Xiang Yanan

PRAGMATIC MARKERS-APPROXIMATORS IN RUSSIAN EVERYDAY SPEECH: A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS

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Scientific advisor:
Doctor of Philology, Professor
Bogdanova-Beglarian Natalia Viktorovna

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INTRODUCTION

Oral speech (OS) is the primary form of language existence in the development of man and mankind (in ontogenesis and phylogeny). Oral speech as a whole is characterized by such characteristics as unpreparedness, spontaneity, irreversibility and a certain automatism in the selection of linguistic means, which arises in conditions of a shortage of time allocated for thinking and constructing an utterance[1]. In the written form of speech, the author can "deliberately select linguistic means, build the statement gradually, correct and improve the text" (*Trosheva* 2006a: 285-286).

There are a large number of special units in Russian everyday speech. Going back to ordinary lexemes, both full-valued and functional, these units in a number of their uses in everyday speech lose (fully or partially) their lexical and/or grammatical meaning and acquire a pragmatic one, passing from the category of *speech* to the category of *conditional-speech* (*communicative-pragmatic*)[2] functional units of Russian speech. Taking into account their pragmaticization, the term *pragmatic marker* (PM) is introduced for them (*Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2021: 23). One of the classes of such units is pragmatic *markers-approximators* (PMA).

The concept of "approximation" (from lat. *approximo* – 'to approach') came to linguistics from mathematics, where it means the replacement of some mathematical objects (for example, numbers or functions) with others, simpler and in one sense or another close to the original ones (for example, curved lines – close to them broken) (https://gufo.me/dict/bes/APPROXIMATION). In linguistics, *approximators* understand the markers of vague or approximate nomination that are used by the speaker when the direct naming of an object, phenomenon or state

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[1] Cf.: "in real communication conditions, in the process of natural spontaneous dialogue, the production of a text (utterance) occurs, in essence, in "extreme conditions" – with a lack of time and no opportunity to carefully think through a strategy" (*Levitsky* 2011: 162); "the process of generating speech is closely intertwined with the process of generating thought, forming a single speech-thinking process carried out by the mechanisms of speech thinking" (*Katznelson* 1972: 110). V. von Humboldt described the speech act as a spontaneous confrontation, a dramatic conflict between thought and its speech embodiment: "For the most everyday feeling and the deepest thought, language turns out to be insufficient, and people look at this invisible world as at a distant country where only language leads them, never leading them to the goal. Every speech in the high sense of the word is a struggle with thought, in which one feels either strength or powerlessness" (*Humboldt* 1985: 378).

[2] This classification is based on the concept developed by the authors for the compilation of a semantic dictionary (*Russian Semantic Dictionary* 1998).

of affairs is superfluous, inappropriate or impossible (*Podlesskaya* 2013). PMA show the speaker's uncertainty about what he is talking about. Typical units of this type are *vrode*, *ili tam*, *kak by*, *tipa* (*Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2021: 25). A concept close to approximation – *hedge* (from eng. *hedge* – 'evasion of a direct answer, insurance') (*Lakoff* 1973) (see section 1.2.2.1 of this study for more details on hedges).

The issue of approximators has long been widely discussed in Russian linguistics. For example, the classification *of E.S. Bocharova*, based on the material of the English language, takes into account the semantic characteristics of approximators and includes four groups: 1) "absolute" approximators (*almost, nearly*); 2) approximators of "approximate assimilation" (*kind of, sort of, something like, half, semi*); 3) comparative approximators (*at least, no fewer than, not more than);* 4) "approximately undefined" approximators (*up to, from ... to*) (*Bocharova* 2001: 62-64). Many such studies are focused mainly on the material of foreign languages, such as French (*Moreva* 1997), Italian (*Mercantini* 2015), English (*Dubrovskaya* 2013; *Martynova* 2016; *Pesina and others.* 2019), German (*Kuzmina*, *Pristinskaya* 2015), Japanese (*Degtyareva* 2014), as well as on literary text (*Archakova* 2008), news discourse (*Vasilyeva* 2009) and at the semantic level (*Madzhidov* 2009). An analysis of the literature has shown that there are practically no studies of this kind on the material of Russian everyday speech and at the pragmatic level.

