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**ESSAYS
ON ENGLISH**



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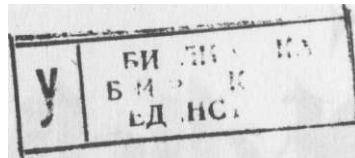
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FROM THE AUTHOR

This book has developed from my experience of reading lectures in English stylistics and although it is not a systematic presentation of the course, the reader will find here much of the material expected to be known by a student of the foreign languages institute.

At the same time it is not a mere echo of the current textbooks on the subject which are primarily oriented to the linguistic analysis of creative literature. The main aim of these essays is a different one — to show the reader that style is an indispensable quality of all uses of English, including informal communication, and that colloquial style is no less important than any other style of the language — a fact that is more than often overlooked.

INTRODUCTION

The General Concept of Style. Today the word *style* has a very broad meaning. We speak of style in architecture, painting, clothes, behaviour, work, and so on. In fact, style can be applied to any kind of human activity that may be performed in more than one way, and also to the result of such an activity. It should be pointed out, however, that our choice of different ways to achieve a goal is limited: all kinds of human activities and behaviour represent a complex interrelation of freedom and restrictions. The case has been put very clearly by R.Quirk: "... Our table-manners are part of our conformity to the social conventions of a community. So, too, in our choice of clothes: we do not think merely of keeping warm or cool, but of doing so within the conventions of our society. With our language habits also, then, we must always be sensitive to our environment and use the "accepted" forms of English, just as we eat and dress in the "accepted" ways". [85, p. 71].

Before we discuss the problem of style in language, let us consider the conception of clothing style. One's choice of clothes is governed by a set of codified rules, often unwritten, which range from categorical taboos and prescriptions to recommendations and licences allowed in typical social situations. On the beach a bathing-suit is both acceptable and recommendable; but it is hardly possible to wear it while strolling down the main street. Such restrictions are relative and changeable, and what is more, they differ from culture to culture.

K.A.Dolinin is quite right when maintaining that the costume is a socio-cultural sign indicative of the given culture, of a certain age, sex and social group and of the social situation [14, p. 8].

And yet within the codified clothing norms choice is always possible. It is more varied in women's clothes, less so in men's clothes and minimal in uniforms. If going to work a modern European woman may change into a dress or a skirt and a blouse, and a cardigan or jersey in cold weather. Her dress may be close-fitting, loose-fitting, sleeveless or with three-quarter length sleeves, trimmed with flounces, folds, pleats, lace, tape or embroidery. Her skirt may be straight or narrow, full, full-gathered, pleated, or it may have shoulder-straps, and so on. Men wear a pair of trousers and a jacket or a suit — two-piece or three-piece. English stock-brokers have their traditional clothes that are very close to uniforms — striped trousers, black coat, white collar, bowler hat. In other words, by selecting a particular set of clothes a person affirms his affinity to a certain clothing style which is part of individual and social symbolism lending itself to interpretation.

Social symbolism is a cultural mechanism based on the use of symbolic forms of behaviour aimed at regulating social relations. The acts of such behaviour are social symbols that express public relations. Any person, irrespective of his individual features constantly finds himself in some recurrent situations in which he cannot behave arbitrarily but has to play, as it were, a certain role, for example, that of a son (daughter), husband (wife), father (mother), student, teacher, chief (subordinate), and so on; there are also many incidental roles, such as customer, passenger, patient, client, etc.

Thus style in its most general sense is a specific characteristic of human activity arising as a result of choice, within the accepted norms, of a definite mode or manner of conducting this activity. Style is indicative of the actor's social role, of the social group to which he belongs or strives to belong, as well as of his individual features and psychological state.

This definition of style is formulated along the lines suggested by K.A.Dolinin [14, p. 16 – 17].

An important addition should be made to this in that style is a feature not only of human activities as such but also of the resultant artefacts — *objets d'art*, buildings, clothes, cars, verbal texts, etc. With reference to artefacts style presupposes the existence of objects which are essentially identical but which differ as to their form and appearance: "If somebody says: "The style of this church is Gothic (or baroque)", this pronouncement implies that there are other churches in the world beside the one under consideration, which are not Gothic or baroque, but are, nevertheless, churches." [60, p. 6]

Although the concept of style in language presents specific problems, most of the above considerations apply to it as well. To quote Quirk again, "Now, all of us at some time experienced a certain amount of doubt with food and dress: the sudden alarm as to how one manipulates asparagus or what to wear at that wretched garden-party today. Yet the total system of conventions for eating or dressing is triflingly simple as compared with the delicate complexity of the conventions in language. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that doubts can arise much more frequently (and letters appear in the press and questions set in examinations) about the choice of linguistic forms." [85, p. 71 – 72]

The Concept of Style in Language. Language is the main vehicle of human communication, and speech communication should be regarded as a specific kind of human activity. Stylistically relevant in this connection is the fact that the same thought, idea, belief, opinion, emotion, feeling or attitude of mind can be expressed in more than one way. This fact has been put very eloquently by A.E. Darbyshire: "If we want to tell someone the whereabouts of the main post office in a certain town we say that it is at the corner by the junction of London Road and Victoria Street. There is no need for me to state its exact latitude and longitude, or its map reference on different kinds of Ordnance Survey maps of Great Britain, or its distance from some object in the Isle of Skye, or to describe its location relative to one of the caissons of Sydney Harbour Bridge and the main entrance of the Royal Palace of the Emperor of Ethiopia. Nevertheless, all that information about the post office, and a great deal besides, could be given, and what is more, it could be given in a large number of kinds of ways — in prose in words of only one syllable, or in very elaborate prose of euphemistic elevation entertaining and embracing exclusively lexemes of latinate legacy, or in the technical terms of inshore navigation, uttered in the Scouser dialect and cast in the form of Keat's Ode to a Nightingale with an anagram of the name of an Italian film director in the second line of every stanza." [44, p. 161]

Ch.Peirce, "father" of semiotics, insistently stated that the meaning of any linguistic sign is its translation into some further, alternative sign, especially a sign "in which it is more fully developed." Dealing with the linguistic aspects of translation R.Jakobson suggested that we should distinguish three ways of interpreting a

verbal sign: it may be translated into other signs of the same language, into another language, or into another, nonverbal system of symbols: "These three kinds of translation are to be differently labelled:

1) Intralingual translation or rewording is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language.

2) Interlingual translation or translation proper is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language.

3) Intersemiotic translation or transmutation is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems". [64, p. 261]

In this book we are, naturally, concerned with the first kind of translation – rewording or paraphrase, that is, a restatement of a text or passage giving the same meaning in another form. The following amusing "linguistic anecdote" quoted by O. Jespersen exemplifies the conception of intralingual translation:

A young lady home from school was explaining: "Take an egg", she said, "and make a perforation in the base and a corresponding one in the apex. Then apply the lips to the aperture and by forcibly inhaling the breath the shell is entirely discharged of its contents". An old lady who was listening exclaimed: "It beats all how folks do things nowadays. When I was a gal they made a hole in each end and sucked." (quoted in [39, p. 50])

Here the schoolgirl and the old lady describe the same process but the former resorts to the stilted polysyllabic "latinate legacy" and elaborate syntax – both ridiculously inappropriate in conversation – and the latter uses simple monosyllabic Anglo-Saxon words and simple syntax: the difference between the two utterances is purely stylistic.

Linguistic humour often depends on intentional paraphrase, which, however, highlights the enormous language potential to draw upon when one wants to say the same thing in a different way. The well-known nursery rhyme "The House That Jack Built" ends, as we remember, thus: "... That worried the cat That killed the rat That ate the malt That lay in the house that Jack built." The story goes that an Englishman used to recite his own version of this as follows: "... that disturbed the equanimity of the domesticated feline mammal that exterminated the noxious rodent that masticated the farinaceous produce deposited in the domiciliary edifice erected by Master John". [54, p. 88]

British and American books on style and composition abound in examples of stylistic variations of that kind. Consider a random selection of them, each set of recordings: being arranged along the axis high-flown (or even pompous) – casual:

(1) King Charles was publicly decapitated.

King Charles was publicly beheaded.

They chopped off King Charles's head in the sight of anyone who cared to see it done.

(2) Indefatigable pursuit of knowledge induced somnolence in him.

Hard study made him sleepy.

(3) A vast concourse was assembled to witness ...

A great crowd came to see ...

(4) My beloved parent has joined the heavenly choir.

My dear father has passed away.

My father has died.

My old man has kicked the bucket.

(5) We hope to arrive at approximately four o'clock.

We'll be there about four.

We'll turn up fourish.

(6) Come in, won't you?

Come in, will you?

Please, come in.

Come in.

Get the hell in here.

It is readily apparent from the above examples that a natural language provides the speaker with stylistic variations due to its built-in redundancy. A better insight into the meaning of the term "language redundancy" may be gained if we view language in relation to information theory.

Style, Redundancy and Information Theory. Information theory may be regarded as a branch of the cybernetical theory of communication by signal. Communication or exchange of information plays a most important role in all phenomena of the world. It takes place when parents transmit hereditary characteristics to their offspring. The nervous system of a living organism is a system of collecting information and transmitting it to the centres that react to it. Human society would be impossible without a continuous exchange of information. Men communicate with one another in various ways. The most obvious are speech and writing. Human language (natural language) is the most powerful and elaborate of all means of communication: K.Marx defined language as the immediate actuality of thought, and V.I.Lenin called it the most important instrument of human intercourse. But there are many other ways: "Gestures with the hands, facial expressions, nods, winks, smiles; the ringing of bells or the sounding of horns, sirens or klaxons, the waving of flags; the flashing or changing colours of lights; the moving of pointers over dials; carving in wood or stone or the shaping of metal or plastic, or some other material; drawings, paintings, sketches, diagrams, still or moving pictures; the playing of musical instruments; singing, dancing, acting, miming, and so on." [44, p. 1]

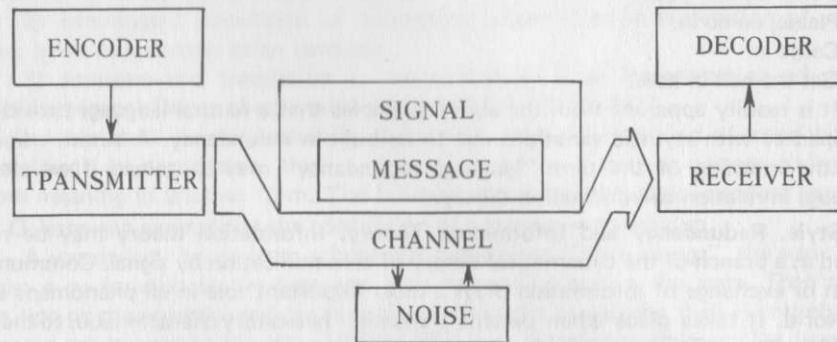
In its most general sense information is an imprint left by one object or phenomenon on another [2, p. 8]. Communication is an activity in which some information is transferred from one system to another by means of some physical embodiment.

Communication can be defined in a number of different ways and in a number of different situations, but it is probably more helpful to represent communication in the form of a model, therefore enabling us to visualize and analyze different aspects of the process. One of the difficulties in creating a model of a process is that we must freeze and isolate the elements involved. For instance, a diagram of the digestive process may illustrate the various organs or elements involved in digestion, but it cannot show the process in action. A model is also an abstraction, and simplification is inherent in abstracting. Despite their limitations, there are many ways to utilize models in a study of communication process.

Here we present a variant of the Shannon and Weaver Model¹.

¹C.Shannon and W.Weaver proposed one of the first information theory models. Shannon was an engineer and he was concerned with the accurate transmission of messages over the telephone. Weaver extended Shannon's concept to apply to all kinds of communication.

Every act of communication consists of six parts: (1) the encoding of the message, (2) its transmission, (3) its realization as a signal through (4) a channel, (5) its reception, (6) its decoding. This process can be illustrated by a diagram like the one below:



This diagram can be explained by our taking the simple case of one person talking to another — sending a message to another person by means of speech. The message is what the speaker wants to tell the listener. In order to be able to utter the message the speaker has first to select, from a large number of words available to him in the language he is using, those that will convey the message and not any other. This selection goes on in his brain and nervous system. When it is complete, he utters the words he has chosen. His vocal organs become the transmitter of the message, and the resulting sound-waves in the atmosphere make up the physical embodiment, or signal, by means of which the information that conveys the message is realised. The listener's organs of hearing become the receiver which picks up this signal and conveys it to the listener's brain where it is decoded [44, p. 2].

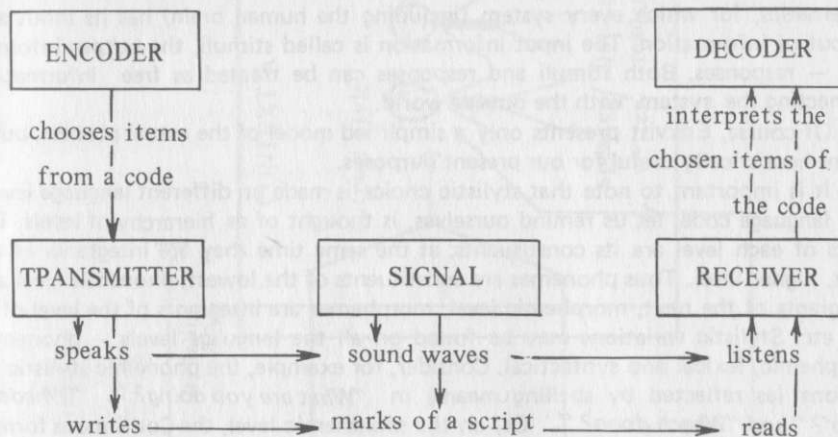
Messages are transferred by means of a communication channel, that is of something physical which can act as a vehicle to carry signals and also be a means of their organization and control: in a speech act the channel uses the sound-conducting properties of the air between the encoder's speech organs and the decoder's ear-drums; in a telephone conversation wires and electric pulses, among other things, are used in the channel; this book is also a communication channel in a sense.

In the case of natural languages messages are materialized in two kinds of transmission media, i.e. signals: in sound-waves in the atmosphere (phonic substance), and in the marks of writing or printing (graphic substance). On p. 9 see the diagram from [45, p. 14].

In terms of information theory language can be regarded as a code. The word *code* may be defined as a prearranged set of signs used for making signals, and the word *sign* may be defined as a discrete and measurable component of a signal that carries information. Linguistically speaking, a sign may be as small as a phoneme or as large as an epic. So it is convenient to think of a scale of signs ranging from the smallest units (phonemes) and then, progressively, to morphemes, words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs, etc.

A code must always have more than one sign and the encoder has to make a decision about which sign to use. The simplest kind of code is one that has only two

signs, — for example, ringing or not ringing, signs of a doorbell or a telephone bell. In this case the choice is a binary one (either/or). In very complicated codes, such as languages, with a very large number of signs the choice is much greater than a simple binary one. A.E.Darbyshire points out that no matter what is said in such codes,



more can always be said about the same topic, and there are always more than one way of saying it: "We can ... think of the number 5 as "three plus two" or "the square root of 25" or "a quarter of twenty" or "a twentieth of a hundred" or "three subtracted from eight", and so on indefinitely". [44, p. 10] Consequently, in language as a code there is always a potential, a stock of signs which could be used, instead of the signs actually used, to convey the same message. This feature of the language code may be termed as "redundancy". It is the redundancy of the language code that provides the opportunity of choice. The concept of choice in language needs, however, some elucidation.

Stylistic Choice in Language. N.E.Enkvist seems to be the first stylistician to formulate a new focus on the different kinds of choice in the language code: (1) choice by extralinguistic motivation, (2) grammatical choice and (3) stylistic choice [49, p. 15 – 16].

(1) The choice of signs from the language code is conditioned in the first place by the extralinguistic grounds of truth. It is the choice between *Peter and John in x loves Mary*, or between *drizzling and pouring in it was x*. Presumably the speaker will, on truth-conditional grounds, prefer one to the other. At this stage the choice involves neither grammar nor style.

(2) The grammatical choice presupposes the encoder's knowledge of grammatical rules. It is the choice between *Peter* and *to eat* in *x loves Mary*. **to eat loves Mary* is not English.

(3) The stylistic choice is the choice between *fine man* and *nice chap* in *he is a x*. This choice is stylistic because the variations *he is a fine man* and *he is a nice chap* may be referred to the same person, i.e. they communicate the same denotational information, but they are associated with different attitudes of the speaker to the subject of speech, with different social situations (*nice chap* being more informal), etc. Every utterance has, as N.E.Enkvist puts it, "a constellation of contexts" asso-

ciated with it as well as a style. There is no styleless language. "John is a boy" contrasts with the logician's "John is a young male human" and they are likely to appear in different contextual constellations, in different situational contexts [49, p. 32].

Consider the scheme on p. 11 with which Enkvist illustrates his idea of stylistic choice in language [49, p. 37]. The terms *input* and *output* are taken over from cybernetics, for which every system (including the human brain) has its input and output of information. The input information is called stimuli, the output information — responses. Both stimuli and responses can be treated as free information connecting the system with the outside world.

Of course, Enkvist presents only a simplified model of the actual process, but it seems heuristically useful for our present purposes.

It is important to note that stylistic choice is made on different language levels. The language code, let us remind ourselves, is thought of as hierarchy of levels. The units of each level are its constituents; at the same time they are integrants of the next, higher level. Thus phonemes are constituents of the lowest, phonemic level and integrants of the next, morphemic level; morphemes are integrants of the level of lexis, etc. Stylistic variations may be found on all the language levels — phonemic, morphemic, lexical and syntactical. Consider, for example, the phonemic stylistic variations (as reflected by spelling means) in "What are you doing?", "Whaddya doin'?" and "Whach doon?". Or, on the morphemic level, the Continuous form of the stative verbs is felt to be more emotive and personal than the Indefinite form. Consider the following dialogue from I. Shaw's *Rich Man, Poor Man*:

"I want you to promise you will never touch her again. In this house or anywhere else."

"I'm not promising anything," Thomas said.

"I'm being kind," Uncle Harold said. "I am being delicate. I am speaking quietly, like a reasonable and forgiving man, Tommy. ... Ach, I can't find the words, Tommy."

On the level of syntax the absolute construction is a stylistic synonym of the subordinate clauses of time or cause due to its distinctly formal character. Cf. "As the bus was very crowded, John had to stand" and "The bus being very crowded, John had to stand". Examples of that kind may be easily multiplied.

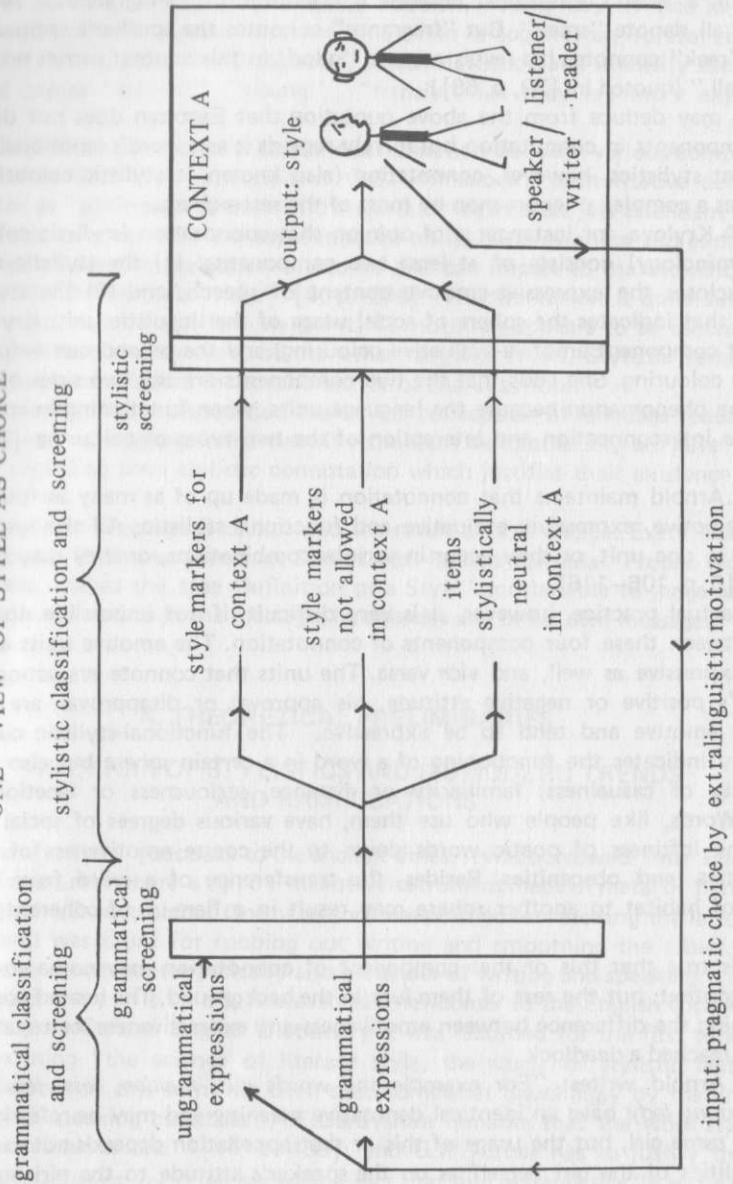
The concepts of language redundancy, stylistic choice and variation are closely linked with the semantic distinction between denotation and connotation.

Denotation and Connotation. I.V. Arnold points out that the information encoded in messages may be of two types: (1) the primary, basic information, the subject of the message, and (2) the secondary information, associated with the situation of discourse and its participants [5, p. 7–8].

The difference between these two types of information is most obvious on the lexical level: words may have, apart from their basic conceptual meaning — *d e n o t a t i o n*, — various additional co-meanings collectively known as *c o n n o t a t i o n*. Denotation conveys the information of the first type, connotation — of the second type.

R.M. Eastman explains the difference between denotation and connotation in the following way: "You might speak of the "fragrance" of a certain perfume if you liked it, of its "reek" if you didn't, or simply "odor" if you didn't care. These va-

ONE VIEW OF STYLE AS CHOICE



riants illustrate the principle that words refer not only to things but to the user's own feelings (and the feelings he wishes his audience to share).

The common term for a word's objective reference is denotation. The common term for a word's emotional content is connotation. "Fragrance", "reek", and "odor" all denote "smell". But "fragrance" connotes the speaker's approval of the smell, "reek" connotes his revulsion, and "odor" in this context carries no connotation at all." (quoted in [79, p. 66])

We may deduce from the above quotation that Eastman does not distinguish any components in connotation but merely regards it as a word's emotional content. In Soviet stylistics, however, connotation (also known as stylistic colouring) is regarded as a complex phenomenon by most of the researchers.

O.A.Krylova, for instance, is of opinion that connotation (stylistic colouring in her terminology) consists of at least two components: (1) the stylistic colouring that discloses the expressive-emotive content of speech, and (2) the stylistic colouring that indicates the sphere of social usage of the linguistic unit. Krylova calls the first component emotive-evaluative colouring, and the second one — functional-stylistic colouring. She adds that the two components are the two sides of one and the same phenomenon because the language units, when functioning in speech, display the interconnection and interaction of the two types of colouring [21, p. 70, 78].

I.V.Arnold maintains that connotation is made up of as many as four components: emotive, expressive, evaluative and functional-stylistic. All the four may be present in one unit, or they occur in various combinations, or they may be totally absent [5, p. 106—116].

In actual practice, however, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to discriminate between these four components of connotation. The emotive units are meant to be expressive as well, and vice versa. The units that connote evaluation, i.e. the speaker's positive or negative attitude, his approval or disapproval, are simultaneously emotive and tend to be expressive. The functional-stylistic component not only indicates the functioning of a word in a certain sphere but also connotes solemnity or casualness, familiarity or distance, seriousness or facetiousness or irony. Words, like people who use them, have various degrees of social prestige, from the loftiness of poetic words down to the coarse emotiveness of degraded profanities and obscenities. Besides, the transference of a word from its usual sphere of habitat to another sphere may result in a flare-up of adherent connotations.

It is true that this or that component of connotation may come to the fore in the context, but the rest of them lurk in the background. The heated controversy concerning the difference between emotiveness and expressiveness seems, at present, to have reached a deadlock.

I.V.Arnold writes: "For example the words *girl*, *maiden*, *lass*, *lassie*, *chick*, *baby*, *young lady* have an identical denotative meaning and may be referring to one and the same girl, but the usage of this or that appellation depends not so much on the qualities of the girl herself as on the speaker's attitude to the girl and on the social situation." [5, p. 8]

The first word, *girl*, is used in any sphere of discourse and carries no connotation, it is stylistically neutral. *Maiden* is an archaic and poetic word and has therefore a lofty ring about it; its usage as such is very limited and, if transferred to the

sphere of informal discourse, it acquires a facetious or ironical connotation. *Lass* and *lassie* come from the Scottish dialect and have a rustic colouring; they are terms of endearment and connote affection. *Chick* and *baby* belong to informal English and connote intimacy, familiarity, emotion. *Young lady*, if used in formal conversation, connotes a social distance, but often it acquires an ironical ring. Besides, *lass(ie)*, *chick*, *baby* imply approval, positive attitude and intensify the purely conceptual senses "human", "young", "female", i.e. they are more expressive than *girl*.

The difficulties connected with the discrimination between various components of connotation find their reflection in O.S.Akhmanova's authoritative definition of the latter as "additional content of the word (or expression), its attendant semantic or stylistic nuances that are superimposed on its basic meaning and express various expressive-emotive-evaluative overtones and can impart to the utterance a solemn, playful, familiar, etc. ring." [6, p. 204] This definition is quite sufficient for the present time except for one point. Connotation appears to be inherent not only in words but also in units of the other language levels. Stylistic variation is observable in pronunciation, in morphemic forms and in syntax.

The conception of connotation makes the conception of language redundancy more exact in that language units even if redundant denotationally are never redundant with regard to their stylistic connotation which justifies their existence in the language system.

Thus style in language is choice and the result of this choice. Every learner of English should remember Jonathan Swift's well-known formula "Proper Words in proper Places, makes the true Definition of a Style" and be able to judge whether this dictum is adhered to in the messages he decodes and in his own messages.

A. THEORETICAL PRELIMINARIES

THE ORIGIN OF STYLISTICS AND ITS MODERN TRENDS AND RAMIFICATIONS

The word *style* goes back to the ancient times. It was borrowed into European languages from Latin where *stylus* meant an instrument made of metal or bone used for writing on waxed tablets. One of its ends was pointed for incising the letters and the other end was blunt for rubbing out writing and smoothing the tablet. Later *stylus* came to denote metonymically also a manner of writing and speaking.

The word *stylistics*, however, is a newcomer to the English vocabulary: according to the Oxford English Dictionary it was recorded for the first time only in 1882 meaning "the science of literary style, the study of stylistic features". Until quite recently this term has been used somewhat unwillingly by the linguists of the English-speaking countries. A.E.Darbyshire remarks that the word *stylistics* "is not a euphonious one" [44, p. 159], and G.W.Turner has to justify the title of his book, *Stylistics*, by referring to the fact that though *stylistics* "is not a stylish word, ... it is well connected. The French write of *la stylistique*; the Germans discuss *die Stylistik*". [100, p. 8]

Anyhow, nowadays the term *stylistics* is rapidly gaining currency in denoting that part of linguistics which concentrates on the study of style in language. It has

a useful derivative *stylistician* for one who makes a scientific and methodical study of the principles of style. The stylistician is thus distinct from the *stylist* who is a writer or speaker skilled in a literary style.

Stylistics is the most direct heir of *rhetoric*, the art of composition and delivery of speeches.

The birth of rhetoric as a specific discipline is the first indication of a reflection on language. It is first attested in Sicily in the 5th c.B.C. A legend relates that Hieron, at that time tyrannical ruler of Syracuse, had forbidden his subjects to speak. Thus made conscious of the importance of speech, the Sicilians created rhetoric. They began to study language, not as a tongue, but as discourse. At the outset rhetoric was above all a technique intended to allow its possessor to achieve, within a discursive situation, the desired goal. Thus it had a pragmatic character: to convince the interlocutor of the rightness of a cause. But in order to make effective use of discourse, one must be well acquainted with its properties. Rhetoric included several components, among them, *elocutio*: choice and disposition of words in sentences and detailed organization [48, p. 73 — 74].

During the twenty subsequent centuries, rhetoric has undergone several essential modifications and now finds itself reduced to *elocutio*, or the art of style. It disappeared from education as an obligatory discipline, and its categories and subdivisions began to be forgotten.

In our day a certain renewal of interest can be observed in regard to the definition of rhetorical figures. This renewal originates, however, more in contemporary linguistics than in the old rhetoric. Today stylistics is reconsidering, in a different perspective, the problems that formerly constituted the object of rhetoric.

The Russian scholars' teaching about the stylistic potential of discourse originated in the remote past. The first attempts to evaluate and interpret the expressive potential of the Russian language date back to the 16th — 17th centuries. In the 18th century M.V. Lomonosov developed the concept of the functional varieties of language in his theory of three styles — low, middle and elevated. The everyday, colloquial type of speech was called the *low style*; the bookish, Slavonic discourse was called the *elevated style*, while the transient phenomenon from the elevated to the colloquial was called the *middle style*. Lomonosov's three styles laid the foundation of the later studies of stylistic properties inherent in Russian and of how to use them. And although the chart of styles that can be presented today is much more complex, based as it is on knowledge of language provided by modern linguistics, it is nevertheless no different in its aim.

Modern stylistics was elaborated at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th as a direct opposition to the approach to style as the art of writing well, often supported by examples drawn from classical works (this approach, normative and didactic, continues to exist today under the name of *orthology*). It was C. Bally's *Stylistique* (1905)¹, the first work of its type, that rejected the approach presented above. In the first place it was descriptive, not normative; in the second place, it was not concerned with writers nor even with literature in general. Bally sought to develop a stylistics of the language, not of literary works. Starting

¹Bally, Charles (1865-1947), French linguist, disciple of F. de Saussure, author of works on general and French lexicology and stylistics, general linguistic theory. His *Traité de stylistique française* was translated into Russian in 1961.

from the idea that language expresses thought and feelings, he concluded that the expression of feelings constituted the proper object of stylistics.

Some ten years after Bally, the work of L. Spitzer¹, another initiator of modern stylistics, was inaugurated. Spitzer sought to establish a correlation between the stylistic properties of an artistic text and the psyche of the author. Buffon's celebrated formula, "Style is the man himself"² began a new life in Spitzer's work, although he was more interested in the world view of the writer than in the details of his biography. Spitzer remained attached to the analyses of works and never tried to establish the stylistic system of a language. This attitude (sometimes called *new stylistics*) has had many adherents since Spitzer's day.

These two attitudes, originally represented by Bally and Spitzer, continue to be complete for the first place: linguistic stylistics versus literary stylistics, stylistics of the code versus stylistics of the message, stylistics of expression versus genetic stylistics, and so on. However, as O. Ducrot and Tz. Todorov justly maintain, the opposition is perhaps more apparent than real, or at least it can perhaps be reduced to that of a theory and its application. When the interaction of certain categories is shown to create the stylistic specificity of a text, these categories are borrowed from a (linguistic or rhetoric or stylistic) theory. Conversely, when the stylistic properties of a language are studied, it is no less necessary to base the study on concrete texts that illustrate these properties [48, p. 77].

Out of the numerous linguistic theories that have exercised a great deal of influence on the development of modern stylistics we have selected two, R. Jakobson's and M. Riffaterre's, for a detailed analysis. Our choice may be accounted for by two reasons: (1) the works of these authors in the original are neither readily accessible nor easy to understand, and (2) a critical assessment of them will, no doubt, facilitate further reading of theoretical literature devoted to stylistic problems.

R. JAKOBSON'S LANGUAGE FUNCTIONS

Another name closely associated with the development of modern stylistics is that of R. Jakobson. I. R. Galperin, a leading Soviet authority in stylistics, ranks Jakobson among those who have made a considerable contribution to his branch of linguistics and whose works are of everlasting value for understanding its problems and methods [11, p. 19]. This is a more surprising fact than it otherwise might be because Jakobson has never written of himself as a stylistician. In his works he does not even mention the word "style".

To understand Jakobson's influence on the course of stylistics, one should understand, among other things, his notions of the functions of language. Jakobson bases his account of the functions of language on what he considers to be 'the six constitutive factors of any speech event':

"The ADDRESSER sends a MESSAGE to the ADDRESSEE. To be operative the message requires a CONTEXT referred to ('referent' in another somewhat ambiguous nomenclature), seizable by the addressee, and either verbal or capable of

¹Spitzer, Leo (1880-1960), Austrian philologist, his basic works are devoted to the stylistics of Romance creative literature.

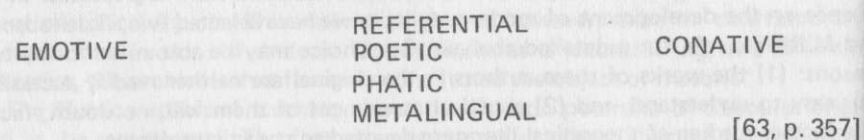
²Buffon, G. L. L. (1707-1788), a French naturalist.

being verbalized; a CODE fully, or at least partially, common to the addresser and addressee (or in other words, to the encoder and decoder of the message); and finally, a CONTACT, a physical channel and psychological connection between the addresser and the addressee, enabling both of them to enter and stay in communication. All these factors inalienably involved in verbal communication may be schematized as follows:



Each of these six factors determines a different function of language." [63, p. 353]

Jakobson claims that the function of an utterance depends on its 'orientation to' one or more of these six constitutive factors of the speech event. For instance an utterance's orientation towards the context would mean that it has a referential function. Similarly, an orientation towards the code of the utterance constitutes the metalinguistic function of that utterance. As a result, a parallel schema may be established of the six functions of language, each one denoting an orientation towards a particular factor of the speech event. Jakobson's schema of these functions is as follows:



[63, p. 357]

Let us consider the Jakobsonian functions (except the metalingual one which we leave out to simplify things).

The Emotive Function. Suppose your friend drops a large book on his foot. You, in the next room, hear him say "Ouch!" An act of communication has taken place. You might interpret his message as meaning: "I am experiencing mild pain, but note that his intention was not to deliver this message — he would have said "Ouch!" whether anyone was there or not. His "intention" was almost solely to give vent to his feelings. Jakobson says that this particular message has an "emotive" or "expressive" function, focused on the ADDRESSER, a direct expression of the speaker's attitude toward what he is speaking about. "... The purely emotive stratum of language is presented by the interjections". [63, p. 354]

W.E. Meyers explains Jakobson's **Phatic Function**¹ thus: "When I answer the telephone by saying "Hello", I am putting forth a message which primarily signals that the channel is in working order. What's more, for as long as you talk, you will not be able to see me; for all you know, I could be inattentive, asleep, or in the kitchen making a sandwich. To set your mind at ease, I will occasionally interject *oh, mmhmm, yes, I see*, and so on, to let you know that the channel continues to operate". [80, p. 520] Jakobson terms messages serving this function phatic communication.

The Conative Function is used to label the message expressing "orientation to

¹ Контактостанавливающая функция.

ward the ADDRESSEE. ... its purest grammatical expression in the vocative and imperative ...". [63, p. 355] Messages that influence, persuade, exhort or in any way recognize, the "other" serve this function. "Excuse me" is conative if it means not "Don't hold me responsible" but "Please get out of my way". There is a new branch of linguistics, pragmatic linguistics, that focuses its attention on the theory of speech influence on behaviour [20]. Advertising copies are a specimen of messages that are predominantly pragmatic. An example: "Think about this. And ask yourself — isn't it worth finding out more about it? Of course it is. And there is no time like the present — so get that pen now, and fill in the coupon right away. Or call in and talk things over at your nearest R.A.F. Careers Information Centre¹". [74, p. 76]

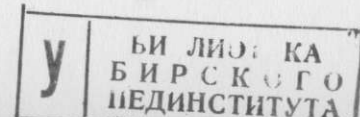
Orientation toward some fragment of the world (referent) — the basic aim of the vast majority of messages — explains the **Referential** (or: denotative, cognitive) **Function** of the language. Any scientific definition is a good specimen of this function: "The electron is a particle of very small mass and negative charge which forms part of an atom."

