено ознакомиться с микродиалогами и задать вопросы в случае непонимания. Каждый информант прочел обе части микродиалогов (реплику-стимул и реплику-ответ) попеременно в паре с другим испытуемым.

Запись чтения участников эксперимента проходила в лаборатории факультета языков и лингвистики Техасского университета в Эль-Пасо на записывающее устройство Zoom H2 stereo digital recorder. В качестве аудиторов выступили автор данного исследования. В задачу аудиторов входило прослушать полученные реализации и отметить подчеркиванием наиболее фонетически выделенное слово. Время прослушивания не ограничивалось.

По результатам аудиторского эксперимента можно делать следующие в ы в о д ы. В группе нераспространенных предложений, являющихся ответами на вопрос к подлежащему, выраженному именем существительным, во всех случаях фразовое ударение было реализовано на инициальном подлежащем.

В распространенных предложениях со структурой SVO в единичных случаях (5%) наряду с подлежащим-«новым» аудиторы подчеркнули финальное слово, например:

- *¿Quién hizo el pastel?*
- *Mi mamá hizo el pastel.*
- *¿Quién llegó a México?*
- *El presidente llegó a México.*

В абсолютном большинстве случаев в качестве наиболее выделенного слова фигурировало подлежащее.

## 2.3. Третий этап

Ц е л ь ю третьего этапа экспериментального исследования был анализ роли фразового ударения в выделении нефинального подлежащего-«нового» в неподготовленной речи мексиканских информантов.

Экспериментальным материалом послужили 20 вопросов к подлежащему на испанском языке, например:

- *¿Quién habla inglés en tu familia?*
- *¿Quién come manzanas en tu familia?*

В качестве информантов выступили семь носителей мексиканского варианта испанского языка в возрасте от 20 до 23 лет, четыре мужчины и две женщины, проживающие и работающие в Мексике, не имеющие контакта с носителями английского языка. Уровень владения информантами английским языком – низкий.

Экспериментальные вопросы были заданы информантам носителем мексиканского варианта испанского языка, преподавателем Техасского университета в Эль-Пасо. К испытуемым обратились с просьбой ответить на вопросы, по возможности, полным вариантом ответа. Диалоги были записаны на записывающее устройство Zoom H2 stereo digital recorder. Запись проходила в домашних условиях. Всего было получено 140 реализаций. Полученный материал был прослушан автором данного исследования. В задачу аудиторского эксперимента входил анализ словоупотребления и определение места фразового ударения в полученных ответах.

Приведём полученные результаты. В 28 реализациях (20% всех полученных ответов на вопросы) определить позицию подлежащего «нового» в испанской фразе оказалось невозможным. В качестве примеров такого типа можно дать следующие реплики:

- *¿Quién hace un pastel en tu familia?*
- *Yo.*
- *¿Quién baila bien en tu familia?*
- *Mi hijo menor.*
- *¿Quién canta bien en tu familia?*
- *Todos.*
- *Nadie canta.*

Распределение оставшихся 80% реплик-ответов следующее. В 20% случаев подлежащее занимает позицию в конце предложения, где и получает фонетическую выделенность. Один из информантов (№ 6) использовал такой механизм выделения подлежащего активнее, чем другие: в 14 из 20 данных им ответов. Оставшиеся примеры с подлежащим в финальной позиции были реализованы разными информантами. Среди них следующие случаи:

- *¿Quién compra una comida en tu familia?*
- *En mi familia compra una comida mi madre.*
- *En mi familia compro una comida yo.*

Единичными были замены имен существительных-дополнений на местоимения:

- *En mi familia la compro yo.*

Другой пример:

- *¿Quién come manzanas en tu familia?*
- *En mi familia manzanas come mi niño.*

Или:

- *¿Quién trabaja en la oficina en tu familia?*
- *En la oficina trabajo yo.*
- *En mi familia trabaja en la oficina mi esposa.*

Оставшиеся 60% полученных ответов характеризует прямой порядок следования лексических элементов с подлежащим в препозиции, выделенным фразовым ударением:

- *¿Quién lee los libros en tu familia?*
- *Mi madre lee los libros.*
- *En mi familia nadie lee los libros.*

Интересно, что наряду с приведёнными выше примерами, были зафиксированы два случая употребления двумя разными информантами усилительных конструкций, выделяющих подлежащее:

- *¿Quién trabaja en la Universidad?*
- *Soy yo quién trabajo en la Universidad.*
- *¿Quién habla alemán en tu familia?*
- *Sólo yo hablo alemán en mi familia.*

### 3. Заключение

Полученные результаты подтверждают, что в испанском языке наряду с порядком слов, который играет важную роль в выражении коммуникативной организации испанского высказывания (коммуникативный центр, как правило, занимает позицию в конце фразы, где одновременно получает фонетическую выделенность), фразовое ударение выступает как самостоятельное средство выделения подлежащего-«нового» в начале фразы. Полученные данные обогащают имеющиеся в литературе сведения об интонации испанского языка и способствуют лучшему пониманию функциональной нагрузки испанского фразового ударения.

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**МОНИТОРИНГ КАК ФОРМА АЛЬТЕРНАТИВНОГО КОНТРОЛЯ**  
**ПО ИНОСТРАННОМУ ЯЗЫКУ**  
**MONITORING AS A FORM OF ALTERNATIVE CONTROL**  
**IN A FOREIGN LANGUAGE**

**Аннотация**

В настоящей статье рассматривается проблема формирования контрольно-измерительной компетенции личности в рамках концепции когнитивно-коммуникативного контроля в обучении иностранному языку. Реализация данной концепции предполагает отслеживание результатов, полученных в процессе тестирования. Проводимый студентами мониторинг по результатам тестирования нацелен на отслеживание развития собственной коммуникативной компетенции, самонаблюдение над использованием стратегий подготовки, выполнения и последующего анализа тестовых заданий, рефлексию выполняемой учебной и тестовой деятельности с разработкой собственных рекомендаций по её совершенствованию. Цель данного мониторинга – представить в динамике познавательную деятельность студентов, преобразовать тестирование в учение и создать условия для реализации их личностного потенциала в учении и тестировании. Выводы подтверждены данными многомерного статистического анализа.

**Abstract**

The present article aims at investigating the problem of individual assessment competence formation within the concept of cognitive-communicative control in foreign language learning. Implementation of this concept involves monitoring the results obtained in the testing process. This monitoring is carried out by students, it is based on their own test results and aims at monitoring the development of their own communicative competence, introspection over the use of testing strategies, implementation and subsequent analysis of test tasks; reflection of the carried out learning and testing activities to develop their own recommendations for its improvement. This monitoring is targeted at representing students' cognitive activity in dynamics, converting testing to the learning process and creating conditions for realizing their personal potential in learning and testing. The conclusions were confirmed by multidimensional statistical analysis.

**Ключевые слова:** когнитивно-коммуникативный контроль, контрольно-измерительная компетенция, тестирование по иностранному языку, мониторинг, коммуникативная компетенция, тестовые стратегии, развивающие умения, учебно-тестовый портфель, познавательная деятельность, многомерный статистический анализ.

**Keywords:** cognitive-communicative control, assessment competence, foreign language testing, monitoring, communicative competence, testing strategies, developing skills, learning and testing portfolio, cognitive activity, multidimensional statistical analysis.

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## 1. Введение

Специфической особенностью современного этапа развития вузовского образования является новый взгляд на социальные роли его участников. Функцией обучаемого становится не только «потребление» интеллектуальной и духовной культуры, но и обогащение её самим фактом своего творческого развития в разнообразных формах индивидуальной и совместной с преподавателем и коллегами по учёбе деятельности [Гершунский, 1998 ; Гинзбург, 2005]. В настоящей статье ставится мало исследованная проблема формирования у студентов контрольно-измерительной компетенции, основанной на теории, технике и технологии современных педагогических измерений уровня учебных достижений обучаемых, что и обуславливает потребность в совершенствовании теории и технологии процедур контроля, необходимость повышения эффективности использования результатов контроля путём оперативного реагирования на индивидуальные особенности познавательной деятельности обучающихся [Матиенко, 2009, 2012, 2008].

Наиболее полная реализация контрольно-измерительной компетенции личности возможна, если сформирована способность личности управлять контрольно-измерительной деятельностью, то есть осуществлять длительный мониторинг [Матиенко, 2009, 2012] для измерения своих достижений в учебно-познавательной деятельности при помощи комплекса коммуникативных и когнитивных средств, технологий и инструментов, использующихся при проведении научно-исследовательской деятельности.

Реализация концепции когнитивно-коммуникативного контроля [Барышников, 1999 ; Виноградова, 2001] в обучении иностранному языку предполагает мониторинг, то есть отслеживание результатов, полученных в ходе тестирования компонентов коммуникативной компетенции обучающихся, являющейся объектом как традиционного, так и альтернативного тестирования, умений обучающихся пользоваться стратегиями выполнения тестов, а также развивающих умений обучающихся, которые активно формируются в условиях альтернативного языкового тестирования за счёт реализации идей гуманистической идеологии и превращения обучения в учение [Матиенко, 2009, 2012, 2008].

## **2. Эксперимент**

### **2.1. Материал и методика исследования**

Разработанная методика и технология организации альтернативного языкового тестирования на основе когнитивно-коммуникативного подхода была реализована при помощи мониторинга обучающимися собственных учебных достижений под руководством ведущего преподавателя. В качестве тестируемых выступили 2 группы студентов (30 человек) 2 курса Северо-Западного института управления РАНХиГС при Президенте РФ, обучающихся по направлению: 41.03.05 «Международные отношения». Мониторинг длился в течение учебного года (с сентября по июнь 2016 года).

Работа над каждым разделом учебно-тестового портфеля предполагала мониторинг формирования коммуникативной компетенции, тестовых стратегий и развивающих умений. Проводимый студентами мониторинг означал отслеживание развития собственной коммуникативной компетенции, самонаблюдение над использованием стратегий подготовки, выполнения и последующего анализа тестовых заданий, рефлексия выполняемой учебной и тестовой деятельности с разработкой собственных рекомендаций по её совершенствованию [Матиенко, 2009, 2012, 2008].

В ходе и результате проведённой опытной работы сложилась структура мониторинга учебно-тестовой деятельности студентов. Данная структура состояла из следующих элементов: цели, средств, участников (субъектов), объектов и предмета мониторинга.

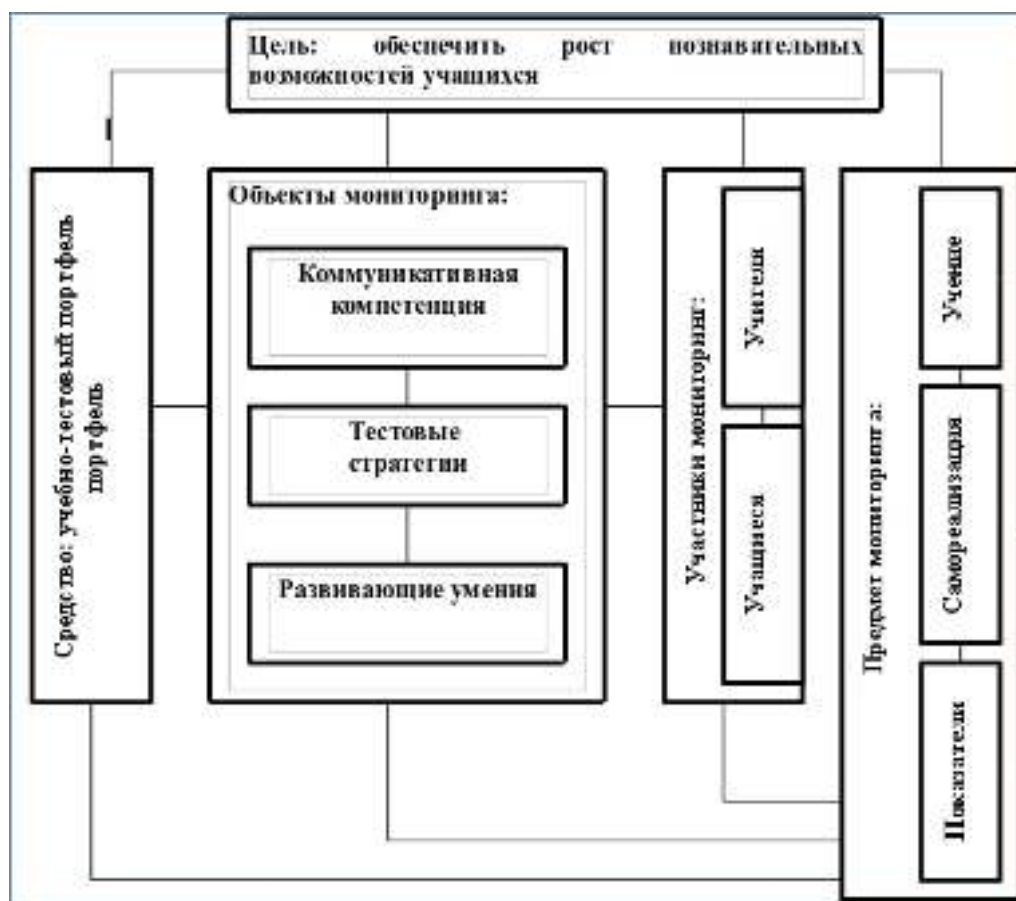
Целью мониторинга, как мы указали выше, было представить в динамике познавательную деятельность студентов, преобразовать тестирование в учение и создать условия для реализации их личностного потенциала в учении и тестировании. Средством мониторинга был учебно-тестовый портфель, на материале которого студенты анализировали свою учебную деятельность [Матиенко, 2008]. Активными участниками (субъектами) мониторинга были сами студенты в сотрудничестве со своими одноклассниками и преподавателями. Объекты мониторинга включали формирование коммуникативной компетенции, овладение тестовыми стратегиями и становление развивающих умений. Наконец, предметом мониторинга был рост познавательных возможностей учащихся, выражаемый в их активном учении, самореализация себя как личности в сотрудничестве с учителем и учащимися, а также рост учебно-тестовых показателей.

### **2.3. Обсуждение результатов исследования**

Покажем структуру учебно-тестового мониторинга учащихся (см. рис. 1).

В ходе опытной работы была предпринята попытка реализовать представленную структуру. Для получения объективно доказательных результатов мониторинга были использованы методы многомерного статистического анализа, позволяющие характеризовать наблюдаемый объект множеством переменных, такие как кластерный и дискриминантный анализы, критерий  $T^2$  Хотеллинга. Также были использованы сравнительные

критерии: t-критерий Стьюдента, критерий Манна-Уитни [Алферова, 2003 ; Девис, 1990 ; Юнкеров, 2002]. В свете этого мы можем говорить о доказательной педагогике, основными постулатами которой являются: каждое решение педагога должно основываться на научных данных; вес каждого факта тем больше, чем строже методика научного исследования, в ходе которого он получен.



Р и с у н о к 1. Мониторинг учебно-тестовой деятельности

Мониторинг развития коммуникативной компетенции представлял собой отслеживание процесса коммуникативного развития, осуществляемое самими студентами. С целью мониторинга развития коммуникативной компетенции в учебно-тестовый портфель в полном объёме включались задания стандартизованного тестирования. Эти задания позволяли проверить уровень всех видов речевой деятельности студентов (говорение, слушание, чтение и письмо) а также их грамотность, словарный запас и владение фразеологией. Результаты выполнения этих заданий (оценки преподавателя) вносились студентами самостоятельно в таблицу с указанием номера и даты тестирования. Материалы таблицы позволяют проследить, какие результаты были получены студентами по соответствующим типам стандартизованных тестовых заданий, и какова была динамика этих показателей: количество хороших и отличных оценок, полученных в сентябре на начальном этапе мо-



мониторинга, и количество хороших и отличных оценок, полученных этими же учащимися в июне на заключительном этапе мониторинга.

Наглядные и объективные результаты представляют данные, полученные в ходе многомерного статистического анализа (t-критерий Стьюдента). Определённые закономерности проявились по временным отрезкам: 1 группа – сентябрь; 2 группа – октябрь, ноябрь, декабрь; 3 группа – январь, февраль; 4 группа – март, апрель; 5 группа – май, июнь. Объединение данных временных отрезков можно объяснить спецификой учебного процесса: сентябрь – начало учебного года, адаптационный период у студентов после летних каникул; октябрь, ноябрь, декабрь – активизация студентов, интенсивная вовлечённость в учебный процесс; январь, февраль – спад учебной активности объясняется наличием большого количества праздничных дней и зимними каникулами; март, апрель – небольшой рост учебной активности, связанный с началом второго семестра и влиянием весенних месяцев; май, июнь – значительный рост учебной активности, связанный с окончанием семестра и подведением итогов года. Рассмотрим итоговую таблицу, позволяющую проанализировать конечные результаты между группами 1 (начальный этап мониторинга) и 5 (конечный этап мониторинга) (табл. 1).

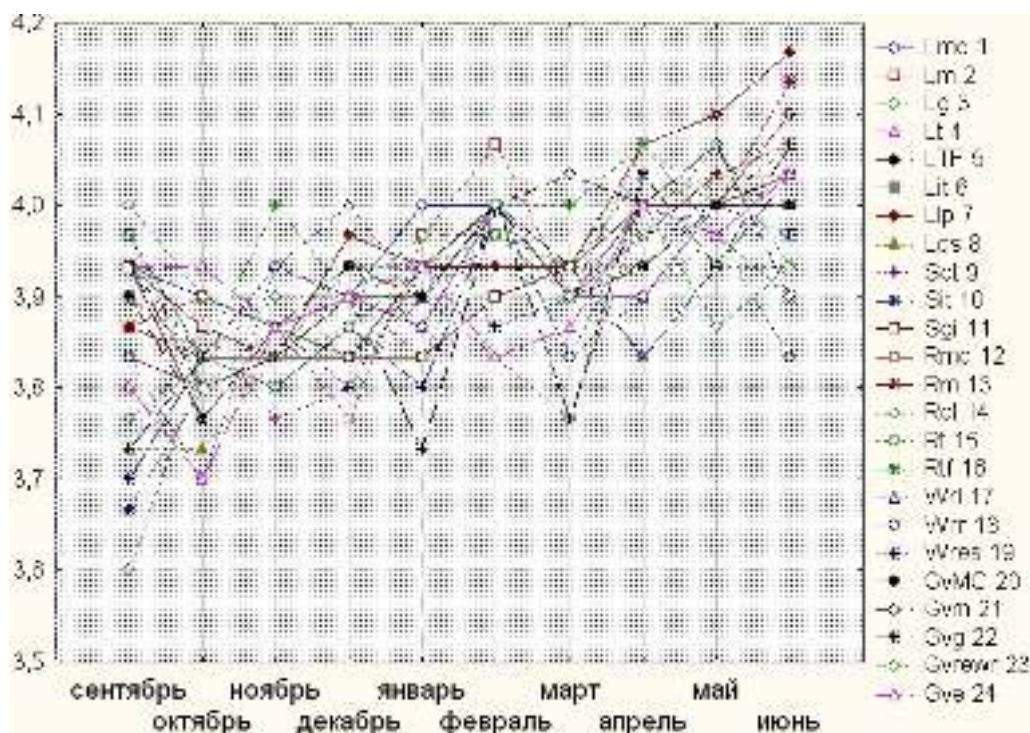
**Т а б л и ц а 1. Сравнение групп 1 и 5 по тестированию видов речевой деятельности**

Переменная	T-tests; Группировка код 3 (В - М) Group 1: 1; Group 2: 5 p<,00029		
	Mean 1	Mean 5	p по Манну-Уитни
Lfg 1	3,633333	3,933333	0,164728
Lfc 2	3,266667	3,983333	0,002444
Lfd 3 4	3,000000	3,916667	0,000305
Sct 5	4,033333	4,200000	0,346462
Sit 6	3,233333	3,650000	0,109690
Sgi 7	3,233333	3,816667	0,009981
Rfg 8	3,900000	4,016667	0,541244
Rfc 9	4,366667	4,216667	0,304691
Rfd 10	3,933333	3,983333	0,811446
Wrex 11	3,266667	3,633333	0,130947
Wrd 12	3,333333	3,650000	0,200976
Wra 13	2,966667	3,583333	0,011144

В таблице 1 представлены различия между выше обозначенными группами по всем признакам, связанным с тестовыми заданиями по 4 видам речевой деятельности: аудированию, говорению, чтению, письму. Между группами 1–5, наблюдается существенный рост (существенными считаются различия при  $p < 0,05$ ) по признакам listening for content (Lfc 2), listening for details (Lfd 3 4), giving information (Sgi 7) в области выполнения тестовых заданий по говорению, argumentative writing (Wra 13) При этом незначительный рост между 1 группой в начале нашего исследования и 5 группой на его конечном этапе наблюдается по всем переменным, соответственно, по всем видам речевой деятельности, что позволяет сделать вывод об общей положительной динамике данного мониторинга ( $p$  по  $T^2$  Хотеллингу меняется от 0,062 до 0,00029).

Включённые в матрицу форматы тестовых заданий оценивались студентами после выполнения ими тестовых заданий и позволяли организовать мониторинг развития тестовой компетенции студентов в виде овладения тестовыми стратегиями. Владение форматами тестирования оценивалось студентами самостоятельно или вместе с преподавателем

Освоение различных тестовых форматов – процесс, растянутый во временном пространстве, в течение одного учебного года сдвиг в положительную сторону невелик, но все же присутствует. Между начальной точкой и конечным результатом есть множество промежуточных моментов, наглядно показывающих сложность процесса овладения тестовыми форматами. В качестве примера рассмотрим линейное вычерчивание, представляющее различные тестовые форматы по месяцам мониторинга (рис. 2).

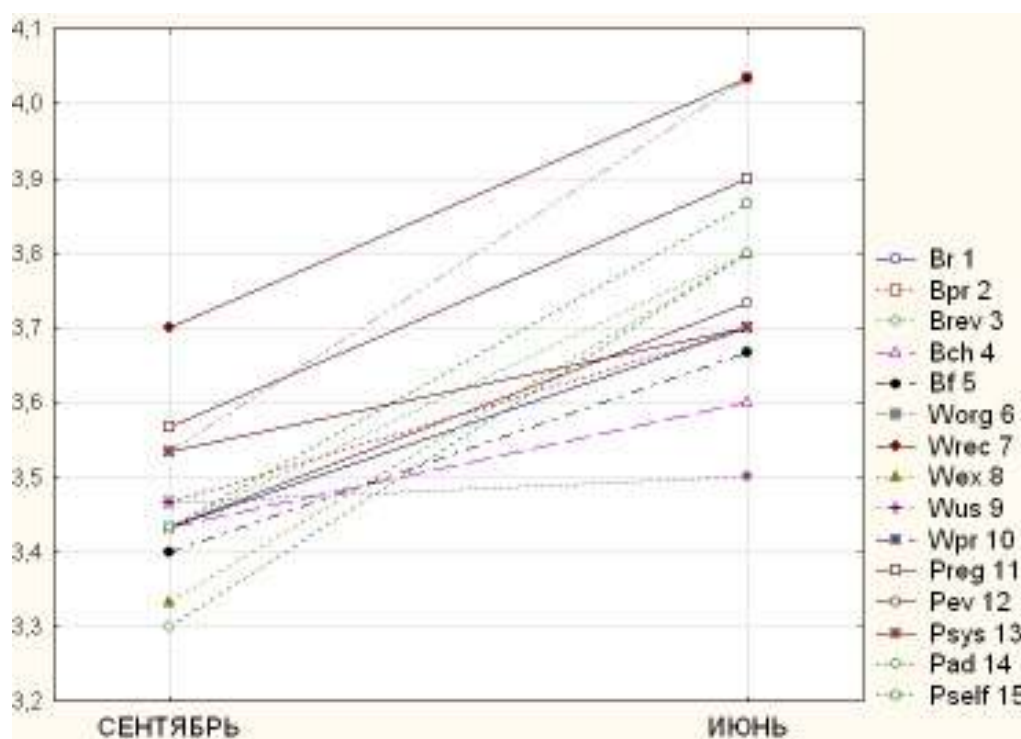


**Р и с у н о к 2. Процесс формирования результата за период мониторинга (сентябрь – июнь)**

Для промежуточного этапа характерны ухудшения, резкие улучшения, «зависание» на одном уровне, но конечный результат оправдывает наши ожидания и даёт положительную динамику по всем предложенным студентам 24 тестовым форматам.

Эффективность использования тестовых стратегий в ходе нашего мониторинга можно представить графически следующим образом (рис. 3).

Наблюдается чёткая линейная зависимость в сторону роста показателей по использованию всех тестовых стратегий до, во время и после тестирования между начальным и конечным этапами мониторинга. Длительность нашего мониторинга (10 месяцев) позволила учащимся узнать ранее неизвестные и неиспользуемые ими тестовые стратегии и активно применять их для альтернативного контроля собственных знаний.

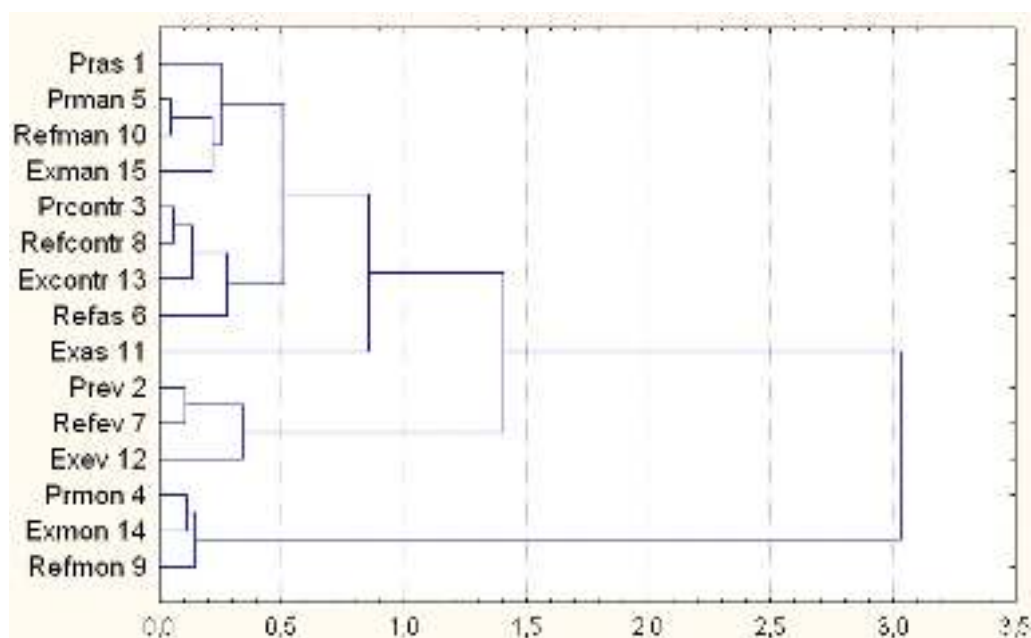


**Р и с у н о к 3. Начальный и конечный результаты (сентябрь – июнь) по использованию тестовых стратегий**

В ходе мониторинга студентами своей коммуникативной компетенции, качество их учения интерпретировалось в соответствии с имеющимися у них опытом учебно-тестовой деятельности, реальными познавательными возможностями и потенциалом роста знаний. Их тестовые стратегии сопоставлялись с характерными познавательными стилями и тестовыми стратегиями. Развивающая компетенция рассматривалась как объективно наблюдаемая готовность студентов анализировать свою познавательную деятельность, преодолевать возникающие затруднения и обеспечивать рост своих учебных показателей по результатам языкового тестирования.



Обратившись к кластерному анализу по всем вышеперечисленным переменным, оценивающим развивающие умения учащихся, можно проследить, каким образом студенты группируют эти критерии (рис. 4).



**Р и с у н о к 4. Дерево объединения в кластер по критериям методом Уорда, в качестве меры меры сходства – евклидова метрика**

В первую группу кластера входят прогностические и рефлексивные умения, позволяющие предвидеть результат (Pras 1) и проанализировать его (Refas 6); прогностические, рефлексивные и исполнительные умения по управлению успешностью своей деятельности, позволяющие предвидеть, как получить хороший результат (Prman 5), объяснить причины (Exman 15) и спрогнозировать следующий, более лучший результат (Refman 10); прогностические, рефлексивные и исполнительные умения следовать определенным стандартам, предъявляемым к выполняемым тестовым заданиям (Prcontr 3, Refcontr 8, Excontr 13). Вторая группа кластера объединяет прогностические, рефлексивные и исполнительные умения осмысливать полученный результат (Prev 2, Refev 8, Exev 12) – предвидеть причины получения данного результата, проанализировать их, осмыслить, как устранить неудачи для улучшения своего результата. В третью группу кластера входят прогностические, рефлексивные и исполнительские умения по отслеживанию изменений в сторону улучшения своего результата (Prmon 4, Exmon 14, Refmon 9). Только одно умение осталось обособленным, не вошло ни в один кластер – умение определить, насколько можно улучшить свой результат (Exas 11). Логическая цепочка выглядит следующим образом: сначала студенты думают о том, что конкретно они могут иметь и имеют, затем почему они это могут иметь и имеют на уровне объяснения и на уровне осмысления, как это изменить. Вопрос, насколько это можно изменить, представляется для них трудным, так как это требует анализа по всем выше приведённым позициям и полного заключительного обобщения.