Thus, the ***relevance*** of this study is due to the fact that a comprehensive analysis of pragmatic markers-approximators of Russian everyday speech has not yet been undertaken, but it is necessary, because such units are very frequent (for example, a marker *kak by* have a rank of 5 in the frequency list of 60 Russian PM, a marker *tipa* has a rank of 15) (*Pragmatic markers...* 2021: 54).

The ***object*** of this research is Russian everyday oral speech organized into a corpus, and the ***subject*** of this research is pragmatic markers-approximators in different speech situations and in use by different speakers.

Scientific novelty of this research is the first attempt at a comprehensive analysis of PMA in Russian everyday speech , carried out on corpus material.

The ***purpose*** of the work is a multifaceted description of PMA in everyday communication in the Russian language, including the analysis of the influence of the speaker's characteristics and the form of speech on the features of their functioning.

In accordance with this purpose, the following ***tasks*** are set and solved in the work:

1) literature review on the topic of the study – to form the theoretical scientific basis of the study;
2) creating a custom subcorpus of the material;
3) identification – on the basis of contextual analysis – of the features of the use of PMA in everyday communication;
4) establishing the role/function of PMA within the framework of speech communication;
5) search for correlations between the identified features and characteristics of the speaker (gender, age, psychological type, etc.);
6) search for correlations between the identified features and the type of text (monologue – dialogue/polylogue);
7) comparative analysis of the Russian speech of native speakers of Russian and Chinese languages (in the interests of improving the practice of teaching Russian as a foreign language);
8) identification of the specifics of the translation of Russian PMA into Chinese (based on the speech of characters in fiction);
9) disclosure of the relationship between PMA and their gestural accompaniment.

The main sources of ***material*** for the study are the spoken (SS), main (MS) and multimedia (MURCO) subcorpora of the Russian National Corpus (RNC) (https://ruscorpora.ru/), the corpus of Russian monologue speech "Balanced Annotated Text Library" (SAT) and the corpus of everyday Russian speech "One Speech Day" (ORD) (https://ord.spbu.ru/), created at the Faculty of Philology of St.

Petersburg State University. The latter allows for a kind of large-scale monitoring of modern Russian oral speech, living language everyday communication.

In the course of the main analysis of the functioning of pragmatic markers-approximotors in the work, 2130 uses of the corresponding units in various corpora were analyzed: +/- 500 for typical PMA *kak by*, *vrode*, *tipa* and *ili tam*, what were found in the case material, – for potential PMA *v svoem rode*, *v nekotorom rode* and *kak budto (by)*.

In the section on the comparison of the uses of markers-approximators in monologue and dialogue, 177 PMA from the ORD (dialogues) and SAT (monologues) corpora were analyzed.

In the psycholinguistic aspect, 10 monologues-stories from the SAT corpus were analyzed, and when comparing Russian speech of native speakers of Russian and Chinese, 8 monologues-descriptions from the same corpus.

To describe the methods of translating Russian pragmatic markers-approximators into Chinese, 21 contexts with corresponding units from 10 Russian works of fiction were used.

Finally, to describe the gestural accompaniment of PMA uses, 48 uses of the PMA *tipa* and 21 uses of polyfunctional markers that simultaneously perform the function of an approximator and a xeno-marker were extracted and analyzed from the MURCO subcorpus.

The following scientific research ***methods*** are used in the work:

1) the method of continuous purposeful sampling (identification of units from the PMA class in the corpus material);

2) descriptive (description of each unit or its components in dictionaries and grammars of the Russian language);

3) contextual (description of the features of the functioning of each unit based on the material of the created user subcorpus);

4) comparative:

- data from dictionaries and grammars – and the real use of PMA in speech;
- the use of PMA in the Russian speech of Russians and Chinese;

- the use of PMA in the speech of speakers with different social and psychological characteristics;

- the use of PMA in different types of speech;

- PMA in Russian literary texts and in their translations into Chinese;

5) quantitative (simple quantitative calculations).