Finally, the use of language in such a way as to invite attention to the form of the message may be called the **Poetic Function**. In other words, it is the creative use of language resulting in the works of verbal art, such as poems, that themselves call attention to their forms: "the poetic function is the set toward the MESSAGE as such, focus on the message for its own sake." [63, p. 356] The meaning of this statement is not easily grasped. Do we not always focus on the message in communication? In what way is this "focus" different? And what does "for its own sake" mean? For the answers to these questions we will first have to turn to Jakobson's explanation of the empirical, linguistic criterion which distinguishes the poetic message:

"What is the empirical linguistic criterion of the poetic function? In particular, what is the indispensable feature inherent in any piece of poetry? To answer this question we must recall the two basic modes of arrangement used in verbal behaviour, selection and combination. ... The selection is produced on the base of equivalence, similarity and dissimilarity, synonymy and antonymy, while the combination, the build up of the sequence, is based on contiguity. The poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination. Equivalence is promoted to the constitutive device of the sequence." [63, p. 358]

This passage from the 'Linguistics and Poetics' is, according to T.J. Taylor, probably the most famous and influential paragraph in modern stylistics, and the sentence 'The poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination' is certainly the rallying cry for post-Bally structural stylistics [99, p. 54]. And yet, at first glance, it certainly could not be said to be self-explanatory. The conceptual background for this statement lies in the Saussurian notion of the paradigmatic and syntagmatic structures of language with which our reader is presumably familiar and to which Jakobson subscribes, seeing it as a general principle which underlies the structure of all language. Jakobson's theory of the paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of language structure is clearly and simply explained in Part 2 of *Fundamentals of Language*. In the second chapter he writes:

¹ Пункт по вербовке в британские ВВС.



"Any linguistic sign involves two modes of arrangement:

(1) **Combination.** Any sign is made up of constituent signs and/or occurs only in combination with other signs. This means that any linguistic unit at one and the same time serves as a context for simpler units and/or finds its own context in a more complex linguistic unit: combination and contexture are two faces of the same operation.

(2) **Selection.** A selection between alternatives implies the possibility of substituting one for the other, equivalent to the former in one respect and different from it in another. Actually, selection and substitution are two faces of the same operation." [62, p. 60]

T.J.Taylor interprets the above statement as follows: "It is important that we pay particular attention to Jakobson's notion of paradigmatic structure since it is this structure's organizing principle of equivalence which is 'projected into the axis of combinations' that is, into the syntagmatic sequence of the message, to create the set toward the message, i.e. the poetic function. In other words, the structure that is superimposed on the message — the surcodage of the stylistic structure — is in fact of the same type as the paradigmatic structure. This superimposed structure, like the structure of the paradigmatic axis, is formulated 'on the base of equivalence, similarity and dissimilarity, synonymity and antonymity'. Thus, in general, the Jakobsonian approach sees the empirical criterion of the poetic function of a message as the repetition, (whether total or partial) of sounds, of meanings, of complete signs, of intonation patterns, and so on. In this way, in addition to the normal relations between units in the sequence, that is, relations based on *in praesentia* contiguity, there is incorporated into the structure of the sequence a supplementary set of relations, based on the criterion of code-determined equivalence." [99, p. 54 – 55]

Such relations of equivalence which are, in the non-poetic message, *in absentia*, become *in praesentia* in the poetic message. This is not hard to see in such an example as the last stanza of Poe's 'The Raven' which, as noted by Jakobson, contains a great deal of alliteration [63, p. 371]: *And the Raven, never flitting, still is sitting, still is sitting On the pallid bust of Pallas just above my chamber door;*

The phonological equivalence of *flitting*, *sitting*, and *still* and of *pallid* and *pallas*, equivalences which themselves are not relevant to the determination of the linguistic meaning or referential function of the message, are here quite noticeable and attract attention to the linguistic constitution of the message. Moreover, when these relations — ordinary *in absentia* — appear *in praesentia* within the syntagmatic structure of the message, they influence the possible meanings of the latter. To quote T.J.Taylor again: "The Jakobsonian claims that because of this explicit presentation, in the sequence itself, of some code-determined relations between signs, the relations between other signs, ordinarily irrelevant, become more important in the poetic message. A little explicit similarity, in this sense, breeds more. It is not just the few obvious instances of alliteration, oxymoron, and metaphor that are foregrounded in the poem, but indeed all of the equivalences between signs: e.g. equivalence of gender, of tense, of part of speech, of distinctive-feature composition, etc. Any paradigmatic grammatical relation that a sign has with another sign acquires a potential relevance which it would not have in a non-poetic message. The poetic message becomes a hall of mirrors, with every sign reflecting its relation to other signs in the message, hence explicitly foregrounding its relationally-determined value in the code." [99, p. 57]

To sum up, according to R. Jakobson's theory, a message can be classified by the function it performs, i.e. to which factor in the act of communication the message primarily points. The following list can be read, then, "a message oriented toward the addresser has the emotive function", and so on:

Factor		Function
ADDRESSER		EMOTIVE
ADDRESSEE		CONATIVE
CONTACT	has	PHATIC
MESSAGE		POETIC
CONTEXT		REFERENTIAL

Jakobson's theory of language functions needs two more explanatory corollaries:

(1) The term *function* in linguistics derives from two different sources so that, in fact, there are two different types of language function. The Jakobsonian functions derive from biology. A biological function is the contribution of a part (an organ) to the maintenance (life-process) of the whole organism. Later on we shall use the term function in its mathematical sense (see below, p. 24).

(2) Although there are five basic functions of language we could hardly find verbal messages that would fulfil only one function. "The diversity lies not in a monopoly of some one of these several functions but in a different hierarchical order of functions. The verbal structure of a message depends primarily on the predominant function." [63, p. 353]

We may now see the attraction of the Jakobsonian approach in relation to stylistic theory. It proceeds from an account of the functions of language and relates these to the analysis of particular messages. Jakobson proposes a simple theory that is adaptable to the explanation of a variety of stylistic phenomena. By adopting Jakobson's approach to their discipline, stylisticians acquire a ready-made, workable methodology. Thus, for example, I.R. Galperin states, that to him Jakobson's formula for analysing creative works seems most fruitful (projection of the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination) because it is applicable not only to the study of a creative writer's individual style, but also to the typological characteristics of the functional styles of a language [11, p. 8].

M. RIFFATERRE'S STYLISTIC CONTEXT

For the American stylistician M. Riffaterre, a consideration of how the message is perceived by the addressee is a necessary pre-requisite for the formulation of a correct theory of the nature and function of style. With this argument, Riffaterre leads the functional perspective in stylistics, the perspective initiated by Bally and advanced by Jakobson, further into the domain of the psychological. This trend, affective stylistics, dominated literary stylistics in the West in the sixties and the seventies.

Style, according to Riffaterre, is an emphasis (expressive, affective or aesthetic) added to the information conveyed by the linguistic structure. Literary style, Riffaterre maintains, arises out of the author's preoccupation with surmounting the difficulties encountered in the communication of his message to the reader. In spoken communication, the speaker has at his disposal such communicational aids as eye-

contact, intonation, gesture, etc. Furthermore, many such situations will be two-party administered. The speaker may repeat himself if he suspects his interlocutor is not following, or he may directly ask his interlocutor if he understands. A variety of clues are available by which he may determine whether the message creates the response in the hearer's mind as intended. However, in written communication 'the writer has to do much more to get his message across' [88, p. 157]. The interactants are, for one thing, separated by space and time. Because of this situation the writer is unable to avail himself of conversational tools to ensure, to his own satisfaction, that his message is being subjectively perceived and interpreted according to his intentions. In other words, the increased distance between addresser and addressee renders the interactional dialectic of communication even more acute. Furthermore, Riffaterre insists, the goals of literary communication are different from those of mere communication. There are the complexities of expressive, affective, and aesthetic connotations to be transmitted. Both because of these increased demands and because of the limitations imposed by writing, the author is forced to turn to other methods to ensure the reception of his intended message.

Riffaterre claims that the primary obstacle that the writer must surmount, in order to communicate all that he intends, is what he calls 'minimal decoding' by the reader. Most of the time the decoding is effected elliptically, because the reader infers words from fragmentary spelling features, and reconstructs the whole of a sentence from the few words he actually perceives because of the fact that it is possible, from a part of a sequence, to predict with greater or lesser accuracy the succeeding features. But as the writer of literature attaches great importance to a correct reading of his message he must employ a specific verbal strategy to prevent such a 'minimal decoding' process by the reader. For Riffaterre, this is the function of style. Agreeing with Jakobson that a 'focus on the message as such' characterizes the poetic message, Riffaterre argues that this may only be achieved if the writer succeeds in overcoming the 'natural behaviour' of the reader by making him pay close attention to the message. Such an emphasis on the message can only be accomplished, Riffaterre claims, by a verbal strategy based on surprise. The writer must encode in his message — at the points where he deems it most important — 'unpredictable linguistic elements. Since it is the high predictability of the written message which permits 'minimal decoding' the only strategy to counteract this natural habit of readers is to make certain elements of the message unpredictable. Such a device will arrest his normal, elliptical reading and cause him to pay closer attention to the message:

"If he (the author) wants to be sure that they (his intentions regarding the interpretation of the message) are respected, he will have to control the decoding by encoding, at the points he deems important along the written chain, features that will be inescapable no matter how perfunctory the reception. And since predictability is what makes elliptical decoding sufficient for the reader, inescapable elements will have to be unpredictable." [88, p. 158]

A linguistic feature is seen by Riffaterre to be unpredictable only if it occurs in a linguistic context with which it contrasts: "We can ... define the stylistic context as a pattern broken by an unpredictable element (this contrasting factor being the SD — stylistic device). Style is not a string of SDs, but of binary oppositions whose poles (context/SD) cannot be separated." [89, p. 207] Contrast within context, the whole forms a stylistic unit which is only unpredictable due to the juxtaposition of the two parts. Riffaterre illustrates this with the following two examples:

(1) In A.Pope's *Rape of the Lock* we read: *Whether the Nymph shall stain her Honour, or her new Brocade, Or lose her Heart, or Necklace, at a Ball*. Here a rhetorical figure known as syllepsis is to be observed: the metaphorical meaning of the verb in the two contexts — *stain her honour, lose her heart* — makes the shift to its ordinary meaning unpredictable; this and the resulting forced parallels *honour/brocade, heart/necklace* impose maximal decoding [89, p. 210].

(2) In G.B.Shaw's *Preface to Getting Married* we read: *Poor Mr.Pecksniff ... is represented as a criminal instead of as a very typical English paterfamilias keeping a roof over the head of himself and his daughters*. The borrowing *paterfamilias* is unpredictable and herein lies the effect of the device, whose immediate constituents are very typical English. This effect is created by contrast with the context, which emphasizes ordinariness and its ridiculous side (proper name, cliché *keeping a roof over*) [89, p. 214].

Convergence is a term introduced by Riffaterre to denote the accumulation at a given point of several SDs, each SD adding its expressivity to that of the others, so that the effects of these SDs converge into one especially striking emphasis. To illustrate this, Riffaterre quotes a sentence from Melville's *Moby Dick* (this quotation is often mentioned and discussed in works on literary style):

And heaved and heaved, still unrestingly heaved the black sea, as if its vast tides were a conscience.

There is an accumulation of (1) an unusual word-order (predicate — subject); (2) the repetition of the verb; (3) the rhythm created by this ternary repetition (the rise and fall of the waves is "depicted" by this rhythm); (4) the intensive coordination by polysyndeton (*and ... and*), reinforcing the rhythm; (5) the metaphor emphasized by the unusual relationship of the concrete (*tides*) to the abstract (*conscience*) instead of the reverse [88, p. 172].

Now, the problem arises: how may one deal with the phenomenon of subjectivity — which, after all, determines what is and what is not a stylistic device — by an objective method of analysis? A crucial point here is that Riffaterre believes that an objective analysis is indeed possible. The following quotation outlines the general principles beneath what Riffaterre calls his "no smoke without fire" axiom:

"This interdependence between the stylistic device and its perception is, in short, so central to the problem that it seems to me we may use this perception to locate stylistic data in the literary discourse. Unfortunately taste changes and each reader has his prejudices. Our problem is to transform a fundamentally subjective reaction to style into an objective analytical tool, to find the constant (encoded potentialities) beneath the variety of judgements, in short to transform value judgements into judgements of existence. The way to do it is, I believe, simply to disregard totally the content of the value judgement and to treat the judgement as a signal only." [88, p. 762]

What he proposes is a synthesis which consists in taking as raw data the subjective responses of readers to particular messages but treating responses only as signals that those features to which they respond are stylistic devices. From that point onward linguistic analysis, guided by the knowledge of the perceptual processes of the reader, may continue the investigation. Furthermore, an advantage of such an approach is said to be that it takes into account that although the receiver's behaviour may be subjective and variable, it has an objective invariable cause.

To this end, Riffaterre created a methodological device, the average reader,

which he later came to call the *archilecteur*. Essentially the sum of the reactions to a text by a group of informants — including critics, translators, pundits, and poets alike — the *archilecteur* serves the function of sorting out the stylistic features of a message from the features with no such function. As such the average reader is a heuristic device or discovery procedure which, once having accomplished its task of locating the stylistic stimuli in a text, is then deemed to have exhausted its usefulness. It is used to locate the stylistic devices in a text; linguistic analysis has the task of explaining the structure of those devices. Riffaterre strongly opposes the widely spread idea that style is deviation from the language norm. This springs not only from the fact that the concept of language norm is fuzzy and not definable in rigid terms but also from its irrelevance. It is irrelevant because the reader bases his judgments (and the author his SDs) not on some ideal norm but on his own understanding of the accepted norm. On the other hand, each SD detected by the average reader has a concrete and stable background as its context. Riffaterre believes that the context poses as a norm of the literary work and that style is created by deviating from it¹. Thus Riffaterre seems to feel that the interaction of the two sets of binary oppositions — minimal versus maximal decoding and predictability versus unpredictability — represents the only way in which the structure of the message may affect the structure of the reading process.

Related to Riffaterre's stance on this question is his belief that the *stylistic function* (his name for Jakobson's 'poetic function') is much more influential in the use of language than Jakobson had imagined. Arguing that while the other four functions all have in common their orientation to a point outside the message (referent, addresser, addressee, or contact) the stylistic function is the only one centred on the message: "It seems therefore more satisfactory to say that communication is given structure by the five directional functions, and that its intensity (from expressiveness to verbal art) is regulated by the stylistic function." [90, p. 321] Riffaterre points out that both the emotive and conative functions, for example, work by drawing the attention of the reader to certain features of the message. This is accomplished by means of the message's stylistic function. That is, it is the message's structure of unpredictability within context that seems to focus the message on the addresser or addressee. Similarly, this 'regulatory' effect of the stylistic function is extended to the other functions of the message as well. For instance, 'even though a message may be ideally oriented towards the objective referent, its cognitive or denotative effectiveness depends on the effect of the sign on the addressee ...' [ib]

In other words, Riffaterre seems to see the stylistic function as the 'workhorse' of the message's function in communication. Whatever other function a message may have will depend on its stylistic function. For it is this function's linguistic structure, based on unpredictability, that draws the addressee's attention to those features of the message which indicate its 'directional' function. Otherwise, the 'directional' function would not be communicated to the reader since he would only be minimally decoding. Riffaterre supports this claim by pointing out that the message and the addressee are the only factors involved in (literary) communication whose presence is necessary. Thus the indication of a message's focus must be based on the interac-

¹It is interesting to note that the concept of the internal norm of a creative work as its context against which deviations are foregrounded was elaborated by B.A. Larin, an outstanding Soviet philologist in the twenties, long before Riffaterre [32, p. 288].

tion of these two factors. In this way, Riffaterre reduces the source of the communicational function of a message to its style. For Riffaterre, the communicational function of a message depends on the reader's response, and all such responses may be reduced to the perception of an unpredictable stimulus.

M. Riffaterre's views have exercised a good deal of influence on what is known as stylistics of literary works, although his formulations may be criticized on a number of counts.

First of all, he couched his reader-oriented theory in the language of behaviourism which underestimates human consciousness and treats humans as if they had no minds, that is, as if mental acts did not occur since they are not observable and are not available to analysis with the methods of empirical science. Instead, the behaviourist attempts to explain one set of observable actions in terms of another set of such actions, without resorting to the postulation of a mediating mental process [99, p. 86]. Hence come such of Riffaterre's conceptions as "reader's behaviour" and the illusory "average reader" or "archilecteur", among other things.

I. V. Arnold cites Riffaterre's claim that "stylistics studies those features of linguistic utterances that are intended to impose the encoder's way of thinking on the decoder" and comes to the conclusion that this definition is incomplete and lacks precision. First, because not only the way of thinking is being decoded, but also the emotive, human aspect. Secondly, the reader cannot and must not be simply a passive recipient of the writer's "way of thinking"; he should have his own value judgement and his world outlook may be formed in the process of polemics conducted with the author whose work is being read [3, p. 18].

Arnold also points out that Riffaterre's context theory does not take into account the whole of the literary text; the importance of unpredictability is overestimated: it is an important feature but not an indispensable one; besides this, the ability of stylistic context to create adherent emotional colouring is overlooked [4, p. 71].

The principles of the Leningrad school of decoding stylistics (see, for example, I. V. Arnold's well-known book [5]) which resorts to linguistic analysis to ensure a deeper understanding of the finest shades of thought and feeling in creative works, may be better grasped if compared to the two theories above.

B. STYLISTIC VARIETIES OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

R. Quirk adduces the following anecdote in his illuminating book *The Use of English*: "More than a century ago, Thomas Wade started off on the road to becoming one of the outstanding Chinese scholars of his time. He sought out the best-qualified man he could find and said, "please teach me Chinese." We may imagine his dismay at the reply: "Which Chinese is it you want to learn, sir? There is the Chinese of the ancient classics, the Chinese of official documents, the Chinese used in writing letters, and there is the spoken Chinese, of which there are many dialects. Now which Chinese is it that you want to learn?" [85, p. 31]. The situation with English is certainly analogous. In fact, there is not one single English, but many "Englishes" of which the learner should be aware.

At first let us discuss some relevant terms.

Idiolect. This is the total of a person's language that he knows and uses at any stage of his language development. The English language is a code no one ever masters completely. No individual is ever likely to know all the words in Oxford English Dictionary, certainly not be able to use even a small fraction of all possible combinations of them in sentences. There are as many idiolects as there are people, and one might say that idiolect is the way of using a language by the individual speaker. A.E. Darbyshire gives a pictorial description of how one acquires his idiolect: "... The individual normally learns his native language from those most intimately near him in the earliest years of his life. If he is English, most of his experiences of English will come from a variety of sources, ... from his mother's first endearments and nonsense, family prattle, chance noises of parents and relations and well-meaning or indifferent strangers, nursery rhymes, songs and hymns, prayers, rhyming games, children in the same street, greetings, stories, childhood myths, radio and television heard and half-heard, seen and half-seen, squabbles, fights, strip-cartoon balloons, comics, books, papers, hoardings, teachers, films, visits to the pantomimes or the circus, avuncular jokes, parties, games, the grandeurs, terrors and joys of childhood, dreams and adventures, triumphs and disasters, all the fabric of living, both what it gives and what he gives to it [44, p. 19-20].

Dialect. A dialect is a variety of language peculiar to specific geographical locations (territorial dialects). Sometimes the same term is used in reference to the words and expressions peculiar to special segments of the population (social dialects). A person's idiolect, from this point of view, develops from his place of origin, and usually from the social status of his family within that place.

Functional variety (style). In its most general sense the functional variety (style) of a language is a set of linguistic features that correlates with the nonverbal context of speech activity. The word "functional" is used here in the basic mathematical sense of a relation between two different sets of elements connected by a rule which assigns to each member of the first set, independent variable, a single member of the second set, the dependent variable: $y = f(x)$, where y is the dependent variable or function of x , the independent variable, and a change in the value of x produces a change in the value of y . In stylistic investigations the nonverbal (extralinguistic) context is typically the independent variable, and the linguistic features (style markers) the dependent variable [55, p. 103]. For example, there are many pairs of synonyms one member of which is thought to be suitable for private, informal situations, and the other one — for more formal occasions, i.e. the extralinguistic, sociophysical context affects the choice of the synonym. Says H.W. Fowler: "We tell our thoughts, like our children, to put on their hats and coats before they go out; the policeman who has *gone* to the scene of a disturbance will tell the magistrate that he *proceeded* there; a Minister of the Crown may *foresee* the advantages of his policy and *outline* it to his colleagues but in presenting it to Parliament he may *visualize* the first and *adumbrate* the second." [50, p. 208]

Thus this type of language function should not be confused with such language functions as the conative, the referential, etc., where the term function derives from biology (see p. 19).

Since our definition of functional variety includes the nonverbal context of speech activity, the concept of context needs some elaboration.

Context. In its most general sense the word "context" means the set of circumstances or facts that surround a particular event, situation, etc. Contextual relationships can be defined in many ways. Each text and each passage partakes of several contexts. Some of them are definable in formal, linguistic terms (intralinguistic contexts) others must be based on extralinguistic considerations (extralinguistic contexts). Contexts, then, must be defined on several levels, and contextual components can be further classified into various patterns. No wonder that we come across such terms as "verbal context", "cultural context", "pragmatic context", "stylistic context", and so on.

G.V. Kolshansky points out that at present there are two scientific concepts of context: (1) a broader one that includes all the factors accompanying verbal communication, from the concrete situation in which the communication takes place to cultural and social conditions that govern the whole semantic and lingual complex of the acts of communication, and (2) a narrower concept implying the linguistic context *per se* existing within the frame of purely linguistic embodiment of the components of communication and determined by a concrete language code and rules of forming the lexical and grammatical meanings of the act of communication [23, p. 38]. The intralinguistic context may be separated into grammatical (morphological and syntactical), lexical and stylistic (poetic) contexts. The first two kinds of intralinguistic context are the parts of a written or spoken chain that precede or follow a specific linguistic item removing its polysemy and homonymy or modifying its meaning. According to N.N. Amosova, context is the combination of a word with its indicator that is syntactically connected with it [31]. For example, in "Don't trouble trouble until trouble troubles you" the auxiliary *don't* is the morphemic indicator to the first *trouble* pointing out that it is a verb form in the Imperative Mood, while the position of the second *trouble* after the transitive verb indicates that it is an abstract noun in the function of a direct object, and so on. In this case we have dealt with grammatical context. In the word groups "knit stockings out of wool" and "knit bricks together" the words *stockings* and *bricks* are contextual indicators pointing out that *knit* is used in these groups in its two different meanings: (1) "make (an article of clothing, etc.) by looping wool, silk, etc. yarn on long needles" and (2) "unite firmly or closely". In this case the lexical context withdraws polysemy. In "We are faced with a host of difficulties" the context indicates that the word *host* meaning "a great number" is used and not its homonym meaning "person who entertains guests".

The concept of stylistic context was dealt with above, when discussing the theories of M. Riffaterre and I.V. Arnold (pp. 20 and 23). In our opinion, the term "poetic context" is more suitable for this concept since it is applicable exclusively to poetic (creative) texts. Besides, poetic context is more in keeping with the poetic function of language.

The extralinguistic context is everything non-linguistic which exists at the time of using the linguistic features for encoding a message and which affects their choice. This type of context is a complex aggregate involving many factors, among them the encoder's emotional state, his attitude to the subject of the message and to the decoder, the encoder-decoder relationship in terms of sex, age, familiarity, education, social status, common stock of experience; the theme and aim of discourse (cf. a scientific problem, systematic communication of facts in a message, canvassing for a candidate, commenting on a football match, appealing against a sentence, etc.); the

social situation (setting) of discourse, including the communication channel (cf. trunk-call, parliamentary debates, barbecue, antiwar demonstration, diplomatic reception, informal meeting, court proceedings, etc.).

In linguistic literature, along with "extralinguistic context", another word, "consituation", is used [18, 17], which seems to be a better term, first, because "it prompts the connection of the linguistic means with the situation that is relevant for their semantization" [18, p. 240] and secondly, because it enables us to avoid the unnecessary ambiguity of the term "context".

Thus, we shall use the term "context" to denote the correlation between textual segments with one another and the term "consituation" to denote the correlation of the message with the accompanying sociophysical situation.

Considerable controversy has for many years centred upon the concepts of functional varieties and functional styles. Let us consider various approaches to this problem in English and American linguistics as well as in the linguistic research of our country.

In England the name given to a variety of a language distinguished according to use is "register": "The category of "register" is needed when we want to account for what people do with their language. When we observe language activity in the various contexts in which it takes place, we find differences in the type of language selected as appropriate to different types of situation. There is no need to labour the point that a sports commentary, a church service and a school lesson are linguistically quite distinct.

It is not the event or state of affairs being talked about that determines the choice, but the convention that a certain kind of language is appropriate to a certain use. We should be surprised, for example, if it was announced on the carton of our toothpaste that the product was "just right for cleaning false teeth" instead of "ideal for cleansing artificial dentures".

Registers are not marginal or special varieties of language. Between them they cover the total range of our language activity. It is only by reference to the various situations, and situation types, in which language is used that we can understand its functioning and its effectiveness. Language is not realized in the abstract: it is realized as the activity of people in situations, as linguistic events which are manifested in a particular dialect and register.

It is by their formal properties that registers are defined. If two samples of language activity from what, on non-linguistic grounds, could be considered different situation types show no differences in grammar or lexis, they are assigned to one and the same register: for the purposes of the description of the language there is only one situation-type here, not two. For this reason a large amount of linguistic analysis is required before registers can be identified and described. It is one thing to make description of English, accounting, to a given degree of delicacy, for all the features found in some or other variety of the language. ... It is quite another thing to find out the special characteristics of a given register: to describe for example the language of consultations between doctor and patient in the surgery." [54, pp.87-90].

These excerpts are quoted from the book by M.A.K.Halliday, A.McIntosh and P.Strevens (1964) which is considered to be a pioneer work in the field of register investigations. In a later work (1972) G.Leech writes that in charting register distinctions the British linguists are concerned with many dimensions which may be placed under the following three headings:

Relation between participants. The sort of questions to be asked about participants are: How many people are participating in the act of communicating at either end? Are they known to one another well? a little? not at all? Is there any significant difference of social status between them? Register differences governed by such considerations can be called differences of STYLE OF DISCOURSE ("colloquial style", "impersonal style", "casual style").

Medium. How is the message transmitted from source to audience? Is it spoken or written? broadcast? printed? Register variations chiefly determined by factors of transmission can be called variations of MODE.

Social function. What part does the linguistic message play as a form of social activity? Different answers to this question will yield varieties of English defined by FUNCTION. Private roles include greeting, condolence, "being sociable", giving orders. Among public roles are literature, journalism, legal and scientific writing [74, p. 70].

Thus the concept of register is still under development. There seems to be no single underlying principle in distinguishing between various registers. Their classifications appear to be too fractional and sometimes conflicting. The correlation between style, mode and role is not clear. The theory of function is definitely neglected. However it should be remembered that register and style are not synonymous (this misconception is common enough) [28, p. 7].

In early American linguistic studies within the framework of traditional grammar, formal usage and the literary language were viewed, according to D.D.Bornstein, as superior [41, p. 331]. This attitude prevailed well into the twentieth century. By the 1940's, however, the findings of American linguistics laid the basis for more liberal attitudes. Some scholars began to recognize the many varieties of language and their legitimate function in different social situations.

One of the first educators to adopt this point of view was J.S.Kenyon. In his book published in 1949 he discusses the tendency to confuse cultural levels and registers. Cultural levels may be separated into the two classes of substandard and standard. On the other hand, functional varieties or styles, which do not depend on the cultural status of the users, range from the familiar to the formal; they include familiar conversation, familiar public address, formal platform or pulpit speech, public speaking, public worship, expository writing, formal literary prose, and poetry. The different functional varieties of language are equally good for their respective uses. Kenyon points out that the tendency to confuse cultural level and functional variety resulted in a misconception that colloquial language is something to be looked down upon [69].

The concept of functional variety was further developed by M.Joos, whose ideas are set forth in his monograph *The Five Clocks* (1961), in which he points out that linguistic usage is only part of the culture of a society and is in homeostatic¹ equilibrium with the rest of the culture. Functional variety allows homeostatic equilibrium to be established in different social situations. Joos identifies five varieties or styles: intimate, the private language of family conversation; casual used among friends and working teams; consultative, the norm for coming to terms with strangers; formal,

¹Homeostasis — the tendency of a system, especially the physiological system of higher animals, to maintain internal stability, owing to the coordinated response of its parts to any variation or stimulus tending to disrupt its normal condition or function.

used for lecturing; and frozen or literary, the style for print or declamation. Authoritarians, writes Joos, view only the formal and frozen styles as correct, whereas liberals recognize the entire linguistic spectrum [68].

Interest in the many varieties of English has resulted in serious studies of non-standard English. A great deal of work has been done by the sociologist W. Labov. In *The Study of Nonstandard English* (1969), he points out that nonstandard dialects are self-contained systems that follow their own sets of rules.

Labov has found that Kenyon's distinction between cultural levels and functional varieties of English actually does not hold up. Style and class stratification of language are not independent. The same variables that are used in style shift also distinguish cultural or social levels of English. This is true for phonological variables such as pronunciation of *th*, *-ing* and *r*, and for grammatical variables such as pronominal apposition (*My mother, she works here*), the double negative (*He is going nowhere*), and the use of *ain't*. There is social stratification for each level of style, from casual to formal, but each group uses the same linguistic features. It shows regular style shifting in the same direction. Most people are not aware of this style shifting but tend to vary their speech unconsciously according to the social situation [72].

The ability to vary style and to recognize the social value of different forms is part of an individual's competence, just as much as is knowledge of rules of grammar. Rules of appropriateness, conceptions of self and of others, meanings associated with particular forms and with the act of speaking, and knowledge of contexts are brought to bear on speech, — this is the conclusion at which D. Hymes, another American sociolinguist, has arrived [59].

Thus it is typical of American linguistics to approach the problems of functional language varieties from the point of view of sociolinguistics.

In Soviet linguistics the concept of functional styles has been under extensive development since the middle 1950s and today "the description of functional styles is a leading trend of stylistic investigations in our country". [31, p. 7] V.V. Vinogradov's teaching about styles has, no doubt, exercised a great deal of influence on the subsequent development of functional stylistics. His understanding of the concept of style is reflected in I.R. Galperin's concise and clear definition: "A functional style of language is a system of language means which serves a definite aim of communication." [53, p. 32-33] As it may be inferred from this definition, I.R. Galperin believes that the functional style (hereafter FS) is a phenomenon belonging to the language code (language-as-a-system, in his terminology).

But there is a diametrically opposite stance: M.N. Kozhina is convinced that functional styles are not discernible in the structure of language but belong to speech only: "... style arises and can exist only in the process of its functioning, that is, in speech." [31, p. 194] Foreseeing probably a possible objection "How, in this case, does the average listener/reader perceive style as the quality of speech in the same or similar way the speaker/writer does?" Kozhina has to introduce into Saussurian dichotomy a third member, system in speech: "By the system character of speech we mean the interconnection and interconditioning of language means both on the horizontal and the vertical planes due to the fact that they carry a definite communicative message in this or that sphere of intercourse, conditioned by the extralinguistic basis of the corresponding speech variety. All this determines a general specific colouring of the variety of speech and its specific organization. ... The general colouring of scientific

speech, for example, and its general stylistic feature is its generalized and abstract character. It is by this feature that the language units used here are functionally selected. A language unit, as it were, splits and in this way or that way participates in the formation of a definite style." [22, p. 200]

Neither the point of departure nor the arguments of this stance is satisfactory. Convincing first of all for the simple reason that if the functional-stylistic quality of some message is perceived by me and by you and by everybody else, this quality is a built-in feature of the language code, of the paradigmatic, associative plane. Consider also D.N. Shmelev's remark that if speech is a concrete manifestation of language as a system, the basic stylistic differentiation belongs to language, and not to speech [36, p. 8-9]. The introduction of the vague notion of the system of speech blurs the clear-cut opposition of paradigmatics and syntagmatics. The abstract character of scientific speech is its semantic, and not stylistic feature.

For the same reason we cannot accept a still more confusing assumption that there are both language styles and speech styles.

Another disputable issue of functional stylistics is the classification of FSs. It is of the Soviet stylisticians single out the following four styles: (1) the scientific-technological, scientific popular) style, (2) the publicistic style, (3) the style of official and business documents, (4) the style of creative literature. These styles are primarily associated with the written form of language; some stylisticians distinguish the colloquial style as primarily the oral manifestation of language [25, p. 4].

This general scheme of classification has, however, numerous modifications and variations in the individual schemes elaborated by different authors. Let us look at some of them devoted to the English functional styles.

I.R. Galperin proposes a two-level hierarchy of styles and substyles:

1. The belles-lettres FS with the substyles of (a) poetry, (b) emotive prose and drama.
2. The publicistic FS with the substyles of (a) oratory, (b) of essays and (c) feature articles in newspapers and journals.
3. The newspaper FS with the substyles of (a) brief news items and commentaries, (b) newspaper headings and (c) notices and advertisements.
4. The scientific prose FS with the substyles of (a) humanitarian sciences, (b) exact sciences and (c) popular scientific prose.
5. The official document FS with the substyles of (a) diplomatic documents, (b) business documents, (c) legal documents and (d) military documents [53, p. 33-34].

V.L. Naer separates the following FSs (macrostyles): (1) of official documents, (2) scientific, (3) professional-technical, (4) of newspapers, (5) publicistic, (6) belles-lettres, (7) religious [31, p. 9-10]. Compared to Galperin's scheme this classification has two more styles — professional-technical and religious, a feature which we believe, well-grounded. Besides, Naer gives a more detailed classification of substyles (microstyles in his terminology). Moreover, he seems to share the feeling of a modern stylistician that a two-level hierarchy of styles and substyles is insufficient and introduces a third, more abstract level of what he calls megastyles: (1) the megastyle of professional and business communication which embraces the macrostyle of official documents, the professional-technical and scientific macrostyles; (2) the megastyle of mass communication (the newspaper, publicistic and re-

ligious macrostyles); (3) the megastyle of aesthetic communication (the belles-lettres macrostyle) [28, p. 12].

M.D.Kuznetz and Yu.M.Skrebnev draw a line of demarcation between the literary refined ("bookish") style and free (colloquial) style. The former falls out into (1) the publicistic style, (2) the scientific-technical style and (3) the style of official documents, and the latter into the literary colloquial and familiar colloquial [2, p. 120-122]. This classification differs considerably from those of Galperin and Naer in that its authors reject the idea that creative literature has a functional style and that they recognize the colloquial FS.

I.V.Arnold introduces a somewhat abstract concept of neutral style, the unmarked member of stylistic oppositions, and two groups of stylistically marked styles, colloquial and bookish. The colloquial style separates into literary colloquial, familiar colloquial and low colloquial. Arnold's bookish styles include scientific, official documents, publicistic (newspaper), oratorical and lofty-poetical styles. She points out that the existence of the belles-lettres FS is disputable and is inclined to share the opinion of those who deny its existence [5, p. 247-250]. On the whole, Arnold's approach is much closer to that of Kuznetz-Skrebnev than to those of Galperin and Naer.

D.N.Shmelev connects the classification of functional varieties with various spheres of language usage: "It seems to be expedient to single out those spheres of language usage which themselves presuppose a different nature of language communication." [36, p. 75] These are (1) face-to-face informal communication (colloquial language), (2) the language usage within clearly defined thematic frames (specialized language) and (3) the aesthetic language usage (the language of creative literature). Within the specialized language one may isolate, according to Shmelev, such styles: scientific, of official documents, publicistic and newspaper-informational.

K.A.Dolinin proposes to classify styles (types of speech in his terminology) according to three basic distinctive features:

1. e — emotiveness, \bar{e} — non-emotiveness;
2. s — spontaneity, \bar{s} — non-spontaneity;
3. n — normative (standard), \bar{n} — non-normative (substandard).

Combinations of these distinctive features produce various types of speech, or functional styles. The most common of them are the following:

1. e s n Emotive spontaneous standard conversation — "literary colloquial style".
2. e s \bar{n} Emotive substandard conversation — "familiar colloquial style".
3. e \bar{s} n Emotive non-spontaneous standard speech — "publicistic style", "oratorical style", "the narrative style of literary prose", etc.
4. \bar{e} \bar{s} n Non-emotive non-spontaneous standard speech — a very large group of "informational" styles: "the style of official documents", "scientific style", etc. [14, p. 110-111]

When comparing the above-mentioned and other classifications of FSs, one may notice two main differences of opinion. They concern the colloquial FS and the belles-lettres FS.