### 3. Заключение

Экспериментальные данные, полученные в ходе опытного обучения, показывают, что когнитивно-коммуникативный контроль в обучении иностранному языку в форме языкового тестирования как проверка достижений студентов в овладении иностранным языком в ходе длительного мониторинга учебной и тестовой деятельности с помощью учебно-тестового портфеля оказался весьма эффективным для превращения тестирования в учение, повышения учебных показателей и самореализации познавательных возможностей личности студентов. Мониторинг контрольно-измерительной деятельности студентов эффективно осуществлялся с помощью учебно-тестового портфеля [Матиенко, 2011]. В ходе мониторинга отслеживалось развитие коммуникативной компетенции студентов, формирования у них тестовых стратегий, а также общеучебных умений развивающего характера. Объективность полученных результатов подтверждается данными многомерного статистического анализа.

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**THE USE OF HALLIDAYAN TRANSITIVITY TO ANALYZE  
THE DISCOURSE OF THE U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT  
AND COMMITMENT TO DESTROY ISIS:  
A CORPUS LINGUISTICS STUDY<sup>1</sup>**

**ТЕОРИЯ ПЕРЕХОДНОСТИ ХАЛЛИДЕЯ И АНАЛИЗ  
СЕРЬЁЗНОСТИ НАМЕРЕНИЙ УНИЧТОЖИТЬ ИГИЛ,  
ВЫРАЖЕННЫХ В ДИСКУРСЕ ГОСДЕПАРТАМЕНТА США:  
КОРПУСНОЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ**

**Abstract**

This study on the discourse of the U.S. State Department using Halliday's transitivity theory aimed to find out to what extent the U.S. is committed to destroying ISIS. The U.S. State Department's discourse on ISIS is compared with their action by analyzing the U.S. government's speech regarding the terror group. ISIS has shocked the world with its atrocities and violence against mankind and civilization. The U.S. vowed to fight the terror group and defeat it, but ISIS seemed unfazed by airstrikes made by 60 nations, including Russia. These airstrikes have raised concerns for nations bordering ISIS, like Lebanon, about when this conflict will come to an end. This research used Hallidayan transitivity, in particular the clause as a representation, by looking into the six types of processes – material, existential, relational, behavioral, verbal, and mental – to see how the U.S.'s discourse progresses as war continues. It also studied power in the U.S. government's speech at the micro and macro levels by Van Dijk and Fairclough. It is a corpus linguistics study using AntConc concordance software to analyze over 200 pages of corpora, consisting of official documents released by the U.S. State Department looking for high-frequency words, verbs of action, modality, and the rates at which they use sensing, behaving, and saying verbs, and how those verbs collocated with the goal, phenomenon, receiver, and attribute to gauge whether the U.S. is really willing to defeat ISIS. The study analyzed how many processes the U.S. has been through since the onset of the ISIS crisis in August 2014 to see how the discourse fluctuated. The research showed that the U.S. is willing to fight ISIS only as a part of a coalition and is under no obligation to commit.

**Аннотация**

Целью настоящего исследования, основанного на анализе дискурса госдепартамента США с использованием теории переходности Халлидея, было определить, в какой степени прояв-

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ляется намерение США уничтожить ИГИЛ. Дискурс госдепартамента США, касающийся ИГИЛ, сравнивается с их действиями посредством анализа выступлений правительства США, посвящённых данной террористической группировке. Весь мир шокирован варварством и жестокостью ИГИЛ, направленными против человечества. США клялись бороться с ним, пока не уничтожат, однако, похоже, что удары, нанесённые 60 союзными странами, включая Россию, ИГИЛ не потревожили. Эти удары с воздуха вызвали озабоченность стран, граничащих с ИГИЛ, таких как Ливан, которых интересует, как скоро закончится данный конфликт. В настоящем исследовании с помощью теории переходности Халлидея, а именно репрезентативности составляющих сложного предложения, анализируются шесть типов процессов – материальные, экзистенциональные, релятивные, поведенческие, вербальные, ментальные – для того, чтобы определить, как изменялся дискурс, пока продолжались военные действия. Также изучается степень воздействия правительственных речей на микро- и макроуровнях по методу Ван Дейка и Фэйркло. В настоящем корпусном исследовании с помощью программного обеспечения для конкордансов AntConc анализируется корпус официальных документов госдепартамента США объёмом 200 страниц на предмет высокочастотных слов, глаголов действия, модальности, той степени, в которой используются глаголы, обозначающие чувственное восприятие, поведение и говорение, и того, в какой мере они соотносятся с целью, феноменом, получателем и атрибутом и, в конечном итоге, насколько они отражают, действительно ли США желает уничтожить ИГИЛ. В работе анализируются процессы, происшедшие в США с момента начала кризиса в августе 2014, и особенности варьирования указанного дискурса. Полученные результаты показали, что США желают бороться против ИГИЛ только в рамках созданной коалиции и не собираются брать на себя обязательства.

**Keywords:** concordance, corpus linguistics, critical discourse analysis, functional grammar, modality, and transitivity theory.

**Ключевые слова:** конкорданс, корпусная лингвистика, критический анализ дискурса, функциональная грамматика, модальность, теория переходности.

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## 1. Introduction

In August 2014, the terror group known as ISIS was formed. The group embraces a hardline agenda that calls for killing any party that opposes it regardless of race, religion, sect, or nationality. ISIS's headquarter is in Raqqa, Syria. However, its atrocities have crossed all borders and countries, including Lebanon, which has had its share of violence and abducting of Lebanese soldiers. The United States formed a coalition to fight ISIS, comprising of over sixty nations, vowing to destroy the terror group.

Ever since its formation, the U.S. State Department has been making strong headlines against ISIS, calling for its demise. At the time of writing, ISIS is very much alive and operating, notwithstanding some setbacks. This raises concerns as to whether the United States is really willing to destroy ISIS or if it is just a show-off of power. To answer this question, a deeper analysis of the

U.S. government's speech is required. This research used Hallidayan functional grammar, in particular transitivity theory, to analyze the speech of the U.S. State Department regarding ISIS. Transitivity theory uses the clause as a representation by looking into six types of processes: material, existential, relational, behavioral, verbal, and mental. Each process is characterized by participants and circumstances and therefore is directly related to the speaker's own experiences and needs. Transitivity deals with what type of words the speaker uses when expressing ideas. This research analyzed what type of processes the U.S. overwhelmingly used when speaking about ISIS. It also studied power in the U.S. discourse at the micro and macro levels. The micro level studies language use through verbal interaction and communication while the macro level studies power, dominance, and inequality. For the micro level, this paper analyzed the U.S. speech using Van Dijk's model by semantically studying power through modality verbs. For the macro level, Fairclough's definition of power was applied.

This study is a corpus linguistics study. To serve its means, AntConc concordance software was used to analyze over 200 pages of U.S. Department press releases related to ISIS since its inception. I analyzed the corpora quantitatively and qualitatively, searching for high-frequency and modality verbs used in the speech of the U.S. Department to see which process the U.S. was in. I then determined how these verbs collocated in sentences and how they reflected the status quo of the U.S. towards ISIS. At the end of the study, data were analyzed and charts showed that relational and material processes were the most consistent processes that the U.S. adopted in the fight to destroy ISIS. In addition, the results also showed that the U.S. used repeatedly modal verbs will and can to relieve itself from obligation.

### **Statement of the Problem**

In August 2014, Secretary of the U.S. State Department John Kerry tweeted:

*Tonight the President spoke directly to our country about what it will take to lead the world to degrade and ultimately destroy ISIS, and we are already well underway in the effort to assemble the coalition to get the job done.*

The United States has been releasing similar speeches against ISIS, vowing to destroy it. However, their words never materialized. ISIS still exists and operates in Syria and Iraq. This ambivalence between words and action necessitates an analysis of the U.S. government's speech word by word to reveal whether the U.S. is really committed to destroying ISIS. Although several studies dealt with analyzing discourse of the U.S.'s foreign policy using power in discourse, this research adds two dimensions, represented by the study of the clause as a representation and the effectiveness of modal verbs.

**Purpose of the Study.** This research analyzed the U.S. Department of State's speech using Hallidayan transitivity theory by studying the clause as a representation by looking into the six types of processes – material, existential, relational, behavioral, verbal, and mental – to determine which process the U.S. speech aligns with regarding ISIS. This study also introduces a new approach for analyzing speech by focusing on the linguistic elements used by the speakers based on society, culture, and personal experiences rather than grammar.



This study attempted to answer the following research questions.

1. How does Hallidayan transitivity expose embedded intentions in the U.S. State Department Speech regarding ISIS?
2. How does the U.S. State Department use power in discourse when speaking about ISIS?
3. To what extent does U.S. speech contain power-sharing when calling allies to fight ISIS?
4. What type of Hallidayan processes has the U.S. State Department constantly adopted concerning ISIS?

I **hypothesize** the following.

1. The U.S. does not have real interests in destroying ISIS, as reported by the speech of the State Department.

2. The U.S. seeks allies' cooperation to destroy ISIS.

The following term definitions are used in the current study.

**C o n c o r d a n c e** is a textual corpus and a lexicon that is bound to a degree that each word in the text is linked to its appropriate meaning in the lexicon [Miller, 1990].

**C o r p u s l i n g u i s t i c s** is a collection of texts, written or spoken, that can be stored and analyzed using analytical software and that is available for qualitative and quantitative analysis [Carter et al., 2007].

**C r i t i c a l d i s c o u r s e a n a l y s i s** is a perspective concerned with presenting embedded connections between language and other aspects of society and culture [Fairclough, 1996].

**F u n c t i o n a l g r a m m a r** is a term that tries to describe different ways to reach meanings and functions in language [Richards & Schmidt, 2010].

**M o d a l i t y** is a device that allows speakers to express certain levels of commitment, assertion, or belief [Saeed, 2009].

**T r a n s i t i v i t y t h e o r y** is a set of options where the speaker inscribes his experience, which is considered to be the foundation of the semantic organization of experience [Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004].

## 2. Historical Background of Arabic-American Relations

A. Lucic and D. Pustelnik [Lucic & Pustelnik, 2009] stated that Arab-American relations date back to the turn of the 20th century, specifically in the period of oil discovery in Saudi Arabia. Around 1920, U.S.-Saudi relations were not good; the U.S. upheld a passive agenda towards Saudi Arabia and Arabs prior to WWI because the U.S. was oil-sufficient. R. Bronson [Bronson, 2006] stated that, after WWI, the U.S. Geological Committee panicked about the depletion of national oil reserves, since the U.S. gave 80% of its oil to its allies during WWI. In 1928, U.S. foreign policy shifted towards excavating oil in the Gulf, especially in Saudi Arabia. In 1931, the U.S. gave diplomatic recognition to Ibn Saud Kingdom. Saudi Arabia gave vast privileges to American companies to drill oil as *quid pro quo*, and the California Arabian Standard Oil Company (CASOC), renamed the Arabian-American Oil Company ARAMCO in 1944, was created. Saudi-American relations started to grow and evolved to a complex and intricate

triangle between Washington and Riyadh. Roosevelt Study Center Catalogue [Roosevelt..., 1943], showed that the actual entry of America in Saudi Arabia's politics did not start until 1943, when President Roosevelt asked King Saud about his stance on Jewish immigration to Palestine. In section one of his memorandum, White House correspondent John Kirk outlined Ibn Saud's current stance: he remained silent to the subject of Jewish immigration. R. Bronson [Bronson, 2006] claimed that, after that, the U.S. was willing to move on and forge diplomatic relations with King Saud. The onset of this relationship was military shipments to Ibn Saud in 1944 of reconnaissance cars, machine guns, rifles, and miscellaneous equipment to counter the threat of the Hashemite family in Jordan and Iraq and to establish the kingdom in the Arabian Peninsula. Since 1950, the United States has vowed to defend the kingdom against external threats, including those from the Soviet Union, Yemen, Egypt, Iran, and Iraq. However, this all changed in the wake of ISIS's rise.

### **2.1. ISIS's Rise and the Shift in American Politics towards Arabs**

The terror organization ISIS was formed in the summer of 2014 and took over vast areas in Iraq and Syria. In a State Department press release (2015), Secretary of State, John Kerry vowed to destroy ISIS and that ISIS's days were numbered. The ensuing months did not show any weakness in ISIS's capabilities. On the contrary ISIS's rhetoric got stronger while the U.S. remained neutral. A. Issa [Issa, 2016] stated that this unprecedented neutrality to the Middle East was caused by the discovery of shale oil, which makes the U.S. less dependent on Arab oil. This new discovery changed the rhetoric of the U.S. towards Arabs. A. Issa [Issa, 2016] stated that President Obama called Saudis «free-riders». Throughout his presidency, President Obama always described Saudis as «important allies». This ambivalence in speech requires further understanding of the U.S.'s actual attitude towards Arabs in general and the Middle East in particular. Therefore, analysis of the U.S.'s speech must be undertaken through critical discourse analysis. This paper is concerned with the study of the U.S.'s speech regarding the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq (ISIS) and not with other franchises or affiliates of IS (Islamic State) in other areas such as Libya, Yemen, Egypt, etc.

### **2.2. CDA at the Macro Level**

N. Fairclough and C. Holes [Fairclough & Holes, 1995] define Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse from a language point of view, related to social practice. Scholars studying CDA generally assume that social and linguistic practices complete each other and focus on investigating how societal relations are established and reinforced through language use. N. Fairclough and R. Wodak [Fairclough & Wodak, 1997] stated that CDA is concerned with how power can be manifested in language. It studies discourse, which includes texts, talk, video and practices. Critical discourse analysis began to develop in academia around 1980 and now includes a number of different approaches. They share a concern to ensure

adequate attention in critical social research to discourse as a side of social life, and to its relation to other sides of social life, than they have received in the past.

M. Foucault [Foucault, 1981] hypothesized that in society, the production of discourse is controlled and redistributed by a certain number of procedures which role is to eschew its powers and dangers, to gain control over its random events, and to evade its ponderous materiality. The regions of the discourse manifest strongly in sexuality and politics. Discourse's objective is not simply to manifest desire; it is also the object of desire. Discourse does not simply mean translating struggles or systems of domination; it also means the thing for which and through which struggle is created. Discourse is the power that is not to be missed.

According to N. Fairclough and R. Wodak [Fairclough & Wodak, 1997], CDA addresses social problems. They regarded power relations in CDA as being discursive and discourse as constituting society and culture. They saw discourse as doing ideological work such as history or making reference to culture and society. They believed the link between text and society is mediated and that CDA is interpretative and explanatory. M. Reisigl and R. Wodak [Reisigl & Wodak, 2001] believed social practices, such as racism, manifest discursively. On one hand, racist opinions and beliefs are created and recreated through means of discourse; on the other hand, discriminatory practices are prepared and legitimized. In order to gain an inside look at the social and historical structure of prejudices, discourse analysts relate discriminatory language to social, political, and historical contexts. P.G. Gee gave the following definition:

*A discourse is a socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and of acting, that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or social network, or to signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful role [Gee, 1990, p. 143].*

Gee claimed that we acquire much of our fluency in a discourse when we are unconsciously exposed to ways of saying-doing and believing-valuing in meaningful settings.

In analyzing political discourse, Chilton [Chilton, 2004] viewed politics as a struggle for power between those who seek to enforce their power and those who seek to resist it. Political discourse is considered as confrontation of personal interest over money, influence, and liberty. Chilton sees two levels of discourse: micro and macro. At the micro level, there are conflicts of interest, clash for domination and efforts of cooperation among individuals, genders, and social groups of various kinds. As B. Jones et al. [Jones et al., 1994] put it, at the micro level we use a variety of techniques to get our own way by using persuasion, rational argument, irrational strategies, threats, entreaties, and bribes. What is absent from conventional studies of politics is that the micro-level behaviors mentioned are actually kinds of linguistic action, which is discourse. Similarly, the macro level features are types of discourse with specific characteristics, such as debates and interviews, while constitutions and laws represent written discourse of a highly specific type.

Fairclough [Fairclough, 1989] used the term «discourse» to refer to the whole process of social interaction, where text plays only one part. He classified the various approaches of CDA as follows: one kind that includes detailed analyses of texts and another that does not. Fairclough [Fairclough, 2003] stated that language can be regarded as an abstract social structure that defines potential and possibilities and excludes other ways of combining linguistic elements. We need to recognize the linguistic elements of networks of social practices, which are called orders of discourse. An order of discourse is a network of social communication and practices that contain linguistic aspects. The elements of orders of discourse are not like nouns and sentences; they are like genres and styles. They control linguistic identities for particular areas of social life. Discourse is associated with a specific way of perceiving and envisioning language, as well as other semiotic forms such as images or body language. According to Fairclough [Fairclough, 2006], CDA approaches language as one side of social life that is closely connected with other sides of social life, encompassing all the major issues, such as scientific research, economic systems, social relations, power, ideology, institutions, social change, and social identity. Like other socially oriented approaches to language study, CDA includes analysis of instances of language use, whether in speech, in writing, or on television or the internet. CDA's main interest is social problems and political issues. Instead of describing discourse structures, it explains in context of social structure. CDA focuses on how discourse structures evolve, interact, and challenge relations of power and dominance in society. Fairclough and Wodak [Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, pp. 271–280] summarized the main tenets of CDA as follows: (a) CDA addresses social problems, (b) power relations are discursive, (c) discourse constitutes society and culture, (d) discourse does ideological work, (e) discourse is historical, (f) the link between text and society is mediated, (g) discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory, and (h) discourse is a form of social action.

Fairclough and Wodak [Fairclough & Wodak, 1997] stated that power is the centerpiece in most critical work on discourse, especially the social power existing in groups and institutions. Groups possess power if they are able to manipulate the minds and acts of other groups. This ability presupposes a power base of scarce social resources, such as money, force, knowledge, status, fame, and information to dominate various forms of public discourse and communication. Different types of power may be defined according to the criteria employed to exercise such power, for example, the power of the military is based on force, and the power of the rich is based on money [Fairclough & Wodak, 1997]. A. Gramsci [Gramsci, 1971] stated that there are other powers that are more or less persuasive, such as the power of parents or professors, whose possession of knowledge or information is the basis of their power. Nonetheless, there is no absolute power. People or groups with power can only have control in specific situations or areas. Moreover, dominated groups may resist or comply with such power. The power of dominant groups may be integrated in laws, habits, norms, and a general consensus and thus take the form of what Gramsci called «hegemony». Sexism, racism, and class



domination are the characteristics of such hegemony. Fairclough and Wodak [Fairclough & Wodak, 1997] claimed that power may be paraded in a myriad of ways and not always through abusive acts. Sometimes, powerful group members are less powerful than other members of dominated groups: here, power is only defined as a whole. The relationship between discourse and power is itself a powerful resource in politics, media, or science. Our minds control our actions, and if we are able to influence people's minds by manipulating their knowledge and opinions, we may indirectly control their actions. Text and talk influence people's minds, and therefore discourse may at least indirectly control people.

### **2.3. CDA at the Micro Level**

According to T. Van Dijk [Van Dijk, 1988], discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary discipline. It concentrates on the abuse of power, especially how power in discourse is abused by controlling people's actions and beliefs in favor of dominant groups and against the will of others. CDA is also interested in the analysis of the different contexts of discourse, the processes of its production and reception, and it is used in communication in a sociocultural dimensions. Discourse analysis has emerged from several other disciplines of the humanities and the social sciences, such literary studies, linguistics, semiotics, anthropology, psychology, sociology, and speech communication. Van Dijk [Van Dijk, 1988] asserted that those who have power also have control over discourse. According to him, social power is the result of control and access to resources such as money, force, fame, status, knowledge, and information. Powerful groups dominate other groups by influencing, coercing, controlling, or even abusing the minds of people through persuasion and manipulation. Text and talk control people's minds; therefore, discourse may also indirectly – and through persuasion and manipulation – influence people's actions. This means that those groups who control the minds and actions of others have the most influential discourse.

Van Dijk [Van Dijk, 1998] defined CDA's aim as offering a different perspective or mode of analysis, theorizing, and application throughout the diverse field of discourse in areas such as conversation analysis, pragmatics, narrative analysis, stylistics, rhetoric, sociolinguistics, ethnography, and media analysis. What is crucial in CDA is the explicit awareness of its role in society. CDA argues that science, especially scholarly discourse, is produced in social interaction and influenced by social structure. Description, explanation, and theory formation are socio-politically devised. Thus, the role of scholars in society becomes a part of discourse analysis.

For Van Dijk [Van Dijk, 1993], CDA is clearly not a unified system of models or schools, but a common approach of doing linguistics, semiotic or discourse analysis. According to Van Dijk [Van Dijk, 1998], CDA studies the way dominance, social power abuse, and inequality are reproduced, enacted, and resisted by talk and text in the social and political context. He identified dominant notions in CDA as inequality, power, dominance, ideology, hegemony, class, discrimination, gender, race, and others, which he labelled as macro levels of



analysis. Van Dijk [Van Dijk, 1993] stated that micro-level social order involves discourse, language use, verbal interaction, and communication. Reciprocally, power, dominance and inequality belong to the macro level of analysis. In this, CDA has closed the gap between micro and macro approaches. In everyday interaction and experience, the macro and micro level form one, unified whole. For instance, discourse at the micro-level would be racist speech in parliament but at the same time may be a constituent part of legislation or the reproduction at racism, at the macro-level. There are several ways to analyze and bridge these levels and thus to arrive at a unified critical analysis [Van Dijk, 1998]:

(a) Members-Groups: Language users engage in discourse as members of several organizations, social groups, and institutions, and conversely, groups may act by their members.

(b) Actions-Process: Social acts of individual actors are a constituent part of social processes and group actions, such as news making, legislation, or the reproduction of racism.

(c) Context-Social Structure: Situations of discursive interaction are a part of social structure; a press conference may be a typical practice of media institutions and organizations. That is, local and more global contexts are closely related, and both exercise constraints on discourse.

(d) Personal and Social Cognition: Language users as social actors have both social and personal cognition, knowledge, opinions, and personal memories, as well as those shared with members of the group or culture as a whole. Both cognitions influence discourse of individual members and interaction, whereas shared social representations govern the collective actions of a group.

This study of discourse analysis is based on the model of language as a social semiotic outlined in the works of Halliday and his systemic functional linguistics.

## **2.4. The Clause as a Representation or Transitivity**

The International Systemic Functional Linguistics Association [International..., 2011] introduced systemic functional grammar (SFG) as a form of grammatical description, initiated by Michael Halliday. It is called systemic functional linguistics because of its semiotic approach to language. Functions of language means the way people use their language to do different things with their language through writing and speaking. They expect to achieve a large number of aims and purposes [Halliday & Hasan, 1985]. SFG does not refer to subjects, verbs, and objects. It rather refers to the system as describing the whole clause [Thompson, 2004]. Instead, different functional labels are given to processes (realized by verbal groups), participants (realized by nominal groups), and circumstances (realized by prepositional phrases or adverbials signifying time, place, or manner) of each process type. M. A. Halliday and R. Hasan [Halliday & Hasan, 1976] emphasized that a text is not just a big sentence but rather a semantic unit. From the point of view of critical discourse analysis, T. Van Leeuwen [Van Leeuwen, 2008] stated that texts should be studied as representations as well as interactions. The term «discourse», in Foucault's sense [Foucault, 1977], is a text of a socially constructed knowledge of some

social practice developed in specific social contexts, and in ways appropriate to these contexts, whether these contexts occur within families, multinational corporations, the press, or dinner table conversations.

M. A. Halliday and C. M. I. M. Matthiessen [Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004] defined functional grammar as grammar viewed from above as a resource for making meaning and a network of interrelated meaningful choices. The fundamental components of grammar are sets of mutually defining contrastive features. Explaining something consists of showing how it is related to other things and not of stating how it is structured. Each system has its point of origin at a particular rank: clause, phrase, group, and their associated complexes. Systems at every rank are located in their metafunctional context; this means that every system has its address in some cell of a metafunction – rank matrix [Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004]. When we say that something is a noun, in English, we mean that it displays these characteristics, or most of them, in common with some (but not all) other words in the language. The class of an item indicates its potential range of grammatical functions. As part of their decontextualized definition, words can be assigned to classes in a dictionary. But the class label does not show what part the item is playing in any actual structure. For that we have to indicate its function. The functional categories provide labels to show the kind of process, goal, etc. However, most elements of a clausal structure have more than one function in the clause. This is where the concept of a metafunction comes into play. Halliday [Halliday, 1994] grouped these metafunctions:

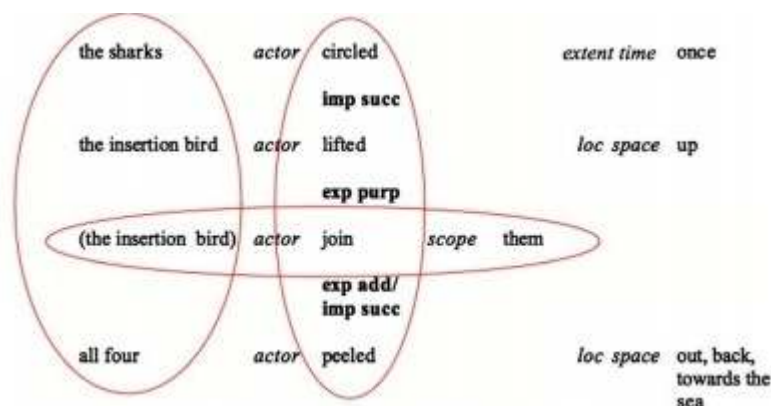
1. Clause as exchange: The relationship speakers forge with listeners through language. In speaking, the speaker assumes for himself a particular speech role, and in so doing, assigns to the listener a complementary role, which he wishes him to adopt in his turn.

2. Clause as representation: According to Halliday, a language evolves in response to the specific demands of the society in which it is used. It reflects aspects of the situation in which it occurs, such as representation of human experience where we use language as an instrument of thought or to conceptualize or represent the experiential or real world to ourselves.

3. Clause as message: The clause is organized as a message by having a special status assigned to one part of it. The initial position, in English clause, is meaningful in the construction of the clause as a message. The structure is called thematic structure. One element in the clause is enunciated as the theme that combines with the rest so that the two parts together constitute a message. As a message, the clause comprises two parts: the theme that serves as the point of departure of the message and the rheme where the presentation moves after the point of departure.

J. R. Martin [Martin, 2014] stressed the necessity of going beyond the clause. As far as discourse structure was concerned, H. A. Gleason [Gleason, 1961] viewed it as different in kind from syntax. He proposed the idea of a network that could have multiple connections, which he referred to as a reticulum. For example, with the phrases *the sharks circled once, the insertion bird lifted up to join them* and *all four peeled out back toward the sea* a

reticulum would have been designed that displayed participant tracking relationships (the sharks ← the insertion bird ← ellipsis ← all four). These relations are conceived as *t r a n s i t i v i t y* relations among the process, participants, and circumstances, as shown in Figure 1.



**Figure 1. A sample reticulum. Adapted from J.R. Martin (2014), showing participant tracking, conjunction, and transitivity relations**

Halliday [Halliday, 1994] referred to systemic as the view of language as interrelated sets of options for making meaning or a network of systems. He described grammar as systems, not rules, because every grammatical structure involves a choice from a describable set of options, such as mood, agency, theme, etc. These options construe the human experience, which is also called an ideational metafunction. It is the way we make sense of reality. Halliday divides the ideational into two metafunctions: experiential and logical. The experiential function is to the grammatical resources involved in construing the multitude of experience through the unit of the clause. The logical metafunction refers to the grammatical resources for building up grammatical units into complexes, like combining two or more clauses into a clause complex. The ideational metafunction reflects the contextual value of field which is the nature of the social process in which the language is involved. A text analysis from the ideational perspective involves inquiring into the choices in the grammatical system of transitivity, which is participant types, process types, circumstance types, and analysis of the resources of how clauses are combined. Halliday & Matthiessen's «An Introduction to Functional Grammar» [Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004], sets out the description of these grammatical systems. Halliday and Hasan [Halliday and Hasan, 1976] originally purported that the experiential metafunction was one of the three main metafunctions. They then included it within the ideational metafunction alongside the logical metafunction of relationships between clauses and clause-complexing, which is also called clause as representation. The clause represents the content of our experiences and answers the question, «Who does what to whom?». This metafunction uses a grammatical system of transitivity with some traditional views focusing on the verb group. Language is used functionally; what is said depends on what one needs to accomplish.