The ***theoretical significance*** of the study lies in the multifaceted description of PMA in everyday communication, which can contribute to a better understanding of the trends in the development of oral speech as a primary and very important form of language existence for further research in the field of colloquialistics[3] and communicative linguistics. The observations made may also make some contribution to the general theory of modality, since the work revealed a number of modal meanings characteristic of everyday oral speech. This may become the subject of a separate study.

The ***practical significance*** of the study lies in the fact that its results can help speakers of different gender, age, social status, level of education and personality to communicate with each other correctly, as well as to promote intercultural communication, even by gestures. This can also be useful in the practice of teaching Russian as a foreign language and the practice of translating Russian literary texts into other languages (in particular, into Chinese).

The ***structure*** of the work reflects its content and includes the following sections:

1)   introduction;
2)   theoretical chapter;
3)   research chapter;
4)   conclusion;
5)   a list of abbreviations used;
6)   a list of references;
7)   a list of used dictionaries and other resources;

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[3] For more information on *colloquialisms* as a theory of colloquial speech, see: *Devkin* 1979; *Skrebnev* 1985.

8)   a list of sources;

9)   two applications.

The *introduction* outlines the purpose, objectives and material of the study, as well as substantiates the relevance, scientific novelty, theoretical and practical significance of the results of the analysis. The provisions to be defended are formulated, the structure of the work is described, as well as the approbation and publication of its results.

The *first chapter* of the work is devoted to a comprehensive description of aspects of the study of oral everyday speech, including from the point of view of corpus linguistics, various forms of oral speech, as well as approaches to the analysis of oral discourse. This study includes a description of the main concepts related to approximation, hedging and pragmatic markers, discusses the specifics of the pragmatic meaning of units of oral text and the concept of *pragmaticalization*. A functional typology of pragmatic markers is presented, created on the basis of corpus material and formed the basis of the analysis in this work.

The *second chapter* presents the results of a multidimensional analysis of pragmatic markers-approximators in everyday oral speech (in monologues and dialogues), provides quantitative data on significant correlations between the use of PMA in speech and the characteristics of the speaker, conducts a comparative analysis of Russian speech with the markers of uncertainty of Russians and Chinese, shows the specifics of the translation of Russian PMA into Chinese (based on the material of literary works), and the relationship between PMA and their gestural accompaniment is described.

In *conclusion*, the results of the study are summarized and the prospects for its possible continuation are outlined.

The *appendices* contain a psychological test (questionnaire) by G. Eysenck, which was taken by all informants whose speech is analyzed in the work (1), as well as transcripts of monologues-descriptions of the same image, recorded from Russians and Chinese (2).

Approbation: the main provisions and results of the work were discussed in a number of reports and messages at scientific conferences, congresses and seminars of various ranks:

- 51st and 52nd International Scientific Philological Conferences named after Lyudmila Alekseevna Verbitskaya (IFC-2023, IFC-2024) (March 2023, March 2024, St. Petersburg);

- XXVI Open Conference of Students of Philology (OCSP-2023) (April 2023, St. Petersburg);

- Tenth Interdisciplinary Seminar "Analysis of Colloquial Russian Speech" (AP^3-2023) (June 2023, St. Petersburg);

- XV Congress MAPRYAL "Russian Language and Literature in a Changing World" (September 2023, St. Petersburg);

- XV International Scientific Conference dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Department of the Russian Language, "Language Categories and Units: Syntagmatic Aspect" (September 2023, Vladimir);

- International Scientific Conference "Cognitive Linguistics in the Context of Modern Science" (September 2023, Chelyabinsk);

- Conference RSUH "Dialogical Cliches in Language and Communication" (October 2023, Moscow);

- IX International Scientific Conference "Modern Problems of Slavic Philology: Form and Meaning. To the 130th anniversary of the birth of V. Shklovsky" (November 2023, Taipei);

- International Scientific Conference "Modern Linguistics: Key to Dialogue" (December 2023, Kazan);

- II International Conference "Language-Music-Gesture: Information Crossroads" (April 2024, St. Petersburg);

- All-Russian Interdisciplinary Scientific Conference "Experimental, Corpus and AI Studies of Language and Culture" (October 2024, Perm);

- The First Eurasian Congress of Linguists (December 2024, Moscow).