The problem of colloquial FS. I.R.Galperin, who denies the existence of this FS, writes: "So far we are of opinion that styles of language can only be singled out in the written variety. This can be explained by the fact that any style is the result of

a deliberate, careful selection of language means which in their correlation constitute this style. This can scarcely be attained in the oral variety of language which by its very nature will not lend itself to careful selection". [53, p. 319] This opinion raises a number of objections. We fully support the treatment of style as choice, but the stylistic choice does not necessarily involve deliberation and carefulness, much of this choice is done unconsciously, spontaneously. Moreover, we are convinced that the main purport of any FS is to facilitate communication in a certain sphere of discourse: it equips, as it were, the encoder with all sorts of prefabricated language — ready-made formulae, technical (in the broad sense) terms and expressions just for the sake of language economy. The rigid lay-outs of business and official letters practically exclude the possibility of deliberate, careful selection. As is well known, a great deal of newspaper information has to be written very hastily and packed into a limited amount of space. As a result of the haste, "reporters frequently have little opportunity to indulge in their own stylistic preferences, and come to rely upon a well-tryed range of set phrases and grammatical constructions; and the compression gives rise to such features as headlines, where the tendency is to abbreviate language as far as the meaning will allow — and sometimes even farther." [46, p. 7]

This explains the puritanic crusade against the *-eses*, *commercialesse*, *officialesse*, *journalese*, *newspaperese*, etc. precisely for the lack of deliberate selection.

Thus Galperin's criterion of "deliberate, careful choice" does not hold up with regard to this problem.

Now a few words about the written and oral varieties of language. There is an obvious discrepancy in Galperin's theory in that his classification of FSs, which, let us remind ourselves, "can only be singled out in the written variety", includes oratory, which is "the oral subdivision of the publicistic style". [53, p. 288] On the other hand, those linguists who do recognize the colloquial FS use this term with reservations. In Kuznetz and Skrebnev we read: "These terms ("bookish" and "colloquial" — V.M.) are widely-used today, though they are not quite exact. The point is that the "bookish" style is not necessarily that which is used only in books or in the written forms of speech in general; it is a style of a highly polished nature and it reflects the norms of the national literary language in full measure; it is used in the sphere of business and social activities of people. "Colloquial" style is the type of speech which is used in the situation that allows certain deviations from the austere pattern of literary speech. The "bookish" style may be used not only in written speech, but in oral speech, for example, in an oration, lecture, official talk. On the other hand, "colloquial" style is used not only in a private conversation, but also in private correspondence, in the entries of a diary, etc. The terms "bookish" and "colloquial" are, therefore, not quite apt". [25, p. 120-121]

Similar views are expressed by I.V.Arnold: "The appellations "colloquial" and "bookish" reflect the origin of these styles: the specificity of the first group (of styles) is brought about by the characteristic features of everyday dialogue, and of the second group, by the conditions of written communication. But at present this division does not necessarily correspond to the separation of speech into the written and oral forms. The so called colloquial style is widely used in creative literature while the specimens of the second group may (with some modifications) be used orally, and for one of them, oratorical, the oral form is even predominant." [5, p. 247-248]

In the light of the above discussion we can state that style is applicable to both

written and oral varieties of speech, and that the terms "colloquial" and "bookish" do not exactly correspond to the oral and written forms of speech. We believe that another pair of terms, namely formal (non-casual) and informal (casual) are much more felicitous in this respect, the more so as they are used in English explanatory dictionaries and generally in English and American linguistic literature. They reflect the broadest division of spheres of language usage between (1) formal spheres and (2) informal spheres. In other words, formal and informal are the two major varieties of English and the use of either of them largely depends on the consituation. The difference between these two varieties may be well illustrated with the following quotation from J.B.Greenough and C.L.Kittredge:

"Every educated person has at least two ways of speaking his mother tongue. The first is that which he employs in his family, among his friends, and on ordinary occasions. The second is that which he uses in discoursing on more complicated subjects, and addressing persons with whom he is less intimately acquainted ... The difference between these two forms consists, in great measure, in a difference of vocabulary". (quoted in [50, p. 208])

The spontaneous informal variety is used largely but not exclusively in conversation; as was already mentioned it is also used in private letters, notes, diaries, etc. There are also a lot of written texts in which the informal variety is imitated, such as works of fiction and drama or in texts that are written to be spoken, for instance, copies for TV or radio advertising. So we can assume that the colloquial style is that part of the informal variety of English which is used orally, in conversation.

The formal variety is used largely but not exclusively in written texts; it is also used orally to show a distant relationship between the speakers or the speaker and his audience. Thus the opposition formal::informal cuts across the written and oral forms of speech and their interrelationship may be shown in the following simplified way:

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE	
Informal English	Formal English
spoken	written
written	spoken

The formal and informal varieties of English will be discussed in more detail in the subsequent chapters.

The problem of belles-lettres FS. As we have seen, there is no unanimity of opinion about the existence of this FS. I.R.Galperin, who does recognize the belles lettres FS, offers interesting observations of the specificity of creative literature which are indisputable and yet hardly convincing as far as the treatment of creative literature as one of the FSs is concerned. Thus Galperin points out the common function of the works of imaginative literature which may be called "aesthetic

cognitive". But it is precisely this function that places creative literature outside ordinary communication and makes it a variety of art, namely, verbal art. The FSs arise from the practical needs of human communication and their parameters cannot be applied to it. If it is possible theoretically to calculate the frequency distributions of morphemes, words, constructions, etc., say, in the scientific FS, and thus determine its parameters, the same procedure would be pointless with regard to creative literature because it freely draws upon the resources of the whole national language including all the FSs for its specific, artistic purposes. V.V.Vinogradov wrote, that "poetic means do not form a special system but rest upon the system relations of non-poetic domains." [10, p. 5]

The above does not mean that creative literature is styleless. But the term "style" should be used here in its aesthetic, not functional sense, and the stylistics that studies the style of creative literature should be given a special name, such as "literary stylistics" or "the theory of creative literature" (V.V.Vinogradov's term) or "linguistic poetics" (V.P.Grigoriev's term) to distinguish it from functional stylistics.

As we have seen, there is a good deal of divergence of opinions, some real and some seeming, as to the nature and classification of functional varieties (styles). The investigation of styles seems to lack an underlying workable theory. Such a theory may be found, in our opinion, in the propositions made by Yu.M.Skrebnev, and our next chapter is devoted to the discussion of them.

YU.M.SKREBNEV'S THEORY OF LANGUAGE STYLES

For Yu.M.Skrebnev language is not a monolithic homogeneous system but an aggregate of partially overlapping and yet relatively independent and complete systems. Each of these (sub)systems is a totality of elements and forms of syntagmatic connection that serves a sphere of verbal communication. Each of the subsystems has all the features of a language except the feature of universal applicability. To denote any such variety of language Skrebnev uses the term "sublanguage". [31, p. 32-33]

Since it is justifiable to consider separately the spheres of discourse that are most diversified as to their size and that are served by limited sets of elements, Skrebnev maintains that a language has a totality (an indefinite multitude) of sublanguages. The relations between separate sublanguages are those of potential discreteness, of potential isolation because the sublanguages partially overlap.

This brings us to the important point in Skrebnev's theory, namely, that the system of any sublanguage consists of three kinds (classes) of language units:

- (1) the absolutely specific units, i.e. those belonging only to the given sublanguage;
- (2) the relatively specific units, i.e. those belonging not only to the given sublanguage, but also to one or more other sublanguages;
- (3) the non-specific units, i.e. those that are common to all the potential sublanguages of the language, belonging equally to each sublanguage [31, p. 33].

The subsystems cut across all the levels of the language hierarchy; at each level one can observe a relative parallelism of sublanguages, and single out concrete units belonging to one of the above classes.

Language as a whole is pictured by Skrebnev as a stereometric figure in which the horizontal cuts separate levels and the vertical cuts single out sublanguages. Of course such a scheme represents the language structure in a simplified way: all the sublanguages coincide very closely along some of their dimensions; they do not maintain a strict parallelism and are not discrete entities since they are characterized only by potential discreteness, liable only to conditional isolation.

Since the concept of sublanguages belongs to the category of linguistic constructs which reflect and generalize only some definite types of relations out of the multitude of relations between the elements of the language structure, the isolation of sublanguages, i.e. giving them the status of closed subsystems is regarded by Skrebnev as a process of hypostatization¹.

Skrebnevan sublanguages and spheres of discourse. A sublanguage caters for some limited sphere of discourse. Delimitation of this sphere and its isolation from the continuum of speech activity are arbitrary. Skrebnev points out that the process of hypostatizing a sublanguage is secondary or derivative with respect to the process of isolation of a sphere of discourse catered for by a set of linguistic units. Of course, the arbitrary delimitation in the language as a system ignoring its systematic nature would be a gross distortion of its properties. But what Skrebnev means here is not an arbitrary dismemberment of the language system: it is not the sublanguages as such that are hypostatized, but spheres of discourse which can be isolated according to any set of extralinguistic features (characteristics).

For example, we may hypostatize a specific sphere of discourse carried out through the channel of cables — the exchange of telegrams, between foreign correspondents and their London editors. The style of the language of such telegrams is very peculiar because of the specificity of the sphere of discourse: the desire to save words, and therefore money. A lot of money-saving discoveries have been made, including the very valuable prefix *un-* which goes for any kind of negative. Hence there are a lot of jokes about cablese; one of them concerns a very lazy correspondent who received the cable: *why unnews query*. He cabled back: *unnews good news*. His office replied: *unnews unjob*. (MN, 1981, No. 48) Thus we may say that one of the absolutely specific features of the sublanguage of cables and telegrams (cablese) is the unusually extensive use of the prefix *un-*, and the reason for this is the specificity of the sphere of discourse.

The spheres of discourse, in their turn, are characterized by the usage of only some of elements constituting the various subsystems within the frame of the general system of language. Constituents of a language subsystem are apt to be distributed among spheres of discourse (and, accordingly, among sublanguages). Thus, if there is a series of elements *a, b, c, d, e, f, g ...* and, shall we say, four spheres of discourse (1, 2, 3, 4), element *a* may be used in all the four spheres; element *b*, only in spheres 1 and 2, element *c*, only in spheres 3 and 4; finally, elements *d, e, f, g* only in one particular sphere (1, 2, 3, 4, respectively) [31, p. 35].

As an illustration of Skrebnev's idea one might consider the following observation made by W. Labov: "At one time, the dialect areas of the eastern United States were sharply divided into r-less and r-pronouncing areas, according to whether con-

¹ "Hypostatize" means treat or regard (a concept, idea, etc.) as a distinct substance or reality.

sonantal *r* is pronounced in words like *car* and *card*. But in the last two decades the *r*-pronunciation of "general American" has become accepted as the standard of broadcast network and of careful middle class pronunciation almost everywhere. As a result, we find that the new "prestige" pronunciation of *r* in final and preconsonantal position has become a sociolinguistic variable in the older *r*-less areas. Almost all younger and middle-aged speakers will show some style-shifting with *r*, so that in the more formal styles they will use more *r* and in casual speech practically none at all." [72, p. 356]

Thus it is theoretically possible (and is actually practised in linguistics) to isolate spheres of discourse of different orders. For example, the so called Standard English is a sublanguage of English taken as a whole; but so are the sets of units used in the spheres of informal dialogue, of business correspondence, of advertising. Moreover, there are no theoretical impediments against isolating spheres of discourse and, respectively, their sublanguages on casual, unessential grounds from the social and linguistic point of view. It is this property of the continuum of speech activity that Skrebnev bears in mind when he speaks about sublanguages as an indefinite multitude.

At the same time, while using the operational concepts of a sphere of discourse and its sublanguage, the linguist should be guided by the considerations of pragmatic expedience: the spheres hypostatized by him should be of both social and linguistic value. "But how," one might ask, "do the concepts of sublanguage and sphere of discourse connect with stylistics?" The difference between the spheres of discourse, Skrebnev explains, is functional, and the difference between the sublanguages that cater for these spheres is a stylistic one. The sublanguages are subsystems that differ from one another stylistically in the long run, and therefore the conception of sublanguage is correlative, in principle, to the traditional idea of style. As was mentioned, not all the sublanguages that might be singled out correspond to the traditionally separated styles. Under the heading of sublanguages (and this is a very important point!) one might place, according to Skrebnev, the subsystems that are minimally narrow and maximally broad (their only constitutive feature is the sphere of usage being more limited than that of the national language as a whole), while style in the traditional sense of the word presupposes some objectively optimal generalization. On the whole, however, Skrebnev's concept of sublanguages as arbitrary entities not only does not contradict the traditional concept of styles, but supports it: it explains for example, the fact that styles are often classified on grounds that are logically incompatible (cf. the belles-lettres style, the style of military documents, Byron's style).

From this it follows, then, that from the point of view of the most general differentiation of linguistic elements two classes of items should be separated: the class of items with a limited usage (i.e. belonging to one or several sublanguages) and the class of items that are used in all the sublanguages and that are an indispensable part of all spheres of communication.

Any sublanguage has (a) absolutely specific items and (b) non-specific items. The non-specific items constitute the core of the language, the "general nucleus" of sublanguages. Normally this central core of the language is the subject of elementary grammatical descriptions, which, naturally, neglect the details of specific subsystems belonging to the specific spheres of discourse.

The reference of a language unit to the language varieties, or to put it different-

ly, its being part of one of several sublanguages or of the central core of the language makes the essence, the content of the stylistic value of this unit.

The stylistic value of a language unit may be positive if the collective consciousness of the speech community classes this unit with the absolutely specific or relatively specific domains of a sublanguage; this value is indefinite when the unit belongs to the neutral domain of the language as a whole. For example, the units *you, does, are not, spoke* have indefinite stylistic characteristics; the elements *thou, doth, spake* have a positive stylistic value because they belong to the sublanguages of poetry and religion, and so do the elements *ain't, -in' (for -ing), (he) don't*, because they are used only in the sphere of low colloquial discourse.

The term stylistic (connotational) colouring often used in works on stylistics is, for Skrebnev, the reference of a unit to a certain sublanguage. From the point of view of speech psychology the stylistic colouring is made up, he claims, of consociations, i.e. of the sum of precedents of the usage of the unit. The objective nature of stylistic colouring results from the collectiveness of identical consociations; the individual consociations are irrelevant.

Of course Skrebnev's scheme is a generalized and simplified one, it is a model of stylistics that satisfactorily explains, in our opinion, the principle of performance of the style mechanism. One cannot expect that a model would reproduce the structure of an object in every detail; but Skrebnev's approach eliminates some contradictions in certain widely circulated notions and postulates.

Thus, according to Skrebnev's theory, the term "style" may be used only to denote the sum of features that differentiate separate sublanguages: "Style may be defined as characteristic of the absolutely specific constituents of the sublanguage — the totality of parameters of a specific field." [31, p. 40]

But what is, then, the stylistic status of units belonging to the relatively specific features of a sublanguage, i.e. common to two or more sublanguages, but not used universally?

The answer to this question can be found in Skrebnev's thesis about the indeterminacy of volume in the concept of sublanguage: we can say that the relatively specific domain of the given sublanguage represents the absolutely specific domain (or style) of the sublanguage of a broader sphere of discourse, i.e. of the sublanguage composed by joining up the given (narrow) sublanguage with the neighbouring (narrow) sublanguages. Consider the following simple example. As is well known, the English verb *have* (possess), *be* as a link-verb and function verbs *be, do, have, shall, will* have, along with their full forms, also clipped variants *'m, 's, 'd, 've, 'll*, etc. Now, if we scan the texts belonging to the sphere of scientific communication, we shall find only the full variants of these verbs. E.g. □ Each animal species has a different haemoglobin. □ A heterozygous organism is a heterozygote for the locus in question. □ More recently it has been suggested that they are merely examples of limited parasitic attacks. □ The term is sometimes used synonymously with cell-body. This usage of full forms is, however, only a relatively specific feature of the scientific sublanguage, because only the full forms are also used in many other sublanguages which can be joined up under the heading of the sublanguage catering for the sphere of formal discourse. So we can claim that the full forms of the verbs *be, have, do*, etc., being a relatively specific feature of the scientific sublanguage, are an absolutely specific feature of the formal sublanguage, while the clipped forms are an absolutely specific feature of the informal sublanguage.

According to Skrebnev's approach, sublanguages, let us remind ourselves, are an indeterminate multitude. The same is, naturally, true of styles: the number of styles in a language is, theoretically, equal to that of spheres of discourse and sublanguages. This thesis explains the fact that one and the same national language is divided into styles on the most variegated grounds. It should be added that, contrary to the common opinion of the authors of such classifications, there are always grounds for hypostatizing any system of style classes (and, conversely, there are no grounds for considering only one of the proposed classifications as the sole correct classification).

Hence we arrive at the most fundamental presupposition of Skrebnev's theory: a language cannot be described in indiscrepant and comprehensive terms within the framework of one system of style classes; it is only possible to define the style classes that are of pragmatic value for investigating them from a definite point of view [31, p. 42]. That explains the puzzling variety of style classifications referred to above.

Attempts have been made to disprove Skrebnev's theory of language styles. Thus, M.N.Kozhina writes: "The definition of functional style as of an amount of specific stylistically coloured language means lacks completeness and precision. Style in itself is a specific functional speech phenomenon bearing profound system; therefore it cannot be limited to a set of coloured means. In fact, the number of such means in the flow of speech is quite insignificant. Hence it is more adequate to accept the view that the quality of speech which is intuitively perceived as style is created by what is known as system in speech [22, p. 200]."

A similar point of view is advocated by V.L.Naer: "Such an approach to style (Skrebnev's — V.M.) reduces it to the level of a mere set of some unique, stylistically marked language means, absolutely specific to a given stylistic variety and absolutely unspecific to all the other ones."

Stylistic analysis proves, however, that such specific language means are relatively few in any style; they are, of course, there and they impart to the style a certain specific colouring and diagnose the style, but the overwhelming majority of language means are general non-specific means, and the specificity of style is largely made up of their frequency distribution and of the peculiarities of their organization." [28, p. 5].

As we see, the opponents of those who develop the concept of style markers reproach them for considering style as a set of material manifestations, the stylistic colouring of which is inherent in their meaning. This reproach is based on the unwarranted assumption that by specific (stylistically marked) units Skrebnev understands only those features that are stylistically coloured when taken out of context. Skrebnev explains that the concept of unit embraces not only the elementary material items (morpheme, word, word-group, sentence) but also the models of longer sequences — from the paragraph upwards. Every unit of even the lowest levels (morpheme, word) has its distributional and frequency potential, which is present in the thesaurus of the average speaker and can be explicitly stated by the analyst stylistician. For example, the forms *did, am, do* are neutral as units, but sentences known as "appended statements" of which they are part are absolutely specific units of English low colloquial style. Consider Eliza Doolittle's speech in *Pygmalion*: □ I washed my face and hands afore I come, I did. □ I'm a good girl, I am. □ I know what the like of you are, I do. The stylistic specificity in these examples is detectable only on the sentence level. The appended statements are, therefore, no less specific than, shall we

say, the archaic words *swain*, *dale*, and *behold*, the number of which is indeed "quite insignificant in the flow of speech".

It is quite natural to assume, as Skrebnev does, that the characteristics of the distributional possibilities of a traditional unit (from the phoneme to the sentence) and the characteristics of its functions within the frame of units of higher levels are a derivative from the characteristics of its place in the system. That is why Kozhina's and Naer's criticism concerning the absence, in Skrebnev's theory, of due regard for the interrelation of units and their frequency distributions does not hold up.

Stylisticians of the past and our contemporaries have believed and still believe in the existence of an objective nomenclature of style classes. Skrebnev's theory rejects the problem of truth in a stylistic classification as unfounded.

There are no "traditional styles" as such: there are only individual style classifications — styles distinguished by V.V.Vinogradov, styles postulated by I.R.Galperin, etc. Skrebnev's **taxonomic theory** emphasizes the arbitrariness of the past and present classification; this treatment is a kind of "anticlassification." At the same time it allows a theoretical basis for any author's style system and justifies its conceivability — except its claim for exclusiveness.

In evaluating any system of style classes one should be guided by the following criteria: if the separation of a complex object (language in our case) into classes is carried out on the basis of the common principle and covers the whole of the object — we have a classification. If any of these requirements is not met — we deal with distinguishing, postulating certain classes (heterogeneous, overlapping or not covering the whole object), but any of the sublanguages and styles thus singled out has an undisputable right to be an object of research.

To reiterate the main points of the theory under discussion:

1. Style is a feature of language-as-a-system.
2. Language is a system of sublanguages which are not discrete but form a continuum.
3. Sublanguages may be arbitrarily hypostatized depending on the extralinguistic distinctive features of the sphere of discourse.
4. Each sublanguage has (a) non-specific features, (b) relatively specific features and (c) absolutely specific features.
5. Style is the class of absolutely specific features of a sublanguage.

The first, primary division of English should be made into two sublanguages — formal and informal. All the language units are either neutral, i.e. used in both the spheres, or formal, restricted to formal usage, or informal, used only in informal communication.

The next parts are devoted to the description of the absolutely specific features, i.e. style, of informal and formal English.

C. THE INFORMAL FUNCTIONAL VARIETY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Informal English (IE) is a functional variety, a subsystem of the English language; its functioning is determined by the following three factors of consituation: (1) spontaneity of informal communication, (2) private character of informal com-

munication, and (3) face-to-face participation of the interlocutors in informal communication.

IE manifests itself in a special sphere of communication which is characterized, apart from the above-mentioned obligatory factors, also by such features as a great dependence on consituation which turns the latter into an indispensable component of the communication process, an active employment of non-verbal communication means (glances, facial expressions, gestures, etc.), the phonic substance as the basic means of its realization.

According to E.A.Zemskaya, any informal language displays two clashing tendencies: (1) It is the subsystem which has a great amount of ready-made formulae, clichés, all kinds of prefabricated patterns. In the atmosphere of informal spontaneous discourse the speaker seeks to facilitate his speech behaviour by resorting to stereotyped units. (2) It is the subsystem which enables the speaker not only to use the existing signs of the language but also to create new signs with much more ease, freedom and frequency than when using the formal language.

Thus, the same consituational factors (spontaneity, privateness, face-to-faceness) account for the two opposite tendencies of IE: striving for the stereotyped and striving for the creative use of language [17, p. 6].

To illustrate the typified, automatic tendency of IE one can mention the so-called social phrases, such as greetings (*hello, how are you?*), thanks and response tags (*thanks for ..., not at all, a pleasure*), forms of direct address (*sir, Mrs Small, George*), etc.

The creative tendency of IE may be illustrated by a passage cited by R.Quirk [85, p. 49]. It represents a conversation between bridge-players containing various kinds of homely creativity: "delight in sheer sound" (Quirk's phrase), rhyme repetitions, nonce words and puns, dialect pronunciation and foreign phrases.

The players examine their hands¹. When they talk, they do not look at each other, but concentrate entirely on their cards.

FIRST MAN (*humming softly as he sorts*): Pom-pom-pom-pom, pom-pom-pom, pom-pom-pom-pom, pom-pom-pom, pom-pom-pom-pom.

SECOND MAN (*whistling through his teeth*): Ss, ss-ss-ss-ss, ss-ss-ss, ss-ss-ss, ss-ss-ss-ss.

FIRST LADY: Bub-bub-bub-bub, bub-bub-bub-bub, bub-bub-bub, bub-bub-bub-bub — whose call?

SECOND LADY: Your callikins².

FIRST LADY (*still engrossed in her hands*): My little callikins, well, well, well — my little callikins. Let me see, then let me see — I think — I think — I think-a-pin-a-pin — no bid.

SECOND LADY: Tch-tch-tch, tch-tch-tch, tch-tch, tch-tch, tch-tch-tch, tch-tch-tch — no bid³.

FIRST MAN: One cloob⁴.

SECOND MAN (*dropping into Irish*): Did you say one cloob?

FIRST MAN (*dropping into Irish*): I did that.

¹ a number of cards held by a player at one time.

² (a nonce word) = call.

³ a statement of the number of tricks a player proposes to win.

⁴ = club (a playing-card with a black three-leaf design printed on it).

SECOND MAN: Er hat ein cloob gesagen. (*Singing*) Er hat ein cloob gesagen, er hat ein cloob ... One hearty-party¹.
 FIRST LADY: Two diminx².
 SECOND LADY: No bid, no bid.
 FIRST MAN: No bid-a-bid-bid.
 SECOND MAN: Two diminx, is it? Two naughty leetle diminx. This, I think, demands a certain amount of consideration. (*Drums fingers on table*) Yes, yes, my friends, beaucoup de consideration.
 SECOND LADY (*after a pause*): Your call, partner.
 SECOND MAN: I know it, I know it, I know it, I know it, I know it, indeed, indeed, I know it. (*Clacks tongue*) I know it, I know it, I double two diminx.
 SECOND LADY: He doubles two diminx.
 FIRST MAN: He doubles two diminx.
 SECOND MAN: I double, I double, I double two diminx.
 FIRST LADY: Very well, then have at you. Two no trumpets.
 FIRST MAN: Ha, ha!
 SECOND MAN: Ho, ho!
 FIRST LADY: He, he!
 SECOND LADY: H'm, h'm!
 They revert to their pet noises as they consider their hands.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNICATION ACT AND ITS CORRELATION WITH IE

E.A.Zemskaya [17, p. 13-19] points out that the factors of the communication act in which the informal language may be used should be classed into determinants and components. Determinants are the factors that govern the speakers' choice of either IE or formal English (FE). The following determinants are required to enable the speakers to use IE: (1) the private character of discourse, namely, (a) the fact of unofficial relationship between interlocutors, (b) the aim of discourse being other than delivering an official or public message, and (c) the conditions of communication do not interfere with intimacy of discourse; (2) the spontaneity of discourse; (3) the face-to-face participation in discourse.

The above factors are determinant since it is they that dictate the speaker's choice of IE and not FE. Any modification of them makes the usage of IE impossible.

Apart from these factors there are features that do not determine the choice of IE or FE but that may influence the choice within IE creating its subvarieties. E.A.Zemskaya calls them "components". The study of correlations between the non-verbal components of communication and informal discourse is one of our most important tasks.

The importance of the components of a communication act is different. The most considerable influence on the structure of IE is exerted by the consituation.

¹ (a nonce word) = heart (a heart-shaped design used on playing-cards).

² = diamonds (a diamond as a figure with four equal sides printed in red on playing-cards).

Another important component that affects the informal discourse is the common character of the speakers' thesauri, i.e. their common preliminary knowledge and experience. E.A.Zemskaya divides all the non-verbal components of the communication act into two groups: (1) features connected with the interlocutors and (2) features connected with the concrete situation of the given communication act. The same author offers an extensive list of components of both the groups [17, p. 15-16] from which the following are selected for the discussion here:

1. Some Components of Communication Act Connected with the Speakers

1. The number of speakers: two (dialogue), more than two (polylogue).
2. The change of speaker/listener roles: no change (monologue)/infrequent/frequent.
3. The age of speakers: young/middle-aged/old.
4. The sex of speakers: man/woman.
5. The relative position: visual/non-visual.
6. The nature of relationships between the participants: intimate/friendly/neutral/distant/frozen.
7. The social roles of participants: the casual role (customer/ passenger/client, etc.), the permanent role (defined by social status, profession, position in the family, etc.).

2. Some Components of the Communication Act that are Consituation Variables

1. The connection of discourse with the consituation: the discourse is not connected with the consituation; the discourse is connected with the consituation; the consituation complements the discourse; the discourse accompanies the participants' actions; the discourse is a commentary on events in which the participants take no part.
2. The frequency of the consituation: high/low.
3. The place of the communication act: at home, in the street, in an office, etc.
4. The presence of strangers: present/not present.

1. VARIABLES CONNECTED WITH THE SPEAKERS

1.1. The Number of Participants in the Communication Act. The number of speakers may be two (dialogue) or more than two (polylogue).

One-to-one, or dyadic, communication involves an alternating flow of messages and responses between two people — that is, it is generally a face-to-face interaction in which two parties are directly and actively involved.

Polylogue, unlike dialogue, results in thematic polyphony, i.e. each of the speakers may pursue his own subject, or participate in discussing two or more topics at the same time.

1.2. The Change of Speaker/Listener Roles. Dyadic communication presupposes more or less frequent alternation of speaker/listener roles between the two participants. In a case in which one of the participants mostly talks and the other mostly listens the conversation turns into monologue. The monologue in the communica-

tion act is always dialogized, i.e. the conversational monologue is accompanied by the listener's responses of phatic nature: he may smile, frown, sigh, yawn, wiggle, nod his head in agreement and disagreement, and make a variety of verbal answers, whereas the formal monologue is normally not interrupted. Such responses of the listener to the speaker's story are known as feed-back.

Face-to-face communication provides a continuous flow of immediate feedback. The speaker can easily see and hear the responses of the listener, which help him to evaluate the effectiveness of his monologue. If the feedback indicates that the story is not coming through, the communicator has the opportunity of immediately changing his tactics.

Not all feedback is perceived as good or helpful to the speaker. Every listener has the ability to emit positive or negative feedback. Negative feedback might consist of yawning, glancing around the room, etc. It tends to make a speaker less fluent than positive feedback. Besides there is always an opportunity for the listener to reverse the conversation by inserting his comments, by interrupting the monologue, and even to try and usurp the role of the story-teller.

1.3. The Age of Speakers. The usage largely depends on the age group. Very young children have a language of their own (the so-called baby-talk) consisting of onomatopoeic reduplicated words: ● *moo-moo* — a cow ● *bow-wow* — a dog ● *tick-tock* — a clock ● *tick-tick* — a watch ● *choo-choo* — train ● pee-pee words with diminutive suffixes: *Mummy, Daddy, pussy, doggy, tummy* (stomach/belly), *panties*, etc.

Teen-agers have a slang vocabulary of their own which reflects among other things, the generation gap in such units to denote the elders as *the oldies, the oldsters, the oldies, the hens, old numbers, old geezers* [5, p. 277]. Many American student words are counter-words, i.e. automatic, often one-word responses of liking and dislike, of acceptance and rejection [102, p. xi]. For liking: *beat, the capajamas, the greatest, smooth, super*, etc. For rejecting an outsider: *boob, creeper, goof, simp, square*, etc. Public schools in England each have a slang vocabulary of their own. In Eaton: *scug* = scoundrel, *tug* = college student, *to sap* = to talk in Westminster School: *bag* = milk, *beggar* = sugar, *lick* = ball [26, p. 8-9].

The system of IE is much more susceptible to changes than that of FE. The changes are most conspicuous on the level of informal lexis. For instance, such catchphrases of the twenties as *topping, old bean, simply too ripping for words* fall odd on the modern ear. Conversely, the older generation finds the current usage strange and unacceptable. W.J. Ball quotes a lady who returned to everyday life after twenty-eight years spent in a convent and felt some difficulties in the process of readjustment to the life in England of the sixties:

"As for their conversation, it was to me almost like a foreign language. Unfamiliar clichés. Amusing — and sometimes rather startling — comparisons. Lots of slang American and otherwise. ... On the whole, I think their most breath-taking effect was achieved by the curious choice of adjectives and adverbs. I sat spell-bound. It was like nothing I had ever listened to before.

Perhaps what startled me most was the constant recurrence of words which not even a man would have used before girls when I left school.

"Lousy", for instance, and "mucky", "guts", "blasted", "bloody" and "what the hell". [39, p. 55-56]

1.4. The Sex of Interlocutors. "In my work on this dictionary," writes S.B. Flexner, "I was constantly aware that most American slang is created and used by males. The majority of entries in this dictionary could be labeled 'primarily masculine' ... Men tend to avoid words that sound feminine or weak. Thus there are sexual differences in even the standard vocabularies of men and women. A woman may ask her husband to set the table for dinner, asking him to put out *the silver, crystal*, and *the linen* — while the man will set the table with *knives, forks, spoons, glasses*, and *the table linen*. His wife might think the *table linen* attractive, the husband might think the *tablecloth* and *napkins* pretty. A man will buy a *pocketbook* as a gift for his wife, but she will receive a *bag*. The couple will live under the same roof, the wife in her *home*, the man in his *house*. She'll *get into the car* while he'll *get into the jalopy or the rattle*." [102, p. xii].

There seems to be a good deal of serious discussion going on among linguists concerning the differences between "men's language" and "women's language". It does not only mean here the fact that according to the rules certain words and expressions are not to be used before women, but also the fact that there are some distinctive features of traditional women's speech. Some interesting observations of these features are made by R.T. Lakoff who emphatically points out that the term "women's language" is something of a misnomer: "We don't talk like this because we have two X chromosomes. Linguistic behaviour, like other facets of the personality, is heavily influenced by training and education. Women speak as they do — and men speak as they do — because they have from childhood been rewarded for doing so, directly or subtly." [73, p. 225]

Lakoff categorizes the stylistic components of women's language as lexical, phonological, and syntactic-pragmatic.

Lexical traits include (a) special vocabularies, (b) intensification, (c) restriction of emotion, (d) euphemistic and polite forms.

a. Special vocabularies. Women tend to have extensive technical vocabularies of fashion, cooking, and decorating terms, and rather impoverished vocabularies of sports, automobiles, and business terminology. It is self-evident that this imbalance is directly attributable to the roles women are expected to play and to the conditions they are expected to fulfill in American middle-class culture.

b. Intensification. The intensifiers *so* and *such* are characteristic in the use of more precise adverbs like *very*. Also the use of such adjectives that seem devoid of all but a vague positive emotive sense: *divine, gorgeous*, etc.

c. Restriction of emotion. Women tend to feel freer than men to express tenderness, love, love, tenderness, intimacy, and grief, and less free to express anger and hostility.

d. Euphemistic and polite forms. As Lakoff has it, "euphemism is a social convention for pretending you are not talking about what you know you are talking about, which would be embarrassing to confront directly. The euphemism is the linguistic equivalent of the giggle and blush ..." [73, p. 226] Women are traditionally supposed to be good at smoothing over awkwardnesses.

Phonological traits. Certain sound patterns are perceived as "softer", "more ladylike", hence "more ladylike" although there is nothing intrinsically so about them, and in another society they might have quite different connotations. According to Lakoff, in American urban middle-class society *n'* instead of [ɪ] is a male negative, and [ju:] for [u:] is largely confined to women; certain regional

accents are considered more acceptable for a woman than for a man: a southern accent in a woman is considered charming; less so in man.

Syntactic-pragmatic characteristics. Lakoff classes these into (a) question forms with declarative functions, and (b) hedging.

a. **Question forms with declarative functions.** Women are more apt to use a question when there is a choice for this reason: a woman has traditionally gained reassurance in American middle-class culture from presenting herself as concerned about her acceptance as well as unsure of the correctness of what she is saying, while a man loses credibility if he projects these qualities. To quote Lakoff again: "One wins approval by going along with cultural conventions, even though the behaviour does not directly represent one's genuine feelings. So a woman believing that a hesitant style will win her acceptance, will adopt it, and phrase her opinions — which in fact she may hold perfectly strongly — deferentially, while a man will cloak his uncertainties by attributing his opinions to impersonal authorities." [73, p. 227]

b. **Hedging.** Evidently, Lakoff uses this word in the meaning of "avoiding rigid commitment, allowing for escape or retreat". An instance of hedging is the use of modals when they give an impression of hesitancy. Cf. a. *John may be taking them over the phone.* b. *They should be here any minute.* c. *Harry must be the archcriminal Mr. Holmes is looking for.* d. *That will be Grandpa at the door.* The sentences a-d represent an increasing judgement on the speaker's part that the proposition following the modal verb is apt to be proven true. Hence Lakoff draws the following conclusion: "Modals used in this way can function as indicators of hesitancy, rather like questions, and ... it would not be surprising if we found them prevalent in the speech of people who were unwilling to take a strong public stand, among whom ... women may be expected to predominate." [73, p. 288]

There are also hedges on lexical items of the type *sorta*, *y'know*, *like* and *and so on*. Cf.: *Her dress is sorta tacky. Like, that's great movie. Harry is, y'know, a little peculiar.*

Lexical euphemism and syntactic-pragmatic hedging devices are closely linked. Most of these traits share a common cause.