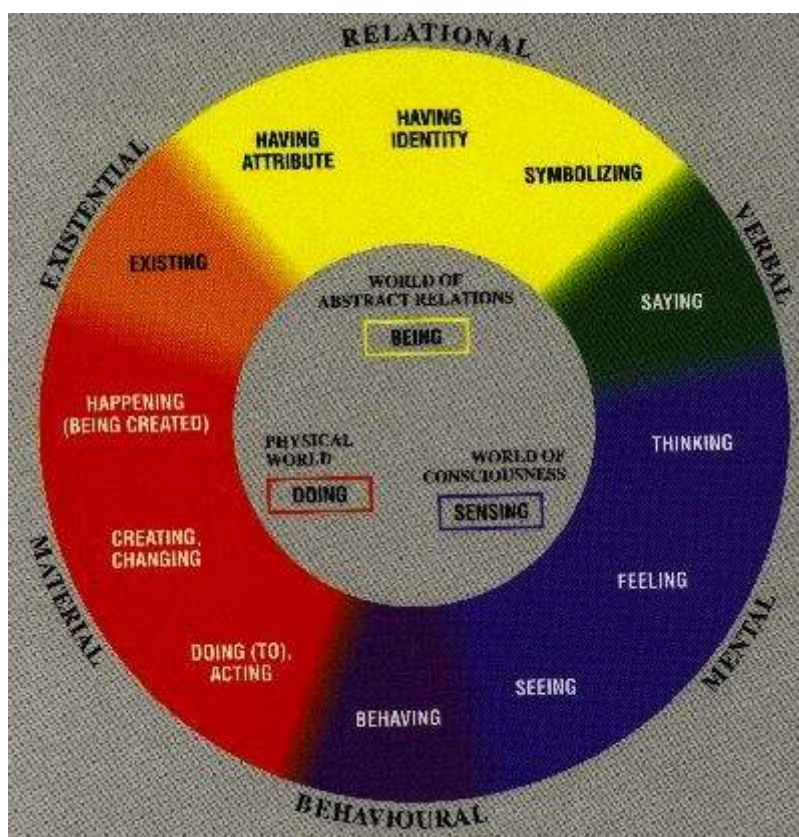
Halliday and Hasan [Halliday & Hasan, 1985] said that language simultaneously expresses three kinds of meanings: interpersonal, ideational, and textual. The clause as representation (ideational meaning) serves the expression of content in language of our experience of the real world. We often use language to speak of something or someone doing something. Ideational meaning can refer to the experiential meaning coming from the clause as representation. The interpersonal meaning helps to maintain and establish social relations. In it, the individual is reinforced and identified by enabling him or her to interact with others. The textual metafunction relates to mode; the communicative nature of a text and internal organization. This comprises spontaneity (e.g. coordination), textual interactivity (e.g. pauses), and communicative distance (e.g. cohesion). In transitivity, there are also three different processes: material processes, relational processes, and mental processes. These three are the main types of process in the English transitivity system. The three functional components of meaning – ideational, interpersonal, and textual – are realized throughout the grammar of a language. But whereas in the grammar of the clause each component contributes a more or less complete structure, so that a clause is made up of three distinct structures combined into one, when we look below the clause, and consider the grammar of the group, the pattern is somewhat different. Although we can still recognize the same three components, they are not represented in the form of separate whole structures but rather as partial contributions to a single structural line. The difference between clause and group in this respect is only one of degree, but it is sufficient to enable us to analyze the structure of the group in one operation.

Halliday & Matthiessen [Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004] stated that the English clause is a composite affair, a combination of three different structures deriving from distinct functional components. These components are called metafunctions and are the ideational (clause as representation), the interpersonal (clause as exchange), and the textual (clause as message). What this means is that the three structures serve to express independent sets of semantic choice, such as transitivity, which expresses representational meaning of what the clause is about, which is typically some process, with associated participants and circumstances. Transitivity is a figure of happening, doing, sensing, saying, being or having unfolding through time, where participants are directly involved in this process. In addition, there may be circumstances of space, time, cause, and manner. All these are sorted out in the grammar of the clause, where the clause is also a mode of reflection, as shown in Figure 2.

Halliday and Matthiessen [Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004] stated that the transitivity system construes the world of experience into a manageable set of process types where each process provides its own model or schema for construing a particular domain of experience as a figure of a particular kind – a model such as the one illustrated above for construing signification. The grammar sets up a discontinuity between these two: it distinguishes rather clearly between outer experience, the processes of the external world, and inner experience, the processes of consciousness. The grammatical categories are those of material and mental process clauses, as in «I'm having a shower and



I don't want a shower. To produce so much money» is a material clause, construing the outer experience of the creation of a commodity whereas people love (hate, want) money is mental. Here, the grammar recognizes processes of a third type: those of identifying and classifying. We call these relational process clauses. For instance, «every fourth African is a Nigerian» is a classifying relational clause. Material, mental, and relational are the main types of process in the English transitivity system. But we also find further categories, such as behavioral processes, which represent the outer manifestations of inner workings such as the acting out of processes of consciousness (e.g., people laughing) and physiological states (e.g., sleeping). Verbal processes are symbolic relationships constructed in human consciousness and enacted in the form of language, like saying and meaning (e.g., the clause we say, introducing a report of what was said: that every fourth African is a Nigerian). The existential process is the act of being, existing, or happening (e.g., «today there's Christianity in the south»).



**Figure 2. Representation of transitivity. Adapted from M. A. K. Halliday (1994), showing the types of process as they have evolved in English grammar**

According to Halliday and Matthiessen [Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004], material clauses are clauses of doing and happening of events as they take place through some action or energy. Material clauses, the source of the energy



bringing about the change, is typically a participant or the actor. This participant role is the logical subject of older terminology. The actor is the one that does the action. Processes of the material type tend to differ from all other types, and this is seen in how present time is reported. The unmarked tense selection is the present (e.g., is doing) rather than the simple present (e.g., does). In a material clause, there is always one participant: the actor. A material clause represents a happening, and we call it intransitive.

the lion	sprang
Actor	Process

The unfolding of the process may extend to another participant, the goal, impacting it in some way. The outcome is registered on the goal in the first instance, rather than on the actor. A material clause represents an action, and we can call it transitive. In both clauses, the actor is an inherent participant.

The lion	caught	the tourist
Actor	Process	Goal

The implication is that in both cases the lion did something, but the doing was confined to the lion, whereas in «the lion caught the tourist» the action was directed at, or extended to, the tourist. This is the goal.

While material clauses are concerned with our experience of the material world, mental clauses are concerned with our experience of the world of our own consciousness. A mental processes is the processes of sensing:

- 1) perception (seeing, hearing, etc.);
- 2) affection (liking, fearing, etc.);
- 3) cognition (thinking, knowing, understanding, etc.).

This process of sensing may be construed either as flowing from a person's consciousness or as impinging on it, but it is not construed as a material act.

Pat: *I **hate** cockroaches more than rats*

The actor, process, goal model used in the analysis of material clauses is not applicable to mental ones. The mental processes has instead two participants, called the sensor (the conscious being that is thinking, feeling, or seeing) and the phenomenon (which is felt, sensed, thought, or seen).

I	believe	you
Sensor	Process: cognition	Phenomenon

In a mental process, there is at least one participant who is human and who is the sensor. The sensor is the one that senses, thinks, feels, wants, or perceives. In grammatical terms, the participant in the mental process is the pronoun *he* or *she*, not *it*.

We now come to the third major type of process: relational clauses. Relational clauses serve to characterize and identify the processes of being and having. There are three types of relational processes in the clause [Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004]:

- 1) intensive (establishes a relationship of sameness between two entities);
- 2) circumstantial (defines the entity in terms of location, time, manner);
- 3) possessive (indicates that one entity owns another).

Halliday and Matthiessen [Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004] stated that each of these comes in two modes: attributive and identifying. In attributive, there are two participants: carrier and attribute. In identifying, there are two participants: identified and identifier.

<b>mode</b> <b>type</b>	<b>(i) attributive</b>	<b>(ii) identifying</b>
<b>(1) intensive</b>	the performance is great	Mr Nathan is the President the President is Mr Nathan
<b>(2) circumstantial</b>	the lecture is on a Wednesday	today is the eighteenth; the eighteenth is today
<b>(3) possessive</b>	John has two motorcycles	the two motorcycles are John's John's are the two motorcycles

Further examples of the relational process modes and their types are below:

<b>attribute of:</b>			
<b>quality (intensive)</b>	John	is / looks	great
<b>circumstance (circumstantial)</b>	Prof Halliday the celebrations	was last	in the lecture theatre all day
<b>possession (possessive)</b>	the computer Ahmad	is / belongs has	Ahmad's / to Ahmad a computer
	<b>Carrier</b>	<b>Process</b>	<b>Attribute</b>

**Table of Identifying Clauses**

<b>identification by:</b>			
<b>token-value (intensive)</b>	Ah Chong David Garrick	is played	the teacher Hamlet
<b>circumstance (circumstantial)</b>	yesterday his gold	was takes up	the twentieth the entire box
<b>possession (possessive)</b>	the piano Peter	is owns	Peter's the piano
	<b>Identified</b>	<b>Process</b>	<b>Identifier</b>

The fourth process as defined by Halliday and Matthiessen [Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004] is the behavioral. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between behavioral and material verbs. As a rule of thumb, a behavioral process verb is (a) intransitive (it has only one participant) or (b) indicates an activity in which both the physical and mental aspects are inseparable and indispensable.

In this process, there is only one participant, namely: behavior (the agent who behaves):

Buff	neither laughs nor smiles
behavior	process

These are processes of (typically human) physiological and psychological behavior, like breathing, coughing, smiling, dreaming, and staring. Because they have no clearly defined characteristics of their own but are partly like the material, they are the least distinct of all the six process types. The participant who is behaving is labelled the behavior who is typically a conscious being, like the sayer. The process is grammatically more like one of doing. The tense for behavioral processes is present for example, «Why do you laugh?» or «Why are you laughing?» Behavioral processes consist of behavior and process only.

The fifth process is verbal processes of saying. The sayer is the participant of the process who does the speaking, the receiver is the one to whom the verbalization is addressed, and the verbiage is the verbalization itself. Verbs used in this process are *ask*, *insult*, *praise*, *slander*, *abuse*, and *flatter*. If there is another participant involved in the process, we call it *target*.

They	asked	him	a lot of question
Sayer	Process: verbal	Receiver	Verbiage

And also the example for Target:

I	'm always praising	you	to my friends
Sayer	Process: verbal	Target	Recipient

These are clauses of saying, as in «What did you say? I said it's noisy in here, with you.» I is functioning as the sayer. Such clauses are an important resource in various kinds of discourse. They contribute to the creation of narrative by making it possible to set up dialogic passages. Unlike mental clauses, verbal ones do not require a conscious participant. The sayer can be anything that puts out a signal, as in «And they've got a great big sign out the front saying pokies».

The final process is the existential process which represents something that exists or happens. They have the verb to be or some other verb expressing existence, such as *exist* or *arise*, followed by a nominal group functioning as existent (a thing that exists in the process). The existent may be a phenomenon of any kind:

There	was	a storm
	Process	Existent: event

Halliday and Hasan [Halliday & Hasan, 1985] stated that existential clauses are not, overall, very common in discourse, but they make an important, specialized contribution to various kinds of text. For example, in narrative, they serve to introduce central participants in the placement (setting, orientation) stage at the beginning of a story. An existential clause contains a distinct circumstantial element of time or place, as in «there was a picture on the wall»; if the circumstantial element is thematic, the subject there may be omitted, such as «on the wall (there) was Picasso painting, wasn't there?». Another common way of locating the process in space-time is to follow it with a non-finite clause, for example, «there was an old woman tossed up in a basket, there's someone waiting at the door». The entity or event which is being said to exist is labelled, simply, the existent.

In this study, Fairclough's macro level of power in discourse, Van Dijk's micro-level in discourse, and Halliday's transitivity or clause as a representation are implemented. The six processes, which constitute the clause as a representation, are analyzed by adopting Fairclough's power in discourse at the macro level, looking for verbs that reflect power at the micro-level, and analyzing Van Dijk semantically through the use of modality verbs. Modality, as defined by J. Saeed [Saeed, 2009], is a device that allows speakers to express certain levels of commitment, assertion, or belief. P. Griffiths [Griffiths, 2006] stated that modality is the label given to the meanings. These meanings include obligations, confidence, and assertions as to how confident the speaker is. The main carriers of modality are a set of auxiliary verbs called modals: *will, would, can, could, may, might, shall, should, must* and *ought to*. Modality is also encoded in adverbs such as *possibly, probably, presumably, and definitely*, as well as other expressions (e.g., «have (got) to, need to and be able to»).

### 3. The Corpus

This is a corpus linguistics study. H. Lindquist [Lindquist, 2009] stated that corpus linguistics is a methodology, containing a number of methods that can be used by researchers in various disciplines. Corpus linguistics analyzes naturally occurring language in computerized corpora. It is performed by a computer with specialized software. G. Leech [Leech, 1992, p. 106] stated that:

*...computer corpus linguistics defines not just a newly emerging methodology for studying language, but a new research enterprise, and in fact a new philosophical approach to the subject.*

He considered corpus linguistics in the way a computer analyzes data as a new paradigm. M. Stubbs [Stubbs, 1993] stated that a corpus is an important concept in linguistic theory and not merely a tool of linguistic analysis. As a theoretical approach to the study of language, W. Teubert [Teubert, 2005] emphasized that corpus linguistics is the right tool for doing such analysis.



A corpus can be defined as a systematic collection of naturally occurring texts, written and spoken. According to J. Sinclair [Sinclair, 1991], the characteristics of a corpus are the following:

- consists of one or more machine-readable Unicode text files;
- is meant to be representative for a particular kind of speaker, register, variety, or language as a whole;
- is meant to be balanced, which means that the sizes of the subsamples (of speakers, registers, varieties) are proportional to the number of such speakers, registers, varieties, etc. in the population the corpus is meant to represent; and
- contains data from natural communicative settings, which means that at the time the language data in the corpus were produced, they were not produced solely for the purpose of being entered into a corpus or that the production of the language data was as untainted by the collection of those data as possible.

According to a survey by G. Gilquin and S. Gries [Gilquin & Gries, 2009], corpus-linguistic studies published over the course of four years in three major corpus-linguistic journals were mostly exploratory (as opposed to hypothesis-testing) in nature – on matter of syntax, followed by lexis and phraseology, based on written data, using frequency data and concordances, followed by simple association measures. Given the predominance of such applications, it comes as no surprise that the most commonly found kind of annotation is part-of-speech tagging. However, over the last 20 years, many corpora have begun to feature other kinds of annotation. According to Sinclair [Sinclair, 1991], corpora annotation depends on the kind, and thus typicality, of corpus. Obviously, just about every corpus can be annotated for part-of-speech or lemma information, whereas many corpora do not easily allow for other kinds of annotation. For example, many written corpus data in general can be annotated for the identity of the author but cannot be annotated for prosodic, gestural, or interactional aspects of language production.

### **3.1. Corpus creation**

A. Renouf [Renouf, 1984] stated that the beginning of any corpus study is the creation of the corpus itself. The decisions that are taken about what is to be in the corpus, and how the selection is to be organized, control almost everything that happens subsequently. The linguists have to do the text selection of exactly what is in a corpus. The first consideration is that the aim of the activity of corpus creation may be fairly general in providing a good selection of instances of the language for a variety of purposes, which do not need to be numerated. Sinclair [Sinclair, 1991] stated that a corpus is a sample of the living language based on a convenient size and on priorities for selection. There are three normal methods by which a corpus can be created: adaptation of material already in electronic form, conversion by optical scanning (machine reading), and conversion by keyboarding.

Sinclair [Sinclair, 1991] claimed that the most far-reaching decision is whether the corpus will contain only written texts, only spoken transcriptions, or both. Most corpora keep well away from the problems of spoken language.

Many language scholars and teachers believe that the spoken form of the language is a better guide to the fundamental organization of the language than the written form. There is no substitute for impromptu speech. According to Renouf [Renouf, 1984], one of the principle uses of a corpus is to identify what is central and typical in the language. The characteristic of literature is to innovate, and we may expect a corpus of literary texts to have a low proportion of ordinary, everyday English. And since the processing emphasizes repeated patterns at the expense of unique ones, most of the distinctive literary patterning would be lost because it would not occur often enough to count as central and typical. D. Biber, S. Conrad, and R. Reppen [Biber, et al., 2004] claimed that a general reference corpus is not a collection of materials from different specialist areas – technical, dialectal, etc. – it is a collection of material that is broadly homogeneous but that is gathered from a variety of sources. Sinclair [Sinclair, 1991] stated that most corpora attempt to cover a particular period of time and use the clearest time indicator, which is the time of first utterance or publication. A corpus should be as large as possible and should keep on growing. In order to study the behavior of words in texts, we need to have a large number of occurrences available; a corpus needs to contain many millions of words.

The other decision that is needed at the outset is a suitable size. For any sample, a corpus should have around 2,000 words [Hofland & Johansson, 1982]. Also, a corpus that does not reflect the size and shape of the documents from which it is drawn is in danger of being seen as a collection of fragments. The alternative is to gather whole documents. A corpus made up of whole documents is open to a wider range of linguistic studies than a collection of short samples. If for some reason it is desirable to have random samples, each 2,000 words, this is readily achievable from a large collection of complete texts. Sinclair [Sinclair, 1991] described in details the criteria of a general corpus and the strategy for holding, processing, and retrieving it. He categorized as follows:

- full bibliographic information to be provided in electronic form and on paper;
- the actual language text to be separated from all other codes by a standardized convention;
- language text to be coded in a widely recognized format, or details provided so that it can be converted easily; and
- any codes, other than those of running text, to be identified and classified.

Clean-text policy states that the safest policy is to keep the text as it is, unprocessed and clean of any other codes.

For basic text processing and collocation, Sinclair [Sinclair, 1991] conducted the following.

### 3.2. Basic Text Processing

**Frequency list – first occurrence.** Anyone studying a text is likely to need to know how often each different word form occurs in it. The simplest operation is to turn it into a list of the word forms in the order of their first occurrence, noting the frequency of each.

**Frequency list – alphabetical.** The information available in the frequency list can be rendered in several ways. The main use of alphabetical

lists is for reference, but they are occasionally useful as objects of study. They are often helpful in formulating hypotheses to be tested and checking assumptions that have been made. The computer presents us with co-occurrence information in the basic form of a concordance. A concordance is a collection of the occurrences of a word form, each in its own textual environment. In its simplest form, it is an index. Each word form is indexed, and a reference is given to the place of each occurrence in a text.

**Key word in context (KWIC).** For many years now, the KWIC format has been widely used in data processing. It saves the researcher looking up each occurrence. The word-form under examination appears in the context of each line, with extra space on either side of it, and the length of the context is specified for different purposes.

**Concordance processing.** It is valuable to think of a concordance as a text in itself and to examine the frequencies of word forms in the environment of the central word form. Some very common words will show a frequency that is similar to their overall frequency in the language, but others will show a strong influence from being close to the central word form in the concordance.

A concordance is a list of target words extracted from a given text or set of texts, often presented in such a way as to indicate the context in which the word is used. Concordance software can usually extract and present other types of information too, e.g., identifying the words that most commonly appear near a target word (its common collocates).

**Text analysis statistics.** As soon as the computer has been trained to identify characters, word forms, and sentences, it can produce figures for a number of relationships. This can be very useful in comparing texts or searching for texts with particular characteristics.

**Selective information.** When a text is very long, the word lists will also be long, and the concordances will be extremely long. Not all this information is needed every time; hence, it is important to be able to select. Selections can be made as follows.

1. By frequency. If we omit word forms from a frequency list that only occur once, the word list shrinks to about half its size. Also, for some purposes, we only require a list of very frequent words. At other times, it is useful to divide the vocabulary of a text into frequency bands.

2. By form. It is possible to specify words by their alphabetical makeup, by the letters in them, or by a combination of both, like these can be devised that allow a researcher to pick out several word classes such as present participles or regular adverbs. These two selection types can also be combined to make sensitive analytical instruments, at least for a pilot study.

**Concordances.** After sorting out the lemmas, we turn to the concordances. To begin with, it is easier to use concordances where citations of a word form are listed. Citations of lemmas are also available, but they are more difficult to study until something is known about the individual word forms. Automatic concordancing of texts has been an established facility for many years now, and for some special studies, manual or automatic concordances have been used.

Let us consider some of the factors affecting the shape and utility of concordances. Whether the concordance is selective or exhaustive, the ability to be exhaustive is one of the principal features of a concordance because it can claim to present all the available information, and it is clearly superior to a list of selective citations where there are no signs of rules. But there will be circumstances where some series has to be made, and the principles of selection will be of the greatest importance. At present, the only need for selection is in the case of the very commonest words in very long texts. The pattern of word occurrence in texts means that for a reasonably long text, there are some words that occur too often and some that do not occur often enough for their behavior to be comfortably studied. Consequently, there is only a central set of words for which the evidence is both comprehensive and convenient. The question of selection of citations can be resolved by two principles:

- selection is only made when the number of instances becomes quite unmanageable otherwise and
- the criteria for selection must be very carefully chosen.

The length of the citation is important in concordancing. The almost universal format for concordances is the KWIC, where the length of the citation is determined by the width of a bale of computer paper; the key word is in the middle. This format is fairly useful, but for the study of some words, it is not adequate and other formats must be devised. The length of a citation could be counted by character listing KWIC), by word, by finding punctuation marks to identify sentences, or by a whole range of more sophisticated linguistic criteria. At the present time, the range of concordance formats is growing. The simplest method is text order. For some purposes, a listing in alphabetical order of the word following the key word can be helpful. For other purposes, an ordering by the preceding word can be helpful; sometimes both methods are useful. Whichever method is chosen highlights some patterns and obscures others.

**Collocation.** It is clear that words do not occur at random in a text. Two models emerge in studying the order of words: the open model and the idiom model. The open choice analysis can be imagined as an analytical process that goes on, in principle, all the time but whose results are only intermittently called for. The two principles deployed in interpretation can be used to make predictions about the way people behave, and the accuracy of the predictions can be used as a measure of the accuracy of the model. Areas of relevant study include the transitional probabilities of words; the prevalent notion of chunking; the occurrence of hesitations, etc.; the placement of boundaries; and the behavior of subjects trying to guess the next word in the text. The principle of idiom is that a language user has a large number of semi pre-constructed phrases available that constitute single choices, even though they may appear to be in segments. To some extent, this may reflect the recurrence of similar situations and a natural tendency of human affairs. The principle of idiom can be seen in the choice of two words, for example, «of course». The same treatment could be given to hundreds of similar phrases: proverbs, clichés, technical terms, jargon expressions, phrasal verbs, etc. could all be covered by a fairly simple statement. Collocation is how words appear to be chosen in pairs or groups, and



these are not necessarily adjacent. One aspect of collocation has been of enduring interest. When two words of different frequencies collocate significantly, the collocation has a different value in the description of each of the two words.

**Clusters / N-grams.** L. Anthony [Anthony, 2015] described the Clusters Tool as a tool which shows clusters based on the search condition. In effect it summarizes the results generated in the Concordance Tool or Concordance Plot Tool. The clusters can be ordered either by frequency or the start or end of the word. All list orderings can also be inverted. Also, a user can select the minimum and maximum length (number of words) in each cluster, and the minimum frequency of clusters displayed. It is also possible to select if the search term always appears on the left or right of the cluster.

To produce a cluster list, the following should be performed:

- 1) choose the appropriate ordering options;
- 2) press the 'Start' button (at any time, the generation of the clusters list can be halted using the 'Stop' button);
- 3) clicking on the cluster will generate a set of KWIC lines using the text as the search term.

The N-Grams Tool scans the entire corpus for 'N' (e.g. 1 word, 2 words, ...) length clusters. This allows to find common expressions in a corpus. For example, n-grams of size 2 for the sentence «this is a pen», are 'this is', 'is a' and 'a pen'. As with the Clusters Tool, the n-grams can be ordered either by frequency or the start or end of the word. They can also be ordered by the probability of the first word in the cluster preceding the remaining words. All list orderings can also be inverted. Also, a user can select the minimum and maximum size (number of words) in each n-gram, and the minimum frequency of n-grams displayed.

To produce an N-gram list, you need to perform the following actions:

- 1) click on the "N-Grams" option above the search entry box;
- 2) choose the appropriate ordering options;
- 3) press the 'Start' button (at any time, the generation of the n-grams list can be halted using the 'Stop' button);
- 4) clicking on the lexical bundle will generate a set of KWIC lines using the text as the search term.

**Software analysis.** G. Kennedy [Kennedy, 1998] stated that there are many types of corpora, which can be used for different kinds of analyses. Some examples of corpus types are, for example, general and reference corpora, such as the British National Corpus (BNC). Two types of software for corpus analysis can be distinguished in principle: software that is tailored to one specific corpus and software that can be used with almost any kind of corpus. While there are many differences between the software packages designed for corpus analysis, certain basic functions can be performed by practically all the available software. The most important aspect of linguistic analyses is the possibility of searching the corpus in question for the occurrence of certain strings. The software then gives the output information on the number of these strings occurring in the corpus, the part of the corpus where they were found in the text,

and the lines of concordance. For corpus-based studies, quantitative techniques are essential to compare patterns in language use. A crucial part of the corpus-based approach is going beyond the quantitative patterns to propose functional interpretations explaining why the patterns exist. As a result, a large amount of effort in corpus-based studies is devoted to explaining and exemplifying quantitative patterns [Biber et al., 2004]. AntConc concordance software will be used to analyze the data. Hallidayan transitivity will be implemented, searching for high frequency and modality verbs and how they collocate in sentences. Anthony [Anthony, 2015] stated that AntConc generates data and seeks concordance of target words extracted from a given text, or set of texts, often presented in such a way as to indicate the context in which the word is used. Usually, concordance software can usually extract and present other types of information too, like identifying the words that most commonly appear near a target word (its common collocates). AntConc is a free concordance program developed by Professor Laurence Anthony, who is the Director of the Centre for English Language Education, Waseda University (Japan).

The aforementioned corpus creation criteria in this chapter will be implemented. Sinclair [Sinclair, 1991] stated that a corpus can be created by either adaptation of material already in electronic form, conversion by optical scanning (machine reading), or conversion by keyboarding. The corpus for this study is already in electronic form but required simple conversion to .txt form to be readable by concordance software. The corpus is provided from the U.S. State Department press releases related to ISIS ([www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov)). The size of the corpus as stated by K. Hofland and S. Johansson [Hofland & Johansson, 1986] should be around 2,000 words made up of whole documents for a wider range of linguistic studies, rather than a collection of short samples. The corpus for this study is a 200-page corpora (around 46,806 words) consisting of speeches made by the Secretary of State John Kerry, his deputies, and spokespersons regarding ISIS.

**The selection of the speeches.** The speeches were selected from the U.S. State Department website from the «Press Releases» section under a category called «Defeating ISIL». The U.S. State Department uses different acronyms to refer to the terror organization. They use ISIL, ISIS, DAESH, and the Islamic State. Current corpus was created by choosing only the headlines that contained those acronyms. Out of the original 44 press releases that are available on the State Department site, nine were discarded because they did not contain ISIL, ISIS, DAESH, or Islamic State in the headlines or they contained redundancy, such as recap or briefing of previous press releases.

A complete list of press release titles is provided in the appendix. Moreover, the appendix contains one full press release entitled «Background Briefing on ISIL and Oil» as an application part of the transitivity theory. This press release was chosen based on Sinclair [Sinclair, 1991], who stated that the sample used for application should be the largest text in the corpus. «Background Briefing on ISIL and Oil» is the largest text, containing 7,289 words and released on 12/04/15.

**The timeframes of the speeches.** Sinclair [Sinclair, 1991] stated that most corpora cover a specific period of time and use the clearest indicator, which is the time of first utterance or publication. The current corpus contained 35 press releases, covering the period between August 2014 and January 2016. The justification for the choice of this timeframe was based on two elements. The first element was that ISIS was formed in August and any analysis prior to this date did not exist. The second element was that this research started in January 2016. Selecting data beyond this date would change the variables and generate different results which could compromise reliability. To streamline the analysis, the 35 press releases were coded by assigning to each press release the initials PR for «Press Release» with a number marked by a hashtag (#) and always following chronological order. For example, the first press release was entitled «ISIL Attacks in Ninewa Province», released on 08/03/14, and coded PR#1. For data analysis, the data in the corpus were coded differently to avoid redundancy. They were giving plain numbers. For example, PR#1 became «1» when selecting the data in the concordance software. Both processes were replicated for all other press releases in series. The data of the corpus were divided into three periods, each consisting of six months of data. This served two goals: it made the analysis easier to read and showed how the U.S.'s stand evolved over time regarding ISIL. The periods were divided as follows.

Period I: from August 2014 to January 2015. This contains PR#1 to PR#20, a total of twenty press releases.

Period II: from February 2015 to July 2015. This contains PR#21 to PR#26, a total of six press releases.

Period III: from August 2015 to January 2016. This contains PR#27 to PR#35, a total of nine press releases.

**The processing of the texts.** In ordinary texts, the analysis of data, such as collocations, concordances, frequency of words, etc. is usually conducted seamlessly by applying concordance software on the corpus in question without changing the text types. However, this corpus requires special conversion of data before getting results. Since this study's objectives is to study verbs existing in different forms and types, such as action verbs, modal verbs, and auxiliary verbs of to be and to have, texts have to be tagged for the results to be conclusive.

**Tagging the texts.** Text tagging is the process of manually or automatically adding tags or annotation to various components of unstructured data as one step in the process of preparing such data for analysis. Several different annotation formats must be distinguished. First, the most frequent format is what is called inline or embedded annotation. In this format, which is heavily used for lemmatization and part-of-speech tagging, the annotation of a corpus file exists in the same file and in the same line as the primary corpus data being annotated, as the following example shows:

*AT Fulton\_NP County\_NN Grand\_JJ Jury\_NN said\_VBD Friday\_NR*

where NP stands for proper nouns, NN stands for nouns, JJ stands for adjectives, and VBD stands for past tense. For this study, inline annotation using TagAnt tool to tag was used. Wildcard character were also employed, searching for different word forms in the corpus.