The main provisions and results of this study were presented in the following ***publications*** of the author:

1) **How Ready We are to Take Responsibility for Our Words: Pragmatic Markers-Approximators in Russian Oral Discourse // Cognitive Studies of Language** / **Editor-in-Chief.** *N.N. Boldyrev*. **– Iss. 4 (55). Cognitive Linguistics in the Context of Modern Science. Proceedings of the International Conference. September 19-21, 2023 / Ed.** *O.A. Turbina*. **– Chelyabinsk: South Ural State University, 2023. – Pp. 262-266** (VAK);

2) **Potential Marker-Approximator** *kak budto (by)* **in Russian Everyday Speech // Bulletin of the Donetsk National University. Series D: Philology and Psychology. – No 1, 2024. – Pp. 108-114** (VAK);

3) **How do Pragmatic Markers-Approximators Help to "Build" a Spontaneous Monologue-Description in the Native and Non-Native Language // Communicative Studies. – No 2, vol. 11, 2024. – Pp. 317-331** (VAK);

4) **On Chinese Translations of Colloquial Russian Pragmatic Approximator Markers: Analyzing Speech Patterns from Literary Fiction // Oriental Studies. – Vol. 17. No 2, 2024. – Pp. 426-439** (co-authored with N.V. Bogdanova-Beglarian) (SCOPUS, VAK) (personal contribution is not less than 80%);

5) **V SVOYOM RODE as a Potential Pragmatic Marker-Approximator of Russian Everyday Speech // Bulletin of Perm University. Russian and Foreign Philology. – No 6, 2024. – 2024. Volume 16. Issue 4. – Pp. 63-70** (VAK);

6) Pragmatic Marker-Approximator ILI TAM: a Corpus-Based Study // LI International Scientific Philological Conference named after Lyudmila Alekseevna Verbitskaya. March 14-21, 2023, St. Petersburg. Collection of theses. – St. Petersburg: SPbGU, 2023. – Pp. 1015-1016;

7) Pragmatic Marker-Approximator KAK BY in Russian Everyday Speech: a Corpus-Based Study // XXVI Open Conference of Philology Students. St.

Petersburg State University, St. Petersburg, April 24-29, 2023: Abstracts of Reports. St. Petersburg: Philological Faculty of St. Petersburg State University, 2023. – St. Petersburg: SPbGU, 2023. – P. 65;

8) Approximation and Hedging in Language and Speech // Analysis of Colloquial Russian Speech (AR^3-2023) Proceedings of the tenth interdisciplinary seminar / Scientific Ed. *U.E. Kochetkova, P.A. Skrelin.* – St. Petersburg: Scythia-print, 2023. – Pp. 60-65 (co-authored with N.V. Bogdanova-Beglarian) (personal contribution is not less than 80%);

9) Structural Realizations of the Pragmatic Marker-Approximator *tipa* in Russian Everyday Speech // Language Categories and Units: Syntagmatic Aspect. Proceedings of the XV International Scientific Conference Dedicated to the 70th Anniversary of the Russian Language Department (Vladimir, September 26-28, 2023) // Ed. – Vladimir: Transit-X, 2023. – Pp. 462-467;

10) Pragmatic Markers-Approximators in Lexical Minimums in Russian as a Foreign Language for B2 and C1 // XV Congress MAPRYAL: selected reports [Elektronnyi resurs] / Ed. *M.S. Shishkov.* St . Petersburg: MAPRYAL, 2024. – Pp. 1144-1149;

11) Pragmatic Marker-Approximator VRODE: Linguistic Analysis of Contextual "Neighbors" // LII International Scientific Philological Conference named after Lyudmila Alekseevna Verbitskaya. March 19-26, 2024, St. Petersburg. Collection of Theses. – St. Petersburg: SPbGU, 2024. – Pp. 1015-1016;

12) On the Functions of the Marker *tipa tam* in Russian Oral Discourse // Bulletin of the Russian State University for the Humanities. Series: Literary Studies. Linguistics. Culturology. – No 8, 2024. – Pp. 147-156;