1.5. The Relative Position of the Interlocutors. The relative position of the participants of communication process can be visual and non-visual. This distinction is important because in the first case the visual channel of communication is also available while in the second case (for example, in telephone conversations, or when talking through the closed door or in different rooms, etc.), only the acoustic channel can be used.

In one-to-one communication over the telephone the salient features of IE are almost exactly the same as those in face-to-face conversation. There are, however, a number of differences which result from the medium of communication. T.G. Shelkova and I.Y. Melekh make a number of observations concerning them. Conventionalists who can see each other, these authors maintain, are able to place a certain amount of reliance on the facilities offered by such things as gesture and the presence of a consituation, to help in communication and the resolution of ambiguity. Telephone conversation lacks these facilities and so has a tendency to become more explicit than face-to-face conversation.

The need for greater explicitness is further increased by the fact that some communication carried by telephone lines become diminished in their qualities of distinctiveness

many of the small cues which help to maintain ready understanding may get distorted or lost. Thus there is more uncertainty in keeping up the give and take between the participants which is so noticeable a part of face-to-face communication. Differences that are unduly long are to be avoided and a speaker will tend to leave frequent pauses for his partner to say something and prove that he is still there.

In telephone conversation there tends to be a set theme — people do not phone each other accidentally in the way they may meet in the street and the information which is exchanged probably tends to be related more to a single identifiable purpose.

Finally, T.G. Shelkova and I.Y. Melekh note the highly formulaic nature of both opening and closing of a telephone conversation — the range of accepted linguistic devices for carrying out these operations is relatively small and the stylistic distinctiveness of what takes place is at times extremely marked [5, p. 7]. Common such telephone formulae as *Hello! May (could) I speak to ... ? Speaking. Is your mother calling, please? I'm putting you through, etc.*

It is interesting to note, in passing, that this form of communication may have its own advantages. M. Burgoon remarks in this connection that some people find talking over the phone, with no visual information involved, they can be more intimate than face-to-face. Their disclosures or more easily sustain a train of thought: "Many friends stay on the phone for hours, yet find that when they meet, they have nothing to say to each other. Perhaps in 'live' confrontation some people feel too shy to express themselves. ... Furthermore, superfluous visual stimuli may distract from the verbal intention." [42, p. 191]

1.6. The Nature of Relationships between the Speakers. The speakers may be family members, acquaintances or strangers, their relationships may be intimate, friendly, neutral, distant, or frozen. A history of frequent interactions may facilitate communication between two persons by fostering trust and providing a common frame of reference. However, previous interactions may result in frozen relationships, thus hampering effective communication. All these details find an immediate reflection in the language of the dialogue.

1.7. The Social Roles of Participants. Social roles may be classed into casual, played in a given communication act, and permanent, defined by the social status, profession, position in the family, etc. Dialogues communicate diverse messages, they "may include anything from intimate confessions to superficial exchanges such as *Hello, how are you today, nice weather, isn't it?* Casual dyadic communication is often ritualistic and incidental, like a brief conversation carried on with a worker, a telephone operator, or a corner hot-dog vendor." [42, p. 183]

N.E. Enkvist remarks that in a study of Mr. Micawber's conversation with David Copperfield one relevant consituational aspect is "gentleman speaking to a boy" [30].

2. COMMUNICATION VARIABLES

2.1. The Connection of Discourse with the Consituation. The closest ties between the talk and consituation can be traced when the dialogue accompanies the participants' actions thus assisting and coordinating them and also when it is a commentary on what happens in the presence of the interlocutors (e.g. a dialogue between parents watching their children playing in the garden).

There may be no connection between the conversation and consituation w the topic is not tied up with the moment of speaking (e.g. recollections, fu plans, impressions of some book, film, sporting event, etc.). In this case the dialo is, naturally, more explicit and elaborated.

2.2. Consituations are frequent and infrequent. The linguistic importanc this distinction consists in the fact that the former are associated with a stable and li ed number of clichés of high distribution while the latter are not characterized such situational clichés.

E.A.Zemskaya distinguishes between two kinds of high frequency stereoty situations: (1) etiquette stereotypes, and (2) urban stereotypes. The latter nam used for the situations that are tied up with urban localities such as public transp the post office, shops, the hair-dresser's, etc. and that is why they lean more hea on the actual setting than the etiquette stereotypes [17, p. 18].

2.3. The Place of The Communication Act. The degree of casualness in r versation depends in large measure on the place where it takes place: it will be n informal at home, less so in some public place.

2.4. The Presence of Strangers. Sometimes one-to-one conversation is in midst of an organized social gathering such as a party, where the content of com munication is limited by unspoken rules of propriety and by a natural reticence to cuss personal feelings with a mere acquaintance. At other times casual dyadic com munication takes place in privacy and involves highly personal interactions with frie or family members with whom one feels it safe to risk intimate discourses and whom one expects a reciprocal candour.

All the above-mentioned independent non-verbal variables of the communic act influence the structure of conversation. They perform two functions in regar the verbal variables — the complementary one and the motivating one. The com mentary function supplies the elements that are not explicitly expressed in w and the motivating function governs the choice of elements that are available in language code.

Choice of words depends on the person one is speaking to and on the situ or place at the time. If the person is a friend and the situation is private, we may informal or even slang expressions. In a formal situation, when we do not know person we are speaking to very well or the occasion is public, we choose words n more carefully. It would be wrong to choose an informal expression in some re formal situation and bad manners to choose a slang expression. This means the can express the same information or idea in more than one way using a differer vel. An example. If one arrives late when meeting a friend, a typical informal w apologizing would be: "Sorry I'm late! — but I got badly held up". However, if came too late to a meeting with strangers or a business meeting, another choice o pression would be appropriate, perhaps "I do apologize for being late. I'm a my train was delayed" [93, p. 7].

E.A.Zemskaya points out that the complementary function affects the struc of conversation on the syntagmatic plane (mostly on the level of syntax), the motivating function — on the paradigmatic plane (mostly in the realm of nomin means, word usage and word creation) [17, p. 19].

In the subsequent exposition three levels of IE will be described: the gr representation of phonetic features in fiction and drama, informal lexis and id and informal grammar.

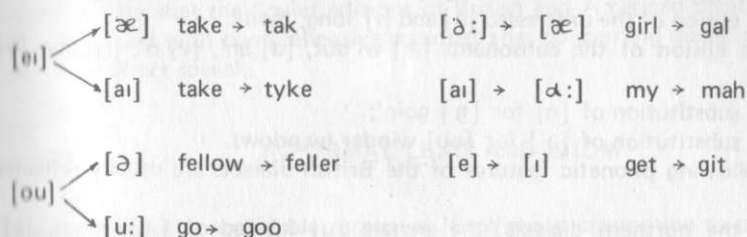
THE GRAPHIC REPRESENTATION OF PHONETIC FEATURES IN FICTION AND DRAMA

The conventions of writing cannot express such features as intonation, stress, tempo and pitch which belong specifically to speech. Creative writers, however, in their attempt to capture the sounds of spoken English, have worked out special devices which render the pronunciation idiosyncrasies of their characters as well as their notional and physical state. These devices can be classed into (1) graphones and (2) special typographic technique.

1. **Graphones.** The graphone can be defined as an associative stylistic device of the phonological level which is realized through the distortion of spelling norms¹. The changes in spelling bring about no change on the plane of content, but supply some additional information about the character's social, regional and national characteristics, his cultural and educational level, etc.

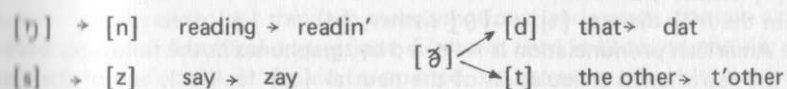
Graphones can be classified, according to the quality of distorted sounds, into those that reflect changes in vowels and into those that reflect changes in consonants.

Typical of vowels is the phonetic change and elision. Practically all the vowels are subject to change, the most regular deviations being the following:



Elision is limited to the short [ə] and [ɪ] in the unstressed position: history → hist'ry, it was → 'twas.

As to the consonants, the most systematic are the following changes:



Elision is the most frequent kind of phonetic modifications in consonants: the elision of the spirant [h]: ● head → 'ead ● who → 'oo ● hungry → 'ungry ● → 'e, and also of the consonants [ð] them → 'em, [l] almost → a'most, [v] over → o'er, [w] woman → 'ooman, [t] next → nex', [d] told → tole, [t] taken → ta'en, [f] after → arter.

The appearance of extra consonants is much less frequent, among them [h] in initial position before a vowel: extra → hextra, [d] gown → gownd, [t] worry → worrit, [n] military → milintary, [r] idea → idear.

Apart from the interior graphones in words, there are contact graphones reflecting changes at the word junctions when words are blended into one: ● wuhchama-

¹The description of graphones is based on L.L.Emelyanova's thesis [15].

callit (what you may call it) • sunumbitch (son of a bitch) • helluva (hell of a more'n (more than) • o'town (of town).

The sound changes in phrases are mostly combinative ones, especially in phrases with the pronoun *you*: *letcha* (let you), *cantcha* (can't you), *wuddaya* (what do you); there are also cases of regressive assimilation – *lemme*, *dunno*, *wanna*, *gonna* – and elision: *twould* (it would), *kinda* (kind of), *c'mon* (come on), *frinstance* (for instance).

There are two reasons for the pronunciation variability reflected in graphone intralinguistic and extralinguistic ones.

Variants caused by the intralinguistic factors appear in rapid casual speech and are within the received pronunciation; they are mostly elisions and/or combinative sound changes.

The extralinguistic factors are of different origins. On the one hand, graphones characterize the territorial-social and national background of the speaker, on the other hand, they reflect the speaker's emotional and physical state that affects the quality of his speech. The most important extralinguistic factor is the existence of a large number of territorial dialects. There is a certain literary tradition of rendering dialectal pronunciation. The universal graphones common for all dialects are:

- (1) the elision of the unstressed [ə] and [ɪ] 'long, 'twill;
- (2) the elision of the consonants [ð] wi'out, [d] an', [v] o', [l] ony, [b] ween;
- (3) the substitution of [n] for [ŋ] goin';
- (4) the substitution of [ə] for [ou] winder (window).

The following phonetic features of the British dialects are usually reflected in graphones:

- (1) in the northern dialects, the archaic [u] instead of [ʌ] coom, [e] instead of [ei] mek;
- (2) in Cockney, the transformation of [ei] into [ai] and [ai] into [aɪ] lady (lady), Ah (I);
- (3) in the southern dialects, voicing the voiceless consonants: [s] → [z] z [f] → [v] varmer (farmer);
- (4) in the Irish dialect, [t] → [θ] sither, [d] → [ð] dhrive.

The American pronunciation is reflected by graphones in the following ways:

- (1) the retroflexed articulation of the neutral [ə] fer (for), and of the second element of the diphthongs [ɛə] and [uə]: fahr (fair), pore (poor); retroflexion is also the basis of the numerous modifications of the vowel [ə]: gal (girl), la (learn), sartin (certain);
- (2) the substitution of the unrounded [ʌ] and [ɑ:] for the labialized [ɔ] and [ɔ:]: wut (what), furriner (foreigner), fahty (forty);
- (3) [ʌ] changes into [e] or [ɪ]: shet (shut), sich (such);
- (4) the omission of [j] before [u:]: Commanist (Communist), neoo (new).

In American literature the most consistently reflected is the southern dialect:

- (1) the prolonging of the neutral [ə]: offisah (officer), mistuh (mister), doll (dollar);
- (2) the monophthongizing of [ai]: Ah (I), nahss (nice), rahfle (rifle), fly (fly);
- (3) the oscillation between [e] and [ɪ]: git (get), sperit (spirit);

(4) the substitution of [d] for [ð] (among the Negro population): dey (they), den (then), furder (further).

2. Special Typographic Technique. It is used to reflect the emphasis and emotion of live speech —

(1) Italics (a kind of printing type in which letters slope forwards to the right): I — I — No, I simply *can't* believe in you. (F.S.S.) Sing like hell! ... They must hear us! ... *Sing! Sing!* (J.C.)

(2) Printing in capital letters: "Tutor?" he cried. "Tewtor? TerYEWtor?" (P.W.)

(3) Printing a common noun with the initial capital: he must be a Somebody. (Punch)

(4) Spacing out: Well, she h a s been stuffing you nicely with importance. (B.Sh.)

(5) Multiplication of a letter: Silence! Silen-n-n-n-nce! (B.Sh.) Staaart crying, go ahead, staaart crying (N.M.)

Thus, graphones and the special typographic technique may supply the observant reader with a good deal of information about a character's territorial-social background as well as his emotional and physical state as the author conceives them. Remember also that the Soviet editions of British and American creative works are usually provided with comprehensive commentaries concerning the phonetic peculiarities of the direct speech.

INFORMAL LEXIS AND IDIOM

Vocabulary is a noticeable aspect of IE. Without attempting to present it as a comprehensive system we shall try to bring out only some of its salient features. First of all, here belong words and phrases of subneutral nature whose absolutely specific feature is that they are used only in informal everyday communication. Some of them are distinguishable from neutral elements only in that they are avoided on formal occasions (the so-called literary colloquial words). More deflated are familiar colloquial words: they are more emotional and casual, contain a great number of jocular and ironical expressions. Elements used in illiterate popular speech are termed low colloquial. It should be pointed out, however, that the boundaries between literary, familiar and low colloquial layers are not very sharply defined [38, p. 226] and are in fact vacillating because the attitude of educated users of English is becoming more flexible towards stylistic values. It seems, therefore, expedient to treat colloquialisms as a whole, as the minimum scale of informal vocabulary.

If we make a further step down, the step to the mean scale of subneutral vocabulary, we shall find a large tract of words and idioms that can be summarily called slang. The basic difference between the minimum and mean scales is this: colloquialisms are used more or less automatically, subconsciously in the appropriate situation, while slang is a conscious, intentional degradation of the vocabulary.

Finally, on the maximum scale of social prestige there are terms of abuse, vulgarisms and taboo words and phrases.

Let us consider each of the three scales of informal lexis and idiom in some detail.

Colloquialisms may be separated into two classes. For want of available terms we shall call the items of one of them as "functional colloquial elements", and of the other, "notional colloquial lexis and idiom".

FUNCTIONAL COLLOQUIAL ELEMENTS

These are words and phrases that serve the emotive (expressive), conative and phatic functions in informal conversations, their denotational information being very slight or nil. They are an essential feature of informal dialogues because they keep the conversation going by maintaining contact between its participants, providing feedback, expressing attitudes, emotions, etc. Functional colloquial elements may be roughly separated into social phrases, addresses and interjections.

1. **Social Phrases.** The term has been introduced by J. Nosek who defines social phrases as "typified (automatized) and socially institutionalized and binding words and collocations to stand for definite elements, segments, time points and persons in colloquial situations. Their role is to control the flow of conversation. They should be regarded in a slightly wider sense as covering also certain words and phrases accompanying definite kinetic acts, gestures, etc. which are concomitant to conversation". [81, p. 9] Under social phrases the following elements may be listed according to their semantic affinity:

(a) **Greetings.** They serve primarily the phatic function and also reflect the relationship of one speaker to another along the "formal – informal" axis. On informal occasions greetings connote friendliness, casualness, various degrees of intimacy: ● Good morning! (Morning!), ● Good afternoon! (Afternoon!), ● Good evening! (Evening!), ● Hallo (Hello, Hullo!), ● Cheerio! ● Hi! (AE).

Greetings are often followed by the person's name. *Cheerio* is a very informal way of greeting (used with the falling tune) and is to be employed only speaking to intimate friends. The informal *hi* is widely used chiefly in American English. Words of greeting if addressed to some acquaintances or friends are often followed by such expressions as: Haven't seen you for ages! It's good to see you again! , etc. E.g.

□ Morning, Doc. – Morning, Howie. (Th.W.) □ Good Morning, Father. – Never mind bloody good mornings. (W-H) · He drove up and pulled to the regular pump. The guy put his hands on Mel's window and bent down. "Afternoon ... fillarup?" "Yeah," Mel said. "Fillarup." (G.C.) □ [After profoundly clearing a throat unaccustomed to much vocal exercises.] Afternoon, marm! – Mr Sampson? (Ch.L.) □ Evening, Mr Blair. (J.T.) □ Good evening, Bill. – Evenin', Mr Webb. (Th.W.) □ He was a stoutish infant with a lot of freckles and a good deal of jam on his face. "Hallo! Hallo! Hallo!" I said. "What?" There didn't seem much else to say. (P.W.) □ Mason opened the corridor door. "Hi, Paul," he said. Drake's shoulders were slumped forward, his manner lugubrious. "H'lo, Perry," he said. (E.G.) □ Miss Marconi, nice to see you again. (P.B.)

(b) **Words of Parting:** ● Good-bye! ● Good-bye for the present! ● Bye-bye! ● Bye (John)! ● So long! ● See you soon! ● See you later! ● See you tomorrow! ● Good night! ● Cheerio!

Bye-bye is actually a child's way to say good-bye; it is also used when speaking to friends and in this case is pronounced very quickly. *Cheerio* if used as a word of parting is pronounced with the rising intonation. When parting people often use such

formulas as *Remember me to ...*, *Give my love to ...* (the response tags are *Thanks, I will*, or *Certainly, I will*). *Good night* is not only used when going to bed, but also as words of parting late in the evening. [94]

With regard to consituation the words of greeting and parting signal the boundaries of a dialogue denoting the coming or departure of its participants.

(c) **Social Introductions and Their Response-Tags** ● Meet my friend, Doctor C. ● Meet Mr.B. ● I'd like you to meet Colonel H. ● Mrs. T., this is Mr. M. ● How do you do? ● Hallo! ● Glad to meet you. ● Pleased to meet you [94]. E.g.

□ "Emma," he said, "have you met Michael Fenwick? Michael, this is my wife, Emma." (M.D.) □ Laura, this is Jim, this is my sister Laura. — How d'you do? — Okay. (T.W.) □ "Hello, George," he said. "Won't you do some introducing? The ladies don't seem to know one another's names." "I know her name all right," said Betty. "I just don't use bad language, that's all." "This is Charles Lumley, June," he said to the young woman. Charles waited for him to complete the introduction by telling him her name, but some kind of inhibitory tension prevented him. Perhaps he was in love with her. "I'm June Veeber," said the girl to Charles. (J.W.) □ My name's Johnny Macino — does a Mr. Simmons live here? Mel Simmons? — Yeah, he's here. Hello. C'min. (G.C.)

(d) **Congratulations and Wishes**: ● Congratulations (to you) ● Many happy returns (of the day)! ● (A) Happy New Year! ● Merry Christmas! ● (My) best wishes to you! ● I wish you luck! ● Good luck! ● All the best! ● Enjoy yourself! ● Have fun! ● Have a good time!

Congratulations is a most general expression used on any occasion but the New Year and other holidays. The main answer to (A) *Happy New Year* is to repeat the wish. The response-tags to the other formulas of congratulation and wishes are *Thank you*, *Thanks*, *the Same to You*. The formula *Many happy returns of the day* is answered only with a *Thank you* or its variations [94]. E.g. □ How are you getting on with my cousin's house? — It'll be finished in about a week. — I congratulate you! — Thanks — I don't know that it's much of a subject for congratulations. (J.G.)

□ Then she fished in the cupboard where she kept the tea and sugar locked away from us, and surprisingly presented us each with a bottle of eau-de-Cologne. "A happy Christmas to you all," she said, her gold back tooth glittering. (M.D.) □ "Something for you," she said, fumbling under her apron and producing a very nice screw pencil. "A Merry Xmas," she said, taking my arm. (M.D.) □ He was so flummoxed to find a neat little blonde beside me on the doorstep. "But, my dear Richard ..." he said, rapidly recovering his poise. "My dear Richard, my heartiest congratulations. Lots of long life and happiness to you both, and so on." Taking Nikki's hand he bowed low and kissed her knuckles loudly. "My dear fellow, I do congratulate you." (R.G.)

(e) **Requests**. These are mild commands (imperatives) aiming to effect some action. They perform the conative function appealing to the addressee's good will or magnanimity: ● Please ... ● Will you ...? ● Will you please ...? ● Would you ...?

● Would you please ...? ● Do you mind (+ gerund)? ● ...there's a dear, etc. E.g. □ "Go and arrange it," she said. "I'll stay here and wait. Don't be long, Charles." He got up to go and arrange it. "Please don't be long," she said again. (J.W.) □ "Listen, please, please, listen," his voice broke out harshly and jerkily. (J.W.) □ "Couldn't you please do that for me?" (J.T.) □ "Jimmy," she said sweetly, "will you do some-

thing for me?" (P.B.) □ Go round to the other side, will you? (J.W.) □ "Would you mind not asking me that, not just at present?" she said slowly. (J.W.) □ Bobby dear, you don't mind if I sit on Joe's knee, do you? (J.B.) □ There's plenty of room. Do come, Joe. (J.B.) □ Be an angel, Aunt Lin, and pack a bag for me, will you? (J.T.)

(f) T h a n k s (with response tags): ● Thank you (very much) ● Thanks ● Thanks a lot ● That's very nice of you ● Not at all! ● That's all right ● That's really nothing! ● It's no trouble whatever! E.g.

□ You've picked up the work here very quickly. — Thank you, sir. (J.B.)
□ There's a letter for you, Miss Moss. — Oh, thank you very much, Mrs. Pine. It's very good of you, I'm sure, to take the trouble. — No trouble at all. (K.M.) □ I explained about my bicycle. "Leave it here, my dear," said Bertie. "You can pick it up any time." "Oh no, thanks awfully. I don't mind a bit. I like bicycling." (M.D.)

(g) A p o l o g i e s. The universal informal apology after doing something seems to be (*I am*) *sorry*, often with various intensifiers and followed by some self-critical comment:

□ "But if you live in Moss Point and —" I began. She stared at me blankly. "Sorry," I said. "Bad joke." (P.B.) □ "Look," he said slowly. "I'm very sorry, Harry, but you must get this idea out of your head and keep it out." (J.W.) □ I'm awfully sorry, old man, but Eva invited some friends up." (J.B.)

Forgive me expresses a stronger appeal:

□ Forgive my asking this, but don't you sometimes feel it was a stroke of bad luck ... (J.W.)

In the following amusing passage the offender hates to apologize directly and resorts to periphrasis:

□ Fleishman shrugged his jacket angrily back into place. He was puffing. He adjusted his glasses, which had gone askew on his nose, and glared through them at Dowler. "It was an accident," Dowler said grudgingly. Fleishman looked down at his grease-stained trousers. A piece of potato salad had somehow managed to adhere to one leg through all the scuffling. Fleishman swiped at it vengefully. He looked again at Dowler. "I said it was an accident," Dowler said. Fleishman swallowed to get his breath. "Okay," he said. "Forget it." (G.C.)

(h) A s s e n t a n d D i s s e n t: ● All right ● That's right ● I agree ● Certainly ● Sure ● Of course ● Righto ● O.K. ● I disagree with you ● I object to it ● I protest ● You are wrong ● That won't do ● Impossible ● Certainly not, etc. E.g.

□ "Don't be angry with me. Promise." "All right," she said impatiently, "I won't be angry even if it's indecent. I promise." (J.B.) □ Is this thing yours? — That's right, Daddy. (J.W.) □ There is no end to extravagancies of human conduct. — I agree. (J.T.) □ "May we see the suitcases in the cupboard?" "Certainly," Marion said, but she seemed unhappy. (J.T.) □ I want to use your telephone first, if I may. — Sure. Go ahead. (J.T.) □ I take it that your clients are the two women in the case, and not this girl? — Of course. (J.T.) □ Righto. I'll meet you in the Bell — that's the pub at the end of the street. That do? (J.T.) □ "I think maybe you better handle her." Nelson nodded. "O.K." (F.K.) □ "You could run me down in one of these cars of yours — " "Impossible," Charles broke in with nervous sharpness. "We're strictly forbidden to carry any passengers." (J.W.) □ "You're fired." "The press agent's Adam's apple bobbed nervously as he swallowed. "You can't do that to me, Mr. Nelson." (F.K.)

(i) **Hesitation Elements.** D. Crystal and D. Davy attach much importance to the role of hesitation in dialogue: "Perfect fluency in this variety (conversational English — V.M.) tends to produce the wrong effect, for psychological and other reasons — one gets labelled a "smooth" talker, for instance — which rather suggests that hesitation phenomena are of primary significance in determining the acceptability or otherwise of conversation. What must be avoided at all costs is prejudging this issue by inculcating a pejorative attitude towards hesitation features in conversation ...". [43, p. 104 — 105]. And also: "The effect of 'word-searching' helps to avoid the impression of being too knowledgeable about a topic, and builds up an alternative impression of informality". [43, p. 108]. Here belong the so-called conversational ticks (or time fillers): ● Well, ... ● I mean ... ● You see ... ● You know... ● ... so to say ... ● Sort of ... ● Kind of ... ● What-do-you-call-it... ● You-know-what-I-mean ... ● What's-his-name? , etc. A. Werner notes that it was once thought slovenly to use a vague expression like "sort of" (I felt sort of hungry), but now speakers use it without bothering to enunciate the 'of' clearly, so that it sounds 'sorta' [103]. The same seems to be true of 'kind of': 'kinda'. In fact this spelling is creeping into literature, especially in America (cf. also 'gotta', 'wanna', 'gonna', 'a coupla') E.g.

□ He's sorta like manager. — Of the whole company? — No, just the branch, sorta. (G.C.) □ Oh, Jeeves! — Sir? — I wish ... that is ... I think ... I mean ... Oh, nothing! (P.W.) □ I'm not in the business of rehabilitating people, you know. (G.C.) □ I can't tell how pleased I am, Mel. — Well yeah — I mean, I'm pleased too. (G.C.) □ Hi, where are we? — Out a ways. — In the desert? — Well, kinda. But no one's around, don't worry. (G.C.) □ She promised me she wouldn't go out with a soul. — Ah, but with a merry twinkle in her eye, no doubt? I mean to say, you can't expect a girl nowadays to treat a promise like that seriously. I mean, dash it, be reasonable! " (P.W.) □ Well, how did it happen? — It sort of happened all of a sudden. I was feeling miserable and very angry with you and ... and all that. (P.W.)

The above list of social phrases could be easily continued, but a comprehensive description of them is far beyond the scope of this book. Our task here is to convince the student of English that such patterns are indispensable for carrying on a conversation in a natural manner. Of course, it is hardly possible to piece a complete conversation out of social phrases only. To use J. Nosek apt metaphor, they may be compared "to set traffic lights controlling the discourse the theme of which cannot be the social phrases themselves." [81, p. 11] They have a very stereotyped and formulaic semantic structure which cannot provide any new information.

2. The Direct Address. Another group of functional colloquial elements consists of words or word groups that guide the direction of discourse to its participants. The direct address never transgresses its boundaries and does not create straight links to the rest of the syntactic context. B.A. Ilyish defines the direct address as "a name or designation of the person or persons ... to whom the speech is addressed". [61, p. 232]

The direct address always serves the phatic function in the communication act although this function is often accompanied or even relegated to the background by the emotive one.

Lexical means of the direct address reflect the nature of relationship between the participants of communication both in its socio-psychological and personal aspects. K.A. Dolinin proposes to distinguish between two classes of the direct address:

(1) socially orienting forms and (2) personal-emotive ones. The first group of vocative means expresses more or less stable social positions of the interlocutors in relation to each other. They are fixed and adhere to social etiquette, i.e. they are genuine social signs.

The second group of vocative means, personal-emotive elements, can be used in combination with socially orienting address words or instead of them. They express more changeable and fleeting attitudes of the speaker to the addressee and signal various degrees of intimacy.

(1) The socially orienting forms of direct address may be separated into the following groups:

(a) The honorific terms *sir* and (less frequent) *madam*. They are never followed by a name, except when *sir* is an aristocratic title used before the name of a knight or baronet, such as Sir Robert Chiltern. When *sir* is a title it is always used with the first name only, and they say Sir Robert, never Sir Chiltern. *Sir* and *madam* used alone are meant to show respect for position and seniority. Shopkeepers, waiters and servants call their customers and masters *sir* or *madam*. E.g.

□ The landlord, a thin grey-haired man, shuffled in. "Good evening, Mrs. Aisgill. Good evening, sir. What can I get you?" (J.B.) □ "My friend and myself," Midge said, "merely happened to be wondering how much are those pearls you've got on your window" "Ah, yes," the clerk said. "The double rope. That is two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, Madam." (D.P.)

□ "Jeeves," I said, when I got home, "I'm worried." — "Sir?" — "About Mr. Little. ... I want you to observe closely, Jeeves, and form your decision." — "Very good, sir." — "And about the tea, get in some muffins." — "Yes, sir." — "And some jam, ham, cake, scrambled eggs, and five or six waggonloads of sardines." — "Sardines, sir?" said Jeeves with a shudder. — "Sardines." There was an awkward pause. "Don't blame me, Jeeves," I said, "It isn't my fault." — "No, sir." — "Well, that's that." — "Yes, sir." (P.W.) □ "Seein' you've missed your train, m'm, shall I wait, and take you 'ome again? — No. — Cert'nly, m'm. (J.G.)

Sir is a honorific term to be used by persons belonging to various social groups when addressing their superiors: schoolchildren — their men teachers (women teachers are never called *madam*), soldiers, sailors, policemen, etc. — their officers, young men — older men (but in the latter case *sir* is used reluctantly nowadays especially if the addressee's name is known). E.g.

□ When, after a hard morning's work cleaning out our hut, we listened in silence to the Orderly Officer's praise, Private Quelch would break out with a ringing, dutifully beaming, "Thank you, sir!" (A.B.) □ Hoylake showed all his dentures in a dazzling smile. "You've picked up the work here very quickly," he said. "Thank you, sir." (J.B.)

(b) Addressing by professional titles (*Doctor, Inspector, Colonel, Nurse, Professor, etc.*). A medical practitioner is usually addressed just *Doctor*. If *Doctor* is followed by a surname (Doctor Brown) it implies that the person has the university degree (Doctor of Philosophy, Doctor of Music) and is not a medical man. In the other cases the professional title is used with or without a surname. E.g.

□ "Nurse Dickinson," Sister would say, "get all those men into bed." (M.D.) □ "Nurse," she said, looking at the dirt on my apron from under her mauve lids. "You must never, never, never do such a thing again." (M.D.) □ After I had examined

Synthia a few days later for a vague backache, I called Mother into the sitting-room and announced as weightily as possible, "Mrs Porson — I want to have a serious talk with you." — "Yes, Doctor?" — "About your daughter." — "But of course, Doctor." She gave me a smile. (R.G.) □ Generally speaking, Dr. Fleishman, would you say more or fewer people should be sent to prison? (G.C.) □ The guard knocked on the door. It had a little card that said Dr. S.F. Fleishman, and underneath that, Assistant Warden. All Mel could think of was: "Oh, shit, ... all that doctor business. What the hell kind of doctor, for Christ's sake? Orninski said not the kind that could treat you for anything, but anything you got after going to college, or at least that some guys got. Well, maybe so." (G.C.) □ Jack, would you mind translating for Senator /oyolko? — Look, Senator, this guy tries to buy this kid. We want to know how some. (J.H.) □ You might have that pond drained, Squire! (J.G.) □ Rector, are you sure it's safe? (J.G.)

(c) Addressing by surnames with the prefixed general titles *Mr, Mrs, Miss (Ms)* is usual among acquaintances. It signals the equality of relations and also a certain social distance, absence of intimacy. E.g.

□ There's no child better. Barry combines drive and a keen, keen mind. He calls me Dr Gozar, and I call him Mr Rudd. I always call my high-school students "Mr" and "Miss" — you see, besides being principal at Lincoln, I teach biology courses in both of the Pequot high schools — and so I call Barry "Mr", too. (J.H.) □ You are Mrs William L.Sloat? — No. Mrs Jefferson Sloat. — We understood from our investigators that you were a Mrs Bill Sloat. — I am called Bill. — That's your name? — No, it's my nickname.(J.H.)

Using a bare surname may imply the addressee's inferior position: □ In Captain Frick's office downstairs, a patrolman named Richard Genero was on the carpet. — "Am I to understand, Genero," Captain Frick said, "that you don't know whether the person who left this bag on the sidewalk was a man or a woman, is what I am able to understand, Genero?" (E.B.)

Using a bare surname is also usual among unrelated male friends, not among near relatives. Consider this passage from B.Shaw's *Pygmalion*:

HIGGINS. Sorry. When Pickering starts shouting nobody can get a word in edgewise.

MRS HIGGINS. Be quiet, Henry. Colonel Pickering: don't you realize that when Iiza walked into Wimpole Street, something walked in with her?

Professor Higgins and Colonel Pickering being friends refer and address themselves to each other omitting their titles.

Note that the forms *mister, lady, miss* are used, with a touch of familiarity, in even colloquial AE, to address a stranger. E.g.

□ What's your name, mister? (E.B.) □ "Police!" she yelled again. A number of impatient bystanders ... gathered around. "Please, lady, please don't yell," urged the store dick. "If you just let me —" A large hairy man thrust his way between them to inquire, "Lady, is this guy annoying you?" (I.W.)

(d) Addressing by first (Christian) names is current among near relatives, friends, neighbors, etc. E.g.

□ What is it, Isabel? What is it? — What is what, William? — Ah, you know! — Oh, William! Please! Please don't be so dreadfully stuffy and — tragic. ... Even this in my house and the servants you grudge me. — Isabel! (K.M.)

The modern tendency is to come to first-name terms as soon as possible, especially if status and age are the same. E.g.

□ He took the abruptly extended hand. "Very white of you, dear boy." The hand was retained, his eyes quizzed. "Say I must call you David. Surnames terribly square these days. That right?" He used "square" as if were some daring new piece of slang. "Please do." "Splendid. Well. I'm Henry then. Yes?" (J.F.) □ Well, good evening, Mr Smith. And how are you? — You don't have to call me Mr Smith, do you? — I guess not. What should I call you? — Adam. — My name is Margaret. (E.G.)

Addressing somebody by his or her first name in its short, diminutive or familiar form or using pet names express a greater intimacy, affection. E.g.

□ You're a marvel, Bob (Robert). (J.T.) □ Hey, Peggy (Margaret)! Chucky (Charles)! Where are you? Surprises! (J.C.) □ There had been a time when they had made up their quarrels, usually in bed. There would be kisses and little names and assurances of fresh starts ... "Oh, it's going to be great now, Herb (Herbert). We'll have swell time." (D.P.) □ Another thing I remember: Everybody called me Matt. I thought it sounded grown-up. But you called me Matthew. You said it sounded more dignified. (P.B.)

A good example of how pet names are used affords K. Mansfield's short story *Sun and Moon*, where the names of these heavenly bodies are terms of endearment for two little children, a boy and a girl: "Don't you nod your head like that Moon." — "Come on, Sun."

(e) Persons may be also addressed by the names of family members which denote the person's family status and his relation to the speaker (i) without any other name (*Father, Dad, Pa, Mother, Mom, Mum, Ma, Son, Sonny, Auntie, Uncle*, etc.) and (ii) with a proper name added (*Uncle George, Auntie Ruth*, etc.). Group (i) is more intimate than group (ii). E.g.

(i) □ Tea ready, Mom? (J.W.) □ You're very good to me, Auntie (J.B.) □ The kettle's just boiling. Where's Stan, dad? (J.W.) □ Thank you, Uncle. (J.W.) □ "Don't worry, Auntie!" he cried. "Only makes your hair gray." (N.D.) □ "Can you see us over there, Ma?" Pop said. (H.B.) □ Been to sleep, grandfather? (S.H.) (ii) Hal a minute, Uncle Gally. (P.W.) Aunt Lin! Where do you get those stories? (J.T.)

(f) Words of address may also employ what J. Nosek calls "an expression of the addressee's human classification (of age, generation, sex, etc.);" [81, p. 13]: *baby* (to address a sweetheart, wife), *blondie*, *kid(die)*, (my) *lad(die)*, *young lady*, *old boy*, *old chap*, *old thing*. We shall add to this group also various low familiar vocatives to address a stranger, such as *mate*, *chum*, *buddy*, etc. E.g.

□ "What's up, baby?" he asked, surprised into an unwonted familiarity by his concern for her. (J.W.) □ "Come off it, Blondie, can't a chap get shaved in peace?" (M.D.) □ "Just a hint, old thing." She was fearfully matey. (M.D.) □ What's up, lad (J.B.) □ Lead me to it, old boy. (J.W.) □ And how superior, how condescending he was! It was always, "Let me show you, old fellow," or, "No, you'll ruin your rifle that way, old man." (A.B.) □ "Got a light, mate?" came a croak beside him (J.W.) □ I ain't that old buddy. (E.B.)