**Wildcard character.** A wildcard character is a special character that represents one or more other characters. The most commonly used wildcard characters are the asterisk (\*), which typically represents zero or more characters in a string of characters. The wildcard character is used as a backup when ordinary search does not turn up any results. The focus in this study was verbs that exist in modal form, in the *to have* form, and in the *to be* form. Therefore, several wildcard characters were used to look up these verbs. For modal verbs, \*\_md was used. For *to have*, \*\_vhp was used. For *to be*, \*\_vb was used. Action verbs were considered a regular verb category, and \*\_vv was used.

### 3.3. The Methods of Analysis

Qualitative research vs. quantitative research. It was stated [Leech et al., 2012] that in corpus linguistics, quantitative and qualitative methods are extensively used in combination. It is also characteristic of corpus linguistics to begin with quantitative findings and work toward qualitative ones. It is preferable to subject quantitative results to qualitative scrutiny, trying to explain why a particular frequency pattern occurs. Conversely, qualitative analysis (making use of the investigator's ability to interpret samples of language in context) may be the means for classifying examples in a particular corpus by their meanings; this qualitative analysis may then be the input to further quantitative analysis based on meaning

The analysis was done qualitatively and quantitatively. Quantitative, as defined by M. Aliaga and B. Gunderson [Aliaga & Gunderson, 2000], is collecting numerical data that are analyzed using mathematical methods. Qualitative methods such as participant observation or case studies result in a narrative, descriptive account of a setting or practice [Parkinson & Drislane, 2011].

### 3.4. Adopted Theoretical Framework

Fairclough's power in speech, Van Dijk's micro use of modality, and Halliday's transitivity processes were implemented in the study. There are two parts of data collection: the first part is quantitative and the second part is qualitative. The quantitative part consisted of four steps.

1. AntConc searched for high frequency verbs used in U.S. discourse.
2. Verbs were categorized based on Halliday's six processes.
3. Charts were generated to show the frequency of each process with focus on material, mental, and relational power processes. AntConc could only show twelve results at a time. Therefore, only the first twelve ranks were considered.

After the breakdown of results, the study moved to the fourth step: the search for modal verbs to gauge the level of commitment and how much the U.S. is obligated to fighting ISIS. This was performed through the use of AntConc by searching for *will*, *would*, *can*, *could*, *may*, *might*, *shall*, *should*, *must* and *ought to*.

After the quantitative data collection, qualitative data collection took place. The qualitative part consisted of combining frequency verbs with modality to find out how they collocate in sentences. By the end of the corpus



analysis, charts were generated to show how the U.S.'s speech towards ISIS shifted, which process or processes the State Department adopted, whether the U.S. is willing to share power with its allies in the region, and how it face-saves its global power if it does.

**Power in speech.** Fairclough's power in political discourse was the starting point of data collection at the macro level. Fairclough [Fairclough, 2001] talked of two ways to exercise power: through physical coercion or through manufactured consent. The latter involves convincing people that they should accept things as they are or accept proposed changes. Physical coercion is time-consuming (it works on only small numbers at a time). Thus, the manufacture of consent is a much preferred vehicle for exercising power. The public media are the prime vehicle for manufacturing consent, as the media allows contact with large numbers of people who willingly read or listen to the media. Fairclough [Fairclough, 2003], on the other hand, classified the various approaches of CDA into those that include a detailed analysis of a text and approaches that do not involve a detailed text. According to Fairclough and Wodak [Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, pp.271–280], CDA addresses social problems. They posited that CDA regards power relations as being discursive; discourse as constituting society and culture; discourse as doing ideological work; discourse as history, making reference to culture, society and ideology in historical terms; the link between text and society as being mediated; CDA as being interpretative and explanatory; and discourse as a form of social action. Fairclough [Fairclough, 1989] recognized that power is not just a matter of language; it is an ideology in itself. For him, language contributes to the exploration and domination of some people through commonsense assumptions ideologically shaped by power relations. Power abuse does not only involve the abuse of force but, more crucially, may affect the minds of people. It is said that power and ideology influence our linguistic choices and vice-versa. Fairclough's critical model studies features such as action verbs related to threat (*warn, alarm, beware*, etc.), war terminology (*fight, kill, demise*, etc.), and counter-terrorism (*avoid, seal, confront*, etc.). The use of power is manifested through the strategic use of language, which allows control of information and the making of assumptions about realities.

Each period of the three periods of the corpus (Period I, Period II, and Period III) were be analyzed quantitatively, searching for verbs reflecting power in speech, such as threat and intimidation. The verbs were then categorized based on the six transitivity processes: relational, behavioral, existential, material, verbal, and mental. All processes were charted to see which process is mostly used in U.S. speech about ISIS. Charts were generated for each analysis using Microsoft Word tools. The charts show the percentages of types of power verbs used in the U.S. State Department's speech concerning ISIS. Power verbs as defined by Faulkner and Faulkner-Lunsford [Faulkner & Faulkner-Lunsford, 2013] denotes action such as *ban, dodge, attack* and are usually transitive.

**Modality and obligation.** Chilton sees two levels of discourse: micro and macro. At the micro level, conflicts of interest clash for domination and efforts of cooperation among individuals, genders, and social groups of various kinds.

As Jones et al. [Jones et al., 1994] put it, at the micro level we use a variety of techniques to get our own way of persuasion, rational argument, irrational strategies, threats, entreaties, bribes, etc. According to Van Dijk [Van Dijk, 1998, p.352], CDA studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. He identified some of the dominant notions in CDA, such as power, dominance, inequality, hegemony, ideology, class, gender, race, and discrimination, among others, which he labels as macro levels of analysis. However, he posited that the micro level of the social order involves language use, discourse, verbal interaction, and communication. CDA, thus, tries to bridge the gap between the micro and macro approaches. What is absent from conventional studies of politics is that the micro-level behaviors mentioned are actually kinds of linguistic action, which is discourse. Similarly, the macro level features are types of discourse with specific characteristics, such as debates and interviews. While constitutions and laws represent written discourse of a highly specific type, Van Dijk's micro level, through the semantic use of modality as defined by Saeed [Saeed, 2009], is a device that allows speakers to express certain levels of commitment, assertion, or belief. The main carriers of modality are a set of auxiliary verbs called modals: *will, would, can, could, may, might, shall, should, must* and *ought to*. Modality is also encoded in adverbs such as *possibly, probably, presumably, and definitely*, as well as other expressions (e.g., *have (got) to, need to and be able to*). Modal systems allow speakers to modulate this guarantee – to signal stronger and weaker commitment to the factuality of statements. Auxiliary verbs in this role are called modal verbs. Deontic modality is where the verbs mark the speaker's attitude to social factors of obligation, responsibility, and permission. Deontic modals communicate two types of social information: obligation, as in *You must take these books back* and permission, as in *You can leave them there*.

Deontic modals signal a speaker's judgments about how people should behave in the world. This means that the use of deontics is tied in with all sorts of social knowledge: the speaker's belief systems about morality and legality and her estimations of power and authority. *Must* is often used to indicate obligation. *Can* is used to indicate possession, ability, or permission. *May* is used to indicate a present or future possibility. *Should* is often used to indicate what is regarded as probable or reasonably expected. *Will* indicates future intent, prediction. *Could* indicates possibility or suggestion while *would* condition.

Each period of the three periods in the corpus (Period I, Period II, and Period III) were analyzed quantitatively, searching for the most used modal verbs in the corpus. Modal verbs were then categorized based on Saeed's model of modality to find out how much the U.S. is obligated to fighting ISIS. Charts were generated for each analysis using Microsoft Word tools. The charts show the percentages of types of modal verbs used in the U.S. State Department's speech concerning ISIS.

**Transitivity processes.** Next in the study is the employment of transitivity. The analysis of transitivity indicates which of the six processes identified by Halliday are included in the U.S.'s discourse. It has been observed

that the choice of material, mental, and relational processes is strategic. These processes are always employed with reference to power. Halliday and Hasan [Halliday & Hasan, 1985] said that language simultaneously expresses three kinds of meanings: interpersonal, ideational, and textual. The clause as representation (ideational meaning) serves the expression of content in language of our experience of the real world. We often use language to speak of something or someone doing something. Ideational meaning can refer to the experiential meaning coming from the clause as representation. The interpersonal meaning helps to maintain and establish social relations. In it, the individual is reinforced and identified by enabling him or her to interact with others. The textual metafunction relates to mode; the communicative nature of a text and internal organization such as coordination, pauses, and cohesion. In transitivity, there are also three different processes, known as material processes, relational processes, and mental processes. These three are the main processes in the English transitivity system. The three functional components of meaning – ideational, interpersonal and textual – are realized in the grammar of a language. Transitivity is a figure of happening, doing, sensing, saying, being, or having [Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004] unfolding through time, where participants are directly involved in this process.

The last part of the study is the qualitative one. All charts from the previous sections are consolidated in one chart to see the overall quantitative percentages of power verbs and modality used in U.S. speech from August 2014 to January 2016. Power verbs as defined by Faulkner and Faulkner-Lunsford [Faulkner & Faulkner-Lunsford, 2013] denotes action such as ban, dodge, attack and are usually transitive. After that, the study moves into the qualitative part.

This part is analyzed qualitatively. It integrates power in speech and modality, searching for the collocation of the six processes with power and modal verbs based on the components in table 1.

**Table 1. Overall transitivity processes and elements**

process	Participant 1	participant 2
material	Actor	goal
Mental	Sensor	Phenomenon
Relational	Carrier / identified	Attribute/identifier
Behavioral	Behavior	
Verbal	Sayer	Receiver/target
Existential	existent	

In this part, the sample text PR#35: «Background Briefing on ISIL and Oil» will be used as an application part of the study to show how transitivity

collocates in U.S. speech. One example only of each of the most used process type and modality verbs will be used as an illustration. This to show how power and obligation are represented by Hallidayan transitivity. It also answers the hypotheses regarding power sharing and destroying ISIS.

#### 4. Analysis and Discussion

In the previous chapter 3, the methodology adopted in this research was discussed. This chapter presents and analyzes all data generated by AntConc based on the theoretical framework explained in Chapter 3. The chapter is composed of two sections: the first presents the results of this study, and the second discussion of the results.

##### 4.1. Results

Before showing the results, it is imperative to explain how I obtained the results in AntConc. All results in Figures 3 to 9 were obtained by entering the corresponding wildcard character of tagged data in search box in the Clusters/N-Grams tab (see chapter3). The results were then tallied by adding the verbs which belonged to the same transitivity process together in the twelve ranks of the AntConc platform. The following Figures (3, 4, & 5) represent the results in each period of the three periods (PI, PII, & PIII) in the corpus. The results in PI show that action verbs such as *take*, *do*, *defeat* occupied eleven ranks while other non-action verbs or verbal verbs such as *thank* occupied one position in the ranking. Likewise, in PII and PIII, non-action verbs or mental verb such as *see* and *say* filled two and one positions respectively in the ranking while the rest were reserved for action verbs. Figures 3, 4, & 5 show how the U.S. State Department's Speech varies over time consequently affecting transitivity. For example, in PI the material process was mostly used where *take* and *do* occupied first and second ranks. These ranks changed in PII and PIII to verbal process represented by *say* and mental process represented by *see*, both occupying second ranks.



Figure 3. Verbs shown by frequency in PI





Figure 4. Verbs shown by frequency in PII

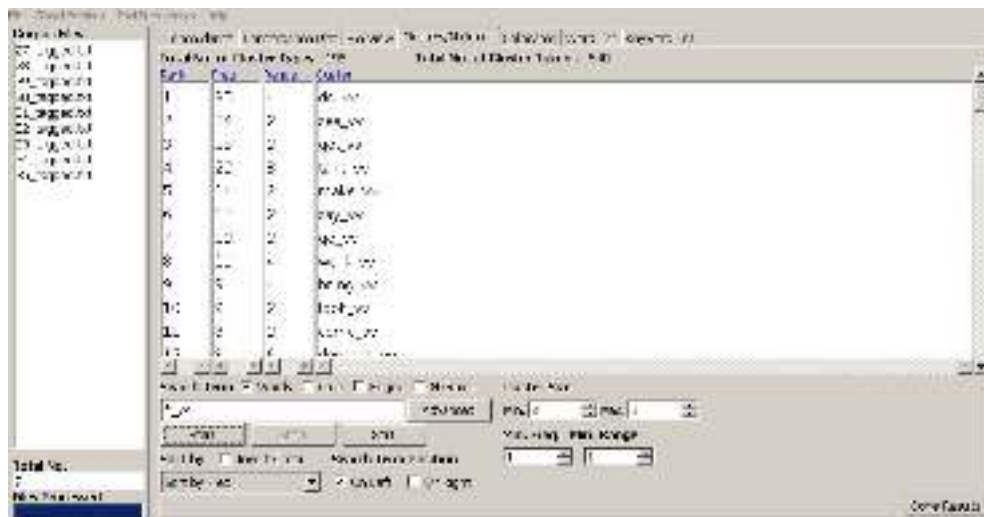


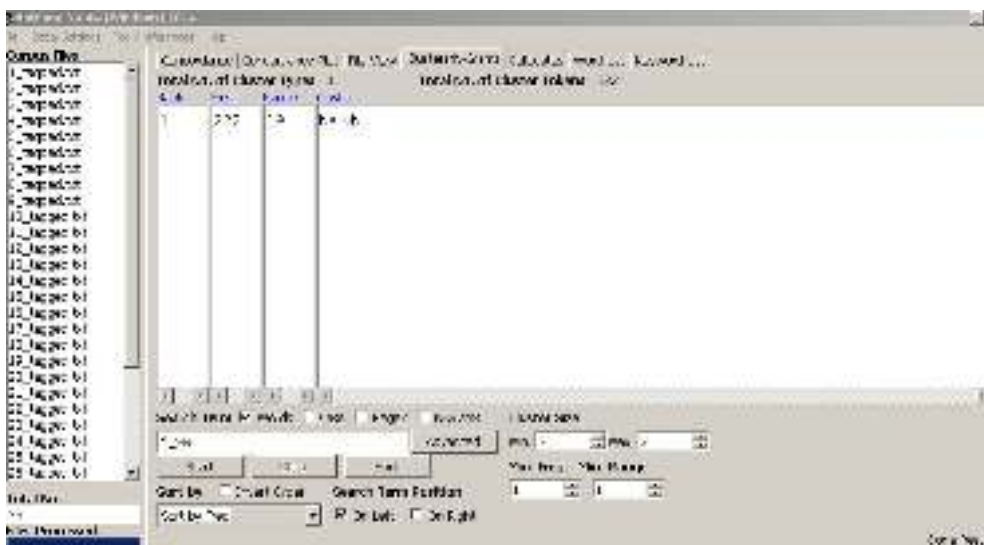
Figure 5. Verbs shown by frequency in PIII

To know the overall type of process the U.S. State Department used, all data from PI, PII, and PII were combined in Figure 6. Figure 6 shows that action verbs were frequently used, appearing 442 times in U.S. State Department speech regarding ISIL, while other types of verbs such as the mental verb see and verbal verb thank appeared 41 and 29 times, respectively.

In order to interpret the embedded meanings in the U.S. State Department's speech, it is essential to analyze Figures 3, 4, 5, and 6 by focusing on the various types of Halliday's processes. So far, the material process or action verbs outnumber those of mental and verbal process verbs, which makes the U.S. lean towards using force against ISIL. To know whether the material process will hold in the U.S. speech, other processes, will be discussed in Figures 7 and 8. Since results in Figure 6 showed no presence of existential or behavioral processes, this leaves us with only the relational process to study.



**Figure 6. Overall verbs shown by frequency**



**Figure 7. Auxiliary verb *to be* shown by frequency**

In all three periods, the auxiliary verbs to be and to have were used 222 and 291 times, respectively, in U.S. State Department's speech regarding ISIL. The combination of both numbers put auxiliary verbs ahead of action verbs, with a total of 513 occurrences. This means that the U.S.'s speech is characterized with two traits: power and diplomacy. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), material processes represents an action of doing and happening of events as they take place through some action or energy. This action represents power in talk through the use of action and powerful verbs such as *defeat*, *fight*. Relational verbs are the processes of being and having to establish a relationship of sameness between two entities. The notion of

establishing a relationship between two entities by the U.S. through the use of *have* and *be* puts the U.S. in negotiating or diplomacy mode without excluding the choice of force as we shall illustrate more in the next section where the analyses of modality and concordances will be undertaken to measure commitment and relationship of the U.S. in ending ISIS's crisis.

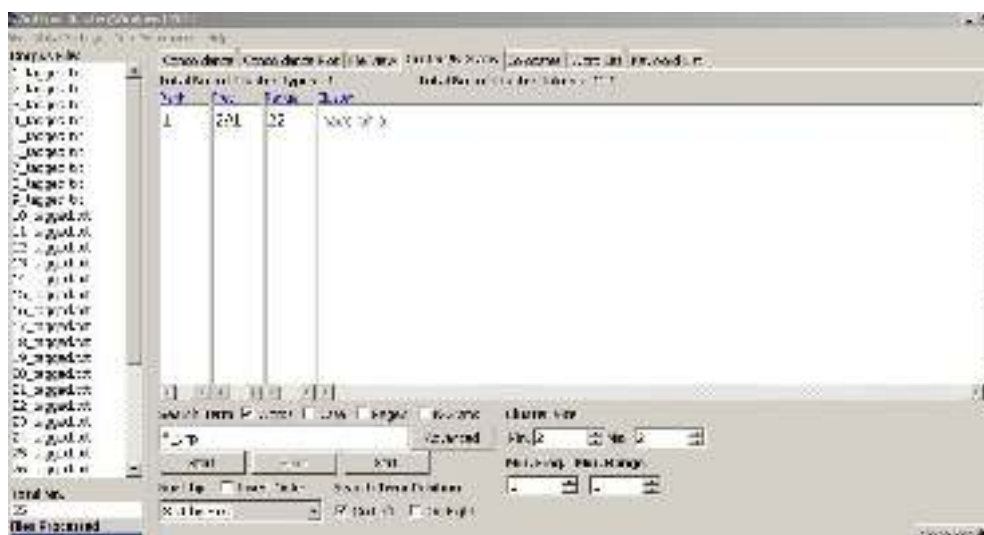


Figure 8. Auxiliary verb *to have* shown by frequency

Figure 9 displays modal verbs by frequency as they appear in the corpus of the U.S. State Department Speech.

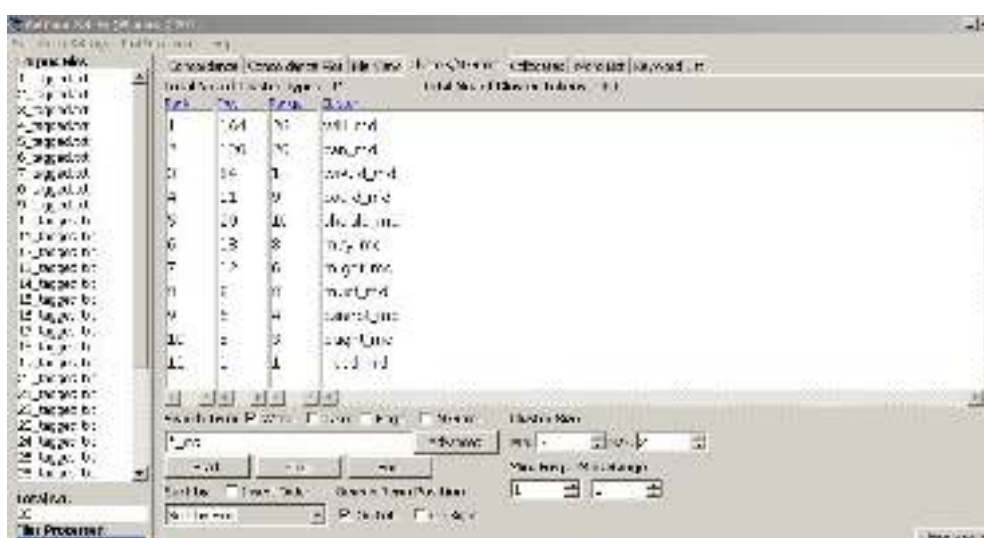


Figure 9. Overall modal verbs shown by frequency

The result shows that *will* is the most frequent modal verb used in the corpus, with 164 hits, followed by *can* with 130, and *would* with 84. These numbers are important in the study to gauge the obligation of the U.S. towards

fighting ISIS. Modality as defined by Saeed [Saeed, 2009], is a device that allows speakers to express certain levels of commitment, assertion, or belief. The main carriers of modality are a set of auxiliary verbs called modals: *will*, *would*, *can*, *could*, *may*, *might*, *shall*, *should*, *must* and *ought to*. *Can* is used to indicate possession, ability, or permission. *Will* indicates future intent or prediction, while *would* condition. So far, the frequent use of *will*, *can*, and *would* do not impose any commitment on the U.S. to destroy ISIS. This will be discussed further in the discussion section.

In the following section (Figures 10 to 15), collocations and concordances of how relational, material, and modal verbs co-occur in the U.S. speech will be discussed. For this purpose, PR#35 (Press Release) will be the corpus to be used as an illustration. But before, explanation of how results were obtained in AntConc must be described.

For the relational and material processes, verbs *to have* and *to degrade* were randomly chosen and *will* for modality. To obtain the collocation, each verb was entered in the search box in the collocates tab. Collocations are then generated. To generate concordances, the most frequent word in the collocation section is selected. This automatically opens the concordance tab in AntConc showing all concordances. It is noteworthy to mention that sometimes characters considered as *rubbish* appear in the collocation results. This *rubbishness* is caused by software conversion (further discussed in chapter 5) and is discarded from the analysis. It comes in form of x, x\92s, x\96.

This qualitative study of analyzing collocations and concordances is to show how, where, and when the U.S. uses transitivity and modality. This serves to answer the research questions and validate hypotheses. We start with Figure 10 that shows the collocates of the relational verb *to have* as it appeared in PR#35.

Rank	Word	Count	Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	Log Odds Ratio	Log Odds Ratio (95% CI)
1	you	24	5.072887	10.0	0.000000	(0.000000, 0.000000)
2	is	17	1.671065	3.0	0.000000	(0.000000, 0.000000)
3	the	17	0.991744	1.0	0.000000	(0.000000, 0.000000)
4	that	10	0.781111	1.0	0.000000	(0.000000, 0.000000)
5	and	8	0.011765	0.0	0.000000	(0.000000, 0.000000)
6	to	8	0.000000	0.0	0.000000	(0.000000, 0.000000)
7	at	4	0.000000	0.0	0.000000	(0.000000, 0.000000)
8	in	4	0.000000	0.0	0.000000	(0.000000, 0.000000)
9	of	4	0.000000	0.0	0.000000	(0.000000, 0.000000)
10	by	4	0.000000	0.0	0.000000	(0.000000, 0.000000)
11	with	4	0.000000	0.0	0.000000	(0.000000, 0.000000)
12	on	4	0.000000	0.0	0.000000	(0.000000, 0.000000)

Figure 10. Collocates of verb *to have*

You is the most used collocate (x is rubbish) with the auxiliary verb *to have* in the U.S. speech. Concordances of the pronoun *you* should be extracted



to interpret the meaning, which is in the next section in Figure 11 which shows how the verb *to have* concords with its collocates shown in Figure 10.

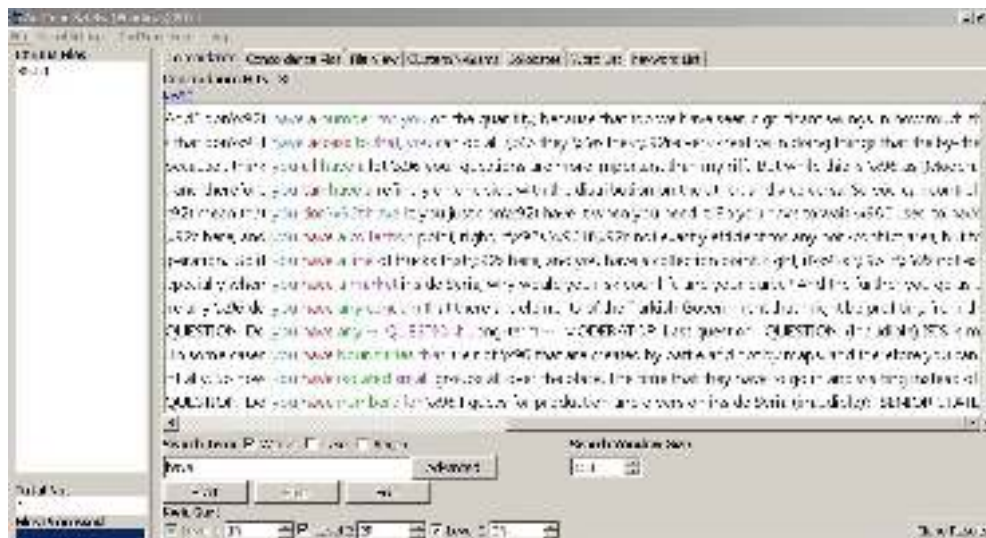


Figure 11. Verb *to have* concordances

Concordances of verb *to have* look like the following:

*...you can have a refinery on one side with the distribution on the other, and vice versa.*

*...you have boundaries that are created by battle and not by map...*

*You* concords frequently with verb *to have* in the U.S. speech to show control of the situation when it comes to ISIS. The processes of having and being are relational. Relational process has three traits: it establishes relationship, defines entities, and indicates possession. In this example the U.S. acts as if it owns the location. The next figure shows another example of transitivity represented by material process.

Figure 12 shows the collocates of the material verb *to degrade* as they appear in PR#35, sorted by frequency.

*Decrease* is the most used collocate with *to degrade*. How decrease co-exists in the text with *to degrade* is discussed in concordance Figure 13 where we see how the verb *to degrade* concords with its collocates shown in Figure 12.

Concordances of verb *to degrade* look like the following:

*... and a strategic approach to degrade the ISIL operation and decrease significantly the level of revenues generated.*

*Decrease* is used with action verb *to degrade* in the U.S. speech when the United States wants to prove that power is bearing down on ISIS's operations. The use of power is shown by the use of power verbs. Power verbs as defined by Faulkner and Faulkner-Lunsford (2013) denote action such as *ban*, *dodge*, *attack* and are usually transitive. Here, the concordance of *degrade* with *decrease* reinforces the idea that power is directly related to the decrease of ISIS. The more degradation happens, the more decreasing it is to ISIS.



And collocates mostly with *will*. The next Figure 15 will explain the reason for the co-occurrences. It shows how the modal verb *will* concords with its collocates shown in Figure 14.

... is taking out strategic equipment and infrastructure that will make it  
difficult to produce the – to develop the oil, to produce it...

*Will* indicates future intent or prediction. *And* comes in to join two material processes with future intent. *This* shows that the U.S. is intending to fight ISIS and make things *difficult* for them at some point in time but not at the present time.



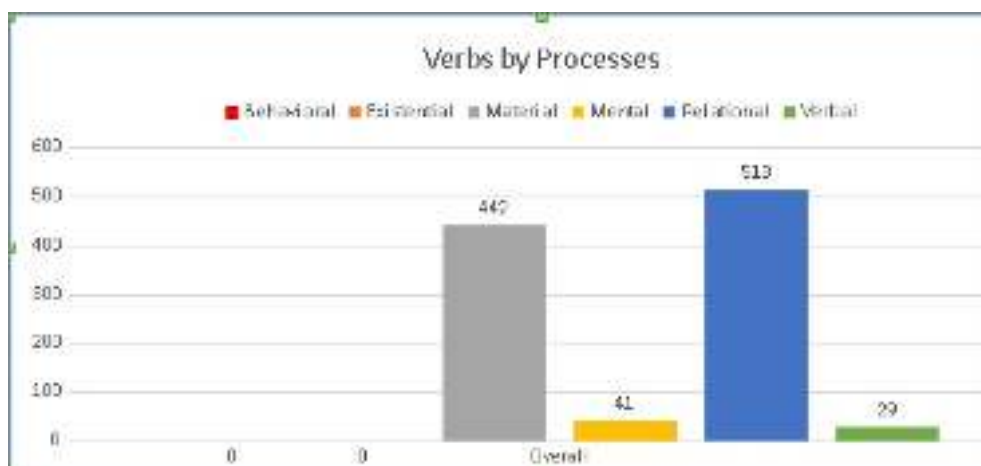


Figure 16. Overall verbs by Halliday's transitivity processes

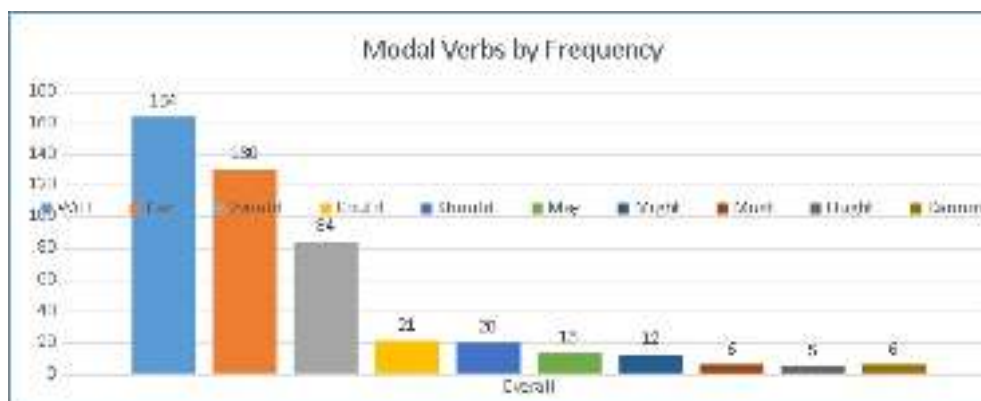


Figure 17. Modal verbs by frequency

Relational process leads the chart with 513 hits, followed closely by the material one with 442. Mental and verbal processes rank last with 41 and 29 hits, respectively. Verbs related to behavioral and existential processes are negligible or non-existent.