As the reader may have noticed even from the above account of socially orienting forms of the direct address which is far from being exhaustive, they represent an intricate picture reflecting the complexity of social relations in the present English speaking countries. It is quite obvious that a student of English should be well

viewed up in the subtle nuances of various socially orienting forms of address and be able to employ them correctly in conversation. Dialogues in modern prose and drama are an invaluable source of information on the subject.

(2) Personal-emotive means of the direct address. These can collocate with the socially orienting forms or be used on their own and express less stable, fleeting attitudes of personal, emotive nature to the addressee. Their phatic connotations blend with emotive and conative ones. Personal-emotive vocatives draw on the stock evaluative words (see p. 12) and can be roughly classed into (a) endearments and (b) abusives.

(a) **E n d e a r m e n t s.** They express a positive attitude of the speaker to the listener, some of them are capable of linking up with the forms of social address (*dear, darling*), many of them are familiar tropes, mostly metaphors (*honey, ducky, baby, angel*). The addition of the possessive "my" increases the emotiveness. E.g.

□ Have you had a busy day, dear? (J.T.) □ Bill, dear, you are sweet! (I.M.)
I ran across to her. "What is it, dearest?" (J.B.) □ Well, darling, you bake just as well as Christina. (J. T.) □ My darling, I'm sorry. I do love you. (J.B.)
Christina, my love, you know very well that no one could imagine this house without you (J.T.) □ Rosa, we want some water, love, out of the kitchen. (J.W.)
You're not old. — Oh, yes I am, honey. Much older than you. (J.B.) □ Don't worry, sweetheart. (J.B.) □ "Come along, my dear." Freddie greeted her with affection, even with deference. (A.C.) □ It's only because he's a morsel down to-day. But he'll soon be up and doing again. Won't you, ducky! (A.C.)

Endearments, if unsupported by the necessary context and uttered in isolation, lose their vocative force and become emotive nominative one-member sentences: "Oh, my darling," she said sadly. (J.W.) □ "What a picture!" cried the ladies. Oh, the ducks! Oh, the lambs! Oh, the sweets! Oh, the pets!" (K.M.)

(b) **A b u s i v e s.** Terms of abuse (bad names) are, to quote J.Nosek, "depreciative (pejorative) words or phrases with a dominant appeal function with which the speaker addresses (directly or in absence) another person with the intention to wound or discredit him socially." [81, p. 19] It is doubtful if they can be treated as forms of address, they are rather nominative one-member sentences that give vent to uncontrolled negative emotions and are meant to insult rather than establish contact, etc. Many of them begin with the pronoun *you* and are composed of a noun preceded by one or more depreciative epithets (*you damned bastard, you little fool, you little rat*, etc.). Most terms of abuse are familiar metaphors. Undesirable properties are transferred from animals to humans (*ass, bitch, swine*), or properties from the socially inferior sphere (*bastard, idiot, slut*). E.g.

□ You've upset her, you block-headed bastard. (J.W.) □ "Stupid old cow!" I barked venomously. (L.P.) □ She looked at him morosely. "You big ape, Ed, you big bastard," she said in a voice that Charles had not heard before. (J.W.) □ You are old swine. (J.B.) □ "You louse," she said. "You trapped me into revealing my divine logic." (P.B.)

Needless to say, students of English are not encouraged to use such insulting vocatives as they are socially destructive and deny human values.

It is important to note that the nature of the direct address largely depends on its position in relation to the utterance. In the initial, strong position it functions as an attention-compelling signal in the first place, being practically an independent phrase: □ "Mr Froulish!" screamed the widow. "Don't you think you can get

away! I've seen yer — come up here! " (J.W.) □ He hurried her up into the breakfast room and instantly left her, shouting breathlessly: "Father! Father! An emergency, Father! " (N.D.) When, however, the direct address is used in the middle or at the end of an utterance it not only guides the direction of discourse to its participant but more distinctly expresses the speaker's attitudes, is capable of modifying the addressee's behaviour and psychological state.

To sum up, the direct address is an important functional feature of conversation; it reflects all the dimensions of consituation and is, as it were, a tuning-fork of social and personal nuances of human relationships.

3. Interjections. They are one more group of words belonging to what we call in this book "functional colloquial items". They are an important feature of conversation and differ from all the other words of the language in that they are "not names of anything, but expressions of emotions". [61, p. 166] From our point of view the existence of interjections makes it possible to distinguish between two types of lexical meanings, viz., the logical meaning and the emotive meaning.

Emotion is one of the forms of reflecting the existing world. It can be generalized as well as the notion. Due to their general character emotions expressed by words are understandable by the individuals speaking a given language. The interjection, any word, generalizes, but it expresses not a notion but an emotion. Thus the emotive meaning is a generalized expression of emotion in the word. The emotive meaning in its pure form is present only in the interjections. In the rest of the words it exists only as an emotive connotation which, together with the logical meaning, forms an inseparable unity.

As I.V. Arnold points out, interjections as pure signs of emotions have the following distinctive features: they are syntactically optional, i.e. can be deleted without upsetting the well-formedness of the phrase; no syntactical links with the other members of the sentence; semantic irradiation, i.e. the interjection emotionally colours the whole utterance [5, p. 106].

Interjections have numerous and somewhat vague meanings which is no doubt due to their non-notional and consequently amorphous nature. Even such an interjection as *hurrah* (*hurray*), a well-known sign of exhilaration, is rather vaguely described in A.S. Hornby's Dictionary [57] as "expressing joy, welcome, approval, etc." "and cetera" is quite significant here. Yet the context, generally speaking, removes any ambiguity, "polysemy". For example, we have no doubt that *hoorah!* expresses triumphant joy in the commentaries of the enthusiastic cinema-goer who watches a thriller in one of S. Leacock's humorous stories:

Hoorah! Isn't it great — hurry! don't lose a minute — ... there goes the motor biff! There goes the other one — right after it — hoorah! The open road again — first motor flying along! Hullo, what's wrong? It's slackened, it stops — hoorah! It's broken down — there's Madeline inside — there's Edward the Roo! Say! He's pale and desperate! Hoorah! Hoorah! the police! the police! all ten of them in their big car — see them jumping out — see them pile into the thugs!

As to the most frequent interjection "oh", it can express both joy and sorrow as well as many other emotions. Of course, in actual oral communication a lot depends on the intonation but even then the emotion is explicated in the subsequent utterance: Oh, I'm tired (annoyance). Oh, all right (satisfaction). Oh, I'm so happy (joy), etc. Consider also the following passage from K. Mansfield's *Sun and Moon* (the reaction of children on seeing the Christmas ice pudding): "Oh! Oh! Oh!

a little house. It was a little pink house with white snow on the roof and green
flowers and a brown door and stuck in the door there was a nut for a handle.”
There is no doubt that the *ohs* here express sheer delight.

Below are some more examples of interjections used in informal dialogues:

□ Phooey, it's a simple straightforward transaction. (J.B.) □ “Hah!”
said, making a sound like the throaty squawk of a hen. “Three strange men!”
(J.) □ “So you don't judge people by the colour of their eyes.” – “Ho! Don't!!”
Hallam surprisingly. (J.T.) □ It's starting to rain – – Pooh, pooh, I never mind
rain – does one good. (S.L.) □ Pshaw, I missed the others ... (S.L.) □ Gee!
What's that? (S.L.) □ Oho! So that's why you're all in black today. (S.H.) □ Aw,
what's the matter? (Ch. L.) □ O – O – O! It fair gives me creeps to hear you
like that. (F.S.S.)

Equivalent to interjections are imprecations or oaths and their euphemistic substitu-
tes: “With imprecations the speaker assumes his (negative) attitude to some
thing by invoking some (fictitious) being or phenomenon. By doing so he wishes to
vent to his feelings which he addresses to his partner.” [81, p. 20]. J. Nosek
states that little theoretical work has been done on imprecations and offers the fol-
lowing classification of them [81, p. 20-21]:

(1) Imprecations of a heavenly, irrational, religious character. The invocation is
formed by direct appeal: *God, my God, by God, Honest to God, for God's sake,*
Jesus Christ, for heaven's sake, by George, etc.

To obviate a taboo word the speaker invokes indirectly by means of euphe-
misms: *by Jove, for goodness sake, Goodness Gracious, dear me,* etc.

(2) There are also some imprecations invoking the infernal domain: *the devil,*
hell, etc.

(3) The group of “earthly” imprecations: *my eye, my backside,* etc.

(4) Idiomatic imprecations which consist of a current vocabulary and yet whose
etymology is blurred for the present speaker who does not see rational meaning in
it: *Cross my heart! Dash my buttons! Dash it all. Hang it. Blow that. Great*
Heavens!

V. Arnold makes a subtle observation in this connection. “They (oaths, swear-
words and their euphemistic variations – V.M.) occur very often and are highly
differentiated socially. Not only is there a difference in expressions used by school-
and elderly ladies, sailors and farmers, but even those chosen by students of
different universities may show local colour.” [5, p. 227]

In all probability, the “invocatory force” of imprecations was lost long ago and
now they are mere interjections. E.g.

□ And anyway, oh, God, I feel sick! (J.W.) □ “My God,” whispered Chris,
“the night nurses are busy.” (M.D.) □ “Christ! They are on us!” Bunder suddenly
said. (J.W.) □ “For Christ's sake, old boy,” he said. He meant that Charles ought
to have called so late without saying that he was coming. (J.W.) □ Good gracious,
do you got anything better to talk about than that? (M.D.) □ What would you be
if I'd be with her, goddammit! (E.B.)

We have discussed an important part of the colloquial vocabulary, the functional
pragmatic elements – social phrases, forms of the direct address and interjections
whose main functions in any conversation are emotive, phatic and conative. They are
vehicles of conveying conceptual information, yet informal direct human com-
munication is impossible without them.

"Notional colloquialisms" is the name that we apply to the large stratum of English words and expressions which, unlike functional colloquialisms, have pronounced conceptual meanings but which are used only in familiar, friendly English spoken by equals (in short, IE) and give humour and jest to a conversation. Compared to their neutral equivalents, notional colloquialisms are more emotive, expressive, figurative. They are the marked members in colloquial-neutral oppositions. Consider the following assortment of pairs in which the first member is colloquial and the second one, neutral:

- poke one's nose into:: interfere (Don't poke your nose into other people's business)
- have a soft spot for: : be fond of
- not all there: : mentally subnormal (Do you think that man is all there?)
- talk out of/through one's hat: : talk without sense; talk on a subject about which one really knows nothing (Don't take any notice of what he says; he's just talking out of his hat)
- cock and bull story: : a long, complicated but ridiculous story
- cliff-hanger: : a prolonged tense situation (Will he go on strike or not? It's becoming a real cliff-hanger)
- cook: : falsify (cook statistics, cook the evidence, cook the accounts)
- from A to Z: : in great detail, thoroughly (he knows Shakespeare from A to Z)
- funny: : strange (What's that funny noise you can hear? — DECI¹ gives a note in this connection: "Because funny has two different meanings it is quite common to say: Do you mean funny peculiar or funny ha-ha? (i.e. amusing)").

Thematically, the colloquialisms are mostly anthropocentric, i.e. they refer to that part of the world that is associated with people in their everyday life. Even when it borrows some catching scientific or technological term the latter becomes just a colloquial homely metaphor. For instance, the phrase "all systems go" used during the spectacular launchings of spacecraft during the late 1960s and early 1970s was popularised into a colloquialism meaning "all ready to go, and about to start" and such is employed quite trivially:

□ It's all systems go — turn over your exam papers and start writing.

Colloquial anthropocentricity is confirmed by the thematic classification of colloquial words offered by M.A.Kashcheeva and E.A.Chernyavskaya who studied all the 565 lexical units marked "colloquial" in the 1973 edition of Oksana Ber's Twentieth Century Dictionary [19]. We shall present these authors' classification in the following way.

The whole stock of colloquialisms falls out into two major thematic groups: "Man and His Functioning in Everyday Life" and "The Material World" (397 and 169 words respectively).

"Man and His Functioning in Everyday Life" may be divided into the following seven subgroups:

1. "Nominations of Persons". This is the most representative subgroup. Colloquialisms nominating a person convey some additional information about sex, age, profession, nationality, etc.: ● shaver (n) — a chap, a youngster ● hrinker (n) — a psychiatrist ● Sandy (n) — a Scot (from Alexander). Other colloquialisms of this class are the expressive-evaluative nominations of people involved in various activities.

¹ Wood F.T., Hill R.J. Dictionary of English Colloquial Idioms. — L., 1979. — 354 p.

appearance, manners, activities, behaviour: ● coot (n) — a foolish person ● ugly — an ugly person ● think-tank (n) — a person or a group of persons usually ex- in some field, regarded as a source of solutions to problems ● monkey (n) — mischievous child ● mother's boy — a boy who is doted on and spoiled by his mother ● horror (n) — a person (esp. a child) who horrifies one by his behaviour (n) — abbreviation of professional (he's a professional golfer).

2. "Names of Parts of the Body": ● hoof (n) — foot.

3. "Illnesses": Such colloquialisms express the intensity of the ailment: ● splin- (n) — a splitting headache.

4. "Clothes": ● bags (n) — trousers.

5. "Physical Actions", including —

5a. "Physiological Processes": ● burp (vi) — belch ● peckish (adj) — feeling or hungry.

5b. "Chattering": ● yap (n) — incessant, foolish chatter ● mumbo jumbo — meaningless talk or jargon ● hot air — empty, meaningless talk ● talk the hind leg (n) — go on talking for a very long time.

5c. "Beating, Punishment, Fights": ● doing (n) — a scolding, thrashing, severe reprimand ● catch it (v) — be punished or severely reprimanded ● talking-to (n) — rebuke; reprimand.

5d. "Alcoholic Intoxication": ● cock-eyed (adj.) — tipsy ● blind (adj) — drunk.

6. "Mental and Emotive Activities", including —

6a. "Activities of an Individual": ● wax (n) — a fit of anger ● change (n) — sa- tion ● agog (adj) — in a state of excited expectancy ● pep (n) — energy (possib- abbreviation of pepper) ● hot under the collar — nervously worried or angry.

6b. "Mutual Relations between People": ● socialize (vi) — to behave in a social manner ● wangle (vi) — to use tricky methods to attain one's ends ● pow-pow (n) — (jocular) discussion or conversation ● gift of the gab — facility in public speaking (n) used in a derogatory sense, implying a fluency of speech that conceals a pover- material or ideas).

7. "Expressive-Evaluative Labels" denoting the utmost degree of positive or ne- evaluation: ● rattling (adj.) — strikingly good ● horrid (adj.) — repellent, detes- ● atrocious (adj) — used very loosely to express the idea of something being bad ● thrilled to bits/death — very pleased and excited ● ace (n or adj) — first- excellent (person);

"The Material World" may be divided into two subgroups:

1. "Concrete Notions": ● roofer (n) — a letter of thanks for hospitality ● den — a private retreat for work ● parcel (n) — a sum of money lost or won ● afters — pudding or dessert after the main course ● gods (n) — the gallery of a theatre.

2. "Abstract Notions": ● moonshine (n) — nonsense ● go (n) — success, a spell, bout ● peanuts (n) — a matter of no importance ● go to the dogs — deteriorate much (used of people, institutions, organisations, social groups, etc.) ● hunch — a premonition: an idea that comes to a person through intuition.

Although giving a fairly accurate picture of the thematic fields that attract col- lations, the above classification is not quite ideal, primarily because its authors rely on very limited data at their disposal: explanatory dictionaries of the general type with a somewhat arbitrary selection of the subneutral lexis, and the actual number of colloquial words should far exceed the 565 units given in Chamber's. An- consideration deserves special emphasis: the colloquial vocabulary consists not

so much of separate words as of idioms. A close study of the 1979 edition of F.T. Wood and R. Hill's Dictionary of English Colloquial Idioms convincingly proves the point. Consider the following colloquial idioms whose separate elements are no means colloquial: ● go to town — spend lavishly (You certainly seem to have gone to town on the decoration of your house.) ● go west — die or disappear ● good, bad and indifferent — of all standards and qualities (We had all kinds of entries for easy competition — good, bad and indifferent.) ● never-never — (used with the hire-purchase (the satirical suggestion that the buyer never finishes paying for goods) ● not a patch on — far inferior to (As a scholar he is not a patch on his predecessor in the post.) ● shotgun marriage — a wedding made necessary by the bride being pregnant, the bride's father metaphorically holding a shotgun to the bridegroom's head to force him into marriage ● wear the trousers — exercise the authority in a family or a household (usu. applied to a woman who assumes this position by the exclusion of her husband (There is no doubt who wears the trousers in this household.))

The most remarkable and specifically English feature of colloquial idiom is perhaps, the active use of a dozen or so of onesyllabled verbs, such as *do, take, come, go, get, pull, turn, run, fall, lift, pay, pick*, both independently and in conjunction with the adverbs of place (also known as postpositions or postpositives) *in, out, off, up, down, away, over*, etc. and prepositions *for, at, with*, etc. Manipulation with these units produces enormous multiplicity of meanings in colloquial speech and presents certain difficulties for a learner of English who more often fails to understand and to use these idioms. Consider the following examples:

● do — cheat (They're trying to do me out of my little bit of money) ● do a London, a museum, etc. — used mainly by Americans and other English-speaking tourists to mean to visit London, etc., and see all the important sights ● do away with — abolish; get rid of ● do down — cheat, swindle (He'll do you down if he gets the chance) ● do for — act as a housekeeper (Young men taken and done for.) ● do in — exhaust; take all the strength from (The long, toilsome climb up that hill almost did me in) ● put on — give a false impression (I don't think he is really in pain; he's just putting it on.) ● take on — give expression to grief or some other emotion (Don't take on that won't help matters.) ● come off — (of plans, etc.) be successful (If this method doesn't come off, we shall have to think of another way.) ● go on about/at — talk angrily or tediously and at length (about the matter that causes annoyance, or the person to whom the remarks are directed) (You needn't go on at me like that; I'm not responsible for what has happened.) ● get off — be acquitted; escape punishment (We were astonished when we heard that the accused person had got off.) ● knock down — reject ● run in — arrest (The police have run old Sam in again for being drunk and disorderly) ● fall for — be romantically infatuated with (Paula's fallen for her new professor) ● pay off — succeed; prove to be profitable ● pick up — recover (Henry's been ill, but he's picking up again now.)

There are many other kinds of colloquial idioms which we are unable to discuss here; let us consider only one more type which is very characteristic — idioms of comparison. IE uses many short idiomatic comparisons in order to make the language more expressive, vivid and clear. Some of these comparisons may seem strange to the learner of English because they are unusual and unpredictable. An example is *as cool as a cucumber*. The connection between *cool* and *cucumber* is not obvious, yet every speaker will naturally put the two words together. (

some more examples: ● as blind as a bat ● as bright as silver ● as busy as a bee ● as clear as the nose on your face ● as dead as a doornail ● as dumb as a fish ● as easy as ABC ● as fat as butter ● as fit as a fiddle ● as good as gold ● as large as life ● as pretty as a picture ● as silly as a goose ● as white as snow.

A distinctive feature of IE is comparisons with verbs — ● to be off like a shot ● to eat like a horse ● to fight like cat and dog ● to fit like a glove ● to sleep like a log ● to walk like a trooper ● to swim like a fish.

From the above presentation of facts we should inevitably come to the conclusion that the distinctive feature of the notional colloquial lexis and idiom is that all its units have evaluative, emotive, facetious, ironical, familiar and other connotations of informal character which may be summarily called colloquial connotations.

There is always a possibility, let us remind ourselves, to express the same thing by other linguistic means devoid of colloquial connotations. Any speaker faces the alternative and selects either means to suit the constitution. The learner of English should remember that, as A. Werner puts it, "the most obvious trend in this century has been towards the informal and the colloquial. At all levels from the "high-brow" novel to the advertisement, writing has moved nearer to casual speech. We distrust those who get up on stilts to express their thoughts. The lecture, which the Victorians were so fond of, has given way to the talk." [103]

On the other hand, there is always the danger of using colloquialisms in the wrong constitution, as in a stylistician's anecdote where a foreign student writing on the character of Hamlet remarked: "*Hamlet was a good mixer*" and "*Ophelia had merely been Hamlet's girl-friend*". The colloquial expressions used here are part of recent IE. When they are used of Shakespeare we are conscious of their being out of place. One can understand, therefore, why R.J. Hill warns his readers that "although colloquial expressions are sometimes used in informal situations as a joke, informal expressions must simply not be used in formal situations, except possibly when talking about yourself." [104, p. iv]

It is wise to infer the connotations of any new expressions by intensive reading of modern literature so as to judge their social suitability.

THE MEAN SCALE OF INFORMAL VOCABULARY: SLANG

The basic difference between slang and dialects is that the former is substandard, its users are well aware of the fact that they are resorting to the lexical elements which are not accepted as good, formal usage by the majority of the speech community while the latter are non-standard, i.e. they are territorial varieties of the national language that have their own peculiarities in pronunciation, lexis and grammar, and their users are not necessarily aware that they deviate from the correct, literary language. But both slang and dialects are below colloquialisms in social prestige, that is why we place them (with a certain stretch!) on the same level.

S.B. Flexner illustrates the difference between the formal, colloquial, dialect and substandard levels of the vocabulary in the following amusing way (the American variant of which is meant):

In formal speech one might say: *Sir, you speak English well.*

Colloquially, one might say: *Friend, you talk plain and hit the nail right on the*

In American Southern dialect one might say: *Cousin, y'all talk mighty fine.*
 In slang one might say: *Buster, your line is the cat's pajamas, or, Doll, you come on with the straight jazz, real cool like* [102, p. vi].

As we see, the slang variants need the intralingual translation to comprehend:
 ●buster – a fellow, a guy ●line – one's usual topic and mode of conversation ●the cat's pajamas (or meow) – any person, thing, plan, etc. that is remarkable, noteworthy, excellent, or the like ●doll – a pretty girl or woman ●straight – honest, normal ●jazz – talk ●cool – satisfying; pleasant; in good taste.

SLANG

The most interesting phenomenon, stylistically, slang is, at the same time, very difficult to define, probably because of its scope and variety. A lot is written about slang; it has inspired both calumny and eulogy. Lexicographers Samuel Johnson and Noah Webster considered it low, crude and despicable. But we should not forget the words of the great American poet Walt Whitman: "Language is not an abstract construction of the learned, or of dictionary-makers, but is something arising out of work, needs, ties, joys, affections, tastes, of long generations of humanity, and its bases broad and low, close to the ground." (quoted in [65, p. 85]). And another American poet, Carl Sandburg, said: "Slang is language that takes off its coat, sits on its hands, and goes to work." (quoted in [56, p. 306])

Slang seems to appear for a number of social, psychological and social-psychological reasons [56, p. 306]. It tends to satisfy a variety of emotional and intellectual needs of people: as an exercise of wit and humour slang is "jesting language that gives fresh and pungent names to things often mentioned in discourse; it is ironical, often contemptuous and emphasizes the ridiculous aspect of things. Slang takes nothing seriously, it is alien to pomposity. In relations with others, it helps under certain circumstances, to reduce solemnity, pain or tragedy; like colloquialisms, it eases the way for smoother social contacts, by putting the speaker in touch with his companions and including a sense of friendliness and intimacy. The difference between slang words and their more respectable synonyms will become clear if we consider several triple oppositions consisting of a slang unit, colloquialism and neutral unit: ●bird : : chap : : man ●croaker : : doc : : doctor ●fish-wrapper : : reporter ●newspaper ●pig : : bobby : : policeman.

Let us take a closer look at the subneutral synonyms of *policeman*. *Bobby* is quite inoffensive in origin: it was derived from the name of Sir Robert Peel, who as Home Secretary in 1829 established the Metropolitan Police Force (For the same reason policemen were at one time called *Peelers*, but this is no longer used). They are different with *pig*. It has been low slang in English for a policeman for nearly two centuries and it is still going strong. They were shouting it in Brixton during the 1960s riots. It is quite obvious that *pig* (and the richest slang in general) has originated in the slums and on the wrong side of the tracks, where the police are often regarded as the enemy and it is not surprising that the slang terms for the Law are so numerous, so colourful, and so rude. Slang tends to be invented by men, not women, and by the poor, not the rich. They get their own back on the masculinity and poverty of their lives by the colourfulness of their language¹.

¹ The information on pig is taken from an article in "The Times" reprinted in "The News", 1981, Aug. 2.

Thus slang is used not only for fun, certain groups find in it an outlet of their rebelliousness; the slang of teenagers and of some college students, or some of the half-world and underworld, is a protest against the restraints imposed by formality and convention.

Slang is not a uniform body of words and expressions and falls out into special (or group) slang and general slang.

S p e c i a l s l a n g¹ is the words and expressions peculiar to special segments of the population. In this connection we should discuss the terms cant, jargon, and argot. **C a n t** is the conversational, familiar idiom used and generally understood only by members of a specific occupation, trade, profession, class, age group, interest group, or any other group. **J a r g o n** is the technical or even secret vocabulary of such a group; jargon is "shop talk". **A r g o t** is both the cant and the jargon of any professional criminal group [102, p. VI]. I believe that we can safely dispense with the term "cant" and use the term "special slang" instead; in other words, special slang is the stock of expressive and humorous words and expressions used by some social or professional group to denote things relevant in their activities, while jargon is the specialized language of different occupations and interests which is fundamentally impersonal and serious. K.Hudson says that jargon, "in the last quarter of the twentieth century, contains four essential elements:

1. It reflects a particular profession or occupation.
 2. It is pretentious, with only a small kernel of meaning within it.
 3. It is used mainly by intellectually inferior people, who feel a need to convince the general public of their importance.
 4. It is, deliberately or accidentally, mystifying". [58, p. 3]
- Hudson studies in his book the jargon of "the learned professions", that is of the Church, Medicine and Law. With regard to the language of the Church, he says: "To anyone who is unfamiliar with Christian phraseology both the Authorised Version and the New English Bible are likely to sound like jargon or, in extreme cases, gibberish." [58, p. 24] To illustrate this Hudson cites a passage from the New English Bible which, indeed, is rather gibberish than jargon to a secular reader:

God is light, and in him there is no darkness at all. If we claim to be sharing in his life while we walk in the dark, our words and our lives are a lie, but if we walk in the light as he himself is in the light, then we share together a common life, and we are being cleansed from every sin by the blood of Jesus, his Son.

Now to return to what is termed here as special slang, we shall give a few examples borrowed from G.Jennings [65, p. 84]:

If an average American buys the first item he's shown, or pays a list price that he could have haggled down, he's a "wrap-up".

At his stockbroker's office he is a "lily". At a Las Vegas casino he's a "pidgeon". At the carnival he's a "rube" or a "hiram". At his bookie's he's either a "piker" or a "plunger" — one term no more or less scornful than the other. The luxury hotel's disreputable bellboy who leads him to his suite privately refers to the quarters as "the annel" and to the quest as a "McGee" (poor tipper) or a "sport" (big tipper) — one term no more or less scornful than the other.

¹The term "special slang" is used by I.V.Arnold [38], V.Khomiakov [34] and L.D.Schweitzer [35].

The lady shopper who orders a brassiere because the ads described it as "enhancing, provocative and fulfilling" would be disillusioned if she could hear the counter girls refer to it disrespectfully — according to the customer's bra size — as "teacup", a "grapefruit" or a "hammock". If she buys an inexpensive dress it's "shroud", if she takes a large size it's a "tent". If her husband comes along to help her select an item, he's an "elmer".

When the lady goes to the beauty parlor she had better already be beautiful, or she's a "pickle" in the attendants' slang. If she is the sort who pinches the tomatoes her greengrocer knows her as a "lilac".

Even at the wretched customer's very last paying stop on this earth he is an object of derision. To his survivors, the undertaker unctuously speaks of him as "the departed" or "the loved one". Downstairs in the embalming room he is "the stiff".

The above examples belong to the special slang of the sphere of service and catering. But manual workers, dockers, postmen, house decorators, commercial travelers, printers, lawyers, doctors, sportsmen, soldiers and members of many other special groups have their own varieties of special slang. Here are some more examples this time from US Army Slang: ● bathtub — motorcycle side-car ● bloodsucker — one who makes blood tests ● brain bucket — steel helmet ● captain of the latrine — one detailed to clean the latrine ● have ants in the pants — be nervous, restless or jump ● morale booster — attractive girl ● picture gallery — tattooed soldier ● stomach robber — cook ● typewriter — machine-gun ● button man — soldier.

A typical example of the slang of social groups is Cockney rhyming slang. Cockneys, the inhabitants of East London slums, were inclined to be secretive in their talk and substituted such rhyming locutions as "needle and pin" for gin, "bees and honey" for money, "storm and strife" for wife, "Gawd (God forbids)" for kids, "gay and frisky" for whiskey. But this was too easy for outsiders to decode, so the speakers garbled their language even more, by using only the non-rhyming elements of the locutions. This resulted in such terms as "china" for man (from "china plate") and "bacon" for legs (from "bacon and eggs"). Eventually some of Cockney rhyming slang passed into general London Parlance. There are probably Londoners today saying "Let's have a butchers," "Use your loaf!" who've never heard the full expression and have no idea it has anything to do with a rhyme (butcher's hook — look, loaf of bread — head).

It is difficult to determine the lower bracket of specialization of slang: a loving parent's baby talk may be considered just as truly slang as is a drill sergeant's profane fulmination. Mothers and fathers (or at any rate aunts and grannies) are still liable, R.Quirk asserts, to address a baby with some such verbiage as: *Will the baby boodlum havums teeny-weeny drinkum-winkum now? Will he then! There now Mummy wipum baby's mouffy* [85, p. 37].

A special slang vocabulary shows that one has a group to which he "belongs" and in which he is "somebody" — outsiders had better respect him.

General slang is the more popular portion of the special slang from many groups. S.B.Flexner lists forty-five groups contributing to American Slang, among them, airplane pilots, advertising and public relations workers, baseball players and fans, cowboys and ranchers, fishing and hunting enthusiasts, football players, jazz musicians and fans, miners, photographers, pre-schoolage children, truck drivers and bus and taxi drivers, etc. [102, p. 596]

It is common knowledge that certain notions attract more slang than others.

As there is a surprising amount of slang words to denote such conceptions as "money", "swindle", "fool", "woman", "failure", "excellent", and some more. M.M. Malachuk gives impressive lists of what he calls "English social dialect synonymy" in the appendix to his recent publication [26]. The list of synonyms of average length that covers the idea "Penniless, Ruined", includes over one hundred words and phrases. Here are some of them:

At the bottom of the barrel, at the end of one's rope, beached, beanless, doughless, nothing in the kick, oofless, out, sewed up, skating on the uppers, touching from, unsugared, washed up.

However one mustn't get the impression that slang consists only of synonyms to standard words and expressions. Some of it fills real communicative needs: it is capable of bringing to light delicate nuances for which the standard language has no adequate expression. Those social groups that first confront a new object or concept give rise and use new words long before the public at large does. Such was the case, for instance, with the word *ghost (-writer)* which means "one who writes a book or article for pay by another who receives credit for the writing." Hence v.t. "to write something, as a book, usually for pay, for another person whose name appears as author" (I "ghosted" my wife's cook-book).

Here are some more examples of this kind and of recent origin: ● *grasseater* — a corrupt policeman who accepts graft money when it is offered, but who does not demand it ● *groupie* — a girl who seeks out, or follows on tour, star entertainers, especially members of rock groups or pop singers, in order to gain prestige through sexual contacts ● *jailhouse lawyer* — a prisoner who, whether well-informed or not, is given a free discussion of his own legal rights and affairs and those of fellow inmates ● *payola* — bribery money paid by recording companies, singers, etc., to disc jockeys (radio announcers who supervise a show of recorded popular music) for promoting and playing their records so they will become popular.

Slang words are usually short-lived ones. They are eventually either admitted into standard English or dropped out. As W. Freeman puts it picturesquely, "... English slang is highly ephemeral stuff. The bright catch-words of one generation have an escapable tendency to become pointless, meaningless and obsolete by the next. An alternative is the respectability of an idiom or colloquialism, with an ultimate home in the Oxford dictionary. The ranks of slang are being continuously reinforced by recruits, and at the same time reduced by death or desertion". [51, p. 7]

Yet there are slang expressions that seem to remain as such forever. Chaucer used "gab" (talk, gossip) and "bones" (dice) in the fourteenth century, and Shakespeare used "beat it" (go away). A good-looking woman was already a "broad" in the sixteenth century.

Many expressions that are now accepted as eminently "correct" can be dated by decades or even by centuries as slang. Few people, for example, are aware that such words as *encroach, purport, subject matter, workmanship, hitch-hiker, sky-scraper, nager, bus, cab, taxi, pub, mob, phone, odd, photo, shabby* were once slang, and looked as such.

Probably the greatest contribution of American slang to the world's languages is the words "jazz" and "O.K.". Surprisingly *jazz* was originally an obscene taboo word. In the twenties a music magazine hinted at it: "If the truth were known about the origin of the word 'jazz' it would never be mentioned in polite society."

The origin of *O.K.* is obscure, the most probable version being this: in 1840 a

Van Buren, nicknamed "Old Kinderhook" after his New York State hometown, was running for President. His supporters organized the "Democratic O.K. Club", a campaign march was called "The O.K. Quick Step", and "O.K." gradually became the Democrats' slogan. There is, of course, the possibility that the campaigners were making a word-play on some previously popular use of "O.K.". In any case, O.K. popularity is not hard to understand; it is brief, breezy, immediately understandable, unmistakable in meaning, and can function as almost any part of speech; noun, verb, adjective, adverb or interjection [65, p. 87-88].

The following example gives a good idea of how slang elements penetrate into Standard English. According to an article in *The International Herald Tribune* (reprinted in MN, 1981, No. 21), W.F. Smith, the recently appointed US attorney general, responding to criticism about his attendance at a party for an alleged friend of mobsters, said: "That was a cheap shot". Now "cheap shot" is a locution of recent vintage, explains the newspaper. It may have originated in boxing (i.e. belongs to special boxing slang), but its first printed citation is about a football player. In football, a cheap shot is a tackle or block delivered when the player on the receiving end is unable to defend himself — stretching to catch a pass, for example, or being wrestled down by another player (i.e. it became a term of football slang). The phrase was used in its political sense in *Business Week* and was picked up by a political reporter in 1976, who asked candidate Jimmy Carter whether he thought a certain barb aimed at President Ford did not constitute such a cheap shot. Carter replied "I don't think it was such a cheap shot," thus immortalizing the phrase.

A few words about the British and American slang. American slang vocabulary has always bulked larger than the British. One reason for it is the greater opportunity the former has had for absorbing words from the languages of immigrants. For example, Yiddish has contributed heavily: *kosher* to mean "fitting, proper, legitimate, O.K.", *schlemihl* and *schmendrik*, both to mean a dope or a dupe, but with a distinction. Says G.Jennings: "It was once explained to me that a house-painter who stupidly drops a paint bucket from his scaffold is a schlemihl; the dunce who stumbles underneath and gets it on his head is a schmendrik." [65, p. 94] There are also numerous contributions to American slang from Italian and other immigrants.

It is generally believed that new American slang swiftly crosses the Atlantic and settles down on the British Isles. But I.V.Arnold notes, that American slang also contains elements coming from Great Britain, though not many.

How large is the slang vocabulary? This is a difficult question to answer. G.Jennings maintains that slang — American slang alone — numbers 100,000 words [65, p. 89]. S.B.Flexner is much more cautious and suggests that there are now approximately 10,000 slang words in American English [102, p.VIII]. Chamber's Twentieth Century Dictionary has registered only 828 units [19, p. 168]. Such conflicting figures are possible due to the fact that different authors have arbitrary approaches to the concepts of colloquial, slang, general slang, special slang, informal, cant, jargon, dialect, argot.

For example, the expression *A 1* (variants: *A 1.*, *A one*, *A number one*) comes from Lloyd's Register of Shipping where the term was applied to a vessel of the best construction and in the best condition for sailing. Hence *A 1* came to be used in the meaning "first class, excellent, superior". But to W.Freeman it is slang [57], J.M.Dixon, familiar [47], to F.T.Wood and R.Hill, as well as to A.S.Hornby, colloquial [104, p. 57], to the compilers of *The Random House Dictionary, Informal*

According to M.A.Kashcheeva and E.A.Chernyavskaya, thematically, slang practically coincides with the colloquial thematic groups (see pp.60-61), but the difference between them is in the quality of emotive component: colloquialisms are facetious, ironical, familiar colouring while slang is often scornful and gross.

Concluding our observations of slang we would like to point out that slang always tends toward degradation rather than elevation. Says S.B.Flexner: "Morality and intellect (too frequently not considered virtues in the Modern American man) are overlooked in slang ..." Pointing out that slang has few complimentary or even merely descriptive words for "virgin", "good girl", or "gentleman", but has *bag, bat, w, gold digger, jerk, money mad, n.g., old lady, square*, etc., the same author puts a pathetic rhetorical question: "But how many words are there for a good wife and mother, an attractive girl and chaste woman, an honest, hard-working man who is kind to his family, or even a respected elderly person?" [102, p. XI]. Indeed, it is rather painful to read the supplement to Dictionary of American Slang (the 1975 edition) in which new slang creations of the sixties and the seventies are registered because it is teeming with terms related to drug-addiction, sexual perversion, aggressiveness, corruption, racial prejudice, crime and other vices that flourish in modern American society.

Thus slang is infinitely compartmented and at its highest it is scarcely distinguishable from the colloquial layer while at its lowest it merges with vulgarisms. The student of English should certainly abstain from using any kind of slang, which does not mean, however, that he should not understand its place in the English vocabulary and its stylistic functions.

THE MAXIMUM SCALE OF INFORMAL VOCABULARY: VULGARISMS

I.R.Galperin defines vulgarisms as expletives or swear-words and obscene words and expressions [53, p. 118].

Expletives, like interjections and imprecations, give vent to strong emotions, mainly annoyance, anger, vexation and the like, they are "a concentration of gross emotiveness." [2, p. 173] There are different degrees of vulgarity in swear-words. A lower degree is presented by such units, as *damn, to hell, son of a bitch, bloody* and the like.

Bloody, though having lost nowadays most of its shock power, seems to be at the end of the list of the so-called bl-words.

There have been many theories propounded as to why "bloody" should so shock a British. Some see the word as a contraction of "by our Lady!" or as a reference to the horror of the Crucifixion. But, G.Jennings argues, there have been many other similar ejaculations which never bore the obloquy of "bloody" — for example, "Gound!" (God's wounds), "Sblood!" (God's blood), "Mary!" (by the Virgin Mary), "Drat it!" (God rot it) and so on [65, p. 86]. O.Jespersen suggests the following explanation: "*Blessed* by a process which is found in other similar cases came to mean the opposite of the original meaning, and became the synonym of *damned*; *blamed* had the same signification. Instead of these strong expressions people began to use other adjectives, shutting off after pronouncing bl- into some innocent word like *bloody*, which soon became a great favourite with the vulgar and therefore came to ears polite, or *blooming*, which had the same unhappy fate in the latter part of the 19th century." [67, p. 229]

H. Spitzbardt [97, p. 235] gives the following list of the bl-words: ●blame (blamed) – a vulgar intensive (you know blame well; a blamed long time) ●blanket (blanky) (a blankety lie) ●blamed (-blamed) – a euphemistic substitution of damned ●blasted – (NED) low language (This room is so blasted chaste) ●the blazes – a special question intensifier (who, what, where, when, why, how the blazes?) ●bleeding – a vulgar intensive (bleedin' drunk) ●blessed (blest)=blowed – mostly in the expression I'll be blessed if ●blimey – from God blind me ●blinking (What blinking good are we?) ●blistering (a blistering idiot; he's blistering glad) ●blooming (he's blooming slow) ●blowed (you be blowed).

Expletives are on the lowest level of social prestige, they are rejected by the moral attitude of the speech community. Yet according to a newspaper report American Paul White of Cambridge (Mass.) claims that daily the Americans utter a billion imprecations and blurt out 700,000 swear-words a second. Significantly, according to G. Jennings, turn-of-the-century Italian immigrants in the United States called their American neighbors and co-workers *le sanemagogas* (the "son-of-guns"). No derogation was intended; it was what the Americans called each other [65, p. 95].

And, finally, obscenities (euphemistically known as "four-letter" or "taboo words") until recently have been considered unspeakable, unprintable and not recorded in common dictionaries. In actual fact only eight of them in common use consist of just four letters; one refers to a part of the body; five pertain to excretory functions; and two deal with sexual matters.

In this connection we should consider the concept of euphemism which is defined by I.V. Arnold as "the substitution of words of mild or vague connotations for expressions rough, unpleasant or for some reason unmentionable." [38, p. 135] According to H.W. Fowler, "The heyday of euphemism in England was the mid-Victorian era, when the dead were the departed, or no longer living, pregnant women were in an interesting condition, novelists wrote d – d for damned ... trousers were nether garments, or even, jocosely, but significantly, unmentionables or inexpressibles." Noting that the English are less "mealy-mouthed" now, Fowler admits however, that they are still more given to euphemisms than on the Continent: "The notice *Commit No Nuisance* or *Decency Forbids* was even in our own day sometimes used for the injunction put more bluntly in France as *Défense d'uriner*." [65, p. 171]

It is said that during "the heyday of euphemism" one of Rudyard Kipling's sketches (which began, "Shit! " said the Queen ...") was somehow brought to Queen Victoria's attention. She was not amused. And that, allegedly, is why Britain's most famous British poet never was honoured with knighthood, and why the laureateship went to Alfred Austin [65, p. 113].

Things have radically changed since those days. Now certain categories of American authors (and British, too) seem to indulge in endowing their characters' speech with the dirtiest swearings and obscenities without any apparent public or editorial censure.

WAYS OF INFORMAL WORD CREATION

One of the richest resources of expressiveness in English – which is considered very poor in this respect – is provided by informal word creation, i.e. morphological

sity or structurally marked word formation and derivation both of which are characteristic of Informal English in general.

One of the well-known authorities on subneutral English vocabulary V.A. Kholovakov points out that according to the structural-semantic peculiarities and various kinds of interdependence among neutral and subneutral elements all words and phrases of IE can be classed into four main types: (1) bound synonymic elements – neutral words and phrases in special senses, usually metaphors and similes, e.g. *bisuit, clock, dial, dish, façade, frontage, gills, index, jib, kite, lug, map, mask, mush, sn, portrait, signboard, tomato* for the neutral element *face*; (2) free synonymic elements – especially coined or structurally marked words and phrases generally peculiar to certain social or age groups, e.g. *beezer, fiz, kisser, phiz, physog, puss, titer, snoot* for the neutral synonym *face*; (3) bound non-synonymic elements – standard words and phrases in special senses for which neutral English has no mode of expression, e.g. ● *heel* – an objectionable fellow ● *wildcat* – an unofficial strike, person who is easily angered ● *big wig* – a person of high rank or position; (4) free non-synonymic elements – especially coined or structurally marked words or phrases naming notions for which neutral English has no mode of expression, e.g. *yanams* – another's possessions freely offered ● *nozzler* – a punch on the nose ● *choky tekky* – one who thinks himself clever, and word combinations with semantic indivisibility, e.g. *happy cabbage* – a sizable amount of money to be sent on wishes, entertainment and other self-satisfying things [70, p. 149].

In other words, bound informal elements are created by changes in meaning, or free ones, by changes in form or by entirely new coinages.

Changes in meaning. Informal words or phrases may be created by using the existing neutral elements in special senses, usually transferred by metaphor, metonymy and simile, and, in some cases, by antonomasia and hyperbole.

M e t a p h o r: ● *claret* (n) – originally applied to wines of light red colour, but now used in England for the dark-red wines of Bordeaux, hence – blood (slang) ● *paralitic* (n) – afflicted with or inclined to paralysis, hence helplessly drunk (slang) ● *lobuster* (n) – a pirate or roving sea-robber, hence a person who obstructs the making of decisions in meeting, parliament, etc. by making long speeches (*colloq.*) ● *peach* (n) – juicy, round fruit with delicate yellowish-red skin and a round stone – a seed, hence a person or thing greatly admired (slang).

M e t o n y m y: ● *wig* (n) – an artificial covering for the head, hence – a judge (slang) ● *city hall* (n) – a building for transaction of the official business of a city, hence – officials of the city hall (you can't fight City Hall) (*colloq.*) ● *brass* (n) – alloy of copper and zinc, hence – mortar (slang); *brass-hat* – an important or high-ranking officer in one of the armed forces; from here applied to an important official in any organization.

A n t o n o m a s i a: *Shylock* (n) – a usurer in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, hence – a miser (*colloq.*).

H y p e r b o l e: *smash hit show* – an extremely successful, popular entertainment, esp. a play or a popular song (slang).

The semantic change of existing words can also be achieved by the extension [narrowing of meaning:

E x t e n s i o n (generalization): ● *school ma'am* (n) – a school mistress, hence – a pedantic woman (*colloq.*) ● *Levite* (n) – an inferior priest of the ancient Jewish church, hence a clergyman (slang).

N a r r o w i n g (specialization): ● chair (n) — a separate movable seat for one person, usu. with a back and in some cases with arms, hence — the electric chair; death in the electric chair (slang) ● odorous (adj) — emitting an odour or smell, hence — bad-smelling (*colloq.*).

M.M.Makovski warns the linguists against the overestimation of the importance of the semantic change in slang. "In most cases", this author says, "the change of meaning in slang turns out to be imaginary, since many words regarded by a number of scholars as metaphors and other stylistic figures under close examination have proved to be homonyms." [26, p. 20]

Thus the slang word *jug* (=prison) has nothing to do with jug (=vessel) but goes back to the French *joug*, Latin *jugum* (modern English yoke).

The slang word *kick* — fashion (he's in high kick; she looked full gay and spruce and kinky) has nothing to do with *kick* (=hit with the foot) but is connected with the scottish dialectal *kick* (=novelty); cf. the German *keck* (=spruce, lively); the Latin *vivus* < (*g*)*vivus* (fresh, recent), modern English *quick*.

The slang word *yellow, yellows* (=jealousy) has no connection with yellow denoting the colour but goes back to the French *jaloux*.

Changes in Form. New words may be formed by lengthening or by shortening old words (V.A.Khomiakov's free synonymic and non-synonymic elements).

Lengthening is created by compounding and blending old words or word elements, and by affixing suffixes and prefixes.

C o m p o u n d i n g: ● hep cat, hepcat — a person who is well informed (slang) ● egg-head — a derogatory or depreciatory term for an intellectual (*colloq.*) ● *has been* — a person or thing that is past his/its best (*colloq.*).

B l e n d i n g: ● brunch (breakfast and lunch) ● tupper (tea and supper) ● blo (bloody dog) ● mingy (mean and stingy) ● scrowsy (screwy and lousy).

A f f i x a t i o n. New informal words are formed readily by affixing suffixes and, infrequently, prefixes. Consider some examples of informal derivation:

(1) *-er*. According to A.D.Schweitzer [35, p. 161] it is the most productive suffix of American Slang. It may denote (i) something connected with the given notion: ● junker — old and useless car ● page-oner — sensational news published on the front page; (ii) a person possessing the feature expressed by the adjective stem: ● deader — corpse ● keener — an inquisitive person; (iii) a doer of the action (agency): ● kicker — one who complains or objects. A great number of words in *-er* denoting the doer are derived from verb-noun phrases: ● baby-snatcher — one who marries a person much younger, ● comma-counter — punctilious person ● bone-breaker — doctor. A peculiar type of derivatives in *-er* are substantivised phrases of the "verb + adverb" type in which the suffix is joined both to the verb stem and to the adverb stem: ● opener-upper — the first item on the programme ● winder-upper — the last item on the programme ● picker-upper — stimulating liquor, anything with bracing effect ● putter-offer — red-tapist ● butter-inner — intruder.

(2) *-ee*. A noun-forming suffix added to nouns and verbs and denoting usually the object of an action: ● firee — one who is fired ● foolee — one who is fooled ● holdupee — a victim of a hold-up ● flunkee — one who failed in an examination. Slang *-ee* may mean the doer as well as the object of an action; cursee or flunk usually denote one who is cursed or flunked, but sometimes it refers to the one who curses or the teacher who flunks a student.

(3) *-ster*. This noun-forming suffix often carries a derogatory or depreciatory

Annotation: ●bangster — a cheap race horse ●huckster — advertising executive, a filter of advertising copy ●mugster — a "mug"; hoodlum ●dopester — one who provides information on the outcome of a sporting event.

(4) -o. This suffix seldom denotes anything, but it gives the word a familiar, colloquial, flippant, or slangy connotation. Many -o formations actually result from accompany back clippings. E.g. ●kiddo — kid ●buddy-o — buddy (close friend) ●coppo — cop (policeman) ●eggo — a bald person ●fatso — one who is fat ●botto — little ●ammo — ammunition.

(5) There are various derivatives with "exotic" suffixes which are non-productive in standard English: ●hatatorium — men's hat shop ●roadateria — roadside restaurant ●whiskerino — an old man, any man wearing whiskers ●Charlestonitis — a frequent desire to dance the "Charleston" ●stoolola — informer or stool pidgeon. Any of the suffixes are interchangeable. Thus, besides the common *luncheonette*, there is *lunchatorium*, *lunchery*, *lunchette*, *luncheteria*, etc.

(6) "H a l f'-s u f f i x e s. These are the second components of the large group of words which are treated as semi-compound and semi-derived:

-fest. This half-suffix comes from the German *Fest* (festival) and is used in the nouns denoting some activity: ●bull-fest — informal talk ●gabfest — social gathering of conversation ●drink-fest — drinking-bout ●slug-fest — violent box fighting.

-pot. It forms nouns denoting persons with some characteristic features and peculiarities: ●crackpot — a crazy person ●stink-pot — a thoroughly unpleasant person ●fuss-pot — a fussy over-particular person ●sex-pot — an attractive girl.

-bug. Unlike *-fest* and *-pot*, the half-suffix *-bug* has a correlative noun which means "one who has a great enthusiasm for something; fan or hobbyist". The same meaning can be traced in the words with *-bug* as the second component: ●camera-bug ●shutter-bug — an enthusiastic amateur photographer ●hi-fi-bug — an amateur enthusiast of phonographs possessing high fidelity ●jitter-bug — an enthusiast of jittery dances.

-happy. This adjective-forming element has the meaning "obsessed by or quick to use the item indicated": ●trigger-happy — quick to use fire arms ●skirt-happy — obsessed by women ●gadget-happy — fond of new gadgets.

-ex. This prefix has its standard meanings when affixed to substandard words. It is attached to slang and colloquial nouns to mean "former or one-time", often with the connotation of being old, or no longer desired, useful, or worth-while: ●ex-boyfriend ●ex-con (ex-convict), ●ex-husband ●ex-pal ●ex-hoofer (hoofer — a professional step dancer).

-half. This half-prefix is almost always found in deprecatory formations which apply to people, half- — partially. It conveys, however, the strong connotation that the person to whom it applies is on his way toward being fully defined by the stem: ●half-baked — stupid ●half-cocked — drunk ●half-pint — a person of short stature ●half-buck — a half-dollar.

Shortening is another change in form. Since the tendency in all English, and particularly in IE, is toward short usage, shortenings are very common. A word may be shortened by apocope (back clipping), aphaeresis (front clipping), syncope (middle clipping), words may also be shortened by both back and front clipping. Proper words can change further by taking suffixes and by being respelled. Phrases may also be clipped and abbreviated; after being abbreviated, a phrase is sometimes further changed by becoming an acronym.

B a c k C l i p p i n g. The most common way of shortening is to clip a syllable or syllables from the back of the word (apocope) to form a stump word. A word back clipped as soon as enough syllables are given to make the word intelligible: the stump word is often a first syllable representation of a three (or more) syllable noun. ● ad — advertisement ● lab — laboratory ● dif — difference ● bish — bishop ● dis — disconnect ● sub — subject; submarine; subordinate; substitute ● bizad — business administration ● caf(f) — cafeteria; cafe ● compet — competitor; competition ● ed — education; editor ● frank — frankfurter ● pos — positively ● ridic — ridiculous ● sci — science ● sat — satisfactory.

Many apocopes occur in student speech, such as *exam*(ination), *path*(ology), *trig*(onometry), *phil*(osophy), *organ*(ic chemistry). Show business seems to feel that two-syllable representations of adjectives make them more forceful: *colos*(sally), *magnif*(icent), *sensay* (sensational), etc. Apocopes are also frequent in nicknames for products (*Caddy* for Cadillac) and for place names (*Chi* for Chicago, *Pennsy* for Pennsylvania).

Some back clippings take the *-o* suffix: *beano* — beanery (a restaurant, especially a cheap one). Some stump words are respelled or corrupted: *fave* (favourite), *leech* (lecher), *looeey* (lieutenant), *mike* (microphone), *natch* (naturally), etc.

B a c k F o r m a t i o n s. A specific type of back clippings are back formations. They are words formed by clipping the *-er*, *-or*, *-ar*, or *-r* from the end of a noun to form a verb, in the mistaken assumption that the dropped ending was a suffix denoting an agency. What remains of the word is assumed to be a verb stem, but is actually a newly created one. Thus there are the newly created verbs of *to auth* (from author), *to burgle* (from burglar), *to orate* (from orator), *to ush* (from usher), *to butler* (from butler), *to baby-sit* (from baby-sitter), etc.

Thousands of back clippings exist in modern speech, some standard, some colloquial, some slang; any polysyllabic word having an accented first syllable can readily be shortened, so that many nonce words, fad words and neologisms exist, and many thousands more are possible.

F r o n t C l i p p i n g. New words are also formed by clipping the front syllable or syllables from an old word (aphaeresis): ● croot — recruit ● fess — confessor ● gram — telegram ● phone — telephone ● chute — parachute ● copter — helicopter ● cot — apricot.

Such forms are infrequent compared to back clippings. O. Jespersen points out that adults usually form back clippings, children prefer front clippings. An adult says enough of a word to identify it (*prof* from professor), whereas a child says only part of a word he remembers or can pronounce easily (*'fessor* from professor) [66, p. 169 — 71].

M i d d l e C l i p p i n g (S y n c o p e): ● maths — mathematics ● spectacles ● dormy — dormitory ● ex's, exes — expenses.

Combination Front and Back Clipping. Combined clippings are not common. Most were probably first back clippings from which front clippings were then made. ● fridge — refrigerator ● flu — influenza ● gate — alligator ● tec — detective.

C l i p p e d P h r a s e s. S.B. Flexner points out that clipped phrases are common in lunch-counter use, where the shortest form in relaying an order is not of course the quickest way but the most intelligible above working noises: *a cup* (of coffee), *black* (coffee), *Danish* (pastry), *french* (fried potatoes), *with* (cream or onions). Clipped phrases are also popular with cool and beat (jazz) groups, who dislike long

obvious or direct statements, as *it's* (the truth), *it's been* (an enjoyable party), etc. [102, p. 600].

A c r o n y m s. Slang phrases are frequently abbreviated into the initial letters of each word. Thus there are the written and spoken slang acronyms of **A W O L.** – absent without leave • **PDQ** – pretty damn quick • **VIP** – very important person • **W.T., w.t.** – quiet, confidential, secret • **MCP, m.c.p.** (*derog.*) – male chauvinist pig.

Slang also forms a few mock abbreviations by phonetically substituting letters for words, as in **I.O.U.** (I owe you) – a personal voucher containing only a date, the statement "I owe you" and the amount of a debt, and the signature of the debtor; a guarantee to pay, usually between friends, especially in reference to a gambling debt.

I.V. Arnold points out that "a shortened word is always in some way different from its prototype in meaning and usage". [38, p. 83] In standard use the short form may convey an official, less personal connotation than the full expression. In E, on the contrary, the short form may connote less formality and respect than the full form.

Creating New Words and Expressions by Sound. The creation and popularity of some new words and expressions seem to be based on pleasing sounds, which add to the ease of uttering and remembering the words. Such formations include onomatopoeia, reduplications and rhyming terms.

O n o m a t o p o e i a. Onomatopoeic or echoic words are formed by vocally imitating a sound that occurs in nature, then letting vocalization name the actual sound or object or action with which it is associated.

Thus *meow* (*-meow*), besides denoting the sound that a cat makes and a cat itself, is used to indicate that another person is making catty remarks (=disparaging remarks).

moo (*-moo*), besides indicating a cow's lowing and a cow, is used by adults as a comment on seeing a fat woman.

R e d u b l i c a t i o n s. Redublication is the process by which a word, syllable or sound is repeated as part of an additional syllable in a word or as an additional term in a compound word. Many reduplications are onomatopoeic words, as *tick-tock*, *ding-dong*. The basic element may have no meaning alone, as *flim-flam* (to trick, to deceive, to cheat or victimize), *hanky-panky* (deception; anything cooked or unethical). Or the original element may have meaning alone but be reduplicated for emphasis, as *buddy-buddy* (a close friend), *okey-dokey* (O.K.).

R h y m i n g T e r m s. Intentional rhyming terms are usually formed from one monosyllable or two two-syllable words both strongly accented on the first syllable; the first word is usually an adjective and the second, a noun; and often one word is used in an extremely exaggerated or figurative way in the search for a rhyming word: • *classic chassis* – a healthy-looking physique • *fat cat* – the financier of political party campaign or politician; a provider of money for political uses • *hand-me ransom* – any large sum of money • *zoot snoot* – a large nose; a person who has a large nose.

Thus, the word-formation potential is used in a specific way for creating informals and new units invariably get informal connotations. It is interesting to note, in conclusion, that IE favour new nouns, and not the other parts of speech.

INFORMAL GRAMMAR

There are numerous specific features of IE grammar, some of them are morphological, and some belong to the sphere of syntax.

A. INFORMAL MORPHOLOGY

Morphology deals with the parts of speech and their inflection, that is with the forms of number and case of nouns and pronouns, the forms of degrees of comparison of adjectives, the forms of tense, mood, etc. of verbs. In IE these forms may be used in a specific way for the sake of expressiveness and emotiveness.

THE NOUN

Informal Use of Forms of Number. A point of interest here is presented by the noun forms expressing augmentation and diminution of plurality, characteristic of IE. There are intensive plurals: ● It happened years ago ● You've done it loads of times ● We haven't seen you for ages; and also diminutive plurals: ● Seconds later you came in ● He will leave within minutes ● It'll cost him only pennies [16, 274].

One can probably treat *friends* in the idiom *I am friends with him* as an intensive emotive plural.

There is variant use of the singular and plural forms of some nouns, the plural form being more informal. *Brain – brains*: □ Well, I'm the brain, for God's sake. In a nut-shell I'm brains at Singleton Fisher [91, p. 11]. *A lot* and *lots of* are both used informally without any difference of meaning, *lots of* being perhaps even slightly more colloquial: There's a lot of things we don't notice. There are lots of things I don't bring up [91, p. 14].

Informal Use of Case Forms. When the constructions Double Genitive, i.e. of-phase in which the noun is in the genitive case, is used attributively to a noun denoting some kind of human relationship (e.g. friend, cousin, niece, etc.), the genitive is interchangeable with the common case, but the double genitive is more informal: He's a good friend of my husband's [91, p. 24].

I.V. Arnold quotes some examples of Group Genitive with expressly colloquial facetious colouring: *She's the boy I used to go with's mother* (i.e. She is the mother of the boy I used to go with.), *He is the niece I told you about's husband* [5, 142].

THE ARTICLE

Informal Use of Articles with Common Nouns. In colloquial speech articles are sometimes omitted. The zero-articles connote familiarity, casualness: *The streets are dangerous. Chap I know, Frenchman, got into a tangle with another car ..* (I.Sh.)

Informal Use of Articles with Proper Nouns. Personal names when preceded by a descriptive attribute are used either with the definite article or without an article. The variant without an article is generally supposed to be more emotional and more personal: *That new dispenser at Dr Earle's isn't bad. She hasn't got lovely eyelashes like marvellous Monica* [91, p. 47].

I.V. Arnold notes the following cases of the colloquial use of articles with personal names:

(1) Family names in the plural are used with the definite article: *The Hardys were rather late.*

(2) The indefinite article is used colloquially with a name in its introductory function: *He was engaged to be married to a Miss Hubbard.*

(3) Here also belongs the metonymic use of proper names with the indefinite article to denote creative works: *Have you a Rosetti?* (=a picture by Rosetti).

(4) The indefinite article before a personal name may create a colloquial case of *antonomasia*: I do not claim to be a Caruso (=I do not claim that I sing well). *I do not claim to be Caruso* (=I do not claim that my name is Caruso).

(5) The definite article with a name may perform an expressive function by indicating that the person enjoys fame or notoriety: *Know my partner? Old Robinson. Yes, the Robinson. Don't you know? The notorious Robinson* [5, p. 144-46].

THE PRONOUN

Informal Use of Case Forms of Personal Pronouns. In certain constructions the nominative case form of personal pronouns is interchangeable with the objective case form, the latter being invariably more colloquial and informal —

(1) When a personal pronoun of the third person singular is used predicatively: *He was fat and shapeless, but I knew it was her.* Cf. ... *Gradually I became sure that it was she.*

(2) When personal pronouns are preceded by *than, as* and *but*: *Jack was three or four years older than me.*

(3) In some verbless constructions after *not*, and also when the pronoun expresses some emotion, usually surprise, disbelief, amazement: *"They's tell me themselves" — "Not them." "You are the only person who has ever seen Ram." — "Me?"*

(4) When a personal pronoun (usually of the first person singular) is part of a *and*-group serving as a detached apposition to the subject: *We're mad, you and me.*

(5) When a personal pronoun is the agent in the absolute participle construction: *wasn't easy to retaliate — him being a sergeant* [91, p. 53-56].

IE seems to favour a personal pronoun in the objective case when it is interchangeable with possessive and reflexive pronouns: □ *But it's no good me pretending to be ill!* Cf. *It's no good my pretending that I approve of your going with that man.* □ *Me, I'm watching him now.* Cf. *Myself I would have got nowhere without a form* [91, p. 57-58].

Who and Whom as Stylistic Variants. Of these two, IE prefers *who* when they are interchangeable: □ *"Joe already told him." — "Told who?"* □ *You know who mean, don't you?* □ *Perhaps Corinne knows who it belongs to.* □ *And Mary — it's my sister who you didn't meet* [91, p. 60-62].

THE ADJECTIVE

Informal Degrees of Comparison. Typical of IE is the use of absolute superlatives, or relatives: ... *And I like to marry her because she's got the longest, smoothest, tightest legs in the world* [16, p. 240].

In familiar and low colloquial speech the pleonastic comparative and superlative forms are used to give them greater emphasis, i.e. the forms in *-er* and *-est* are inten-

sified by the addition of *more* and *most*: ● the most hextraordinariest thing (Cockney) ● a more abler man ● the most carelessst man. Consider also: ● the bestest man ● a worser condition (AE) [98, p. 116].

THE ADVERB

Informal Use of Simple Forms of Adverbs. A few adverbs of manner have variant forms — one simple and one in *-ly*. IE prefers the simple form: □ Well, now you know different, don't you? □ Don't talk so loud! □ Come quick [91, p. 68-72].

THE VERB

The Continuous and the Indefinite Forms as Stylistic Variants. There are a number of verbs whose lexical meaning makes it possible to use them either in the Indefinite or Continuous forms; they are stative verbs, i.e. they denote a passing state among them *beat* (with reference to one's heart, pulse, etc.), *breathe*, *dream*, *feel*, *live*, *long*, *shake*, *smile*, *talk*, *tremble* and a few others. The Continuous form is more emotional and personal than the Indefinite; it gives special force and vividness to the utterance and is used to emphasize the nature of an action which the speaker feels will be repeated and continued. Cf. I long for you every moment. — I am longing for you every moment. Also: □ How are you feeling now? □ You're looking great. □ He's living with you?

H.Poutsma compares this use of the Continuous form to the use of *do* to emphasize the intensity of an action and gives us the following two examples: a. Oh, how the stars were shining! b. How the diamond did twinkle and glitter [98, p. 202-208].

In other cases the Continuous form may be less categorial and direct, less forceful and pressing than the Indefinite form, as in *I am wanting to get married* as compared with *I want to get married*. Sometimes the Continuous form is felt as more polite than the Indefinite form; cf. *How are you liking us?* and *How do you like us?* [91, p. 81-82]

Stylistic Variants to Express Future Actions. *Shall* and *will*, as we know, are actually modals, and some linguists (e.g. L.S. Barkhudarov [8, p. 126-129]) have come to the conclusion that there is no Future Tense in English. Indeed, *you will* is used colloquially to express prohibition: *You will of course not meet him until he has spoken to me.* *Shall* in the second person is used when we wish to show that the person addressed is to act according to the will and desire of the speaker: *You shall apologize to him!* The speaker insists that the person addressed must apologize whether he wants to or not. Some authors call this usage "The Emphatic Future" [98, p. 183]. G.W.Turner remarks: "The future includes an element of promise (shown in the use of *will* in English) but as, in many varieties of English, *will* comes a simple mark of futurity, something more expressive seems to be required. We say "I am going to ...", until this itself is now becoming a simple and colloquially normal future." [101, p. 94]

Informal Variants of Present Perfect. To quote G.W.Turner again, "We do not feel dispassionate about the completion of a task. "I have written my essay" would be weak in conversation, where "I've finished writing my essay" would be normal. Among the first phrases a child learns is "all gone", and he goes on to "this book is all torn" or "I've got all dirty", where "all" is perhaps more than anything else

tensifier of the participle or adjective and emphasizes the completeness of the state described". [101, p. 94]

Forms with Distinct Low Colloquial or Vulgar and Illiterate Connotations.

(1) The Form *ain't*. It is a low colloquial contraction of "are not", used loosely for "am not", "is not", "has not" and "have not". In G.Kirchner we find the following statement: "Although "ain't" is low colloquial, it is true nevertheless that many educated persons permit themselves this habit, even though they reprehend it as vulgar." [71, p. 57] Some examples: □ Well, I'm doing it already, ain't I? □ Yes, ain't I a lucky man? □ I'm next, ain't I? □ The house ain't worth living in since you left it. □ Ope you ain't lettin' James put no foolish ideas into your head?

(2) The Low Colloquial AE Present Perfect. There is a very clear tendency to drop the auxiliary *have (has)*, so that only the second participle remains: I been bound to see her a coupla times ...

(3) The Forms *Has, Is, Was* for the Plural: I hused to wonder you was let preach all.

I.V.Arnold points out that not infrequently people use low colloquial not because they do not know any literary colloquial but just because their co-workers and mates say *ain't, he don't, you was*. In different circumstances they use the correct forms *isn't, aren't, doesn't, weren't* [5, p. 248-249].

B. INFORMAL SYNTAX

Analysing the syntax of conversational English, D.Crystal and D.Davy note that it is characterized by a large number of loosely coordinated clauses and by a great amount of minor sentences, especially as response utterances [43, p. 110-111]. J.Ball explains this feature of informal syntax in the following way:

(i) We make up our conversation as we go along. We have no time to polish it for delivery but we can do our corrections not, as it were, in the margin but in the text itself. There are consequently many hesitations, false starts, recapitulations, and phrases, loose ends in grammar and syntax. ...

(ii) We make greater use of colloquialisms which by their very nature show a regard for formal rules of grammar.

(iii) As a rule we use short sentences since it is impossible for us to keep in mind the more elaborate periods of prose style. ... The ordinary person, who starts on a long sentence with subordinate clauses ... soon finds out that things have a habit of turning out differently from what he anticipated. A slight distraction, a remark or question from his listeners — he loses the thread of his sentence, he has to pause, to repeat and refashion what he had in mind to say. Or will find that others take pleasure in finding words for him, anticipating his thoughts and his language, mistaking or misrepresenting his meaning before he has had time to finish what he wanted to say. ...

(iv) There is always the allusiveness of conversation to be reckoned with. Confident of other people's ability to understand us we can "cut out" in the middle of a sentence, leave a phrase unfinished or use any of the allusive colloquial phrases in common use in conversation." [39, p. 89-90]

Although fiction and drama "trim" most of the "loose ends" of live conversation they realistically reproduce the typical features of the latter. According to the latest investigations of the syntax of colloquial speech made by Frefimova [33] who accepts Ju.M.Skrebnev's stylistic theory, the specific

constituents of informal syntax can be grouped into (1) elliptical constructions, and (2) emphatic constructions. What follows here is a description of these two groups in some detail.

1. ELLIPTICAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Ellipsis is a form of linguistic economy, the omission from a sentence of a word or words that would complete or clarify the construction. The omitted part is felt missing compared with analogous sentences where there is no ellipsis. In face-to-face communication the construction or intralinguistic context easily supply the missing part.

There are many situations where the most appropriate thing to say appears to be something quite short. The two of the following are possible as complete and natural dialogues:

- (1) Speaker A: The airport! (2) Speaker A: Don't forget!
Speaker B: O.K. Speaker B: I won't.

If we think of the semantic structure of the sentence as consisting of the predicate, i.e. the functional element, and of arguments, i.e. elements depending on the predicate, then in the sentence "Jack walked from downtown to the airport" the verb *walked* is the predicate while *Jack*, *downtown*, and *the airport* are its arguments. T. Shopen uses a handy metaphor and says that the predicate gives the plot and the arguments are the actors that play the role. The same author proposes to distinguish between two categories of ellipsis. "The airport!" can be taken as an example of functional ellipsis where a constituent serves as an argument without a predicate to govern it (in other words, an actor without a plot), while "Don't forget!" is an example of constituent ellipsis, where a predicate is expressed without constituents to serve as all of its arguments (a plot without its actors). The meaning of *forget* implies several arguments, and none of them are named by a grammatical constituent: neither the experiencer who forgets nor the recollection which is forgotten. [p. 783].

T. Shopen's own original theory of ellipsis, stimulated by reading the Soviet psychologist L.S. Vygotsky's discussion of the interaction of thought and language, is that people do not necessarily fully encode their ideas into language and they do not (not pronounce) the parts of sentences which they find redundant. According to Shopen, ellipsis is more than often a partial realization of the speaker's idea. Shopen offers the following interesting illustration of this:

His son, two years old, "before he had any language at all, ... time and time again showed that he had concepts. Now he is speaking in short utterances, and he uses ellipsis continually to express ideas. At a farm we stay on from time to time, he wanted me to show me a shed where some forty-year old halters and harnesses were hanging. The horses are not there anymore. "Look!", he said, pointing to the halters and harnesses, "Horse!" Then he moved his hands and said "Neck!" It was as clear as day to me what at least part of his idea was, something on the order of "Halters and harnesses are for horses. They wear them on their necks."

"He doesn't yet have the language to express such an idea non-elliptically. He doesn't yet have the verb "wear" in his active vocabulary, for example. It would be absurd to suggest that whenever he makes an utterance like "Neck!" that he has thought fully encoded into language, but that he hasn't learned how to pronounce it yet!" [96, p. 786-787]

There is evidence all around, Shopen claims, that ellipsis belongs near one end of the analysis-synthesis spectrum in language: one part of propositional meaning is analyzed to the level of word meaning; the speaker says "The airport! ", "A cup of coffee." or "Nice dress! " and leaves it to the interlocutor to complete the proposition [96, p. 788].

In appropriate circumstances, leaving out words highlights the words that are used. Conversation would be dull, fuzzy and confusing if people always said everything.

According to E.A.Trofimova, four types of ellipsis may be distinguished in colloquial speech: (1) the clipping of function verbs, (2) leaving out the subject or the function verb or both, (3) leaving out conjunctions in compound sentences, and (4) ellipsis in dialogue unities [33, p. 41].

1. The Clipping of Function Verbs. The function verbs are the auxiliary verbs *be, do, have, shall, will* used to build up analytical forms together with a notional verb, and the link-verb *be* used in a nominal predicate. In colloquial speech these verbs are usually partially deleted, especially after the personal pronouns, and are used in their clipped (shortened) forms:

be		do		have		shall, will	
am	'm	do	d'	have	've	shall	'll
is	's	does	's	has	's	will	'll
are	're	did	'd, d'	had	'd	should	'd
						would	'd

As is clear from the above table, most of the elliptical forms are homonymous: *I had, did, would, should, 'd* (do, did), *'s* (is, does, has), *'ll* (shall, will). From the viewpoint of information theory, this clipping may be regarded as elimination of the redundancy of expression without impeding, thanks to the context, the reliability of information transmission [12]. E.g.