According to Halliday and Hasan [Halliday and Hasan, 1985], the choice of material, mental, and relational processes is strategic. These processes are always employed with reference to power. Material, mental, and relational are the main types of process in the English transitivity system. Figure 16 reinstates the dominance of relational and material processes in the speech of the U.S. State Department. Relational process establishes relationships and possession between two entities. There are always two participants: carrier and attribute. Material clauses are clauses of doing and happening of events as they take place through some action or energy. Material clauses, the source of the energy bringing about the change. There is typically a participant or the actor. More on the two processes will be discussed later in this chapter to see how relational and material processes unfold in the corpus.



The modal verb chart reveals that *will* dominates the chart with 164 hits while *can* ranks second with 130 appearances and *would* with 84. Other modal verbs such as *could*, *ought*, *should*, *might*, *cannot*, *must*, and *may* occupy low rankings. Saeed [Saeed, 2009] defines modality as a device that allows speakers certain levels of commitment and belief. *Must* is often used to indicate obligation. *Can* is used to indicate possession, ability, or permission. *May* is used to indicate a present or future possibility. *Should* is often used to indicate what is regarded as probable or reasonably expected. *Will* indicates future intent, prediction. *Could* indicates possibility or suggestion while would condition. The frequent use of *can*, *will*, and *would* in the corpus represent ability, future intent, and condition in the U.S. speech.

Combining all data, the affluence of relational and material processes in the speech of the U.S. State Department unravels that diplomacy and power come hand in hand. Halliday and Matthiessen [Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004] stated that relational clauses serve to characterize and to identify the process of being and having. There are three types of relational process in the clause: intensive (establishes a relationship of sameness between two entities), circumstantial (defines the entity in terms of location, time, manner), and possessive (indicates that one entity owns another).

Conversely, material clauses are clauses of doing and happening of events as they take place through some action or energy. Material clauses are concerned with our experience of the material world. On the other spectrum, mental clauses are concerned with our experience of the world of our own consciousness.

Mental processes is the processes of sensing perception (seeing, hearing, etc.), affection (liking, fearing, etc.), cognition (thinking, knowing, understanding, etc.). Another process which Halliday mentioned was the verbal process.

Verbal processes are symbolic relationships constructed in human consciousness and enacted in the form of language, like saying and meaning. Halliday and Hasan [Halliday & Hasan, 1985] said that it has been observed that the choice of material, mental, and relational processes is strategic. These processes are always employed with reference to power.

In this study, the aforementioned processes are predominantly present in the speech of the U.S. State Department regarding ISIS. Moreover, Van Dijk's micro level is studied at two levels: transitivity and modality. Modality is a device that allows speakers to express certain levels of commitment, assertion, or belief. Saeed [Saeed, 2009] stated that modality is the label given to meanings. These meanings include obligations, confidence, and assertions as to how confident the speaker is. The main carriers of modality are a set of auxiliary verbs called modals: *will*, *would*, *can*, *could*, *may*, *might*, *shall*, *should*, *must* and *ought to*. Modality is also encoded in adverbs such as *possibly*, *probably*, *presumably*, and *definitely*, as well as other expressions (e.g. *have (got) to*, *need to* and *be able to*). Modal systems allow speakers to modulate this guarantee – to signal stronger and weaker commitment to the factuality of statements. Auxiliary verbs in this role are called modal verbs. Deontic modality is where the verbs mark the speaker's attitude to social factors of obligation, responsibility, and permission. This means that the use of deontics is tied in with

all sorts of social knowledge: the speaker's belief systems about morality and legality and his or her estimations of power and authority.

The U.S. State Department's speech holds embedded intentions regarding the destruction of ISIL. The speech contains plenty of power verbs represented in the use of action verbs such as *destroy*, *fight*, *counter*, *defeat*. Power verbs as defined by Faulkner and Faulkner-Lunsford [Faulkner & Faulkner-Lunsford, 2013] denote action such as *ban*, *dodge*, *attack* and are usually transitive. The U.S. is resolved to fight ISIS, but at the same time, the U.S. is cautious. This cautiousness is represented by the use of relational verbs and modality. As the chart showed, relational verbs of *to be* and *to have* beat action verbs by a narrow margin, 513 to 442. The frequency of these verbs means the U.S. is willing to fight ISIS only with its allies' involvement. When the U.S. does that, it does it without obligation on its part. This is obvious in the choice of the modals *will* and *can* instead of a stronger one which reflects commitment such as *must*. The chart showed that *will* and *can* are used 164 and 130 times, respectively, as opposed to *must* and *should*, which appeared only 6 and 20 times. While *must* stresses obligation, *will* stresses personal choice. The modal verb *will* shows no obligation from the United States' part that their strategy is a success. Some of examples of how the U.S. uses its relations and negotiating before using power are shown in the following relational processes:

*... so I don't think it should be a surprise to anyone that our coalition partners and us are involved in similar activities. PR#35*

In this relational process, the United States uses the intensive type to establish a relationship of sameness between two entities.

*...but our coalition is measurably already making a difference. PR#10*

Here, the United States uses possessive type of relational process to indicate that one entity owns another by using *our coalition*.

*We are critically dependent on all 60-plus nations that are engaged in this effort. The United States will keep tracking...PR#11*

This is another reference of power-sharing through the use of the relational verb *to be*, as in *we are*.

*We will keep working with the new Government of Iraq to respond to ISIL brutality against women and girls from all communities in Iraq, including vulnerable minority populations. PR#5*

*And we have the technology, we have the know-how. What we need is obviously the willpower to make certain that we are steady and stay at this. PR#14*

Here, the United States resorts to relational verb *to have*, in particular the possessive type, to indicate ownership and possession.

While the U.S. resorts to diplomacy and cooperation with allies, this does not rule out the use of power against ISIS as it is shown in the following examples of material process:

*...we value the contributions and efforts of all partners in the mission as we work together on a multifaceted and long-term strategy to degrade and defeat ISIL. PR#22*

*Acting together, with clear objectives and common purpose, we will degrade and destroy ISIL capabilities and ensure that it can no longer threaten Iraq, the region, and the world. PR#15*

The actor in material processes has always been the United States and allies represented by the use of *we*. The process is that of degrading, destroying. The goal is ISIS. This shows power with non-obligation from the part of the United States by using material verbs or action verbs reflecting power, as in *degrade* and *destroy* coupled with the modal verb *will*, which denotes non-obligation. The actor in the material process is the United States and allies, the process is degrading, and the goal is ISIS.

Another look at how much the U.S. is committed in fighting ISIS is represented in the use of modal verbs as the following examples show:

*We are uniting the world against a unified threat, and the President's strategy will succeed because doing it with allies and partners isn't just smart, it's strong. PR#2*

The modal verb *will* shows no obligation from the United States' part that their strategy is a success.

*...those local mobilization forces to train them in a manner that makes sense, to arm them, and to then marry them up, pair them up with Iraqi Security Forces so they can begin the process together to reverse the trends that Daesh has achieved. Okay. PR#9*

*...my early travels will be about the consolidation of the membership and the integration of what partners and potential members can contribute and how we integrate... PR#6*

The U.S. speech here reflects power through giving permission to allies. This permission lies in the use of the deontic modality *can*, where the verbs mark the speaker's attitude to social factors of obligation, responsibility, and permission.

In overall, the United States mixes its usage of relational, material, and modality when speaking about ISIS. It uses the intensive type in relational process to establish a relationship of sameness between two entities and possessive type to indicate that one entity owns another by using our coalition. Another reference of power-sharing is through the use of the relational verb to be, as in *we are*. The United States resorts to relational verb to have, in particular the possessive type, to indicate ownership and possession.

The show of power and non-obligation from the part of the United States is achieved by using material verbs or action verbs reflecting power, as in *degrade* and *destroy* coupled with the modal verb *will*, which denotes non-obligation. The U.S. speech is characterized by overwhelming usage of the relational and material processes. This answers two research questions: firstly the type of process the U.S. has constantly used and secondly the use of power in U.S. discourse. The U.S. uses relational verbs of *to have* and *to be* coupled with material verbs of action such as *to destroy* and *to defeat* to show power and leniency at the same time. Of all other modal verbs in the corpus, the predominant presence of *will* and *can* questions the commitment of the U.S. in destroying ISIL. *Will* and *can* are used when there is no obligation. The U.S. believes that although it stands against ISIL, it does not feel obliged to destroy



it. This combines power and possession in the speech of the U.S. State Department. Moreover, the collocations and concordances of the relational and material verbs in the text depict how the U.S. exactly balances power and possession based on context.

To sum up, this chapter interpreted the speech of the U.S. State Department when speaking about ISIS. The analysis shows that the United States always uses material and relational processes reflecting power words in association with its allies' cooperation. Although the U.S. calls for the destruction of ISIS, it is not under obligation to do so. This is shown through the use of the modal verbs *will* and *can*. However, this does not mean the U.S. is weak. The corpus showed the use of relational possessive verbs *to have* to show possession of things and or others.

## 6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I will sum up the main points undertaken in this research, answer the research questions and hypotheses raised in this research, outline the limitation, and suggest for further research.

This research aimed at studying the discourse of the U.S. State Department using Halliday's transitivity theory to find out to what extent the U.S. is committed to destroying ISIS. This study compared the U.S. State Department's discourse on ISIS with their action by analyzing the U.S.'s speech regarding the terror group. This research used Hallidayan functional grammar, in particular transitivity theory, to analyze the speech of the U.S. State Department regarding ISIS. Transitivity theory uses the clause as a representation by looking into six types of processes: material, existential, relational, behavioral, verbal, and mental. Each process is characterized by participants and circumstances and therefore is directly related to the speaker's own experiences and needs.

This paper analyzed the U.S. speech using Van Dijk's model by semantically studying power through modality verbs. At the macro level, Fairclough's definition of power was applied. CDA is concerned with how power can be manifested in language. It studies discourse, which includes texts, talk, video, and practices. Political discourse is considered as a confrontation of personal interest over money, influence, and liberty. Van Dijk identified the dominant notions in CDA as inequality, power, dominance, ideology, hegemony, class, discrimination, gender, race, and others, which he labels as the macro level of analysis. Van Dijk stated that the micro-level of social order involves discourse, language use, verbal interaction, and communication. Reciprocally, power, dominance, and inequality belong to the macro level of analysis. In this, CDA has closed the gap between micro and macro approaches. In everyday interaction and experience, the macro and micro level form one, unified whole.

This study of discourse analysis is based on the clause as representation which is the model of language as a social semiotic outlined in the works of Halliday and his systemic functional linguistics. Functions of language are the way people use their language to do different things through writing and speaking.



Clause as representation, according to Halliday a language evolves in response to the specific demands of the society in which it is used. It reflects aspects of the situation in which it occurs, such as representation of human experience, where we use language as an instrument of thought or to conceptualize or represent the experiential or real world to ourselves. The six processes, which constitute the clause as a representation, were analyzed by adopting Fairclough's power in discourse at the macro level, looking for verbs that reflect power at the micro-level, analyzing Van Dijk semantically through the use of modality verbs. Modality, as defined by Saeed [Saeed, 2009], is a device that allows speakers to express certain levels of commitment, assertion, or belief. Griffiths [Griffiths, 2006] stated that modality is the label given to the meanings. These meanings include obligations, confidence, and assertions as to how confident the speaker is. The main carriers of modality are a set of auxiliary verbs called modals: *will, would, can, could, may, might, shall, should, must* and *ought to*. Modality is also encoded in adverbs such as *possibly, probably, presumably, and definitely*, as well as others.

The corpus for this study was provided from U.S. State Department press releases related to ISIS ([www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov)). The corpus for this study is a 200-page corpora (around 46,806 words) consisting of speeches made by the Secretary of State, John Kerry, his deputies, and spokespersons regarding ISIS. The paper analyzed the corpora quantitatively and qualitatively. It searched for high frequency and modality verbs used in the speech of the U.S. State Department to see which process the U.S. is in. It then searched how these verbs collocate in sentences and how they reflect the status quo of the U.S. towards ISIS.

Combining all data and the affluence of relational and material processes in the speech of the U.S. State Department reveals that diplomacy and power come hand in hand. The analysis showed that, although the U.S. is willing to fight ISIS as is shown in the use of power words, it does not feel obligated to do so. Even when it does, it is always associated with the cooperation of the coalition forces.

This study attempted to answer the following questions:

1. How does Hallidayan transitivity expose embedded intentions in the U.S. State Department's speech regarding ISIS?
2. How does the U.S. State Department use power in discourse when speaking about ISIS?
3. To what extent does U.S. speech contain power-sharing when calling allies to fight ISIS?
4. What type of Hallidayan processes has the U.S. State Department constantly adopted concerning ISIS?

In answering question one, the use of systemic functional grammar rather than traditional approach to grammar helped to unfold the ambiguity and connotation in the U.S. speech regarding ISIS. It switched the concept of words connecting with words to sentences interacting with sentences. It revealed the level of power and diplomacy which the U.S. is willing to take in fighting ISIS. This leads to not only answer question one but two also. In two, the exploration of material process in Halliday's transitivity contributed to finding a concrete answer

to the power use in the U.S. speech where material process came second to relational process. Moreover, the existence of relational process in number one position with modal verbs shows the U.S.'s will to share power with allies in defeating ISIS and this answers question number three. Finally, question number four comes as a result to previous questions which shows the U.S. constant choice of relational process over material one when speaking about ISIS.

Although the research questions aligned with the research findings, the data collected did not completely support original hypotheses. The following hypotheses were raised in the beginning of the research:

1. The U.S. does not have real interests in destroying ISIS, as reported by the speech of the State Department.

2. The U.S. seeks allies' cooperation to destroy ISIS.

While the result validated hypothesis number two, it did not for number one. The lack lies in the interests of the U.S. in destroying ISIS. The result showed that the U.S. has interests to destroy ISIS even if it is in the long run. This is proven in the use of material process and modality. The charts showed high frequency of power verbs such as destroy, fight, defeat and modal verbs such as will, can would. The results countered hypothesis number one.

### **Limitations of the Study**

Limitation issues in this study arose in the use of multiple software and interfaces. This study faced problems in encoding when converting from Microsoft Word to Text file and then uploading the results to the AntConc platform. The conversion led to creation of rubbish or garbage characters such as x\92, x\94 in AntConc. This caused an oversize in the corpus and sometimes difficulties in reading the results in AntConc.

### **Recommendations for Further Research**

Since language is ever-changing, studied diachronically and synchronically, this research could be further studied as a signpost of how discourse changes over time by applying different linguistic approaches to have more insight on how CDA is constructed.

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## APPENDIX A

### SPEECH SOURCES

- PR#1: 08/03/14. ISIL Attacks in Ninewa Province.
- PR#2: 09/05/14. Remarks at Top of Meeting on Building an Anti-ISIL Coalition Co-Chaired by Defense Secretary Chuck Hagel, U.K. Foreign Secretary Philip Hammond, and U.K. Defense Secretary Michael Fallon.
- PR#3: 09/10/14. On the President's Speech on ISIL.
- PR#4: 09/13/14. Announcement of General John Allen as Special Presidential Envoy for the Global Coalition to Counter ISIL.
- PR#5: 09/18/14. The ISIS Threat: Weighing the Obama Administration's Response.
- PR#6: 09/19/14. Building International Support to Counter ISIL.
- PR#7: 09/23/14. Senior State Department Official on Diplomatic Efforts to Build a Coalition to Confront ISIL and Iraq in Syria.
- PR#8: 09/24/14. Underscoring ISIL and Assad Regime Abuses, Secretary Kerry Meets With Syrian Women Human Rights Activists.

PR#9: 09/25/14. G-7 Foreign Ministers' Statement on Joint Action to Fight the Terrorist Organization ISIL/DAESH.

PR#10: 09/26/14. ISIL's Murder of Iraqi Human Rights Lawyer Samira Salih al-Nuaimi.

PR#11: 10/09/14. Special Presidential Envoy John Allen Meetings with Turkish Officials on Efforts to Counter ISIL.

PR#12: 10/14/14. ISIL's Dehumanization of Women and Girls.

PR#13: 10/15/14. Remarks to the Press on Countering ISIL.

PR#14: 10/17/14. Readout of the International Working Group Meeting on Sanctions Targeting ISIL, al-Nusrah Front, and the Assad Regime.

PR#15: 10/31/14. U.S. Condemns ISIL Executions in Anbar Province.

PR#16: 11/03/14. State Department Hosts Inaugural Plenary Meeting of the Global Coalition to Counter ISIL.

PR#17: 12/03/14. Joint Statement Issued by Partners at the Counter-ISIL Coalition Ministerial Meeting.

PR#18: 12/09/14. Authorization for the Use of Military Force against ISIL.

PR#19: 01/22/15. Remarks with U.K. Foreign Secretary Philip Hammond before the Counter-ISIL Coalition Small Group Meeting.

PR#20: 01/24/15. ISIL Murder of Japanese Hostage Haruna Yukawa.

PR#21: 02/03/15. Secretary Kerry Hosts Plenary Meeting of the Global Coalition to Counter ISIL.

PR#22: 02/24/15. New Zealand Defense Force Training Contribution to the Counter-ISIL Coalition.

PR#23: 03/20/15. Establishment of the Counter-ISIL Finance Group in Rome, Italy.

PR#24: 03/25/15. Counter-ISIL Coalition Provides Air Support in Battle for Tikrit.

PR#25: 04/15/15. Deputy Secretary Blinken and Iraqi Prime Minister Abadi Brief the Plenary Meeting of the Global Coalition to Counter ISIL.

PR#26: 08/06/15. Plenary Meeting of the Global Coalition to Counter ISIL.

PR#27: 09/28/15. Statement by the Members of the Global Coalition to Counter ISIL: The Coalition at One Year.

PR#28: 09/29/15. Rewards for Justice - Reward Offers for Information that Leads to Disruption of Financing of Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL).

PR#29: 10/23/15. Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Richard Stengel to Travel to the United Kingdom for Meeting of Counter-ISIL Coalition Strategic Communications Working Group.

PR#30: 10/30/15. Meeting of the Small Group of the Global Coalition to Counter ISIL in Brussels, Belgium.

PR#31: 11/04/15. Statement by Members of the Small Group of the Global Coalition to Counter ISIL.

PR#32: 11/18/15. Rewards for Justice – Reward Offer for Information on ISIL Terrorist Abu-Muhammad al-Shimali.

PR#33: 11/20/15. Coalition Efforts against ISIL.

PR#34: 11/23/15. Readout of the Plenary Meeting of the Global Coalition to Counter-ISIL.

PR#35: 12/04/15. Background Briefing on ISIL and Oil.

**APPENDIX B**  
**BACKGROUND BRIEFING ON ISIL AND OIL**  
**Office of the Spokesperson; Washington, DC**

MODERATOR: Great. Guys, without further ado, all of you or many of you know [Senior State Department Official] here to talk to us today on background as a senior State Department official about a topic that's been front-page news, especially in the last week or so: ISIL and oil. So given the time constraints, [Senior State Department Official] has got about a half hour. I'll let [Senior State Department Official] say a few words at the top and then we'll open it up to questions.

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: And I'll be brief at the top because I think you all have a lot – your questions are more important than my riff.

But while this is – as [Moderator] said, while this has been in the press for – specifically for the last couple of weeks with some of the Russian – with help from some of our Russian friends, this is an issue that we've obviously been looking at for quite some time. And as [title withheld], we look at the relationship between where – energy and national security and energy and terrorism and so on all around the world.

So when the conflict first began before ISIL even became a household name, we looked at the energy assets in Syria and in working – we had quite a bit of information about the fields that were operating in Syria before the conflict and what their capacity was, how they work. And if you – obviously, if you take a look at the areas of control – territory of control for the last 18 months and you do a fast-forward and look at who's controlled what territory, clearly, the energy infrastructure was something – both the natural resources in the ground as well as the infrastructure around them were of great interest to – throughout the conflict for those vying for control. And ISIL has done a good job of taking that control of a lot of the energy assets. So we've been looking at this for quite some time.

At the beginning of the conflict, what we wanted to do – what we did was take out the refining capability and took out most of the existing and mobile refineries that ISIL was utilizing that already existed as well as new ones that they were putting in place, these mobile ones that are – that you can put it together in pieces. And we took that capability out several months ago. We also attacked some of the oil collection points.

After – once we had – after the Abu Sayyaf raid, the so-called oil emir, which has given us more data than any other operation has ever given us, we were – we spent some time analyzing it from – cross-referencing it, first translating it and understanding it, and that gave us a better understanding of the operation and how they were – how ISIL was both monetizing as well as effectively managing the infrastructure. And I believe that the energy for ISIL is not only about revenue. It is also about symbols of control of territory, symbols of a state that are – that I believe are false, which means – even more important to address this.

So – but I don't believe that what some have suggested in the press of – oh, all you have to do is attack an oil field and that's the solution. It's a lot more complicated than that. If you attack the wrong assets, they can be rebuilt, and they take it out of commission for a matter of days, weeks, months, but not – doesn't have that degrading capability. So what we look to do is how do you both degrade the capability and decrease the revenue generation? And that's what we started doing several weeks ago already, as you've seen. One was going after the trucks, and the message there is that there is no safe part of the operation. If you go

on Google Earth from a few months ago, you will see these massively long lines of trucks at collection points. If you go on Google Earth today, I don't think you'll see them. So it disrupts the operation and slows it down.

And in addition, it's to ramp up the targeting of more significant and strategic assets and infrastructure within the oil and gas operation. Additionally, the other aspect of it is what my colleagues at the Treasury Department did when they designated certain entities for the trade with the regime. That is obviously not going to stop the trade with the regime. It doesn't all happen through that one channel that was identified. It will take a combined effort of what we do from State, Treasury, DOD in order to bring that – to slow that down.

I'll say the last word that I'll say and then I'll open it up to questions, is the – we've seen a lot of discussion on smuggling from ISIL into Turkey. Russia has put together, I think, a website where they have a lot of this information with beautiful colored maps. We – our assessment is that there is not a lot of smuggling happening of any significant volume between ISIL-controlled territories and Turkey. Actually, if you want to talk about smuggling of oil products, we believe it's decreased over time rather than increased, and that's partly because of efforts of the Turks and partly because of our efforts in the air campaign that have targeted some of the supply chain lines.

When you talk about trucks and you talk about significant volume – I just want to pause on that for a minute – there's 200-250 barrels of oil per truck depending on quality of the truck and so on, but that's – that's sort of the range. If you talk about significant volumes of oil being smuggled into Turkey – so let's say significant – at the low end of significant would be 20,000 barrels a day – that's over a thousand trucks a day that would have to go through these areas. The economics don't make sense for that to happen, the evidence is not there to suggest that they are – that we would see – we would all, you and us, would see thousands of trucks going through this territory. It would have to cross several different areas of control from ISIL to Free Syrian Army to regime, et cetera, and across the border.

At every point, you would have to pay fees, so the economics of this are also – of this assertion are challenging. So I don't see a lot of merit in the argument that there is significant smuggling going on between the regime and Turkey, certainly not with knowledge of the regime. Is there some smuggling across the border? I'm sure there is. But it's small amounts and it's probably of a variety of products and these are areas that have had – probably had smuggling operations since the Roman Empire. So – but I don't think it's of any significant volume or – volume from a – volume of oil or volume of benefit financially.

I'll leave it there.

QUESTION: So where is it going?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: Where is what going?

QUESTION: The oil.

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: Where is the oil if it's not going to Turkey? The oil is being consumed almost entirely inside areas of control of Syria and trading with the regime, and so it's almost entirely in that controlled territory.

QUESTION: And so how do they make money off of it if they're selling it to themselves?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: ISIL is not selling it to itself as an organization. It is selling it to – into the economy. Conflict zones have economies of their own. People still need diesel, petrol for fuel for cars, rudimentary power generation. So if you look at the size of Syria from a population perspective, a classic in-conflict economy, it still needs that. This is not a volume that is outside of what is needed to supply this size of an area and population.



QUESTION: Do you have numbers for – I guess for production and diversion inside Syria (inaudible)?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: I can't share a number of what their actual production is at the moment. We do track that, but it also – it fluctuates. So before an air campaign, after an air campaign, very different production levels. What you – what we can see is the number of stills and pits that are being dug into. So again, Google Earth is my friend sometimes, and you can see across territories that a year ago was just flat desert or flat open area and now is hundreds if not thousands of small pits, stills. And part of that is moving the operation from a 20th-to-21st century operation to a 17th century operation. But that shows you, again, the volume of oil that is being produced as well as the system of how it moves.

QUESTION: What is your estimate on the amount of trade between ISIL and the regime directly, about what percentage of ISIL's oil capacity does that take up?

And then secondly, in a briefing – I think it was in a briefing that Mark did earlier this week, he mentioned that a lot of the oil coming out from ISIL's controlled area is of low quality. So with that in mind, what's the target market or is there a middle person who's doing something to enhance the quality of it?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: Let me start from the end because it informs the beginning. If you go back nine months ago when they – or maybe longer when they had the – when they had these refineries that I was referring to earlier – the word I should have used before is the modular. They have – they had – they put together these modular refineries, and the quality was much higher as a result. So they, at that point, still had the ability early in the conflict to produce the oil and using the – utilizing the old Syrian infrastructure that was there, which was not bad, and using existing refinery – new modular refineries that were all producing higher-grade, higher-quality products. And therefore you could get a higher price for it both internally and in trading with other parts such as the regime.

The low quality is because of the degrading effort that we are doing. So the success of our operation is not to take away their ability to refine – to produce. That can only be achieved from – by losing the territory, right? If you control the field – these are fields that almost produce on their own. But as long as you keep it low quality, what you can get for it is much lower, the interest of smugglers is reduced. And for the regime, they are largely looking at gas that they need from them and some petroleum products. And I don't have a number for you on the quantity, because that too we have seen significant swings in how much they're buying at any given point. And at some points it's – when they get a crunch in inside regime-controlled areas you'll see a spike up of volume, and then it will be reduced again.

QUESTION: But that's not traffic that's unusual in this – during the civil war. I mean, the – one of the oddities of the Syrian civil war has been that when the FSA takes a refinery or a gas transmission plant or something, it never disrupts the flow of fuel to the Syrian Government. In fact, the Syrian Government pays for it, maybe pays the salary of the people working there, and that's been going on well before ISIS was declared an enemy organization. I mean, the FSA worked with the Syrian Government in the same way too to provide services to cities. Isn't that the case?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: So first we see this in – around the world in conflict areas where you have some oddities of trade that happens at the ground level of the people there because – and sometimes disrupting the flow would disrupt the flow not only to your enemy but to yourself as well. So it's hard to control flow direction in some cases. In other cases it's a revenue generator and you need the money. And in some cases you

have boundaries that are not – that are created by battle and not by maps, and therefore you can have a refinery on one side with the distribution on the other, and vice versa. So you can control the power plant but not the distribution. So I have the power plant and you have the fuel, and we either both have no power or we both have power, because you can't do one without the other. So there is some element of that.

It doesn't mean, however, that my answer to the previous question isn't true --

QUESTION: No, I'm just saying --

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: -- that trade is happening and it --

QUESTION: But you haven't seen it change particularly over the last four years. I mean, an energy facility that's in the opposition's hands, whoever they may be, is often still providing fuel to the regime.

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: So that's right. There is a lot of trading with the regime, and ISIL has at some point had highs of trading with the regime. I think, actually, over time there's -- it ebbs and flows not -- the regime would prefer not to. What it -- what we can see is that they prioritize other areas of self-supply and -- but there is still that trade.

I was asked the question -- again, I'm answering the question of what happens to this oil that's being produced. Where is it going? It's being utilized inside -- my point is it's being utilized inside Syria and to some degree ISIL-controlled areas of Iraq. It is not going outside of there.

QUESTION: So --

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: And there is enough of a market -- sorry.

QUESTION: So what do these Russian images show? Or are they completely fabricated?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: The images are obviously not fabricated, but they're dated in some cases. They had an image that I saw that they were producing that was of the lines of trucks. These are lines of trucks in front of collection points. No doubt there are lines of trucks in front of collection points. That's why we attack them. And that was my point before, that there's no safe area.

That doesn't mean that those -- their suggestion or I think inference is that here's a line of trucks and that's how it goes to Turkey. No, this is a line of trucks that collects the oil but then distributes it throughout Syria. That's the veins of the operation, if you will. What I have not seen is imagery of the border crossing with trucks crossing the border, and that's because I don't believe that exists.

QUESTION: At all? (Inaudible.)

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: Very -- small numbers. I'm not saying at all.

QUESTION: Well, and if -- and then, so in that small amount, is there any -- do you have any concern that there are elements of the Turkish Government that might be profiting from them?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: I have not seen any evidence to suggest that the Turkish Government is behind smuggling operations --

QUESTION: No the government. Elements of the government. (Inaudible.)

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: I have not -- I don't have any information to suggest that. But again, it's also of such small -- we believe that it's of small volumes that makes money and makes sense at the lower level of the territory where it's happening, the cross-border exchanges, but not at the level that makes a -- that makes a much bigger difference.

QUESTION: The physical equipment that's been destroyed so far by coalition airstrikes, where has ISIL been able to get the replacement parts – the pipes, the concrete, the rebar – in order to rebuild it? Is that from existing inventory inside Syria? And if it's coming from outside the country, how is ISIL getting around existing sanctions?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: So it's a great question, because --

QUESTION: And the mobile refineries.

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: Yeah.

QUESTION: Yeah.

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: So the mobile refineries was very early on in the conflict before there was a lot of understanding and blocking of smuggling routes and so on. So they were just bringing that stuff in across a variety of borders. That has stopped. That we haven't seen since we've taken out the mobile refineries and since we became aware of it. It's been months since we've seen any of that activity.

As far as the equipment that you need, it's important because that's part of the stepped-up approach here is to look at the infrastructure, the equipment and infrastructure that we've taken out. Some of it can be repaired by cannibalizing their own fields. And we see that whether you do that by aggressively taking out equipment, or in the case of Iran sanctions where you need replacement parts because the part broke down, what do you do? You can't import it because of sanctions, so you go to another field, you take a piece out of there and you put it in here and you start prioritizing your fields, and some will not be able to be operational.

That is why the capacity – the capacity of production for Syria is far higher than the production itself, because there's that delta they're not able to utilize the fields in the same way because they don't have the equipment. However, if you go to a service – an oil services company, they will tell you, "Here's what you need to operate a field." That's in optimal positions of the Western and modern era. But I can tell you from going around the world in areas that don't have access to that, you can do all – they – they're very creative in doing things that the by-the-book engineering doesn't actually provide for. So they've been able to do some things with some chicken wire and a pack of chewing gum. But there's a limit to that.

QUESTION: Right.

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: So they've been able to do it from within Syria and from areas that they have – remember we had a whole battle around the Baiji refinery. There was a – they controlled fields inside Iraq for a while before they lost that territory, the Ajeel fields. So that's a production capability that they had when they controlled that territory in Iraq. They've lost that territory since. But they've also been able to take equipment out of some of these places and re-use them in other places.

The stepped-up approach that we are engaging at the moment of taking out some of this infrastructure is a lot harder to replace, a lot harder to rebuild, and that's the goal. And I will say smuggling is – the oil smuggling from Syria or from ISIL-controlled territory into Turkey is what I was saying I don't believe happens. There is still smuggling that we are concerned about and look at and we want to do a better job at stopping, and that's – sometimes it's not the oil, it's the equipment. And we were also – while we're attacking, we're also making sure that we have a better control of equipment coming in in order to avoid what you just described.

QUESTION: Two questions. One is that ISIL has been controlling some of those areas over two years, 2013, even 2012. If – how about those years, '13 and '14, how was the smuggling of oil to Turkey then?

And the second question is: Talk about the Abu Sayyaf information and there are many credible reports published in the Western media that those reports show some of the important links between Turkey and Turkish government officials and ISIL. Can you talk a little bit about all those?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: So first, on '13, '14 – I don't have information of – any credible information at all of Turkish Government and ISIL coordinated smuggling operations. And look, if you look to the history of this area pre-conflict, during the Assad, Sr., Hafez al-Assad, you will see that there was some smuggling happening because of the arbitrage. You have – and you have this black market emerge when one side of a border has subsidized prices and the other one has less subsidized prices, and you therefore have a liter of petrol being sold at 50 cents here and \$2 on the other side. You just created a black market, right? Just by the fact that those two – those two facts.

So was – is there smuggling that happens that has gone on for over a hundred years on this? Yes. My argument is that there is no – there hasn't been, that I know of, a government-inspired smuggling operation from ISIL control at any given point. Overall, I will say that my discussions with my Turkish counterparts have been good on this issue. We have shared information. We are working to avoid it, and that's why we're seeing this decrease in the smuggling. It's a very long border. So that's as far as the 2013, 2014.

As far as the Abu Sayyaf information, I have – I've seen the areas of the information that are relevant to what I do for a living, which is going after the energy pieces, and in what I've – all I can tell you is that from what I've seen, I have not seen any of the rumors that are reported in some areas on the internet.

QUESTION: Can I ask, you said they were not coordinated – nothing – you haven't seen any coordinated effort between what's coming out of Syria and then the Turkish Government. But what about the henchmen, the middlemen? I mean, is it possible that some of that does find its way into the market through the henchmen, through the middlemen, and making the --

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: But I'm saying a much broader --

QUESTION: Well, there's about a dozen of them, right?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: But I'm – what I'm saying is a much broader point, and that is that the volume itself of the oil being smuggled is extremely low and is decreased over time and is of no significant – significance from a volume perspective, both volume of oil and volume of revenues.

So is there some? There's always some. In everywhere part of the world oil smuggle – smuggling happens, in conflict areas more. But I don't believe – counter to what is being suggested in the press, I don't believe that there is significant smuggling between the two. So we can argue about the few dollars that are there, who's making them, and that. But to me, that's less important than the fact that we are taking a systematic approach and a strategic approach to degrade the ISIL operation and decrease significantly the level of revenues generated.

QUESTION: And where does this smuggled oil that goes to Turkey go after that? Just if --

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: So here --

QUESTION: The problem --



SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: Yeah.

QUESTION: The reason that we're harping on this --

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: Yeah.

QUESTION: -- is the Russians came out on the record -- unlike this -- and presented all this stuff that they claim is evidence. And you guys --

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: So I -- no, no, no -- but we have said on the record -- I will say on the record I do not believe there is significant smuggling between ISIL-controlled areas and Turkey of oil of any significant volume. I'll say that on the record. I'll say it now. I --

QUESTION: I'll check the spelling of your name now. (Laughter.)

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: I said it in a -- at a congressional testimony three days ago. And I think that [Moderator] addressed that in [Moderator] comments, and DOD addressed it I don't know how many more times.

MODERATOR: Right.

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: So the reason that I'm -- I was smiling when you asked the question, because I'm saying that there's very little smuggling going on, and you're saying, but what's being smuggled; where's it going?

QUESTION: Exactly.

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: But it's small, and it's going -- it's -- if you look at the overall -- let's go back to what I said at the beginning. What is a -- what is a real volume of oil where you start to say, okay, this is somewhat meaningful? A couple thousand barrels a day in a country like Turkey is -- I wouldn't even recognize it in the overall because of the amount of consumption in Turkey, right? So let's say 20,000 barrels a day, right, out of the millions that they consume. And that still would be -- for most companies, that would be a speck that they wouldn't even notice, but let's say. That's over 1,000 trucks a day. And I don't see 1,000 trucks a day; I don't see 500 trucks a day; I only see even half of that. So we're talking about very small amounts of oil.

Now as far as going into what -- going into the pipeline -- so people are going to risk their careers and everything else to make a few dollars. And remember, spectrum of the -- the arbitrage revenue here is tiny. It's meaningful to a truck driver, right? But to a company or a government official and so on, it becomes less and less meaningful. And the more hands this goes through, the less revenue there is here. So you got to look at sometimes -- I understand that the Russians came out on the record, but you got to also operate some common sense. They're talking about the arrows -- the beautiful arrows that they have -- it's a great PowerPoint -- that are going in different directions. Look at through which areas of control on their own map of the different color coding. You have to pay a lot of money -- every truck driver got to pay a lot of money, relatively speaking, to cross boundaries from territory to territory.

So this is not an economically viable operation. Especially when you have a market inside Syria, why would you risk your life and your purse? And the further you go as a truck, you make less money because you got to drive back empty, right? Taxi drivers in New York hate taking you to Newark, right? Got to come back empty.

QUESTION: How much -- how much of an impact have the strikes had on their overall oil fundraising operation? We always hear --

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: When you say "fundraising" --

QUESTION: Well, I mean, the -- their -- how they make money, how ISIS makes money then funds its operations. How much of an impact have you had?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: It's a good question. The first phase, when we took out the refineries, took a hit on the value per barrel, right, on the how much money they can get per barrel, because the quality went down. Once you took out the refining – and when I say “took out the refining,” they're still refining. But you took out the quality refining and did stills and pits and so on which is much more rudimentary. So you – you degraded the value of the barrel.

The next step was by bombing some of the collection points is you're narrowing the scope of where the trucks would collect. So they're not collecting in as many places, which means trucks are standing in line for sometimes days, if not a week, waiting their turn to come and collect. So you degrade the operation then.

The next phase now that we're doing over the last several weeks is taking out strategic equipment and infrastructure that will make it difficult to produce the – to develop the oil, to produce it, take it out of the ground, and move it. And that will have – that already we are seeing – it's too early to say to – from a monetary perspective, but we're already seeing a very significant slowdown in the operation.

So if you have a line of trucks that's here, and you have a collection point, right, it's – it's not exactly efficient for any non-conflict area, but for a company that's not so bad, right? But if you now say the trucks can no longer feel safe and secure in waiting in this area – they have to disperse and every truck driver says, hey, you, don't get your truck near me, because the second they see a group, they're going to bomb it or potentially. So now you have isolated small groups all over the place. The time that they have to go in and waiting instead of one – instead of 5, 10 trucks at a time at a wellhead or at a collection point, now you have one at a time. Those – now you've – that slows down the operation. That's a monetary.

So it's not – it's – you have to look at it from the entire value chain of how ISIL does business in order to be able to understand that you're affecting the chain. So we've had a significant impact. Ask me again in three, four weeks from now when we've had more time to analyze and see what's lasting versus what's temporary adjustments, and I'll be able to give you a better answer on that.

QUESTION: Is there a --

QUESTION: (Inaudible) taking out the trucks?

QUESTION: (Inaudible) is ISIS making per day?

QUESTION: What do you make of the --

MODERATOR: Go ahead here and then --

QUESTION: What do you make of the ethical concerns of – taking out the trucks when it comes to the notion that some of these drivers are coerced by ISIS and may not be ISIS members themselves?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: We are doing – we are going above and beyond what we can to minimize the loss of life in this, and I think the Pentagon has briefed that on --

MODERATOR: Yes.

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: -- we provide early warnings, enough time for the drivers to get away. And we have – remarkably have taken out a significant amount of trucks with a minimal loss of life.

QUESTION: How --

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: So I think we are paying attention to that.

QUESTION: You said, “We are doing above and beyond what we can.” Is that possible?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: No, I’m saying as far – (Laughter.)

QUESTION: (Off-mike.)

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: Fair enough. Fair enough. Yeah, you’re right. You’re right. Good – linguistically, you are correct. (Laughter.)

QUESTION: But there is a notion that State --

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: Thank you.

QUESTION: There is a notion that State has pushed the Pentagon in terms of the Pentagon having concerns and legal concerns about what it’s doing in the strikes, and that State has been more eager to take risks or to green light strikes of these truck drivers that are moving out the oil.

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: When you say “there is a notion” --

QUESTION: Heard in the halls of the Pentagon.

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: I – it would – far be it for me to respond to the rumors in the halls of the Pentagon. This – we operate in a coordinated effort. We work very closely with our colleagues from the Pentagon, the White House, Treasury Department, others, on a regular basis. And so, again, I’m not going to respond to water coolers at the Pentagon.

QUESTION: Are the Brits, the French, and the Russians --

MODERATOR: A couple more questions, guys. Dave.

QUESTION: Yeah. Are the Brits, the French, and the Russians operating off the same target lists? Are they aiming for the same oil infrastructure?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: This is a coalition effort, and we have a very --

QUESTION: The Russians aren’t really in your coalition. They’re parallel.

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: Oh, I thought you said the British.

QUESTION: The British, the French, and the Russians.

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: We’re not going in with the Russians. The British and the French and others, to that part of your question, it’s a coalition effort, and we are – we obviously share information with each other. And I would direct you to the Pentagon to ask on specifics of coordination.

QUESTION: Okay. I had asked because the first targets, when the Brits got into the operation, was oil. And the French, when they got into the operation in Syria, their first target was oil, as well. And I’ve heard in the halls of some embassies that they were keen to – (laughter) – they were keener than some Americans to make that the priority for their strikes.

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: Well, I think that they’re coming at a time when we have been publicly briefing that we are addressing the energy infrastructure, so I don’t think it should be a surprise to anyone that our coalition partners and us are involved in similar activities.

QUESTION: Okay, that’s my warmonger question. But now my hippie question. Is there environmental blowback damage if you hit the well heads? Could you trigger environmental damage? We all remember the images from Kuwait when Saddam deliberately blew up oil wells.

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: Yeah, we are sensitive to that. And I actually think that the things that create the environmental damage are also less effective. So what

we're trying to do is be strategic, is not bomb everything that is near an oil spot. But rather, look at what infrastructure is utilized most effectively by ISIL, harder to replace, rebuild, repair, and has the least degree of all kinds of collateral damage, environmental being one of them.

QUESTION: Do you have any --

QUESTION: Long-term --

MODERATOR: Last question.

QUESTION: (Inaudible) ISIS is making per day, would you estimate, in revenue?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: I know that some people give estimates of numbers of dollars. I don't like it, because I think it changes radically. The numbers out there have -- well, no, I'm going to leave it at that. I don't want to guess the revenues. People have talked about \$500 million from the oil revenue a year.

QUESTION: That's revenue (inaudible) --

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: Right.

QUESTION: -- a day and the Pentagon says \$1 million a day.

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: One and a -- yeah I would say probably close to one and a half, one to one and a half. But that's -- again, that's based on what's the price of oil. And I would say that the revenue -- we have to do a reassessment on that in a month from now, now that we've had a significant effort, which means that the cost basis of the value per barrel has changed.

Remember, a truck driver now has to think very differently about do I want to engage in this operation than it did before. That usually means not only consideration when I talk with my family, "Is this a good business to be in," from a health perspective, but also if you decide to do it, we're going to charge more money for this. So it changes the modernization aspects of it. And --

QUESTION: Because since the bombing strikes have started from Incirlik a few weeks ago, the dollar amount hasn't changed significantly.

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: And you know that because?

QUESTION: You just said they were one to one and a half million.

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: No, I'm saying that's been the number that we've been using, is the -- about one-and-a-half million. But I just said give me another few weeks. I can't analyze last week's effects today. It takes a little bit of time to see.

Also, remember that with any targets ISIL is going to take some time to adjust. And I don't know how they're going to adjust. And when they adjust -- what I tell you -- people talk about their ability to adapt, and people underestimate that we have an ability to adapt, as well. And so they will adjust to what we've done and what we're doing, and we will counter-adjust as well.

MODERATOR: Folks, last question here.

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: I hope this is --

QUESTION: Okay. The system you're describing here, as you break up this infrastructure and discourage them, what have you detected is the impact on the supply of fuel to the residents of the Islamic State-controlled area? Do they still have cooking gas? Are they having difficulty just carrying out normal transportation around the areas? What do you see as the impact on the local populations?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: So, first, as I've described, over the last year you've seen lower-quality oil, which means that it's going to be a lot harder to utilize effectively, if you're -- you all know here, in the United States, depending on what fuel you put in your car, it's going to affect the -- your engine.



But there is still a functioning – relatively speaking, functioning – capability, but without a doubt, it's under strain. And it's much more difficult. And you've seen that the hours of power generation have been cut down. People are using less the grid and more generators, and so on. And that's part of a function of just --

QUESTION: Generators require fuel, too.

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: That's what I'm saying. So the grid goes down, you start using a generator – I mean, this is normal, I can tell you this in almost every conflict that I've been in. The grid gets affected first. Second, people move over to generators to supplement the grid. But then fuel costs go up. And what you are going to see with the campaign, the recent bombing campaign, is the cost of fuels go up. How much they go up, I don't know yet.

So, before you ask me how much, I don't know. And that affects – that has a knock-on effects on the ability to have power, fuel, et cetera, readily available. But they're still producing. It's still being distributed. It's just slower. And sometimes it doesn't mean that you don't have it; you just don't have it when you need it. So you have to wait – I used to have to wait two days to get my fuel, and now I have to wait six days or seven days or eight days.

But the idea that ISIL is an effective state is false. And I think you can see that by the fact that one of the basic elements is to provide power, water, fuel, cooking. And that's going to – that's been degraded, and it will continue to be degraded, their ability to serve as a regular, functioning state.

QUESTION: I have a very quick follow-up just in terms of personnel. You talk about truckers, fewer may be out there, so the price of fuel would go up. But in terms of trying to maintain this infrastructure in the wake of the bombings, where are the engineers? Where are the plumbers? Where are the electricians? Are they still there in the same numbers, or are they all disappearing and that makes it harder to keep the infrastructure going as well?

SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: Well, I think that, for those who are considering recruitment efforts around the world by ISIL for engineers and all kinds of other, more skilled labor, which they need in order to operate these fields, I think that the – that is going to be a bigger challenge for them to recruit those folks as well.

Are they still there? We have – I think that it's now clear to anybody that oil – energy facilities and infrastructure are targets, and you should think twice before working there.

MODERATOR: Great. Thanks, everybody.

QUESTION: Thank you.

MODERATOR: Have a good weekend.

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**ФУНКЦИИ ВЫВЕСОК НА РУССКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ В ГОРОДСКОМ  
ПРОСТРАНСТВЕ ПРИГРАНИЧНОГО Г. ХЭЙХЭ  
(КНР, ПРОВИНЦИЯ ХЭЙЛУНЦЗЯН)  
FUNCTIONS OF SIGNS IN THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE  
IN THE URBAN SPACE OF THE BORDER CITY OF HEIHE  
(CHINA, HEILONGJIANG PROVINCE)**

**Аннотация**

В статье описываются функции вывесок на русском языке, называющих городские объекты в коммуникативном пространстве приграничного города Хэйхэ (КНР, провинция Хэйлунцзян). В результате анализа конкретного лингвистического материала определены основные функции вывесок на русском языке: номинативная, информативная, рекламная и её разновидность имиджевая. В коммуникативном пространстве иноязычного города они имеют большое практическое значение для русского человека, получающего возможность ориентироваться в нём.

**Abstract**

The article describes the function of signs in Russian, calling the city's facilities in the communicative space of the border city Heihe (China, Heilongjiang province). As a result of the analysis of our linguistic material the main functions of signs in Russian are defined: nominative, informative, advertising, and imaging as a variety of the latter. In the communicative space of a foreign city they are of great practical importance for the Russian people who are enabled to navigate it.

**Ключевые слова:** вывески на русском языке, коммуникативное пространство, функция: номинативная, информативная, рекламная, имиджевая.

**Keywords:** signs in the Russian language, communicative space, function: nominative, informative, advertising, branding.

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## 1. Введение

Актуальной проблемой современной лингвистики является исследование коммуникативного пространства города. «С лингвистической точки зрения, город представляет собой коммуникативное пространство повседневной жизни. Активизация неформальной жизни города, появление множества новых форм бытовой культуры и досуга привели к усложнению языкового быта. Поэтому изучение языкового кода различных городов, городских этикетных стереотипов, исследование процессов обновления характерных средств языка в ситуации меняющегося современного общества является актуальным и важным» [Михайлюкова, 2013, с. 8]

Исследования языка города начались в первой четверти XX века (20–30 гг.). Лингвистическое пространство города изучалось в разных аспектах: собственно лингвистическом, социолингвистическом, лингвогеографическом, лингво-культурологическом и других.

В современных исследованиях прослеживается интерес к изучению объектов городских номинаций, в частности вывесок городских объектов. Существует немало статей, диссертаций, монографий, посвящённых анализу вывесок городских объектов российских городов и городов других стран. Большинство исследований проведено на материале городских объектов российских городов: Владивостока [Михайлюкова, 2013], Великого Новгорода [Шмелева, 2014], Екатеринбурга [Шимкевич, 2002; Баженова, 2014], Иркутска [Вайрах, 2011], Красноярска [Березуцкий, 1997], Москвы [Китайгородская, 2003], Омска [Астафьева, 1996], Ульяновска [Стародубцева, 2003], Уфы [Емельянова, 2007], Челябинска [Яловец-Коновалова, 1997] и многих других. Исследовались и названия городских объектов постсоветских территорий: Белоруссии, Украины, прибалтийских государств и других.

В основном объектом изучения были вывески на русском языке на территории РФ. Лингвистических исследований вывесок на русском языке на трансграничных территориях не проводилось. Настоящая статья восполняет этот пробел. Объектом анализа данной статьи являются вывески на русском языке в китайском приграничном городе Хэйхэ (КНР, провинция Хэйлунцзян).

Собственные наименования городских объектов в ономастике получили разное терминологическое обозначение. Одни их называют эргонимами и относят к ним разновидности: эмпоронимы (наименования торговых заведений), фирмонимы (наименования фирм), трапезонимы (наименования заведений еды), имена лечебных и учебных заведений, заведений досуга, заведений красоты, имена производств [Шмелева, 2014, с. 12], а также ойкодомонимы (названия зданий и интерьеров), годонимы (назва-

ния улиц, переулков) и так далее. Приведённый список собственных наименований городских объектов неполный и может быть продолжен.

Как подразряд имён собственных названия городских объектов имеют общие признаки с другой ономастической лексикой и выполняют разные функции в коммуникативном пространстве города.

Современные исследователи традиционно выделяют следующие основные их функции: «номинативную, информативную и рекламную. Номинативная – функция идентификации объекта – главная функция любого собственного имени. А информативная и рекламная – специфические функции названий, предназначенных для сферы реализации товаров и услуг» [Романова, 1998]. Выделяются также и другие функции названий городских объектов: «коммуникативная, когнитивная, информативная, дифференцирующая, конкретизирующая, эмотивная, апеллятивная («апелляция к адресату»), аттрактивная, экспрессивная» [Бутакова, 2013, с. 22–23].

Под функцией языка традиционно понимается в первую очередь роль (употребление, назначение) языка в человеческом обществе. Функции вывесок на русском языке в приграничном городе Хэйхэ – это их роль, употребление, назначение в коммуникативном пространстве города.

Рассмотрим функции вывесок на русском языке в Хэйхэ.

Первая функция – **названная** (или идентифицирующая) – связана со спецификой собственного имени вообще, с его отличием от апеллятива.

Словоформы, словосочетания, предложения в структуре вывесок на русском языке – это языковые средства, с помощью которых осуществляется назывная (номинативная) функция.

Велика роль в выполнении этой функции словоформ, выраженных существительными, субстантивных словосочетаний, главным компонентом которых являются существительные, синтаксических конструкций, в составе которых также присутствуют существительные. Ономастиологический анализ единиц, находящихся в структуре вывесок, свидетельствует о том, что номинативный акт от именуемой реалии к самой номинации предполагает исследование языковых единиц с позиции «перевода» внеязыкового содержания в языковую форму.

## 2. Эксперимент

Хэйхэ – китайский город, основная информация в нём представлена на китайском языке, но существуют и фрагменты коммуникативного пространства на русском языке – вывески на русском языке, обозначающие городские объекты торговли и сферы услуг.

Русские люди, находящиеся в Хэйхэ, в вывесках на русском языке видят знаки, которые обозначают фрагменты реальной действительности, обозначенные знакомыми им буквами родного языка.

Акт вербализации русских названий и их интерпретация базируются на основе когнитивного опыта русского человека, на основе знания значений слов, словосочетаний, предложений, содержащихся в вывесках. Таким образом, в вывесках на русском языке присутствует номинативный инвентарь наименований городских объектов.



Этот инвентарь разнообразный, в нём присутствуют имена существительные, участвующие в акте номинации в прямом значении (магазин, салон, ресторан, гостиница и т. п.), имена с вторичной номинацией с её новыми коннотациями (мир, центр, дом, город и т. п.). Под вторичной номинацией мы понимаем «использование в акте номинации фонетического облика уже существующей единицы языка в качестве имени для нового обозначаемого» [Телия, 1990, с. 336].

Номинация представляет собой одновременно «процесс и результат именования фрагментов объективной действительности с помощью языковых единиц разной структурной и системной сложности (от слов до предложений), выполняющих номинативную функцию» [Телия, 1990, с. 336].

Номинативная функция вывесок на русском языке в приграничном городе Хэйхэ помогает ориентироваться в ограниченном пространстве русского языка, окружённого китайским. Ориентируясь в мире названий на русском языке, человек познаёт коммуникативное пространство города. Как прагматик он действует избирательно в этом пространстве, то есть вычленяет в нём то, что ему нужно, то, что ближе и важнее всего в данный момент. Таким образом, человек ориентируется в коммуникативном пространстве русского языка с «умыслом», прагматически опираясь на номинативную функцию вывесок на русском языке.

Вывески называют отдельный внутригородской объект и выделяют его из ряда подобных. Из 505 городских объектов, упоминаемых и называемых именами существительными (агентство, баня, бильярдная, больница, гостиница, касса, клиника, компания, магазин, отель, аптека, парикмахерская, ресторан, салон, столовая, типография, фирма, школка и др.), каждое используется в функции номинации, называя и идентифицируя тип городского объекта.

Наиболее продуктивным и частотным в вывесках на русском языке, обозначающих объекты торговли, является существительное *магазин*. Оно входит в тематическое поле, в котором, кроме него есть и другие слова: *гипермаркет, город, дом, мир, навильон, салон, супермаркет, универмаг, центр*. В группе городских объектов, обозначающих сферу услуг, более частотным является существительное *ресторан*, к которому примыкают и другие слова в функции номинации: *бар, закусочная, кафе, кофейня, кухня, столовая, шашлычная* и подобные.

Все перечисленные существительные образуют грамматические модели с основным компонентом – именем существительным в именительном падеже, что обусловлено предметностью значения этой части речи и конкретной информацией, содержащейся в названии. Простота и краткость таких моделей отвечает требованиям современной коммуникации, стремящейся к парцелляции текста и экономии языковых средств.

Существительное как части речи характеризуется предметностью значения, что позволяет ему выполнять номинативную функцию. Типология лексических значений существительного опирается на три основных вида отношений: понятийно-предметную связь, отношения слов друг к другу и степень мотивированности значения. Выделение разных типов лексических

значений помогает глубже разобраться в семантической структуре слова, то есть понять характер системных внутрисловных связей.

Рассмотрим употребление некоторых существительных в номинативной функции в вывесках на русском языке. Как указывалось выше, в названии городских объектов торговли чаще всего используется существительное *магазин*. Наряду с ним в этой функции употребляются и другие слова: *гипермаркет, город, дом, мир, павильон, салон, супермаркет, универмаг, центр*, номинативное значение которых обусловлено их лексическим значением.

«Лексическое значение слова – это его содержание, отображающее в сознании и закрепляющее в нём представление о предмете, свойстве, процессе, явлении и т. д.». Это «сложная структура, определяемая общими свойствами слова как знака: его семантикой, прагматикой, синтактикой» [Гак, 1990, с. 261–262] и раскрывающее общепринятое представление о предмете.

Номинативные значения перечисленных существительных используются для называния предметов, явлений, опредмеченных качеств, действий и так далее. В семантической структуре слов, обладающих подобным значением, как правило, не находят отражения дополнительные признаки (например, оценочные).

Существительные, используемые в названии городских объектов торговли и сферы услуг, употребляются по-разному. Так, в функции номинации объектов торговли существительное *магазин* более предпочтительно, чем существительное *салон*. Так, на 141 употребление слова *магазин* в вывесках на русском языке приходится всего 23 вывески со словом *салон*.

Кроме того, в отличие от существительного *магазин, салон* употребляется в номинации объектов сферы услуг (медицинских, косметических и др.): *массажный салон, салон красоты, салон-парикмахерская* и других.

Сопоставляя лексические значения слов *магазин* и *салон*, можно сделать следующий вывод. По данным толковых словарей русского языка *магазин*, – «1. Учреждение, производящее розничную торговлю, а также помещение, в котором производится такая торговля. 2. Склад для хранения чего-н. (устар.). 3. Коробка в аппарате, приборе для вкладывания однородных штучных изделий, частей чего-н. (напр. патронов в стрелковом оружии), а также набор однотипных элементов, заключенных в общий корпус (спец.)» [Ожегов, 2010, с. 337]. В вывесках на русском языке в коммуникативном пространстве города Хэйхэ слово *магазин* употребляется в первом значении.