□ Elizabeth's that sharp she'll see I'm after it, and she'll drive a hard bargain over it. (S.H.) □ And I was wrong. I'd been snotty and superior, and I realized it, and I knew that if I apologized he'd be disappointed and the girls'd still be laughing at him. (I.Sh.)

Note. The clipped forms of *have* may be also used in colloquial speech when it poses as a notional verb meaning "possess", but in that case *got* is inserted into the construction: *we've got, she's got*, etc. H.W.Fowler concedes that *have got* for possess has long been good colloquial English and comments: "Perhaps the intrusion of *got* into a construction in which *have* alone is enough originated in our habit of stating *have, I have it* and *he has it* are clear statements, but if we elide we must insert *got* to avoid the absurdity of *I've it* and the even greater absurdity of *He's it*, with its ambiguity between *has* and *is*." [50, p. 227] The same applies to *have* as a modal verb: *I've got to do it*. E.g.

□ I'll tell you what I've got to do. On Monday next I've got to do three things. I've got to go to the lawyer's and alter my will; and I've got to go to the insurance office and pay my premium; and I've got to go to St Philips's Church and get married. (S.H.)

Contractions with *not* are of similar nature. In colloquial speech the particle *not* loses its only vowel and firmly "clings" to the form of a function or modal verb: *amn't, aren't, hadn't, shouldn't, doesn't, mustn't, can't, oughtn't*, etc. E.g. □ *Amn't I the foolish man?* (L.G.) □ *Oh, I couldn't do it. I really couldn't do it. – Couldn't do what?* (S.H.) □ *You mustn't look uncomfortable, general.* (L.H.)

The alternative of using either the contracted form (I can't come) or the full form (I cannot come) existing in IE is a simple means of creating emphasis: the contracted form is much milder and merely states the negative fact, while the full form strongly emphasizes the negation [98, p. 233-234].

2. Leaving Out the Subject or the Function Verb or Both. This kind of ellipsis involves partial deletion of constituents belonging either to the subject or to the predicate group of the simple sentence. Four structural patterns belong here: (1) elliptical sentences with the zero subject, (2) elliptical sentences with the zero subject and the zero function verb, (3) elliptical sentences with the zero subject or the zero subject and the zero function verb plus a tag, (4) elliptical sentences with a zero form of the function verbs *be, have, do*.

(1) Elliptical Sentences with the Zero Subject. These are usually affirmative or negative sentences with the verb predicate in the Present or Past Indefinite, often with the modal verbs *can, may, must, should*. E.g.

(a) *B i l l . (Looking at Lizzie.) Can't afford to buy her chocolates.*

- *C h a r l i e . (Looking at Annie.) Wonder if she'd let me kiss her.*

L i z z i e . Always cry at Greta Garbo.

A n n i e . Can't see why Mae West's so famous. (N.R.)

(b) □ *Don't worry, Auntie! Only makes your hair gray. (N.D.)* □ *He's not dead. – Doesn't seem like it. (S.H.)* □ *Wouldn't have said Webster was much like Ulysses. (J.O.)*

(2) Elliptical Sentences with the Zero Subject and the Zero Function Verb. Such sentences divide into two patterns:

(i) Affirmative sentences with a nominal predicate. E.g. □ *Pictures and dancing, that's all she can think about. Mad to get a man. (J.C.)* □ *Amazing the way things have changed since I was here last. (P.W.)* □ *Nice talking to you, Pleiss. (I.Sh.)*

(ii) Affirmative or interrogative sentences with the predicate in the Continuous, Perfect and Perfect Continuous Tenses. E.g.

□ *You said "we" – "us". Only the directors speak in the plural. – Oh, being sarcastic, eh? (J.C.)* □ *Hikin' with her every Sunday. (N.R.)*

(3) Elliptical Sentences with the Zero Subject or the Zero Subject and the Zero Function Verb Plus a Tag (Elliptical Disjunctive Questions). L.S. Barkhudarov treats this case as two elliptical sentences each of which restores the omitted constituents of the other [7, p. 182]. E.g.

□ *Gas in the pit, is there? (J.C.)*

In this example, the first sentence has the zero variants of the anticipatory subject and predicate, whereas in the second sentence (the question tag) they are restored, but the rest is omitted. Some more examples: □ *I told you to go back to the town. – Back to the town, was it? (L.G.)* □ *Back to her, are we? (P.W.)* □ *Can't go on deceiving her, cant I? (B.Sh.)*

(4) Elliptical Sentences with a Zero Form of the Function Verbs *Be, Have, Do*. Such sentences may be affirmative and interrogative, the verb predicate being in the Present Indefinite, Present Continuous, Present Perfect and Present Perfect Con-

tinuous. E.g. □ No idle rich, if you know what I mean. Everybody working. Everybody got a job of some kind. (P.W.) □ Nuncky home? (N.D.) □ She ask for anything in particular? (V.C.) □ You promise? (I.Sh.)

E.A.Trofimova points out that the most frequent cases of ellipsis in conversation are the omission of personal pronouns *I*, *you* and *it* [33, p. 62-67]. *I* is left out because the presence of the interlocutor makes its use redundant. The zero *I* connotes the semes of intimacy, casualness, familiarity. It may also indicate haste, nervous tension, eagerness to mention the main point as soon as possible: □ Thought you were going to make me some tea, you rotter. (J.O.) □ Must say I'm surprised though. (J.O.)

The pronoun *you* is used in conversation mostly when addressing the listener. The addressee is obvious and mentioning him may be dispensed with. The function verb is also omitted, and the ellipsis has intimate, casual, familiar connotations: □ Ready? — Ready. (T.W.) □ Know what she used to say? Ben's mother I mean. (L.H.)

The pronoun *it* is left out in its various functions, for example, when it serves as an anaphoric substitute of the noun mentioned in the preceding sentence: □ She'd swallowed a lot of strong disinfectant. Burnt her inside out of course. (J.P.) Especially frequent is the zero *it* in the anticipatory, demonstrative and impersonal functions: □ Terrible expression, Mrs Griggs: my intended. Sounds like my indentured. (L.H.)

The rest of the personal pronouns, *he*, *she*, *we*, *they* in the subject function are left out less frequently, mostly in cases when their meaning can be easily supplied by the context: □ What's he like? — Wears a soft 'at, sir. (J.G.)

3. Conjunctionless Complex Sentences. The general tendency of colloquial speech is to omit the conjunction *that* in various types of dependent clauses and to join them to the principal clause asyndetically. There are asyndetic attributive, object, subject and predicative clauses.

(1) The Ellipsis of *That* in Attributive Clauses. This ellipsis is frequent when *that* is the object of the defining clause. H.W.Fowler quotes C.T.Onions who says that "In the spoken language the tendency is to omit the relative (*that*) as much as possible, and to prefer (e.g.) *The book I am reading* to *The book that I am reading*. In the written language its omission is often felt undignified." [50, p. 628-629] E.A.Trofimova points out that the asyndetic attributive clause, characteristically, serves to modify nouns of broad meaning, such as *thing*, *everything*, *somebody*, *nobody*, *way*, *time*, *minute* or nouns with attributives in the superlative degree which need a limitation of their meaning [33, p. 69]. The subject of such clauses is often expressed by personal pronouns. E.g. □ Yes, this is the clerk I hired to help us out, Jabe. (T.W.) □ That's the meanest thing I ever heard. (I.Sh.)

If the relative *that* is the subject of the relative clause its colloquial deletion occurs only after such patterns as *there is*, *it is*, *he is*, etc. E.g. □ Of course, there's nothing takes away your appetite like a bad summer cold. (O.N.) □ There's no one can hurt you. (S.H.)

(2) Ellipsis of *That* in Object Clauses. It takes place regularly when the principal clause has a verb predicate denoting mental perception and speaking (I think, I suppose, He says, etc.). E.g. □ I suppose you thought the will wasn't fair. (S.H.) □ He says he has no appetite. (E.N.) □ Do you know you've asked him that five times since rising from dinner? (L.H.)

(3) Ellipsis of *That* in Subject Clauses. It occurs if the principal clause expresses evaluation (*it's good, it's bad, it's funny, etc.*) E.g. □ He went out to pay his insurance. — My word, it's a good thing he did. (S.H.) □ It's ridiculous, a man like you doesn't do anything. (I.Sh.) □ But it's my belief they done the old woman in. (B.Sh.)

(4) Ellipsis of *That* in Predicative Clauses. In this case the principal clause expresses the speaker's subjective attitude to the idea contained in the dependent clause (*the fact is, the point is, the trouble is, the pity is, the thing is, etc.*) E.g. □ The thing is it gets so awfully hot here. (H.P.)

(5) Ellipsis of *That* in Adverbial Clauses. *That* may be deleted from the correlative *so ... that* in the adverbial clauses of result or degree: □ They laughed so much it was annoying. (W.S.)

E.A.Trofimova is of opinion that the ellipsis in the above cases is a result of re-interpretation of complex sentences, elimination of subordinating relations between clauses [33, p. 75].

4. Ellipsis in Dialogue Unities. A dialogue unity consists of two utterances marked by a change of speakers in which the first utterance stimulates the second one. In terms of Ch.Fries, they are situation utterance and response utterance, respectively [52, p. 37]. The response utterance is normally elliptical and dependent syntactically on the situation utterance. The most obvious case is the question-answer dialogue unities: □ The phone rang again. He picked it up. ... "My boy," the voice said. "Hello, Murph," he said. "Where are you?" "London." "How is it there?" "Expiring," Murphy said. "... How's it down there?" "Cold and windy." (I.Sh.)

The most common type of syntactical correlation between the two utterances is that between the interrogative pronouns and adverbs of the first utterance (*who, what, where, why, how, how much, how many*) and the elliptical response utterance:

Who. □ Who on earth is it? — Helena something. (J.O.)

What. □ What is it, lovely? — Nothing. (J.O.) □ What is he doing? — Lying on the bed. Reading, I think. (J.O.)

When. □ When are you going to start acting your age? — When Nelson gets his eye back. (Sh.D.)

Where. □ Where is he? — In my room. (J.O.)

Why. □ And why didn't you tell me? — Because I forgot, simply. (D.L.)

How. □ How was your visit? — Average gruesome. (I.Sh.)

Ellipsis in the response utterance takes place not only in question-answer dialogue but in other types of unities as well, for instance, when speaker A is interrupted by speaker B who finishes the situation utterance for speaker A, often in an unexpected ironical or sarcastic manner. E.g. □ Perhaps Jimmy would like to go. Would you like to? — And have enjoyment ruined by the Sunday night jobs in the front row? (J.O.) □ And the moral of that is ... — Follow your instincts. (J.G.)

A dialogue unity may consist of two statements, the second utterance echoing the first one and modifying it in some way. E.g.

□ She can't think. — Can't think! She hasn't had a thought for years! (J.O.)

□ Bears and squirrels are marvellous. — Marvellous and beautiful. (J.O.)

Thus ellipsis on the level of syntax, like shortening on the level of lexis, and elision of the phonological level, reflects the general tendency of IE termed "compression" by I.V.Arnold [5, p. 272]. Compression originates from the rapid tempo of speech, language economy, striving for highlighting the rhemic elements of the utter-

... at the expense of those semantic features that are felt redundant in the construction of face-to-face discourse.

Elliptical constructions of IE are synonymous to full constructions and have the colloquial connotations of intimacy, casualness, familiarity.

2. EMPHATIC CONSTRUCTIONS

Emphasis is any mode of intensification of semantic features in an utterance or its part. It plays an important role in conversation, and the scope of intensifying means is very large, it includes gestures, pitch, stress, pausation and other phonetic means: numerous lexical items. On the level of syntax emphasis is expressed by specific patterns that are a result of various transformations of the neutral, unemphatic patterns.

For many years considerable controversy has centered upon the interrelation of emphasis and emotion. K.A. Dolinin suggests that syntax, as contrasted to lexis, is incapable of conveying emotions as such, but it immediately reacts to their presence or absence [13, p. 39].

E.A. Trofimova defines emphasis (expressiveness, in her terminology) as the structural reaction of syntax to the presence or absence of emotions as well as to the varying degrees of their presence [33, p. 96]. The same author proposes to separate emphatic patterns into five groups depending on the leading transformation of the neutral sentence: (1) emphatic patterns as a result of the transformation of nominalization (T nom), (2) emphatic patterns as a result of the transformation of permutation (T perm), (3) emphatic patterns as a result of the transformation of deletion (T del), (4) emphatic patterns as a result of the transformation of explication (T exp), (5) emphatic patterns as a result of the transformation of separation (T sep) [33, p. 104].

It should be noted that Trofimova's classification is relative (sometimes it is difficult to determine which transformation is the leading one, since some emphatic patterns are a result of several transformations) and not exhaustive, but its undeniable merit is that it presents the whole diversity of emphatic structures in a system. Let us look at each group in some detail.

1. Emphatic Patterns Resulting from T nom. The emphatic patterns of this group fall out into two subgroups: (i) Vto-transforms, i.e. the substitution of the infinitive for a finite form of the verb, and (ii) Ving-transforms, i.e. the substitution of the -ing form for a finite form. E.g. (i) That fellow to talk of injuries [33, p. 104]. (ii) What's this? Giving my money away again [ib].

These two basic patterns may be further intensified by (i) the deletion of the subject and (ii) introducing the intensifying *what* and *such* before the noun expressing either the subject or the object of the action (in the latter case inversion takes place). E.g. (i) □ To die out — lonely — wanting them — wanting home! [33, p. 107] (ii) □ What a night. Pah! Such a man to have died [ib]. □ What a nice room to live in! [ib].

Thus the emphatic patterns resulting from T nom express the emotive evaluation of the action or state represented in Vto and Ving (non-finite forms of the verb).

2. Emphatic Patterns Resulting from T perm. These are patterns with emphatic version which, depending on the constituent inverted, separate into two subgroups: (i) the predicative part of the nominal or verb predicate is inverted, and (ii)

the object or the adverbial modifier is inverted. E.g. (i) □ Bloody house this is [33, p. 109]. □ Not exactly breaking their necks, they were [ib]. (ii) □ Fat chance I've got of going to France now [ib]. □ Like a young girl you're blushing [ib].

The inversion of the predicative may be further intensified by the deletion of the function verb: □ An unforgiving unfair bastard this lad [33, p. 109]. □ Horrible this job [ib]. In such inverted elliptical sentences the subject is often expressed only by the demonstrative *this (that)*: Funny place this [33, p. 109].

The inverted constituent may be further emphasized by introducing *what, such, how, it's, that's, that's what, that's where*. E.g. □ What a tease she is [33, p. 109]. □ How marvellous it is [ib]. □ Such a fuss you make of it. [ib]. □ And that's the point I've been trying to make [33, p. 110]. □ It's habit fathers have [ib].

When the phrases *that's what* and *that's where* are used the inverted constituent is placed before them: □ This man that's what she was running away from [33, p. 110]. □ To a small house that's where I've been [ib].

Thus the emphatic patterns resulting from T perm express the emotive evaluation and intensification of some event or fact, of the agency, or the object of some action, of the action itself.

3. The Patterns Resulting from T del. The following emphatic patterns are a result of the transformation of deletion: (i) the link-verb is left out in the nominal predicate, and (ii) the subject and the link-verb of the nominal predicate are left out. E.g. (i) □ You – jealous little cat [33, p. 111]. □ You Judas! You phlegm! (J.O.) (ii) □ Marvellous! [33, p. 111] □ Dreadful, it was never like that in old days [ib].

A special variant here is the emphatic sentences consisting of neutral nouns introduced by the demonstrative *this, that*:

□ Those eyes! [53, p. 111] □ That climate! [ib] □ That woman! [ib] □ This bloody cold [ib]

The transformation of deletion may be also accompanied by that of explication introducing *what, such, how*. E.g. □ What a journey! [33, p. 111]. □ What a head! [ib] □ Such an astonishingly egoistic sentiment! [ib] □ How awful! [ib]

Thus the emphatic patterns resulting from T del express the emotive evaluation.

4. Emphatic Patterns Resulting from T expl. The patterns of this kind may be classed into three subgroups: (i) repetition of a constituent lends emphasis to the sentence. E.g. □ I wish, I wish you'd let me [33, p. 112]. □ You're not concerned with them, the real victims [ib]. There are not only the juxtaposed repetitions of a constituent, but also distant repetitions of homogeneous members, such as: □ He seems quite a good bloke, old Miller [33, p. 113]. □ Those animals, I really love them [ib]. □ That's real money, that is [ib]. (ii) The emphatic use of *do (does, did)*. The emphatic *do* may intensify the action in the affirmative statement in the Present or Past Indefinite: □ Well, yes, madam, we do do teas, three-and-sixpence head, jam sixpence extra [98, p. 178]. □ But I do know what I do want to do [ib]. □ She did come to ask you about your intention [33, p. 113]. The emphatic *do* may be used in the special questions where no auxiliary is normally required: □ Who did see him there? [98, p. 178] It may be used to intensify the Continuous form: □ The terrible programme they do be putting out on the telly [98, p. 178]. And finally, the emphatic *do* may intensify the imperative sentences: □ Do be quiet [98, p. 178] □ Do be punctual, please! [ib] □ Do stop talking! [ib]

(iii) Emphasis may be achieved by introducing into the sentence particles, interjections and forms of the direct address. E.g. □ By Jolly, she wouldn't get out

this somehow into the sun [33, p. 113]. □ Dad, it is true that I absolutely can't get at any of my money? [ib] □ Only the income, fortunately, my love [ib].

Thus the emphatic patterns resulting from T expl give prominence, intensify some constituent of the sentence.

B. Emphatic Patterns Resulting from T sep. The emphatic patterns of this kind are created by what is known as detachment. Detachment is akin to inversion, but, as I.R. Galperin points out, produces a much stronger effect [53, p. 206]. It consists in the separation of some sentence constituent or a dependent clause from the sentence they should properly belong to. The detached constituent or clause are thus strongly emphasized and given prominence by intonation. In writing the detached elements are separated from the main clause by a full stop.

(i) The detached constituents of the sentence –

The predicative: □ She's awfully independent. And stubborn [33, p. 114].

The object: □ Father, there's something I had to tell you. About me [ib].

The adverbial modifiers (a) of place: □ Pull down that blind. Over there. Just above your head [33, p. 115]. (b) of time: □ She had to stay. For a week-end [ib]. (c) of manner: □ You can have a chat with him later on. Under my personal direction [ib]. (d) of purpose: □ I'm speaking as a man to man. To your own benefit [ib]. (e) of comparison: □ See this one here six times the height of a man. Like a gigantic spray [ib].

The attribute: I feel rather like a new-born creature. Rather cold, small, lonely [33, p. 115].

(ii) The detached clauses –

The attributive clause: □ I personally thought of the meadows and the forests which are generous like Julia. Which expect no kindness like Julia [33, p. 116].

The adverbial clause of time: □ I used to be scared when I was alone in the house. When you were looking for fathers [ib].

The adverbial clause of place: □ I tried a murderer for a model once. He's here. Where I put the biggest box [ib].

The adverbial clause of condition: □ I wrote a poem while I was at the market yesterday. If you are interested, which you obviously are. (J.O.)

Thus the emphatic patterns resulting from T sep give prominence, intensify the detached items.

From the above classification it transpires that the first three groups of transformations (T nom, T perm, T del) are used to create emotive-expressive evaluation, while the last two (T expl, T sep) are used to emphasize, give prominence to a word, phrase or clause.

E.A. Trofimova's transformation-oriented classification of emphatic patterns does not touch on some more means of creating colloquial syntactical emphasis. One of them is what I.V. Arnold calls "transposition of syntactical structures" [5, p. 100].

One of the time-honoured classifications of sentences divides them according to type of communication into declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamatory. As V. Tufte has it, "A question calls for an answer, an imperative calls for an action, an exclamation calls for the experiencing of an emotion." [100, p. 175] The natural habitat for such sentences is conversation. Besides, all sentences are either affirmative or negative. Each of these classes has its own formal and intonational distinctive features. But the sentence which is formally declarative, interrogative, affirmative or

negative may be used, for the sake of emphasis, to perform a different communicative function. Thus an affirmative declarative sentence may be used as a question if the speaker anticipates the positive answer and means to emphasize that he is not impartial to that answer. B.A. Ilyish calls such sentences "semi-interrogative" and cites the following example: "Oh, you've seen him?" She did not particularly mark her question for an answer, but it was, after all, the pivot-point, and Bone found himself replying — that indeed he had." [61, p. 186] It is this usage of syntactical patterns in non-characteristic communicative functions and with emphatic connotations that is called their transposition. Let us consider some more cases of colloquial transposition.

The emphatic exclamatory affirmation may be expressed in the form of a general question: □ Do you realize it's nearly midnight? — Don't we know it! (N.M.) H. Spitzbardt calls such sentences *Scheinfragen* (sham questions) and quotes the following dialogue from a modern play as an illustration:

Alex: Who's she?

Peter: My mother.

Alex: Isn't she fat!

Peter: You said it. I'm sure one day she'll just float away.

[98, p. 212]

The same author also cites an Irish joke: □ "Show me the man who struck O'Dougherty!" shouted a pugnacious little Irishman at an election. ... "I'm the man who struck O'Dougherty," said a big brawny fellow, stepping in front; "and what have you got to say about it?" "Oh, sure!" answered the small one, suddenly collapsing, "and didn't you do it well!" [ib]

The emphatic "sham questions" may be still more intensified by adding the so-called appended question (... or is, ... or has, ... or can + a personal pronoun echoing the subject): Has that dame gotta swell voice or has she? [98, p. 213] R. Quirk is said to have made a comment about sentences of this type: "In any case, though, I think the emphatic nature of the sentences ... is pointed rather by the initial question form ("Has that dame ...") than by the end which introduces a wry, ironic and unmeant doubt." (quoted in [98, p. 213-214])

I. V. Arnold notes that the interrogative patterns used as mild imperatives are also in essence a kind of transposition because the imperative mood even if accompanied with *please* jars the English ear and an expressive polite request should be shaped into an interrogative construction: *Open the door, please* turns into *Will you open the door, please* or *Would you mind opening the door* or *I wonder whether you would mind opening the door* [5, p. 169].

There are quite a number of idiomatic constructions which are emphatic negations but which are affirmative in form, i.e. contain no negation words. Stylisticians point out their ironical connotations, exclamatory form and the structural dependence on the interlocutor's previous utterance [2, p. 92; 5, p. 170]. E.g. □ Did we get there? — Did we hell! (N.M.) □ Doesn't it tempt you? — Tempt me, hell! [98, p. 171] □ Did he give you the money? — The hell he did! [ib]

The expressions of the type *I'm (I'll be) hanged, jugged, blest, damned, etc., if ...* express a very strong denial or refusal or a very strong assertion. E.g. "Won't you even give us a couple of shillings towards his wedding present" — "No — I'm hanged if I will! not a penny." [98, p. 227] I'm hanged if he don't take what he sees on the stage quite seriously [ib].

Consider also the colloquial imperative *catch* (me) expressing emphatic denial: *catch me do it* (– I'll never do it), *catch her marrying me*.

Thus transposition of syntactical structures of practically all communicative types is an effective means of creating colloquial emphasis.

D. THE FORMAL FUNCTIONAL VARIETY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Formal English (FE) is one of the two major functional varieties of the language; its functioning is induced by the following factors consituation: (1) predetermined nature of the communication act; (2) formal nature of the theme (public, official, legal, business, etc.); (3) ceremonial, remote, impersonal relationships between the participants in the communication act.

FE manifests itself in the vast sphere of discourse that is characterized, apart from the above-mentioned obligatory factors, also by such features as graphic substance as the predominant means of realization of the message, the physical absence of the questioning or helping hearer. Formal messages are normally reduced to monologues addressed by one person to many or to documents to be signed by some parties and drafted by professionals. FE consists of those specific features of pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary that we hear from a lecturer, a clergyman, a public speaker, a radio or television announcer, and in official or diplomatic talk. FE is the kind of grammar and vocabulary that occurs in books, magazines, newspapers and documents.

The syntax of FE is elaborate, typically devoid of ellipsis since consituation cannot give the clue to omitted constituents, and is often hypotactic in structure. Continuity is supplied by a careful attention to connectives, conjunctions, and words and devices which link sentences.

The absolutely specific feature of the FE vocabulary is, to use Yu.M.Skrebnev's term, the stratum of "supraneutral words" [31, p. 101]. It consists of literary and learned words, special terms, lofty and poetic lexis. Many of them are polysyllabic borrowings of Romanic origin, have low frequency distributions, are not polysemantic and, therefore, more precise in meaning than neutral or subneutral lexical items.

It seems theoretically possible that formal sublanguages could be arranged in a single linear sequence according to their degree of formality; some of them are very close to IE, such as the language of unscripted commentary given on both sound radio and television or the language of advertising; yet others, for instance, legal documents, and IE are poles apart.

From the point of view of language functions it seems possible to hypostatise, within FE, three subvarieties:

(1) The language of mass communication which is used not only to inform but also to persuade, i.e. functions are referential, conative, and, to some degree, poetical.

(2) The language of scientific and professional-technical communication which is primarily concentrated on presenting objective data, i.e. its function is almost exclusively referential.

(3) The language of documental communication which is used to formulate ob-

ligations and rights binding two or more parties in an undertaking, i.e. its main function is phatic.

Each of these subvarieties of FE may be further classified into several sublanguages.

Thus the language of mass communication may be separated into the (sub)languages of radio and television talks, of public oratory, of publicistic discourse, of newspaper reporting, of advertising, of religion, etc. Let us consider a specimen of publicistic style.

What is "news"?

There are two, almost completely opposed, concepts of what "news" is in the world today.

For the press in the capitalist countries ... it's not news if a dog bites a man. It's news only if a man bites a dog.

So it was no news to that press in 1965-66 that there were 30,000 dog bites recorded in New York City, half of them children, of whom three out of ten were bitten on the face...

To the socialist press, it's not news that a man bites a dog. Sensationalism, eccentric behaviour, abnormal events are not recorded, as a rule, in its pages.

This extract, the beginning of a book written by Ph. Bonosky, an American communist, is a fine sample of publicistic discourse. The book begins with a very short paragraph consisting of one interrogative sentence: "What is 'news'?" This question, placed in the initial strong position, immediately captivates the reader's attention, invites him to follow the author's train of thought. The next brief paragraph contains the statement about the two concepts of news. It is supported in the subsequent paragraphs arranged in a striking antithesis: "For the press in the capitalist countries ...", "To the socialist press...". This parallelism is reinforced by facts and figures.

Notice the contracted form "it's" used several times. This colloquial form is foregrounded against the general formal background and serves as a means of establishing an additional contact with the reader.

The passage is typically publicistic: it not only informs but also tries to convince the reader that the author's thesis and argumentation are correct.

The language of scientific communication is in part "necessitated by the fact that the knowledge of scientists transcends the capacity of lay language to state and record it." [56, p. 352] This knowledge — which consists of identified factual data, definitions, axioms, principles, hypotheses, taxonomies, theorems, postulates — is unintelligible and hence valueless, if it is not presented in a precise, accurate and uniform way. Hence, every scientific discipline develops and maintains a special language adapted to its nature. To a recognizable extent, there is a chemical language, a physical language, a biological language, as well as others within the general framework of the language of science.

All the languages of science, as "instruments of science" [56, p. 353], have certain features in common. The language of science must avoid vagueness and ambiguity at all costs. Hence, it seeks to be consistent in its use of terms and precise in its syntax. It is logical in its presentation and, ideally, unemotional. It is cautious, for science is always aware that "the evidence is not yet all in." [56, p. 353]

The difference between the language of mass communication and that of science becomes self-evident if we compare the two texts below. The first one is an excerpt

from Albert Einstein's lecture on the theory of relativity, while the second is an anecdote from Einstein's biography.

(1) According to the special theory of relativity, spatial coordinates and time still have an absolute character in so far as they are directly measurable by stationary clocks and bodies. But they are relative in so far as they depend on the state of motion of the selected inertial system. According to the special theory of relativity the four-dimensional continuum formed by the union of space and time (Minkowsky) retains the absolute character which, according to the earlier theory, belonged to both space and time separately. The influence of motion (relative to the coordinate system) on the form of bodies and on the motion of clocks, also the equivalence of energy and inert mass, follow from the interpretation of coordinates and time as products of measurement [78, p. 514].

(2) Einstein was once asked by reporters in New York to explain the essence of relativity in a few sentences. He replied: "If you will not take the answer too seriously and consider it only as a kind of a joke, then I can explain it as follows. It was formerly believed that if all material things disappeared out of the universe, time and space would be left. According to the relativity theory, however, time and space disappear together with the things." [78, p. 310]

The logical presentation of thought in the first text manifests itself in the parallel arrangement of sentences and in the employment of intersentence links. The scheme of this paragraph may be presented thus: (1) According to ... in so far as (2) But ... in so far as (3) According to ... which, according to (4) The topic-sentence, a deduction drawn from the premises stated in sentences 1, 2, 3.

The terms consistently used in the passage are borrowed from ordinary language, but given new and special meanings, although they bear some resemblance to the meanings in everyday life: *absolute, relative (relatively), space (spatial), time, clocks, inertial (inert), motion, bodies, mass, measurement (measurable), coordinates, system (inertial system, coordinate system), four-dimensional continuum*.

The passage is unemotional, except for a hint at rhetorical intensification in "the union of time and space", but even then the author makes it clear that this figurative phrase is not his own but belongs to H. Minkowski, a German mathematician.

Einstein's reply to the reporters deals with the same subject, the theory of relativity, but it is couched, naturally, in different words. At first the great scientist makes it a point that he is not going to speak seriously, and then he formulates his theory in the form of a paradox — a seemingly selfcontradictory statement involving nevertheless a truth. This statement was addressed to the general public, it was easy to grasp and remember, and yet it disclosed an essential aspect of the theory.

The distinguishing features of the language of documental communication are the following. In this kind of communication only the graphic substance is used, i.e. a visible system of spelling and punctuation replaces the phonic substance of the basic language. The linguistic forms catering for this sphere are to be seen and not heard: "We rarely say, though we often read, "Received the amount shown above". [101, p. 197]. It is a form of language which is as far removed as possible from informal spontaneous talk. Formal documents are usually drafted by experts and enter into force after being signed by some authorized person or persons. The draftsmen rely on the established formulae, hence the extreme conservatism of documental English.

Thus it is essentially a visual language, meant to be scrutinised in silence. Since in many ways documental English is an exact antithesis of IE, it seems expedient to select it as a representative of FE for a detailed analysis.

THE LANGUAGE OF DOCUMENTAL COMMUNICATION

This language can be categorized into three major sublanguages: (1) the language of legal and official documents, (2) the language of diplomatic documents, and (3) the language of business correspondence.

THE LANGUAGE OF LEGAL AND OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

In J.Galsworthy's *The White Monkey* there is an episode in which the dying George Forsythe is discussing his will with his cousin Soames Forsythe, a lawyer. Notice the intralingual translation from colloquial into legal English in the dialogue:

A grin twitched George's pallid lips.

"Make me a codicil. You'll find paper in the dressing table drawer."

Soames took out a sheet of Iseum Club notepaper. Standing at the table, he inscribed the opening words of codicil with his stylographic pen, and looked round at George. The words came with a hoarse relish.

"My three screws to young Val Dartie, because he's the only Forsythe that knows a horse from a donkey." A throaty chuckle sounded ghastly in the ears of Soames. "What have you said?"

Soames read: "I hereby leave my three racehorses to my kinsman, Valerius Dartie, of Wandson, Sussex, because he has special knowledge of horses."

Again the throaty chuckle. "You're a dry file, Soames."

The language of law and legislation is as far removed as possible from informal spontaneous conversation. For a layman, this language is highly technical and obscure — a feature operating "in favour of the propertied classes who can afford to pay lawyers' vast fees and against the classes which cannot". [40, p. 86] Take a random example:

Where a reversion expectant on a lease of land is surrendered or merged, the estate or interest which as against the lessee for the time being confers the next vested right to the land, shall be deemed the reversion for the purpose of preserving the same incidents and obligations as would have affected the original reversion had there been no surrender or merger thereof¹.

Such passages mean no more to the average Englishman than they do to the foreign student of the English language.

But this style of writing has its justification: the sad fact is that legal documents have to be drawn up with one's eye steadily on the potential cheat. D.Crystal and D.Davy point out that the law includes many different activities each of which is in some way connected with the imposition of obligations and the conferring of rights. "And from time to time," they continue, "someone or other is sure to become morbidly curious about his obligations, and even scrutinize them closely to see if they may possibly be wriggled out of it! Similarly, rights occasionally come in for the

¹ Law of Property Act, 1925, Part V, "Leases and Tenancies".

kind of examination that has as its main aim stretching them to a credible limit and, if possible, even further." [43, p. 193]

Consequently, the lawyer must take the greatest pains to ensure that a legal document says exactly what he wants it say and at the same time gives no opportunities for misinterpretation. This does not mean, however, that the lawyer thinks up the contents of a document from scratch. Lawyers have been doing basically the same things – conveyancing property, drawing up wills, and so on – for a long time, and for each species of transaction there has developed a linguistic formula which is known to do the job adequately, having been subjected to long and thorough testing before the courts. The reliance on forms which were established in the past and the reluctance to take risks by adopting new and untested modes of expression contribute to the extreme linguistic conservatism of legal English.

Crystal and Davy quote the following passage from an endowment assurance policy which they feel to be reasonably central in a linguistic sense:

WHEREAS a proposal to effect with the Society an assurance on the Life Insured named in the Schedule hereto has been duly made and signed as a basis of such assurance and a declaration has been made agreeing that this policy shall be subject to the Society's Registered Rules (which shall be deemed to form part of this policy) to the Table of Insurance printed hereon and to the terms and conditions of the said Table and that the date of entrance stated hereon shall be deemed to be the date of this contract AND such proposal has been accepted by the Society on the conditions as set forth in the proposal NOW this policy issued by the Society on payment of the first premium stated in the Schedule hereto subject to the Registered Rules of the Society

5

WITNESSETH that if the Life Insured shall pay or cause to be paid to the Society or to the duly authorised Agent or Collector thereof every subsequent premium at the due date thereof the funds of the Society shall on the expiration of the term of years specified in the Schedule hereto or on the previous death of the Life Insured become and be liable to pay to him/her or to his/her personal representative or next-of-kin or assigns as the case may be the sum due and payable hereunder in accordance with the Table of Insurance printed hereon and the terms and conditions of the said Table (including any sum which may have accrued by way of reversionary bonus) subject to any authorised endorsement appearing hereon and to the production of this policy premium receipts and such other evidence of title as may be required

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IF UPON THE DEATH OF THE LIFE INSURED there shall be no duly constituted personal representative or nominee or assignee of the Life Insured able and willing to give a valid receipt for the sum payable such sum may in the discretion of the Committee of Management be paid to one or more of the next-of-kin of the Life Insured whose receipt shall effectually discharge the Society from all liability under this policy

25

30

IN WITNESS WHEREOF we the Secretary and two of the Committee of Management of the Society have hereunto attached our signatures [43, p. 195-196].

L a y o u t. In order to understand the peculiar layout of this passage it is necessary to pay a certain amount of attention to history. Crystal and Davy point out that early legal documents made few concessions to the convenience of the reader as far as layout was concerned. Their contents were usually set down as a solid block of script whose long lines extended from margin to margin across the parchment on which they were written, and there was no spacing or indentation to indicate either the sections of which the document was made up or the relationships between them. The possible reasons for this unbroken format were economy in the use of parchment and an intention to defeat fraudulent deletions and additions. The sentences which went to make up a document were usually long; and in fact it was quite common for draftsmen to compose an entire document in the form of a single sentence. When it came to understanding these lengthy structures there was not much help from punctuation, which, if it was not completely absent, tended to be sketchy and haphazard [43, p. 197].

The above extract from the insurance policy belongs to those areas of legal writing in which draftsmen make use of layout to reveal the structure of a document but decline to go in for lettering or numbering of the sections. In this extract the capitals are used for the words and phrases with which all the sections of the documents begin (WHEREAS, AND, NOW, WITNESSETH, IF UPON THE DEATH OF THE LIFE INSURED, IN WITNESS WHEREOF), and although the text is completely unpunctuated, it is broken up by line spaces to make more obvious certain important subdivisions within it.