Слово *салон* заимствовано из французского *salon*, от итальянского *salone* – «большая зала». Этимологическое значение – «комната, служащая для приема гостей» [Фасмер, 1997, с. 550]. Слово многозначное, в толковых словарях современного русского языка имеет 4 значения: «1. Помещение для выставок, демонстрации товаров, а также магазин, где продаются художественно изготовленные товары, произведения искусства, или ателье, где работа выполняется художественно. 2. Комната для приема гостей в богатом доме (устар.), а также общая гостиная в отеле. 3. Политический или литературно-художественный кружок из людей избранного

круга, собирающийся в доме какого-н. частного лица (устар.). 4. Внутреннее помещение для пассажиров в автобусе, троллейбусе, самолете, а также зал ожидания в ателье, парикмахерской» [Ожегов, 2010, с. 693]. В вывесках на русском языке в коммуникативном пространстве г. Хэйхэ слово салон употребляется в первом значении.

По нашим наблюдениям, существительное *магазин* в номинативной функции более универсально, нежели существительное *салон*, так как номинирует городской объект торговли любыми товарами: продуктовыми, промтоварными, универсальными и другими. *Салон* в номинативной функции используется главным образом для наименования «магазинов, где продаются художественно изготовленные товары, произведения искусства, или ателье, где работа выполняется художественно». Ср., напр.: *магазин джинсовой одежды «Чуан Син»*, *обувной магазин*, *магазин овощей и фруктов* и др. *Салон меха «Москва»*, *салон шуб*, *салон мебели «Син Я»*, *салон «Лянмэй» бредовое нижнее белье*. Изготовление товаров роскоши (меха, шуб, изысканного белья и т. п.) требует художественного вкуса, поэтому магазин, продающий такие товары, предпочтительно называть «салоном».

Таким образом, лексическое значение слова, его понятийно-предметные связи, взаимоотношения слов, степень мотивированности их значения обуславливают их употребление в номинативной функции в вывесках на русском языке в приграничном городе Хэйхэ.

С номинативной функцией вывесок на русском языке городских объектов города Хэйхэ тесно связана вторая функция – *и н ф о р м а т и в н а я*. Она конкретизирует вид, ассортимент предлагаемых товаров или услуг, уровень обслуживания, социальную ориентацию на определённого клиента, поясняет коммерческое направление, вида городского объекта, предоставляет потребителю более подробную информацию о продукции или сервисе предлагаемых услуг. Эту функцию, как правило, выполняет квалифицирующий семантический компонент вывески, который указывает:

а) на вид продаваемого товара: *брюки, носки, одежда, трикотаж, фрукты и овощи, цветы, шторы и тюль, ювелирные изделия* и т. д.;

б) на пол, возраст, статус, род деятельности покупателя: *брюки для мужчин, детская обувь, женская одежда, магазин для беременных и новорождённых, одежда для пожилых мужчин* и т. п.;

в) на ценовую категорию товара: *6.9 юней, компьютерный клуб 3 юаня за один час, магазины 2 юаня, мир-брюк низкой цены, магазин шесть юаней* и т. п.;

г) на материал, из которого изготовлена продукция: *деревянные двери, джинсовая одежда, меховой салон, обувь из ткани, шёлк фабрика*<sup>1</sup> и т. п.;

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<sup>1</sup> Вывески на русском языке в приграничном г. Хэйхэ оформлены с точки зрения норм современного русского литературного языка по-разному: одни из них соответствуют нормам современного русского литературного языка, другие – содержат большое количество «ошибок»: графических, орфографических, лексических, семантических, грамматических и др. «Неправильные» вывески приводятся с сохранением всех особенностей написания.



д) на место производства или происхождение товара: *керамика «Цзиндэчжэнь»* (Цзиндэчжэнь – китайское название известного во всем мире города как столицы керамики), *корейская косметика, магазин русских товаров, одежда европейского, японского и южно-корейского производства, шуб из фабрики Сянгана* (Сянган это китайское название г. Гонконга), *шубы из Европы* и т. п.;

е) на характер ведения торговой деятельности: *оптовая и розничная продажа, оптом и в розницу, продажа оптом, прямая продажа товаров с завода, специализированный магазин* и т. п.;

ж) на определённые виды сферы услуг: *маникюрный салон, массаж, ремонт автомобилей, обуви, часов, салон красоты, салон-парикмахерская, химчистка* и т. п.;

з) на специфику заведения: *жареное мясо по-южнокорейски, ресторан лапша, ресторан пельмени, рыба в каменном горшке, утка по-пекински* и т. п.;

и) на способ организации производственной деятельности: *кафе-бистро, шашлычная самообслуживания, экспресс-гостиница* и т. п.

Информативность для потребителя – приоритетный компонент, широкая информация играет главную роль при продаже товара. Неслучайно вывески на русском языке демонстрируют тенденцию к увеличению информации, чтобы более подробно ориентировать покупателя. Например, рядом с названием магазина часто появляются сопутствующие информативные дополнения: *магазин интим «Мэн Хуй» по продаже здравоохранительных и медицинских инвентарей товаров, «Хунюй» магазин бельёвого трикотажа / носки трусы корсетные изделия купальни, маленький электроаппарат радио бритва кресла массажер паровой уют, салон ремонта и продажа старого телевизора, продажа автоматического оборудования для изготовления печатей и штампов* и подобные.

Таким образом, вывески на русском языке в городе Хэйхэ выполняют информационную функцию, которая ориентирует в пространстве и называет вид услуг или товар, которые можно получить в конкретном месте. Квалифицирующий компонент вывески на русском языке, как правило, употребляется в прямом значении. Например, *купальник* – «женский купальный костюм» [Ожегов, 2010, с. 314]; *носок* – «короткий чулок, не достигающий до колена» [Ожегов, 2010, с. 422]; *радио* – «устройство для приема звуковых вещательных передач» [Ожегов, 2010, с. 639], *телевизор* – «аппарат для приема телевизионных передач, телевизионный приемник» [Ожегов, 2010, с. 793] и другие.

Третья функция вывесок на русском языке в Хэйхэ – *рекламная*. Она предназначена для «продвижения» товара или услуги на рынке, рекламирует их преимущества перед другими аналогичными товарами и услугами, вызывает у потребителя интерес, эмоции и желание купить товар или воспользоваться конкретными услугами.

Рекламирующий эффект вывесок на русском языке часто связан с употреблением имени собственного, представленного дифференцирующим семантическим компонентом, который используется для привлечения потребителя. Так, среди вывесок на русском языке в Хэйхэ отмечены следующие.



1. Вывески с именами и фамилиями людей: аптека «Надежда», аптека «У Светы», маникюрный салон «Катя», оптика «И Хуэйчжэнь», ресторан «У Лены», светильники «Бэй Сюе», шуба «Наташа» и подобные. На наш взгляд, с помощью таких компонентов хозяева данных заведений как бы гарантируют качество товаров и услуг. Рекламирующий компонент способствует сближению между объектом, предлагающим товар и услуги, и русским клиентом.

Часто для рекламной цели используются русские имена, а среди них – имена известных людей: например, книжный магазин «Пушкин», магазин русских товаров «Путин», ресторан «Путин», шторы «Пугачёва». Использование имён известных людей усиливает воздействие на потребителя товаров или услуг, способствует тому, чтобы они, находясь в конкретном заведении, подсознательно, полностью доверяли качеству товара и предлагаемых услуг, или же, чтобы вся их симпатия и уважение к известному человеку, в честь которого названо заведение, распространялось на товар и услуги этого заведения.

2. Вывески с названиями известных международных и китайских брендов и марок: салон-парикмахерская *Vs (sassoon)*, салон красоты *LOVSA*, магазин модной мужской одежды «Цзю Му Ван». Так, использование названий брендов «*Vs (sassoon)*», «*LOVSA*», «Цзю Му Ван» в вывесках на русском языке с рекламными целями подчеркивает тот факт, что вся продукция является брендовой, её качество соответствующее и репутация не вызывает сомнения.

3. Вывески с географическими названиями-топонимами: баня «Гавайи», баня «Золотое Средиземное море», европейский ресторан «Амур», меховой салон «Москва», салон полиграфических услуг «Байкал», шубы из Европы и другие. Рекламная функция топонимов не только гарантирует хорошее качество на высшем уровне, но также может удовлетворить желание потребителей попробовать что-нибудь новое, неизвестное.

4. Вывески-пожелания, в названиях которых рекламный эффект передается через «наилучшие пожелания»: аптека «Здоровье», гостиница «Счастье», оптовый отдел «Вечная победа», ресторан «Радость» (ср. напр., толкование лексического значения таких пожеланий: здоровье – «правильная, нормальная деятельность организма, его полное физическое и психическое благополучие» [Ожегов, 2010, с. 227]; счастье – «чувство и состояние полного, высшего удовлетворения» [Ожегов, 2010, с. 785]; победа – «успех в борьбе за что-н., осуществление, достижение чего-н. в результате преодоления чего-н.» [Ожегов, 2010, с. 527]; радость – «весёлое чувство, ощущение большого душевного удовлетворения»). Сердечность и человечность, выраженная в лексическом значении таких слов, по мнению хозяев заведения, может привлечь большое число потребителей товаров и услуг.

5. «Образные» вывески, служащие цели угодить настроению клиента, его желанию купить товар или услугу «высшей пробы» за низкую цену. Клиент является объектом торговли и сервиса, поэтому удовлетворение желаний потребителя является важным фактором собственного названия магазина, услуги: мир деликатесов (ресторан), баня «Золотое озеро», ре-

сторан «Пристань рыбаков», гостиница «Эдем». Подобные названия способствуют появлению у клиентов определённых отчётливых образов и производят на него глубокое впечатление. Кроме этого они вызывают у людей различные ассоциации и могут усилить их воображение, что может вызвать у людей желание купить данный товар или воспользоваться услугой. Такие вывески на русском языке основаны на метафоре, образном сравнении. Метафора – это троп, то есть некий образ, основанный на употреблении слов в переносном значении. Смысл метафоры как тропа в том, чтобы усиливать эмоциональную выразительность речи. Ср. напр., толкование лексического значения таких слов «образов» в названиях вывесок на русском языке города Хэйхэ: *деликатес* – «изысканное кушанье» [Ожегов, 2010, с. 158]; *золотой* перен. – «счастливый, благоприятный» [Ожегов, 2010, с. 233], *золотое* – счастливое, благоприятное время препровождения в бане; *пристань* перен. – «тихое, спокойное место на берегу реки, водоема...», «тихая пристань» [Ожегов, 2010, с. 600].

Переносное значение подобных слов усиливает экспрессивное и эмоциональное восприятие вывески. Так, в названии вывески «гостиница Эдем» используется топоним-библионим *Эдем*. *Эдем* употребляется в значении «сад наслаждений», «настоящий рай». По библейскому преданию, первые люди на Земле – Адам и Ева – жили в Эдемском саду. Это был настоящий рай. Среди его пышной зелени росли фруктовые деревья, сочные плоды, здесь была вкусная, кристальная, чистая вода. Адама и Еву в Эдемском саду ничто не обременяло и не устрашало. Даже животные не приносили им никакого вреда. Таким образом, топоним-библионим *Эдем* ассоциируется в вывеске на русском языке с самым лучшим местом на Земле – раем. В основании образа лежит положительная оценка и признаки «красота», «лучшие условия для отдыха», «рай», то есть в гостинице под таким названием созданы самые лучшие условия для отдыха, подобные условиям жизни в раю.

Вывески на русском языке в городском пространстве приграничного Хэйхэ выполняют и другую важную разновидность рекламной функции – *и м и д ж е в у ю*. Вывески на русском языке в Хэйхэ, как правило, представлены на двух языках – русском и китайском. «Вывески на двух языках, по мнению китайских исследователей, являются важнейшей составной частью языковой и гуманитарной среды международных мегаполисов и мест международного туризма, а также важной составной частью, внешней пропаганды государства и конкретным отображением устройства гуманитарной среды и уровня внешнего взаимодействия» [Ван Иньцюань, 2007, с. 8]. И далее: «целью вывесок с двумя языками является удовлетворение потребностей читающих эти вывески, осуществление функций привлечения клиентов и предоставление благоприятных условий для иностранцев, посещающих Китай» [Лю Фагун, 2008, с. 47].

### 3. Заключение

Особенность вывесок на русском языке в Хэйхэ заключается в том, что они оказывают воздействие на покупки, питание, проживание, развле-

чение и медицинское обслуживание русских туристов. Более того, они формируют облик города, образ города в целом, его коммуникативное пространство и в конечном итоге влияют на формирование имиджевого образа Китая – положительного или отрицательного.

Качество текстов вывесок на русском языке оказывает непосредственное влияние на эффективность внешней пропаганды и образ города, народа и даже государства в глазах русских туристов. Поэтому лингвистическое исследование вывесок на русском языке Хэйхэ имеет большое практическое значение.

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**АКУСТИЧЕСКИЕ ХАРАКТЕРИСТИКИ ЗВУКОВ**  
**В РЕЧИ РЕБЁНКА: СОГЛАСНЫЕ**  
**ACOUSTIC FEATURES**  
**OF CHILD SPEECH SOUNDS: CONSONANTS**

**Аннотация**

Третий год жизни характеризуется резко возрастающей речевой активностью ребёнка. В этот период многие российские дети посещают детские дошкольные учреждения, что, в отличие от более раннего периода развития, обуславливает неоднородность коммуникативной среды и, следовательно, увеличение нестабильности при освоении моделей реализации фонетических единиц родного языка. В статье изложены результаты акустического анализа согласных в речи девочки в возрасте трёх лет. Особое внимание уделялось выпадению согласных и их заменам. Зафиксированы случаи выпадения одичных согласных /r/, /l/ и упрощения групп согласных /sk/, /st/, /sp/, /sl/, /kl/, /jl/, /pl/, /zl/. Выявлены следующие звуковые замены и произносительные варианты: /r/–/j/ / только в позиции перед гласным заднего ряда /o/; /з/–/v/, /з/–/z/; /h/–/f/; /ʃ/–/s/, /ʃ/–/f/, а также замены мягких согласных на твёрдые. Отмечалась вариантность замен согласных.

**Abstract**

The third year of life is characterized by considerable increase in child speech activity. At this time period many Russian children attend preschool institutions and that fact, unlike in earlier time period, determines greater diversity of their communicative environment that in its turn results in growing instability of the native language phonetic pattern acquisition. The current paper describes the results of an acoustic study of consonants in the speech of a three-year-old girl. Consonant elisions and their substitutes were the focus of the present study. There were examples of single-consonant elision of /r/, /l/, as well as consonant clusters simplification of /sk/, /st/, /sp/, /sl/, /kl/, /jl/, /pl/, /zl/. The following substitutes and pronunciation variants

were identified: /r/–/j/ only before the back vowel /o/; /ʒ/–/v/, /ʒ/–/z/; /h/–/f/; /ʃ/–/s/, /ʃ/–/f/, as well as palatalized (soft) consonant substitutes for non-palatalized (hard) ones. Variation of consonant substitutions was noted.

**Ключевые слова:** согласный, выпадение, замена, палатализация, вариантность, детская речь, акустические характеристики.

**Keywords:** consonant, elision, substitute, palatalization, variation, child speech, acoustic features.

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## 1. Введение

Изучение речи детей раннего возраста является в настоящее время предметом пристального внимания широкого круга специалистов. Так, существует большое количество работ по стимулированию речевого развития детей раннего возраста. Подобные исследования стали востребованы в связи с увеличением числа детей с выявленными проблемами в развитии [Громова, 2007]. Учитывая приоритет социального и коммуникативного начала над биологическим в освоении языка ребёнком, можно предположить, что современный мир компьютерных технологий способствует уменьшению доли естественной речевой коммуникации в семье, являющейся основной коммуникативной средой ребёнка и, как следствие, оказывает влияние на речевое развитие детей.

Безусловно, изучение детской речи необходимо не только для решения задач логопедии и педагогики, но и для понимания процессов развития речи, выявления системы языковых правил, управляемых речевой деятельностью и формирования определённой языковой системы и моделей её реализации.

В научной литературе имеются данные по овладению фонетикой русского языка детьми. Одно из первых и, на наш взгляд, наиболее полных исследований – это работа А. Н. Гвоздева «От первых слов до первого класса», в которой автор анализирует освоение консонантизма и вокализма русского языка на основе дневника речи своего сына Жени, с 1 года 8 месяцев и 14 дней [Гвоздев, 1981]. В 2008 году появилось интересное исследование М. Б. Елисеевой «Фонетическое и лексическое развитие ребёнка раннего возраста», где подробно изложены результаты лонгитюдного исследования речи Лизы, дочери автора, с момента её рождения. Особое внимание автор уделяет речи ребёнка до двух лет [Елисеева, 2008 а].

Как отмечают исследователи [Гвоздев, 1981 ; Елисеева, 2008 б], характерной особенностью становления звуков на начальном этапе является неустойчивость артикуляции при их произношении. Даже в одном слове, произнесённом несколько раз подряд, на месте одного звука могут быть представлены несколько звуковых вариантов. Трудно поспорить и с тем, что усвоение согласных и гласных находится в зависимости от артикуляционных особенностей звуков. Большинство звуков формируется правильно не сразу, а постепенно, через переходные звуки.



В связи с этим, большое значение имеет изучение так называемых «переходных» звуков. Этот процесс сложный, но, благодаря изучению детской речи, в большинстве случаев предсказуемый. По мнению А. Н. Гвоздева [Гвоздев, 1981], отсутствующие в речи звуки в процессе развития замещаются другими звуками, которые есть в распоряжении ребёнка. Замены одних согласных звуков другими основываются на артикуляционном родстве звуков, в первую очередь – на группировке их по месту образования, далее – по способу образования.

В своей работе ««Нормальные» ошибки в речи детей раннего возраста» М. Б. Елисеева приводит данные по нарушениям, характерным для нормального развития речи детей [Елисеева, 2008 б]: для возраста от 2 до 3 лет характерны и допустимы: слоговая элизия (до 2,6 лет); ассимиляция, пропуск отдельных согласных, упрощение многих стечений согласных, замена гласного *ы* (до 3 лет); замена *ц, ч, ш, ж, щ, р, р', л, л'*, всех или части этих согласных (к 3 годам); метатезис (перестановка звуков или слогов в слове).

Приводятся следующие примеры типичных и нетипичных замен и случаев метатезиса [Елисеева, 2008 б]:

1) типичные: *рука – лука, йука; чай – тйй, сйй; шуба – сюба / суба; жук – зюк / зук; цирк – тийк; лук – йук;*

2) нетипичные замены согласных и гласных: *не хочу – ни фасу, хомячок – саматяк, гулять – гиять;*

3) метатезис: *зайка – казйй; петух – типух, пакетик – капетик.*

Большинство исследований фонетических характеристик речи ребёнка, как правило, выполнялись при помощи слухового анализа. Данных по акустическим характеристикам звуков в речи детей до сих пор немного. Акустическим и перцептивным характеристикам речи детей посвящены работы Е. Е. Ляксо, А. Д. Громовой, О. В. Фроловой, О. Д. Романовой, в которых анализируются как речевые особенности нормально развивающихся детей, так и детей с отклонениями [Громова, 2007 ; Распознавание..., 2016 ; Acoustic aspects..., 2005].

Безусловно, необходимо дополнять имеющиеся в литературе данные об изменении акустических свойств звуков в онтогенезе на новом материале. Кроме того, важно использование объективных методов исследования и при обнаружении звуковых замен и случаев элизии.

При изучении детской речи необходимо также принимать во внимание тот факт, что коммуникативная активность у ребёнка появляется в определённый возраст. От 1,8 до 2,6 лет происходит так называемый «речевой взрыв», который проявляется в нарастании словарного запаса и связан с появлением морфологии [Елисеева, 2008 б]. Как отмечает Е. О. Смирнова [Смирнова, 2016], давая характеристику периода раннего детства, третий год жизни характеризуется резко возрастающей речевой активностью ребёнка: дети способны слушать и понимать обращённую к ним речь, а также речь, которая к ним напрямую не обращена; они запоминают небольшие стихотворения и сказки, могут их воспроизвести; с ребёнком можно поговорить об его впечатлениях, абстрактных понятиях,

что означает, что речь начинает отделяться от наглядной ситуации и становится самостоятельным средством общения и мышления ребёнка.

В связи с этим, речь трёхлетних детей представляет особый научный интерес. Как правило, если ребёнок посещал дошкольное образовательное учреждение в возрасте до трёх лет, то он был определён в ясельную группу. Трёхлетних детей переводят в младшую группу. Данная коммуникативная среда отличается неоднородностью и, несомненно, оказывает самое прямое влияние на формирование речи ребёнка.

## 2. Материал и методика исследования

Материалом исследования послужила квазиспонтанная речь трёхлетней девочки Есени. На момент записи ей было ровно три года. В 2 года и 2 месяца она начала посещать ясельную группу детского дошкольного учреждения. Поэтому речь окружающих её людей относительно неоднородна. Это речь родственников, воспитателя из детского сада и детей-сверстников из ясельной группы. Часть материала была представлена стихотворениями, рассказами, а также монологами, обращёнными к родственникам и друзьям, в исполнении Есени. Другая часть материала была получена в ходе записи её речи при разговоре с мамой. Есения повторяла, зачастую со своими комментариями и интонациями, слова, произнесённые мамой. Общая длительность корпуса анализируемого материала составила 37 минут. Весь материал был сегментирован на слова. В качестве объекта исследования были взяты согласные.

Акустический анализ выполнялся при помощи программы компьютерной обработки речевого сигнала Praat [Boersma, 2016], в которой были получены динамические спектрограммы изучаемых явлений. Графическая обработка рисунков осуществлялась в редакторе свободного доступа GIMP [GNU..., 2016].

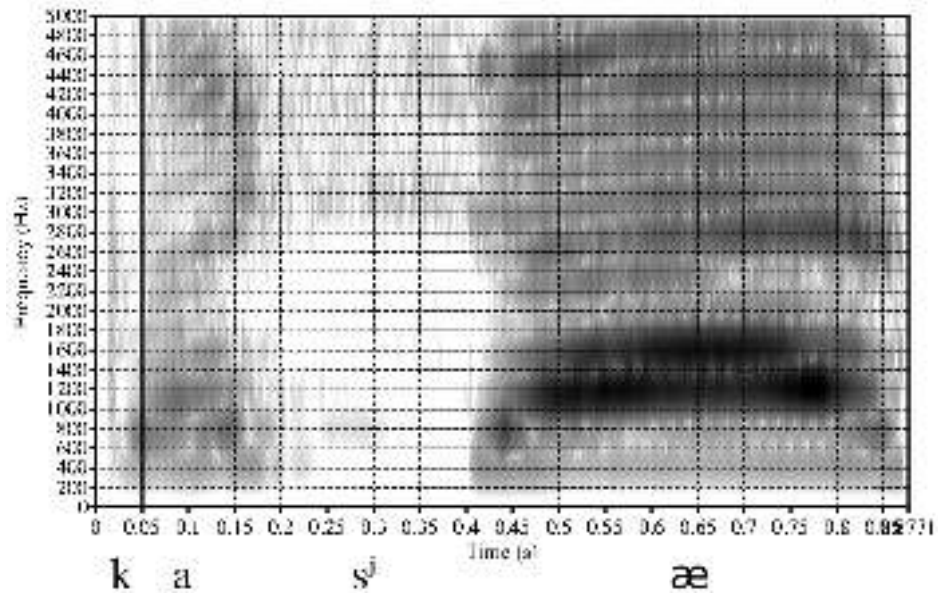
### 2.1. Обсуждение результатов исследования

Интерес представляли случаи выпадения согласных и их замены на другие согласные.

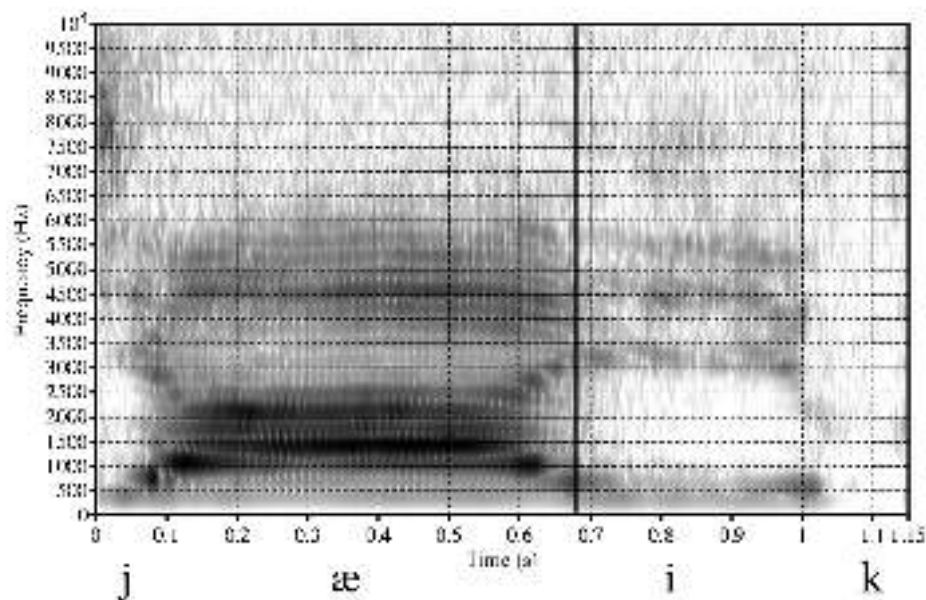
Почти на всём анализируемом материале фиксируется выпадение твёрдого переднеязычного альвеолярного дрожащего /r/. На рисунке 1 представлена спектрограмма части слова красавица, в котором отсутствует звук [r]. Выпадение в данном случае происходит в сочетании согласных /kr/. В словах *Ярик*, *коридоре* и других можно наблюдать выпадение мягкого вибранта /rʲ/ в интервокальной позиции. На рисунке 2 мы видим слово *Ярик*. Однако в позиции перед гласным заднего ряда /o/ вместо ожидаемого выпадения была зафиксирована замена согласного /r/ на среднеязычный /j/. Данная замена продемонстрирована на рисунке 3 в слове *верёвкой* (на спектрограмме – первые два слога).

Следует отметить, что такая же замена на среднеязычный /j/ зафиксирована для переднеязычного плавного латерального /l/ в интервокальной

позиции, например, в слове *целую*, представленном на рисунке 4 (метками слева и справа обозначена интересующая реализация).

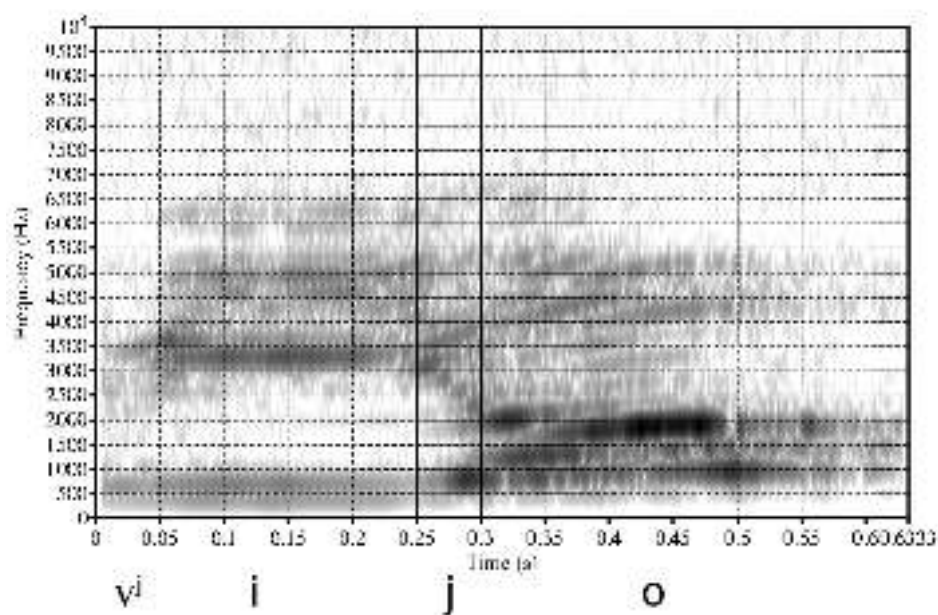
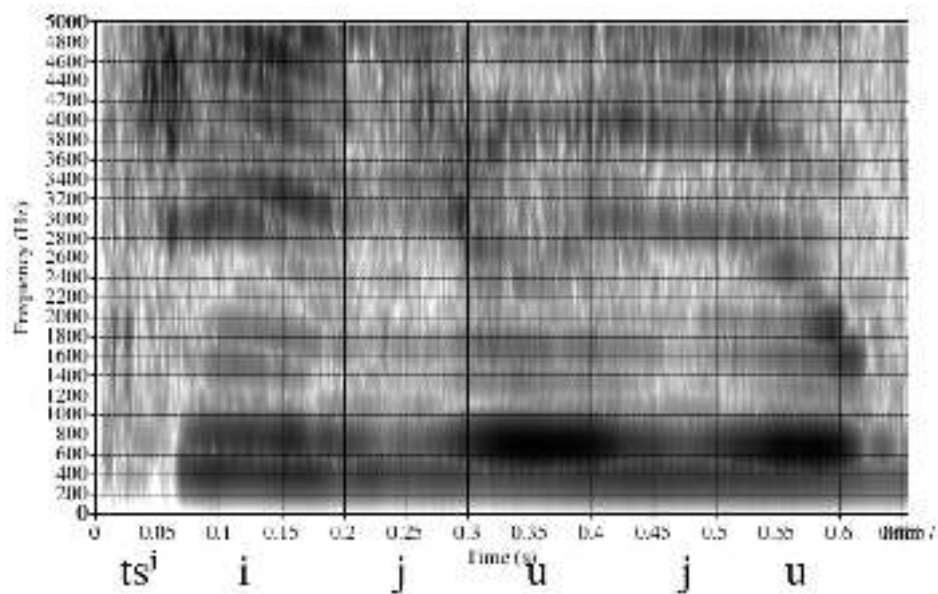


Р и с у н о к 1. Выпадение /r/ из слова *красавица*



Р и с у н о к 2. Выпадение /r/ в слове *Ярик*

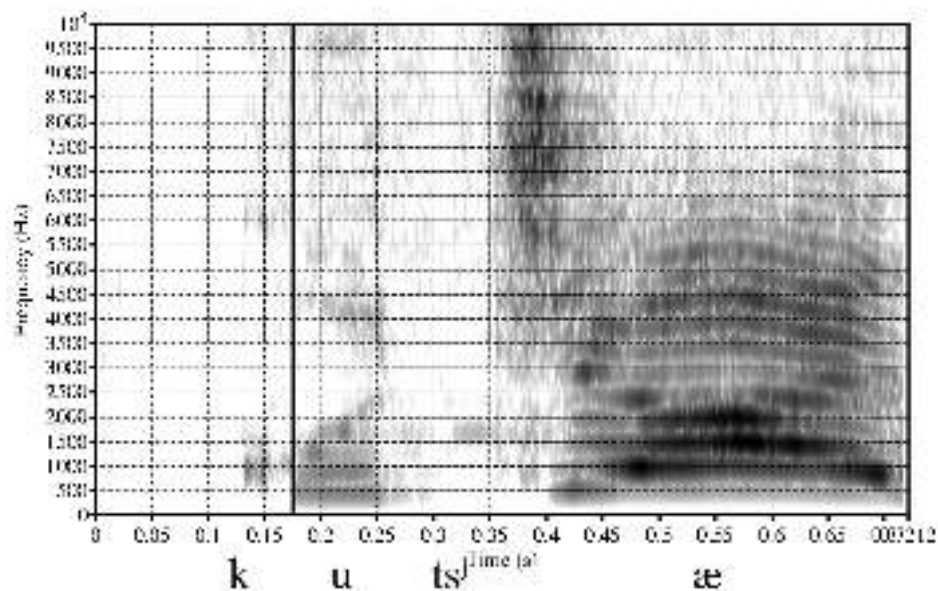


Р и с у н о к 3. Замена /r/ на /j/ в слове *верёвкой*Р и с у н о к 4. Замена /l/ на /j/ в слове *целую*

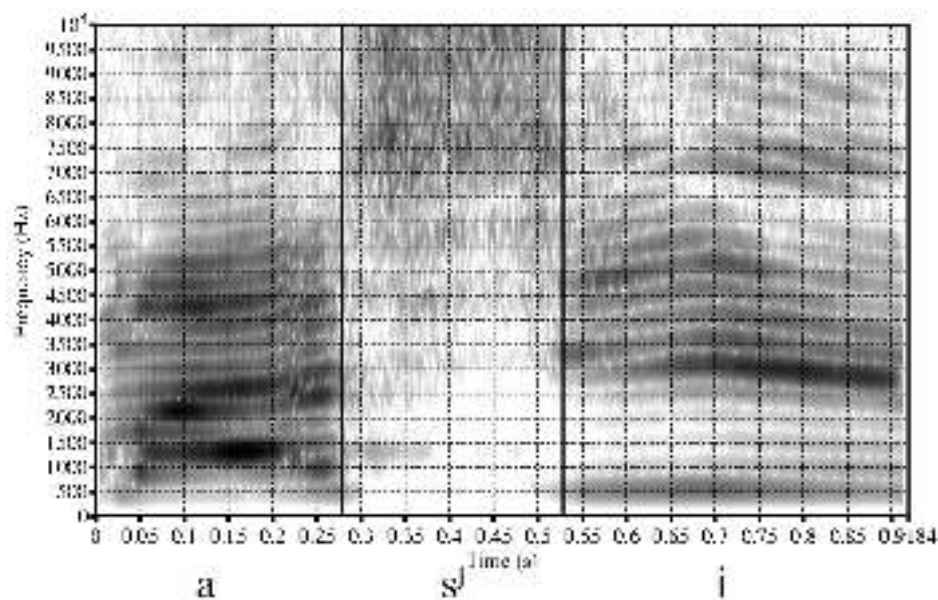
Как и у большинства детей этого возраста, в речи Есении отмечается упрощение групп согласных. В слове *скупаю*, на рисунке 5, из сочетания /sk/ пропускается согласный /k/. Как отмечает М. Б. Елисеева, начальные группы согласных сложнее для произнесения, нежели сочетание согласных в середине слова [Елисеева, 2008 б]. Однако в анализируемом материале отмечается упрощение и срединных групп согласных. На



рисунке 6 представлена часть слова *Максимка*, в котором не произнесён заднеязычный /k/ из сочетания /ks/.

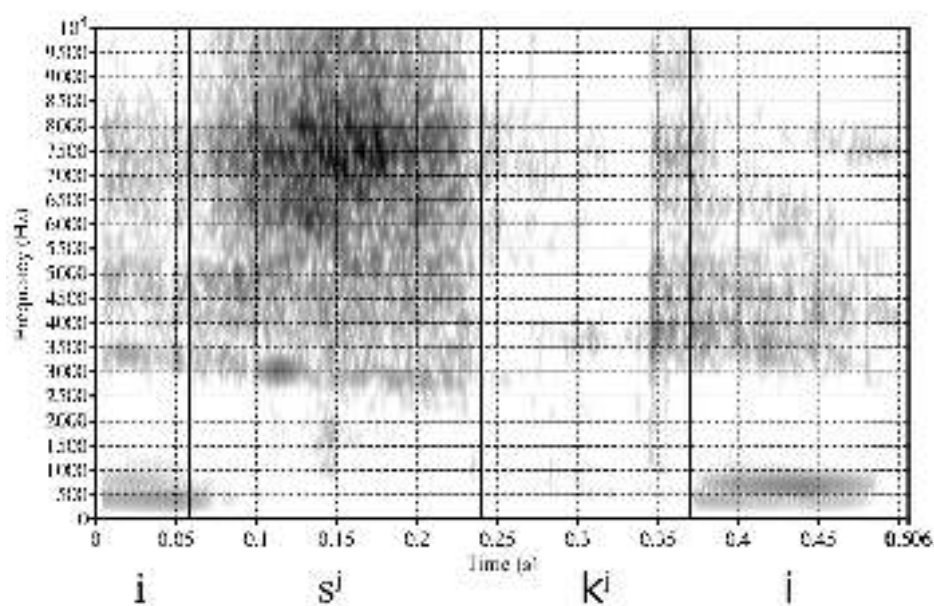


Р и с у н о к 5. Упрощение групп согласных в слове *скучаю*



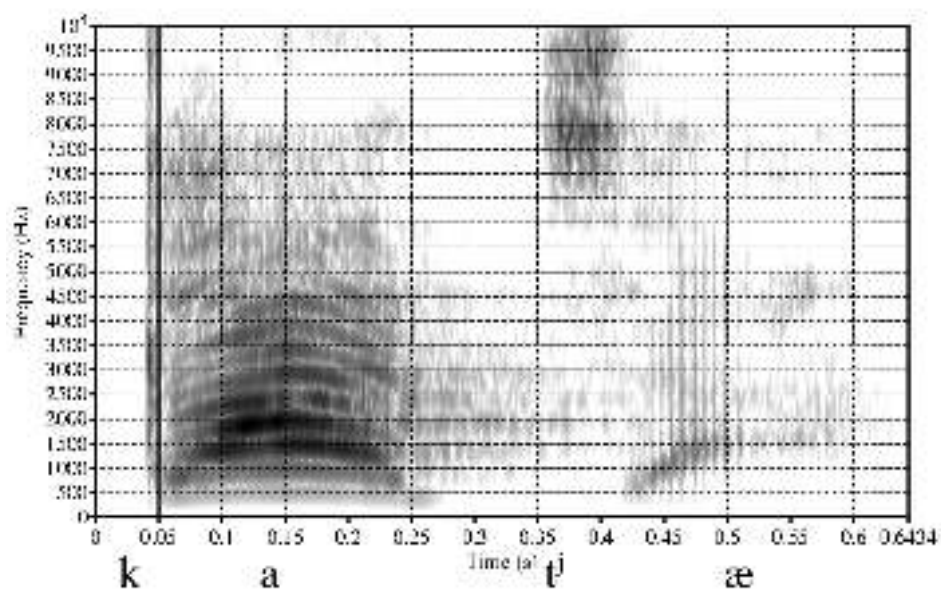
Р и с у н о к 6. Упрощение групп согласных в слове *Максимка*

Интересно, что для сочетания /sk/ встречается вариант его полного произнесения. На рисунке 7 представлена часть слова *сосиски* без упрощения группы согласных.



Р и с у н о к 7. Отсутствие упрощения согласных в слове *сосиски*

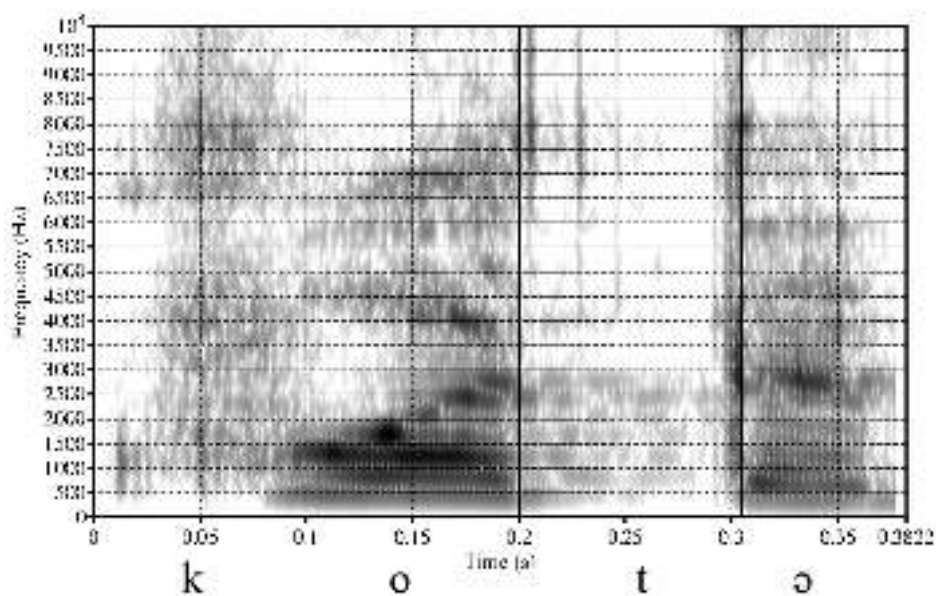
Следует отметить, что вне сочетания с другими согласными заднеязычный /к/ легко произносится и не заменяется. На рисунке 8 приведена спектрограмма слова *Катя* с нормативной реализацией данного согласного.



Р и с у н о к 8. Нормативная реализация согласного /к/ в слове *Катя*

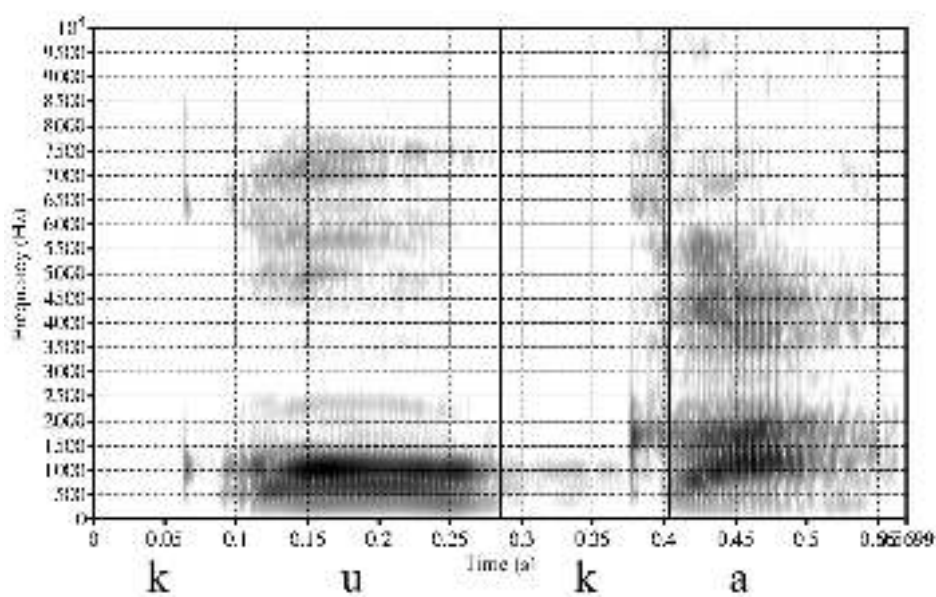
В сочетаниях /st/, /sp/, /sl/ также отмечаются случаи выпадения согласного, приводящие к упрощению указанных сочетаний – опускается

переднеязычный щелевой /s/. Данный процесс можно наблюдать в разных позициях в словах *косточки*, *мост*, *спать*, *слоненок* и других. На рисунке 9 представлена спектрограмма части слова *косточки*.



Р и с у н о к 9. Выпадение /s/ из слова *косточки*

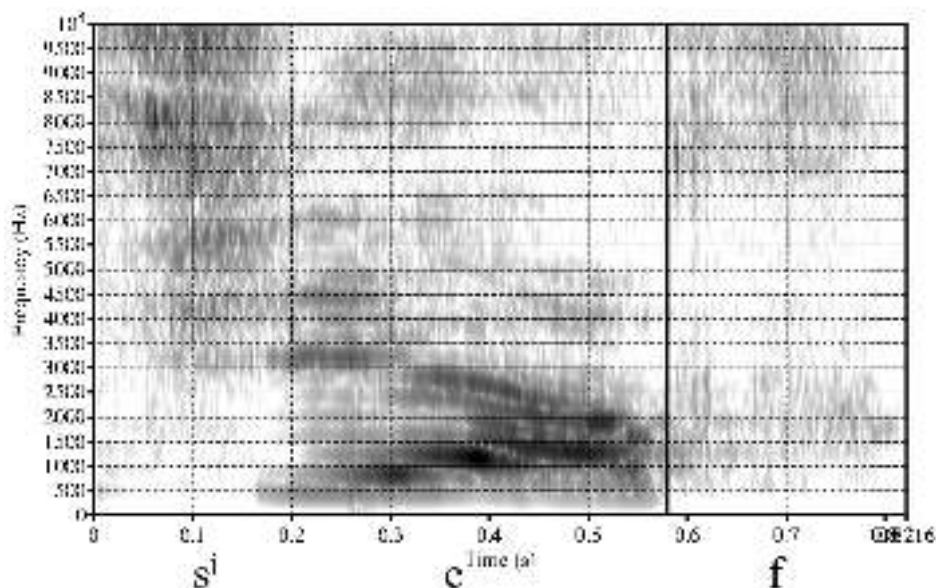
В сочетаниях /kl/, /pl/, /zl/, /ʃl/ и других с согласным /l/ опускается плавный латеральный /l/. Данный пропуск отмечается во всех позициях в слове. Элизия хорошо видна на спектрограмме слова *кукла* на рисунке 10.



Р и с у н о к 10. Элизия /l/ в слове *кукла*



Еще одной характерной чертой речи трёхлетнего ребенка являются замены звуков. Примечательно, что большинство замен носит вариантный характер, но есть и абсолютные замены, реализуемые всегда. В исследуемом материале была выявлена замена заднеязычного щелевого /h/ на губно-зубной щелевой [f]. Эта замена была отмечена во всех возможных комбинаторно-позиционных условиях. На рисунке 11 представлено слово *всех*, в котором мы видим замену [h] на [f] в позиции абсолютного конца слова.



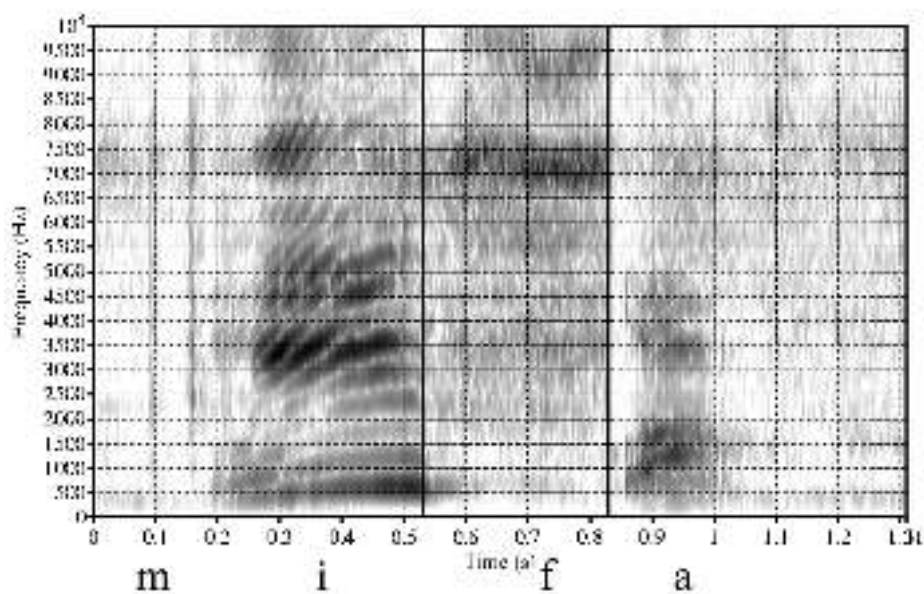
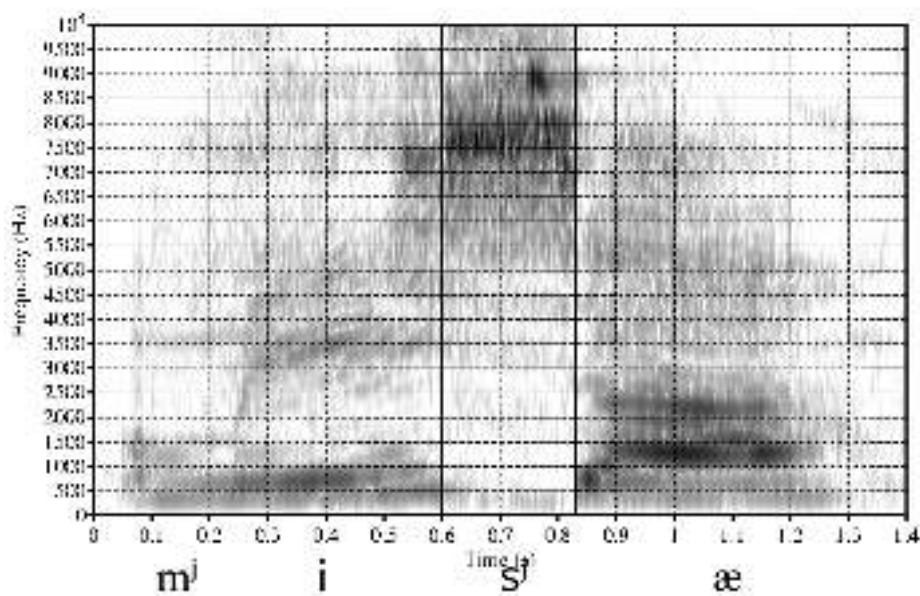
Р и с у н о к 11. Замена [h] на [f] в слове *всех*

Наличие вариантов можно назвать отличительной речевой тенденцией ребёнка. К трём годам возникает вариантность замен звуков в одних и тех же словах. Так, в словах *Миша*, *Мама*, *Саша* и подобных положенный /ʃ/ заменяется как на мягкий переднеязычный зубной /sʲ/, так и на губно-зубной щелевой /f/, в то время как ранее, особенно в возрасте двух лет, /ʃ/ заменялся только на /sʲ/. На рисунке 12 представлена спектрограмма слова *Миша*, где реализован щелевой /f/, а на рисунке 13 в этом же слове представлен мягкий переднеязычный зубной /sʲ/.

Ещё одна частотная замена – это реализация переднеязычного зубного /zʲ/ вместо переднеязычного нёбно-зубного /ʒ/. Примечательно, что имеет место различие в характеристиках данных звуков по пассивному (а не активному) органу и по твёрдости-мягкости. Здесь также прослеживается вариантность в заменах: второй вариант представлен заменой на /v/ (ср. рис. 14 и 15, на которых представлены две реализации одного и того же слова *лужа* с разными заменами согласных: на первом, по сравнению со вторым, заметно усилен высокочастотных фрикативный шум).

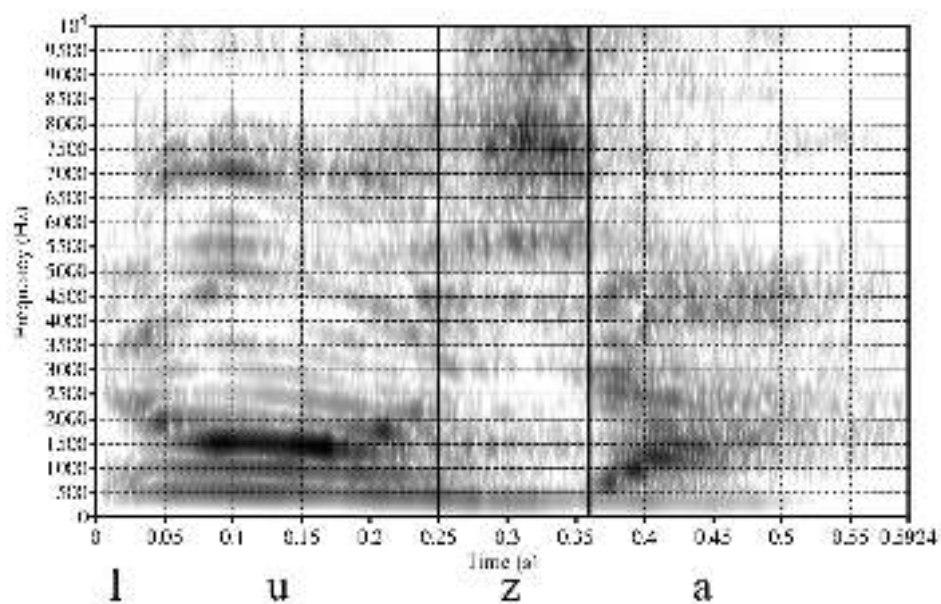
Учитывая данную тенденцию, можно предположить, что произнесение зубных звуков в трёхлетнем возрасте легче, чем нёбно-зубных.



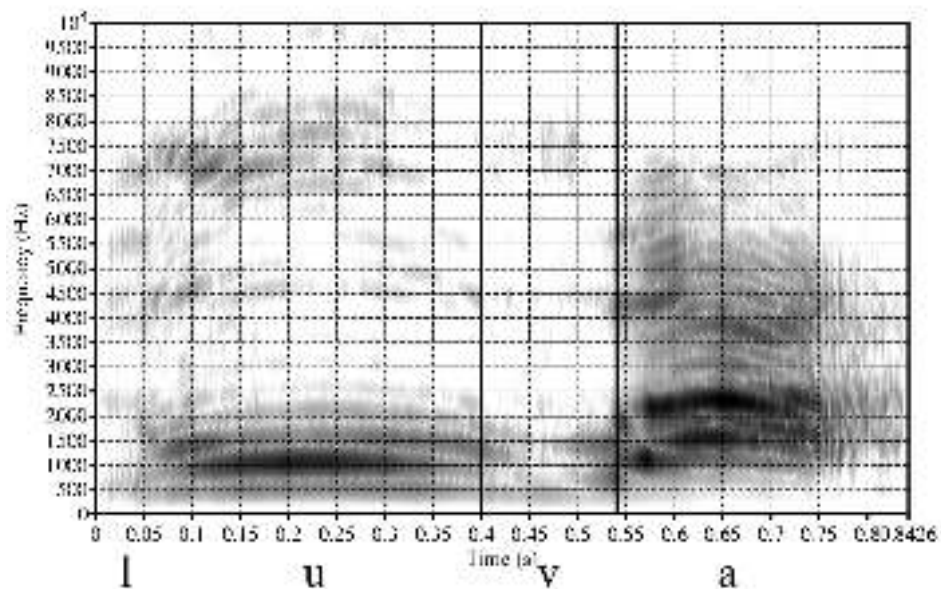
Р и с у н о к 12. Слово *Миша* с губно-зубным /f/Р и с у н о к 13. Слово *Миша* с мягким переднеязычным /sj/

Важной особенностью анализируемой речи в целом является систематическая замена твёрдых согласных мягкими как следствие характерной для детской речи палатализации. В описанном выше примере (см. рис. 7) зафиксирована замена переднеязычного щелевого /s/ на /sj/ в слове *сосиски*. В данном случае этому способствовало наличие последующего мягкого (регрессивная палатализация). Однако палатализация с заменой твёрдых

на мягкие имела место и без сопутствующих благоприятных факторов. В этом плане особый интерес представляет такая замена в позиции абсолютного конца слова, например, в слове *сейчас*.

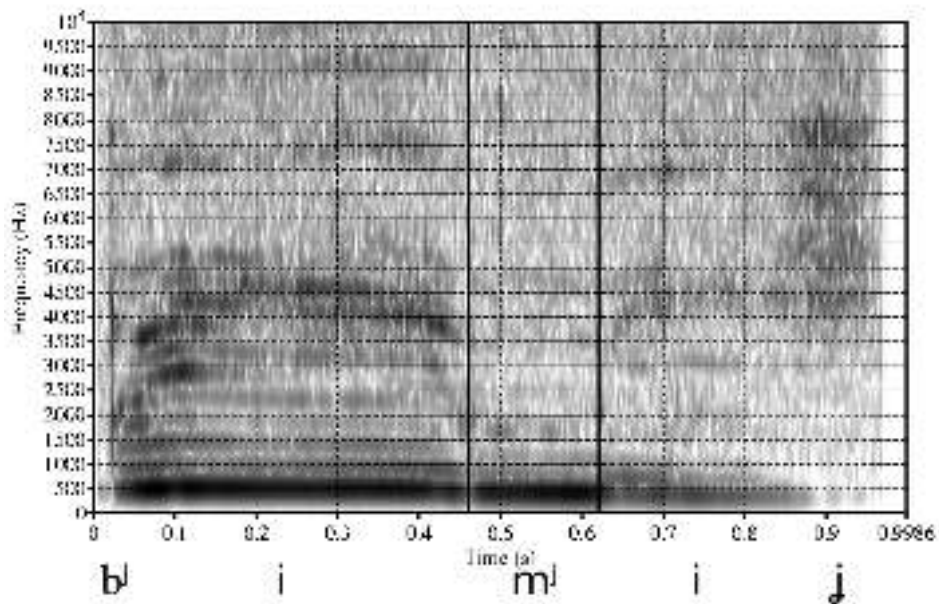


Р и с у н о к 14. Замена /з/ на /zi/ в слове *лужа*



Р и с у н о к 15. Замена /з/ на /v/ в слове *лужа*

Чаще всего палатализованными оказываются согласные /l/, /m/, /s/. При этом, последующий гласный может быть не только переднего ряда. На рисунке 16 представлена часть из слова *любимый*, где палатализован губной /m/ перед целевым гласным центрального ряда /i/. Вероятно, здесь имело место влияние предыдущего /i/, не характерное для речи взрослых: замена /i/ на /i/ с последующей палатализацией.



Р и с у н о к 16. Замена твёрдого носового сонанта /m/ на мягкий /mi/ в слове *любимый*

### 3. Выводы

Речь ребёнка трёх лет изобилует звуковыми вариантами и заменами. Ребёнок достаточно хорошо дифференцирует звуки родного языка, однако произнесение некоторых звуков до сих пор представляет сложность. Выявленные фонетические особенности речи не идут в разрез с данными литературных источников, но, несомненно, дополняют новыми фактами звукоупотреблений. Так, число замен звуков, существующих в речи на данный момент, в разы меньше возможных замен, указанных в научной литературе. Кроме того, в анализируемом материале не было зафиксировано случаев метатезиса.

Отмеченные в ходе акустического эксперимента особенности реализации согласных сводятся к следующим. Из всех одиночных согласных выпадению подвергались только твёрдый переднеязычный альвеолярный дрожащий /r/ и плавный латеральный /l/. Наиболее часто происходило упрощение групп согласных /sk/, /st/, /sp/, /sl/, /kl/, /fl/, /pl/, /zl/. Трудность произнесения некоторых звуков приводит к появлению в речи звуковых за-



мен и произносительных вариантов: /r/–/j/ только в позиции перед гласным заднего ряда /o/; /ʒ/–/v/, /ʒ/–/z/; /h/–/f/; /ʃ/–/s/, /ʃ/–/f/, а также постоянных замен твёрдых согласных на мягкие.

Согласно данным исследования речи одного ребёнка, разумеется, нельзя делать выводы о детской речи в определённый период взросления. В связи этим планируется исследовать акустические характеристики детской речи данной возрастной группы на более обширном материале.

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