G r a m m a r. It is a characteristic legal habit to conflate, by means of an array of subordinate devices, sections of the text into extremely long sentences. Thus in the above extract there are only three sentences which end on lines 24, 31 and 33 respectively. Most of these complete sentences are in the form of statements, with no questions and only an occasional imperative. The great majority of them have an underlying logical structure which says something like "if X, then Z shall be Y" or "if X, then Z shall do Y". In terms of sentence structure, "if X" is usually expressed by adverbial clauses of condition and concession and therefore legal sentences are, almost without exception, complex. Crystal and Davy offer the following breakdown of the first sentence of the extract (the first 24 lines) which provides a convenient guide to this example:

A Whereas a proposal ... has been duly made ...

A and a declaration has been made ...

A and such proposal has been accepted ...

A NOW

S this policy ...

P WITNESSETH

C that ... the funds of the Society ... shall ... become and be liable to pay ... the sum due ... [43, p. 203].

(A stands for adverbial elements, S for the subject, P for the predicate, C for that-clause, complement)

This scheme emphasises the way in which adverbial clauses tend typically to cluster at the beginning of the sentence. Following another adverbial — the word NOW — comes the long nominal group which constitutes the subject, and then, introduced by the main verb WITNESSETH, there is the very long that-clause which functions as complement.

Another striking characteristic of written legal English is that it is so highly nominal; the long complicated nominal groups are noticeable by contrast with the verbal groups, which are relatively few, and selected from a restricted set of possibilities. Cf. the subject group and the predicate in the example: "... this policy issued by the Society on payment of the first premium stated in the Schedule hereto subject to the Registered Rules of the Society WITNESSETH that ...".

Another source of oddity is the fact that almost the only formal linkage to be found between the sentences is the repetition of lexical items – and of this there is a good deal. This habit is to be expected in a sublanguage which is so much concerned with exactness of reference. In almost all other sublanguages there are anaphorical repetitions, in which a substitute word – for instance, one of the pronouns *he, she, it, they* – replace a lexical item that would otherwise have needed repeating. Some anaphorical devices, such as forms of the verb *do*, may substitute for whole clauses, or sections of clauses, and some, notably the demonstrative *this* and *that*, are commonly used to refer to considerable stretches of the text, perhaps comprising a number of sentences. The trouble with substitutes of this kind, however, is that they can often look as though they are referring back to an item other than that which the writer has in mind, producing ambiguities and confusions which would be quite intolerable in a legal document. Consequently, draftsmen never use anaphoric links between sentences, and are prepared to put up with the repetitiveness that results. In the extract there is only one reference being made by a pronoun, when *him/her*, in line 18, is used to point back to the Life Insured, and in this case there is almost no possibility of confusion. The unwillingness to use substitutes explains the apparent absurdity of the following extract from an official regulation quoted by R. Quirk:

In the Nuts (Unground) (Other than Groundnuts) Order, the expression nuts shall have reference to such nuts, other than groundnuts, as would, but for this Amending Order, not qualify as nuts (Unground) (Other than Groundnuts) by reason of their being nuts (Unground) [86, p. 32].

From the point of view of morphology the form *witnesseth* is interesting in that it shows the preservation of the *-eth* ending for the third person singular present tense form of the verb. This usage is quite isolated and is simply a matter of tradition; elsewhere the modern ending is used, unlike some varieties of religious English, where the *-th* is used consistently in place of its modern equivalent.

V o c a b u l a r y. The range of vocabulary that may be met in legal documents is extremely wide, since almost anything may become the subject of legislation. But lawyers have developed marked preferences in their choice of words. It is especially noticeable that any passage of legal English is usually well studded with archaic words and phrases of a kind that could be used by no one else but lawyers.

The extract hints at the frequency and variety of those archaic words which consist of an adverbial word of place to which a preposition-like word has been suffixed: *hereto, hereon, hereunder, hereunto, herein, hereinbefore, thereof, whereof*, etc. All these are useful for the kind of precise references – especially to the document or its parts, and to the contracting parties – which lawyers find it so necessary to make; but Crystal and Davy point out that it seems possible to see "in the almost ritualistic repetitiveness (of such words) more than a little reverence for tradition". [43, p. 208] The archaic words of "hereto" type add a touch of formality to the text in which they occur.

Legal documents contain an extremely large proportion of words, which, even though in current use, are highly formal. *Duly, deemed, expiration* are just a few that may be taken as representatives. In collocations the tendency becomes even more noticeable, and word combinations such as *term of years, upon the death of* show a degree of formality that none of the constituents possesses in isolation.

Some of the most characteristic collocations are those in which synonyms, or near-synonyms, are combined, sometimes in quite extensive lists, but more usually in binomials (pairs): *made and signed* (2), *terms and conditions* (5), *able and willing* (27). Draftsmen got into the habit of using these pairs at a time when there were in the language both native English and borrowed French terms for the same referent. In this situation there was often a certain amount of doubt as whether such "synonyms" meant exactly the same thing, and there developed a tendency to mention each alternative. The result was the large number of binomials of the "breaking and entering" and "goods and chattels" type in which an English word is complemented by its French equivalent.

The borrowed French element in legal vocabulary is extremely large — this is one of the consequences of the Norman Conquest. If we look at the words contained in the opening lines of the extract, we shall see that *proposal, effect, society, assurance, insured, schedule, duly, signed, agreeing, policy, subject, rules, form, terms, conditions, date, entrance, contract, accepted* are all from French. Of course nearly all the French originals derive from Latin; but in legal English there is in addition a large number of terms which have come directly from Latin. The same first few lines give the direct Latin borrowings: *basis, table, declaration, registered, stated, and part*. And only *life, named, made, deemed, and said* are representatives of Old English.

All the words we have mentioned so far became English words when they were adopted into the language, and many of them are in general use. But there is still a relatively small group of both French and Latin legal terms which have lingered on in their original forms from the days when legal business was carried on in these languages. These words and phrases have never become "naturalised" in the manner of other loan-words; they are to be regarded as barbarisms. Yet quite a number of them play an important role as technical terms and so constitute an active and highly distinctive part of the legal vocabulary. For example, French law terms are: ● *estoppel* (a bar or impediment preventing a party from asserting a claim or a fact inconsistent with a position he previously took, either by conduct or words) ● *fee simple* (an estate or inheritance in land, absolute and without limitation to any particular class of heirs) ● *laches* (failure to do a thing at the proper time, esp. such delay as will bar a party from bringing a legal proceeding) ● *quash* (to make void, annul or set aside a law). Among the terms of Law Latin are: ● *alias* (an assumed name) ● *amicus curiae* ("friend of the court", a person, not a party to the litigation, who volunteers or is invited by the court to give advice upon some matter pending before it) ● *nolle prosequi* (an entry made upon the records of a court when the plaintiff or prosecutor will proceed no further in a suit or action) ● *res judicata* (a thing adjudicated; a case that has been decided).

Crystal and Davy state that the technical terminology or special vocabulary of the law is remarkable not for the fact that it contains a mixture of words, some with exact and some with less exact meanings, but in many cases the degree of exactness is the subject of a kind of tacit agreement between lawyers. This is especially true in the case of what are known as "terms of art". Terms of art are those words and

phrases about whose meaning lawyers have decided there can be no argument. The words *alibi*, *appeal*, *bail*, *defendant*, *landlord*, *plaintiff*, and *prayer* all mean something far more precise in law than they do to those men in the street who ever get round to using them.

Thus the absolutely specific features of legal English are: a special layout by which attention is directed towards parts of a document which are crucial to meaning; grammatical characteristics such as the chain-like nature of some of the constructions, and the restriction on the use of pronouns, both of which are connected with the need to avoid ambiguity; vocabulary is characterized by such features as archaisms, predominance of Romance loan-words and barbarisms, terms of art. To quote Crystal and Davy, "faced with ... a series of constraints — the need to avoid ambiguity, to be precise or vague just the right way, to avoid possibilities of misinterpretation and to conform to the linguistic dictates of the law — lawyers ... became and have remained in their use of language, cautious, conservative, ingenious, and self-aware." [43, p. 214]

The English of official documents, such as statutes, acts, regulations, etc. differs very little from legal documents, especially with regard to grammar: we observe here the same lengthy sentences devoid of any anaphoric reference to avoid ambiguity, as in the following example:

For the purposes of this Part of this Schedule a person over pensionable age, not being an insured person, shall be treated as an employed person if he would be an insured person were he under pensionable age and would be an employed person were he an insured person [86, p. 32].

E.Partiridge describes official English as "wordy" and quotes a letter to the editor of *The Times* in which the correspondent writes that he had occasion to ask a Government Department to supply him with a book for official use. He was informed in reply, although the Department was not in a position to meet his request, he was "authorized to acquire the work in question by purchase through the ordinary trade channels", or, to paraphrase it into ordinary English, "buy it" [82, p. 212].

Words and expressions favoured by Government offices are known as "officialese". Here are some of them: ● assist (help) ● endeavour (try) ● proceed (go) ● purchase (buy) ● approximately (about) ● sufficient (enough) ● attired (dressed) ● inquire (ask) ● discontinue (stop) ● initiate organizational preliminaries (make preparations), etc. R.Quirk says: "One characteristic (of the language of officialdom) is the use of words and phrases that we condemn with the value judgement as "pompous". This generally means that words have been chosen which have as little popular echo as possible, since the composing official is afraid — and often with good reason — of being accused by superiors or the public of lacking a proper command of "dignified", remote, impersonal English." [86, p. 32]

We shall conclude our discussion of legal and official English with the following story. G.Canning, a British statesman and orator, included the phrase "He died poor" in the text of a monument to W.Pitt, another British statesman; an official was scandalized by this, feeling that it was grossly deficient in dignity, and he proposed instead of Canning's words, "He expired in indigent circumstances".

THE LANGUAGE OF DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTS

To begin with, diplomatic documents are called "instruments" in diplomatic parlance. There are a lot of different types of instruments – treaties, conventions, agreements, acts, pacts, charters, statutes, protocols, declarations, exchanges of notes, each type of documents having its own aim and structure. Basically, instruments establish, or purport to establish, binding legal rights, obligations and relationships between the participating entities (states or governments). In other words, instruments are legal documents governed by international law. Instruments may be bilateral, plurilateral (a limited number of parties) and multilateral.

The most fundamental instrument is treaty used to record comprehensive inter-state agreement upon fundamental relations. Basic relations between states on matters of politics, intercourse, cooperation and establishment are initially defined by treaties of peace, friendship, commerce, navigation, alliance, defense, population and territory. When royalty was in flower treaties were made in the name of the heads of state and the rights and obligations they set forth were attributed to the rulers. They may now be made in the name of the titular or executive heads of state, but more usually in the name of the governments, with a tendency to prefer only the full name of the state.

Convention has the form and technical characteristics of a treaty, from which it is distinguished by its content, but the difference is sometimes slight. Conventions are not used to establish rights and obligations in a fundamental field of inter-state relations, but are used to define or expand aspects of a field. Conventions are usually multilateral and apply to a single clearly determined object.

Layout of the treaty and convention. The treaty or convention consist of the narration (preamble), *dispositio* (body) and *corroboratio* (final clauses).

The preamble sets out the names of the parties, states reasons why they agree to the dispositive clauses and formulates the "resolve" of the parties to enter the treaty or convention. The linguistic composition of the preamble would seem a perfect anomaly in any other conceivable sublanguage. Grammatically, the preamble consists of one monstrously long sentence in which the subject group is the names of the parties and the predicate group is the formula "have agreed as follows" separated from each other by a considerable number of paragraphs each consisting of an expanded participial construction and each starting with a capital letter.

Thus the preamble of "International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination" (1966) begins with the following words "The States Parties to this Convention,"; then come twelve participial paragraphs of the type:

"Considering that the Charter of the United Nations is based on the principles of the dignity and equality inherent in all human beings, and that all Member States have pledged themselves to take joint and separate action, in co-operation with the Organisation, for the achievement of one of the purposes of the United Nations which is to promote and encourage universal respect for the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,".

The first five paragraphs start with "Considering that ...", the others, with "Convinced that ...", "Reaffirming that ...", "Alarmed by ..." ("Alarmed by manifestations of racial discrimination still in evidence in some areas of the world and by governmental policies based on racial superiority or hatred, such as policies of apar-

theid; segregation or separation,"), "Resolved to adopt...", "Bearing in mind ...", and "Desiring ..." ("Desiring to implement the principles embodied in the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and to secure the earliest adoption of practical measures to that end.').

In the end of the preamble there is the resolve formula printed on a separate line:

"Have agreed as follows:"

After the preamble comes the body of the instrument which is sometimes known as "dispositive provisions". The number of separate provisions may be very great and they have both to be set out in an orderly manner and also made readily available for reference. In order to meet these needs a visual arrangement reflects the logical progression of ideas was adopted, along with the appropriate numbering and lettering of sections and subsections.

Thus the body of the above-mentioned convention consists of two parts (Part I, Part II), each part containing articles (Article 1, Article 2, etc.). The paragraphs in each article are numbered and lettered. E.g.

Part I

Article 2

1. States Parties condemn racial discrimination and undertake to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating racial discrimination in all forms and promoting understanding among all races, and, to this end:

(a) Each State Party undertakes to engage in no act or practice of racial discrimination against persons, groups of persons or institutions and to ensure that all public authorities and public institutions, national and local, shall act in conformity with this obligation;

(b) Each State Party undertakes not to sponsor, defend or support racial discrimination by any persons or organizations;

(c) Each State Party shall take effective measures to review governmental, national and local policies, and to amend, rescind or nullify any laws and regulations which have the effect of creating or perpetuating racial discrimination wherever it exists;

(d) Each State Party shall prohibit and bring to an end, by all appropriate means, including legislation as required by circumstances, racial discrimination by any persons, group or organization;

(e) Each State Party undertakes to encourage, where appropriate, integrationist, multiracial organizations, and movements and other means of eliminating barriers between races, and to discourage anything which tends to strengthen racial division.

Notice the anaphoral parallelism in the lettered paragraphs ("Each State ...").

The lettered paragraphs may be further subdivided into catalogues where each member is marked with small Roman numerals. E.g.

Article 5

In compliance with the fundamental obligations laid down in Article 2 of this Convention, States Parties undertake ... to guarantee the right of everyone, without

distinction as to race, colour, or national or ethnic origin, to equality before the law, notably in the employment of the following rights:

(a) The right to equal treatment before the tribunals and all other organs administering justice; ...

(d) Other civil rights, in particular:

(i) The right to freedom of movement and residence within the border of the State;

(ii) The right to leave any country, including one's own, and to return to one's country;

(iii) The right to nationality;

(iv) The right to marriage and choice of spouse;

(v) The right to own property alone as well as in association with others;

(vi) The right to inherit;

(vii) The right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion;

(viii) The right to freedom of opinion and expression;

(ix) The right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

Such an expanded hierarchy of various text levels enhances the logical presentation of dispositive provisions and facilitates a quick reference.

The dispositive provisions of instruments vary greatly and record all degrees of agreement upon the particular matters with which they deal. Negotiated language requires careful examination. Parties may agree, declare, undertake, recognize abstract or concrete propositions in a treaty, and may do these jointly, reciprocally or unilaterally.

The corroboratio, or formal (final) clauses (provisions). An instrument usually requires ratification, and clauses for the details of that procedure and of the treaty's duration are in it. Provisions for opening of the document for signature, handling disputes arising from the text, accession, entry into force, modification and other clauses designed to afford means of effective management are frequently added in modern times. E.g.

(1) This Convention is subject to ratification. Instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

(2) This Convention is open for signature by any State Member of the United Nations or member of any of its specialized agencies, by any State Party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice, and by any other State which has been invited by the General Assembly of the United Nations to become a Party to this convention.

(3) This Convention shall be open to accession by any State referred to in article 17, paragraph 1, of the Convention.

Accession shall be effected by the deposit of an instrument of accession with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

(4) This Convention shall enter into force on the thirtieth day after the date of the deposit with the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the twenty-seventh instrument of ratification or instrument of accession.

(5) Any State Party may denounce this Convention by a written notification to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Denunciation shall take effect one year after the date of receipt of the notification by the Secretary-General.

(6) Any dispute between two or more States Parties with respect to the interpre-

tion or application of this Convention, which is not settled by negotiation or by procedures expressly provided for in this Convention, shall, at the request of any of the parties to the dispute, be referred to the International Court of Justice for decision, unless the disputants agree to another mode of settlement.

The convention ends with a testimonium and the signatures are usually sealed. The testimonium is a set formula containing archaic elements:

In faith whereof the undersigned, being duly authorized thereto by their respective Governments, have signed the present Convention, opened for signature at New York, on the seventh day of March, one thousand nine hundred and sixty-six.

Thus the most important diplomatic documents (treaties, conventions, agreements) have a distinct layout and usually consist of three parts – the preamble, the body (dispositive provisions) and the final clauses, each of these parts having a distinct structure of its own.

G r a m m a r. The typical syntactical features of diplomatic documents are the predominance of extended simple sentences and complex sentences, abundant use of participial constructions (as in the preamble), the tendency to separate the subject and the predicate, profusion of homogeneous members. Like in legal documents, there is an expressed tendency to avoid anaphorical pronoun reference and to repeat important terms in full (*the Secretary-General of the United Nations*, and not *he the Secretary-General*). These traits are dictated by the necessity of the transparency of meaning, elimination of all possible ambiguity, and avoidance of the wrong interpretation of the document, which may cause undesirable consequences.

One may also notice the insistent use of *shall* with the third person which expresses not the will of the grammatical subject, but the will, determination of the undersigned regarding the subject. The latter thus stands notionally in something of an objective relationship to it ("This Convention ... shall be deposited ..." "The committee shall be competent to exercise the functions...").

V o c a b u l a r y. Like any specialized sphere of communication, diplomacy makes use of special terms. Diplomatic terminology includes terms proper and words used in the sphere of international law in some special meaning. E.g. ● accession (formal acceptance of a treaty, international convention, or other agreement between the states) ● article (a clause, item, point or particular in a treaty) ● clause (a distinct provision of a treaty) ● party (a signatory to a diplomatic document) ● plenipotentiary (a diplomatic agent, invested with full power or authority to transact business on behalf of his government) ● protocol (a supplementary international agreement) ● compromis (a formal document, executed in common by nations submitting a dispute to arbitration, that defines the matter at issue, the rules of procedure and the powers of the arbitral tribunal, and the principles to be followed in determining the award).

All the above terms are of Romance origin, which is not surprising if we remember the fact that the primary languages of international relations were Latin and French. In diplomatic English there are many borrowings from Latin and French that are not assimilated: ● *bona fides* (the state of being exactly as claims or appearances indicate) ● *persona grata* (a diplomatic representative acceptable to the government to which he is accredited. Cf. *persona non grata*) ● *casus belli* (an event or political occurrence that brings about a declaration of war) ● *modus vivendi* (a temporary agreement between parties pending a settlement of matters in debate) ● *note verbale* (a diplomatic communication prepared in the third person and unsigned) ● *aide-*

mémoire (lit. "memory-helper", a memorandum of discussion, agreement, or a
tion).

The general vocabulary of diplomatic English consists almost exclusively of su-
raneanutral, bookish and learned words; the wording of documents is as remote an
impersonal as possible. Here are some examples picked out at random: *communica-*
tions, appropriate, available, submit, recommendations, principles, objectives, sub-
paragraphs, authentic, in accordance with, jurisdiction, proclaim, manifestation, o-
minate, doctrine, condemnable, repugnant, adoption of practical measures, ent-
as a consequence, in compliance with the fundamental obligations, with a view to
promoting understanding, etc.

Thus diplomatic English documents have a firmly fixed composition, elaborate
syntax and vocabulary reflecting the historical development of this sublanguage and
resulting from the necessity for absolute precision and the avoidance of any possible
ambiguity.

THE LANGUAGE OF BUSINESS CORRESPONDENCE

Business and official letters are an essential means of communication for indus-
try, business, and government departments in the capitalist world. The conative func-
tion of the communication act is of primary importance in this type of correspon-
dence: since business letters represent a private company just as salesmen do, their
function must go beyond the essentials of presenting information clearly and
courteously, they must persuade, make friends, build good will, and add to the
company's prestige. It is generally supposed that much of the progress of a business
can be traced to a careful handling of correspondence.

Innumerable matters may be settled by correspondence: inquiries, quotation
(statements of the current prices or estimate of the cost of work), orders, execution
of orders, complaints and their adjustment, settlement of accounts, etc.

Irrespective of their contents business letters have a stereotyped form which
has the advantages of the necessary formality and a certain facility for saving time
when writing and handling them.

Consider the following example:

All communications to be addressed to the company and not to individuals:

BROWN AND SMITH, LIMITED

Steam Turbines, Steam Engines, Air Compressors
65, Victoria Street, London E.C.4

Telephone:

Central 2856

In your reply
please, refer to ...

Telegraphic Address:

Brosmith, London

All offers are subject to the goods being un-
sold on receipt of reply.

15th December, 19...

Messrs. Pallant Bros.,
921 Gresham Avenue,
London, E.C.1.

Dear Sirs,

Re Contract No. 24 Air Compressors

It is with great regret that we find ourselves compelled to ask for an extension
time in the execution of your order No.24 of the 23rd November last.

The strike of the machine operatives has completely disorganized our busi-
ness, and though we have made strenuous efforts to fulfil our obligations, the ge-
neral nature of the trouble has rendered our attempts fruitless.

Negotiations for reconciliation are, however, proceeding apace, and we have
no reason to believe that we could effect delivery within a fortnight. We trust
that this course will meet with your approval and suffice to save you further incon-
venience.

We tender our apologies and hope that you will not allow these circumstances
under which we have no control to influence you in your judgement of our business
methods.

Yours faithfully,
per. pro. Brown & Smith, Ltd.
K.Down
Sales Manager

c.
vised catalogue

The above example is typical of business correspondence with regard to its com-
position, grammar and vocabulary.

L a y o u t. The structure of the business letter is firmly fixed by tradition and
components may be presented in the following scheme:

- (1) The Heading
- (2) The Date
- (3) Inside Address
- (4) The Salutation
- (5) The Subject Heading
- (6) The Opening Paragraph
- (7) The Body of the Letter
- (8) The Closing Paragraph
- (9) The Complimentary Close
- (10) The Signature

1) Enclosure(s)

An attempt will be made in the following paragraphs to deal with each of these
components in turn.

(1) The Heading. This will set forth the name of the firm ("BROWN AND
SMITH, LIMITED"), the nature of its business ("Steam Turbines, etc."), its postal
and telegraphic address, and its telephone number. Perhaps the firm may wish to
have communications addressed to the company, or to a particular official; in this
case the heading will bear a request to that effect ("All communications to be ad-
dressed to the company and not to individuals"). In the heading, room is usually
left for the date of the despatch of the letter and for a reference number, which
could be quoted in the reply ("In your reply please refer to ..."). The heading is
usually printed on the firm's stationary.

(2) The Date. It should give the number of the day, the name of the month and the number of the year, in that order: 25th May, 19 ... The following variations are also possible: 25 May, 19 ..., May 25th, 19 ..., May 25, 19 ... The names of months, except March, May, June and July, are sometimes abbreviated: Jan., Feb., Apr., Aug., Sept., Oct., Nov., Dec.

(3) Inside Address. The letter itself must always begin with the name and full address of the correspondent. This is typed close to the left-hand margin slightly lower than the date. In England it is considered to be discourteous to address a letter with the prefix "Mr.". All male addressees who have no higher title should be given the title of esquire ("H.J. Wallington, Esq."). Partnerships usually take the designation "Messrs.", which is an abbreviation of the French *Messieurs* and is pronounced [mesɪz] ("Messrs. Pallant Bros.", "Messrs. Smith & Co."). But "Messrs." is omitted where the firm-name begins with a title, where the name is impersonal, or the company is limited ("Sir John Watson & Sons", "The National Transport Company", "Smith Brown, Ltd.').

(4) The Salutation. This comes immediately beneath the recipient's address close to the left-hand and ends with a comma in the U.K. and with a colon in the USA.

The standard salutation in letters addressed to firms and companies is "Dear Sirs". The older salutation "Gentlemen" tends to be employed now only for professional firms in Britain but is still current in the USA.

The salutation "Sir" is used for all Government correspondence and for very formal business letters. It is also employed in letters passing between persons of widely differing positions, where any appearance of familiarity would be out of place.

"Dear Mr Jones" is somewhat more familiar than "Dear Sir" and is used when it is desired to establish a "personal touch", or where the addressee has intimate or frequent business relations with the writer.

The salutations for female addressees are, respectively, "Dear Madam", "Madam" (both for married and unmarried women), "Dear Mrs. Brown", "Dear Miss White".

Special forms of address are necessary for persons in high office and those who carry titles or rank (Lord Mayor: "My Lord"; Alderman: "Mr Alderman Green"; Clergyman: "Reverend Sir"; Royal Duke: "Sir" or more formally, "May it please your Royal Highness").

(5) The Subject Heading. A practice very frequently adopted is to head the letter, immediately after the salutation, with a few words indicative of its subject or contents. Sometimes the heading begins with the preposition "re" [ri:] (in the case of reference to). The subject heading enables the reader to see at once what is to be dealt with. The letter may accordingly be passed immediately to the person or department interested in it.

The following are specimens:

- (a) Re Order No. 1246 for "Volga" Cars.
- (b) Letter of Credit No. 12/1416.
- (c) Contract 1760-40 Cane-backed Chairs.

These headings are particularly useful in the foreign trade, when many letters on one subject may be exchanged at intervals of some weeks, during which other matters may be discussed and many other letters added to the files. Tracing a subject

through the files tends to become difficult without these headings as nearly every letter has to be read, at least partly; with the aid of these headings, however, skimming over the pages is sufficient.

(6) The Opening Paragraph. This will often state the subject-matter and the writer's feelings on the subject. Codified expressions of pleasure, regret, surprise, gratitude and other feelings are normally conveyed in an opening paragraph. It also states as early as possible the date of the letter, if any, which is being answered. E.g.

(a) We should be glad to hear at your earliest convenience the terms and conditions on which you are prepared to undertake the upholstering of a theatre, seating 2,000 persons.

(b) We thank you for your letter of the 18th April with the proof-copy of our latest price list enclosed.

(c) We are compelled to express our strong disapproval of the highly unsatisfactory way in which you have handled our order of the 3rd October.

The opening paragraph normally contains no negative statements. Business letters start, for obvious reasons, with some friendly phrases which are supposed to have "a built-in smile": "We shall be glad ...", "It is a pleasure...", "Thank you ...", "We appreciate very much ...", "With our compliments...".

(7) The Body of the Letter. The contents of the "body" of the letter depends, of course, upon the particular circumstances, but there are some rules that apply to every business letter. Where the letter is short and deals with only one fact or item, the "body" consists of only one paragraph; if several matters are mentioned, each is dealt with in a separate paragraph.

(8) The Closing Paragraph. Very frequently in sales letters, the whole of the argument is summed up in a final paragraph and the writer tries to make it as forceful and convincing as possible. In an ordinary letter, the closing paragraph may consist simply of one or two phrases of courteous form, expressing a hope for a favourable reply, assuring the addressee of every attention, etc. The following are some specimens:

(a) We look forward to placing further orders with you, and trust that you will make every effort to satisfy our particular requirements.

(b) For the cloth already ordered we are prepared to wait 15 days, and we trust that you will make every effort to see that this time is not exceeded.

(c) We regret the misunderstanding which has arisen and trust that the position is now clear.

Many of the closing phrases have become stereotyped and hackneyed: ● Assuring you of our best attention at all times ● Awaiting the favour of your esteemed commands ● Thanking you in anticipation of a favourable reply, etc.

(9) The Complimentary Close. The rules laid down for the salutation apply equally to the complimentary close, and the two must always agree. The subscription most frequently used is "Yours faithfully". Like "Dear Sir(s)", it is neither too formal nor too casual, and is suitable for practically all occasions.

"Yours very truly" and "Yours sincerely" are employed only in personal letters beginning "Dear Mr - ". When very important persons are addressed "Yours respectfully" is in order.

(10) The Signature. This is placed on the right-hand side, beneath the close. At first the firm-name is typewritten or imprinted with a rubber stamp, then the actual signature is written by hand, and, finally, the post of the person signing is indicated, or the corresponding department.

In a large firm it is obviously impossible for the head of the business to deal with all the correspondence, and certain employees are therefore authorised to sign for the firm; they are then said to sign *per procuracionem* (*per pro, p.p., per.*), which is a Latin phrase meaning "by acting as an agent". It means that the signatory is empowered by a proper legal document to sign letters and other documents. In modern practice, however, *per pro.* is frequently omitted, and words descriptive of the office held by the signatory – Secretary, Sales Manager, etc. – are usually added. The recipient is then in a much better position to estimate the exact scope of the powers and responsibilities of his correspondent.

Thus –

- | | |
|-----|---|
| (1) | per pro. Kenworthy, Limited
<i>John Green</i> |
| (2) | The Hungingtower Co., Ltd.
<i>W.Stead</i>
Managing Director |
| (3) | A.Smith & Co., Ltd.
p.p. <i>D.White</i>
Export Department |

(11) Enclosures. The presence of enclosures is indicated by a reference in the lower left-hand corner of the paper. The word "Enclosure(s)", or "Encl.", "Enc." is written and then the enclosed documents are enumerated. E.g.

Encl.:

Bill of Lading
Insurance Policy
Invoice

Thus business letters, like other official documents, have a firmly fixed layout worked out by long tradition and intended to facilitate the handling of such correspondence.

G r a m m a r. Perhaps the most obvious characteristics are the use of personal pronouns and the abundance of various forms of modality. Unlike legal and diplomatic documents which are written in a remote and impersonal manner, business letters are written in the first person plural or the first person singular; i.e., either "we" or "I" may be used. "We" is more frequent because it carries more weight and letters written in the first person plural express the views of the firm as a whole. The first person singular is used when the correspondent is the owner of the business or is merely voicing his personal opinions or the opinions of his department.

Another pronoun frequently used is "you". Letter writers recommend to compose business letters from the "you" attitude because "every person is interested primarily in himself and thus responds to a letter written from his point of view". [75, p. 135] Thus in the following the second variants seem to be preferable in terms of the psychological techniques of today's business world:

- (a) 1. We were happy to hear that our letter of January 5th provided sufficient information for the completion of the order for us.
2. Thank you for your assurance that you had sufficient information for the completion of your order.
- (b) 1. We make six styles in all sizes, available in cartons of four.

2. You may have your choice of six styles in all sizes. These are packed in cartons of four for your convenience in stocking.

Occasionally business letters of a very formal character are written in the third person; they are generally very brief and deal with a single topic. The writer's address and the date are put at the end, instead of at the beginning. The name and address of the person to whom the letter is written are not given at the head. There is no signature. The following is an example:

Mr Freeman wishes to inform the Manager of the Orton Bank that he will be in town on Wednesday, the 20th October, and would be glad to know whether an interview could conveniently be arranged for 12 noon on that day.

The Old Farm,
Lower Orton,
12th October, 19..

The most common syntactical pattern in business correspondence is the complex sentence consisting of a principal clause containing a modal phrase and of an adverbial clause of condition:

We should ... if you would ...

The following are some examples:

- (a) We should be glad if you would purchase on our account 500 bags of barley ...
- (b) We should be extremely grateful if you would release us from our contract.
- (c) We should be obliged if you would catalogue the goods in time.

This pattern is a specific form of polite request; the verb *would* has its own lexical meaning of volition — "if you would purchase" means that the action depends entirely on the addressee's consent.

The verbs *shall*, *will*, *should*, and *would* are extremely common in business letters: they may express subtle nuances of oblique moods, modality, and futurity:

- (a) As our demand is urgent it would be necessary for you to supply from stock.
- (b) We should appreciate further information ...
- (c) You will realize that the conditions prevailing in the trade ...
- (d) You will observe that the prices quoted are extremely low.
- (e) We trust that we shall have the pleasure of executing further orders from you.
- (f) Should you be willing to meet our wishes, we should be grateful if you would confirm your order on the revised conditions.

The pragmatic, conative aspect is well pronounced in every business letter: the addressor's wish, purpose, volition, his attitudes and feelings are expressed in numerous codified ways of courteous phrasing: by modal verbs, modal phrases, parenthesis, etc. E.g.

- it is with great regret that we find ourselves compelled to ask ...
- we thank you for ...
- we trust that you will appreciate ...
- we take the liberty of enclosing...
- it must be possible for you to guarantee...
- we wish to assure you that we intend ...
- perhaps you will be good enough to inform us...
- we would remind you that...
- unfortunately, however, your opinions are not shared by our other customers...
- we tender our apologies and hope that ...

Among other notable features one may mention the use of some highly formal prepositions that are never used in conversation. E.g.

- (a) The preposition *as per* (= according to). This is usually used with the names of

various documents; the latter in this case take no article: as per specification (invoice, contract, copy, etc.).

(b) The preposition *subject to* (=conditional upon). This has the meaning of obligatory condition when it is not preceded by the verb *to be*: ● This offer is made subject to the goods being unsold on receipt of your reply. ● We accept your prices subject to our General Conditions of Delivery.

V o c a b u l a r y. Like any specialized sphere of communication, business correspondence has its own stock of technical terms, such as *account, balance, catalogue, commission, credit, customer, debit, discount, inquiry, invoice, order, payment, price list, quotation, retailer, settlement, wholesaler*, and many more.

Another notable feature is the use of abbreviations: ● f.o.b. (=free on board) ● enc. (=enclosure) ● Ltd (=limited) ● Co. (=company) ● Messrs. (=Messieurs) ● Bros. (=brothers) ● S.S. (=steamship) ● L/C (=laydays/cancelling) ● c.i.f. (=cost, insurance, freight) ● lb. (=pound) ● in (=inch) ● cu yd (=cubic yard), etc.

Like in other official documents, the archaic *herinafters* and *hithertos* are used, but much more sparingly than in legal English.

There are quite a number of clichés favoured by businessmen, such as ● at your earliest convenience (as soon as possible) ● to be prepared (to be ready) ● to be in a position (to be able) ● to look forward to (to anticipate with pleasure) ● in response to (in reply to) ● to forward orders (to send orders) ● to endorse an opinion (to share an opinion) ● to tender one's apologies (to offer ...).

Many of those expressions belong to what is known as "business English" (or *commercialese*). Inherited from the Early Victorian period, business English was a mass of conventions that were "neither sensible nor convincing, and merely served to leave in the mind of the reader an unpleasant feeling of insincere servility." [84, p. 302]

Every letter was an "esteemed favour" from the recipient's point of view, whether it contained a cheque or was one alleging short weight in the last consignment. Similarly, every letter sent out was "our respects". Thus the third letter of a series would begin "With reference to your esteemed favour of the 5th and our respect of the 7th inst.(=this month)".

Here are a few examples of words and phrases used in commercial offices: ● to advise (to inform) ● be in receipt of ("We are in receipt of your letter") ● beg ("We beg to bring to the notice of ...") ● duly noted ● friends (competitors: "Our friends in the trade have been guilty of price-cutting") ● kindly (for please) ● same (for it: "We have received same") ● state (for say).

E. Partridge quotes the following specimen of *commercialese*:

"Madam,

We are in receipt of your favour of the 9th inst. with regard to the estimate required for the removal of your furniture and effects from the above address to Burpleton, and will arrange for a Representative to call to make an inspection on Tuesday next, the 14th inst., before 12 noon, which we trust will be convenient, after which our quotation will at once issue."

E. Partridge also quotes a recasting of this letter into plain English:

"Madam,

Thank you for your letter of May 9th. A man will call next Tuesday forenoon, to see your furniture and effects, after which, without delay, we will send our estimate for their removal to Burpleton."

The rewording contains 35 words against the original 66 which brings Partridge to the following epigrammatic conclusion: "Business English, in short, is extremely un-businesslike". [82, p. 213]

FINAL REMARKS

Yu.M.Skrebnev distinguishes between five degrees of linguistic competence: the first, lowest, degree is an ability to discriminate between the noises of nature and human speech; the second degree is the ability to understand what language is being used; the third degree is the ability to understand the meaning of the message; the fourth degree is the ability to see whether the form of the message is appropriate to its contents and consituation, or, if it is not, to know under what circumstances it would be appropriate; the fifth and the highest degree of linguistic competence is one's active skill to encode stylistically correct messages [31, p.19-20].

The aim of this book has been to promote the reader's linguistic competence in the sense suggested above.

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