13) Comparative Analysis of the Functioning of Pragmatic Markers-Approximators in Different Forms of Speech: a Corpus-Based Study // Socio- and Psycholinguistic Research. – Issue 12, 2024. – Pp. 48-52;

14) Markers of Uncertainty and Their Gestural Accompaniment: a Corpus-Based Study // Language-Music-Gesture: Information Crossroads (LMGIC-2024). Proceedings of the International Conference. St. Petersburg, April 18-20, 2024 / Ed. by P.M. Eismont, T.E. Alekseeva-Nilova. – St. Petersburg: OOO " Skifiya-print ", 2024. – Pp. 109-111 (co-authored with N.V. Bogdanova-Beglarian) (personal contribution is not less than 80%);

15) Pragmatic Markers-Approximators in Tests on Russian as a Foreign Language (Levels B2, C1 and C2) // Modern Linguistics: Key to Dialogue. Proceedings and Materials of the IV Kazan International Linguistic Summit (Kazan, December 13-15, 2023): in 3 volumes / Under the general editorship of *I.E. Yarmakeev, F.Kh. Tarasova*. Vol. 2. – Kazan: Kazan University Publ., 2024. – Pp. 453-456;

16) Pragmatic Markers-Approximators wtih the Function of Xenoindicators and Their Gestural Accompaniment // Proceedings of the V.V. Vinogradov Institute of the Russian Language of the Russian Academy of Sciences. On the 70th Anniversary of Doctor of Linguistics, Professor, Director of the Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences M.L. Kalenchuk. Moscow, 2025. – Pp. 81-97 (co-authored with N.V. Bogdanova-Beglarian) (personal contribution is not less than 80%);

17) *V nekotorom rode* as Potential Pragmatic Marker-Approximator in Russian Everyday Speech // The First Eurasian Congress of Linguists. Moscow, December 9–13, 2024: Abstracts of papers / Under the general editorship of Yu. V. Mazurova, M. K. Raskladkina. – Moscow: Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences, 2025. – Pp. 234–235;

18) Pragmatic Marker-Approximator *vrode (vrode togo/ vrode togo chto)* in Russian Everyday Speech: Corpus Research // IX International Scientific Conference "Modern Problems of Slavic Philology: Form and Meaning. To the 130th anniversary of the birth of V. Shklovsky" (November 11-12, 2023, Taipei). – In print.

The main scientific ***results*** of this study are as follows.

1.   The peculiarities of the functioning of pragmatic markers-approximators, not recorded in academic explanatory dictionaries of the Russian language, were identified and described on the basis of corpus material (see works 2, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12 from the list of publications of the dissertation author).

2.   The correlations were established between the peculiarities of the functioning of pragmatic markers-approximators and the speaker's psychotype (see work 1 from the list of publications of the dissertation author).

3.   A comparison was made of the functioning of pragmatic markers-approximators in different types of speech (see work 13 from the list of publications of the dissertation author).

4.   An analysis was made of the uses of pragmatic markers-approximators in Russian speech by native speakers of Russian and Chinese (see works 3, 10, 15 from the list of publications of the dissertation author).

5.   The difficulties of translating Russian pragmatic markers-approximators into Chinese are identified and described, the translation techniques identified during the analysis of parallel texts are summarized, and the factors influencing the choice of one or another technique are analyzed (see work 4 from the list of publications of dissertation author).

6.   The relationship between the use of pragmatic markers-approximators and their gestural accompaniment is revealed (see works 14, 16 from the list of publications of dissertation author).

The following ***provisions*** are submitted for defense.

1.   Pragmatic markers-approximators constitute an independent class of pragmatic units, which has its own peculiarities of use and is actively replenished at the expense of significant language units that undergo the process of pragmaticization in oral speech (pragmalinguistic aspect of the study).

2.   The features of the pragmatic markers-approximators functioning correlate in a certain way with the psychological type, social characteristics of the speaker and the type of text (monologue – dialogue/polylogue) (socio- and psycholinguistic aspects of the study).

3.   Not all the dictionary meanings of the units that became the prototypes of the pragmatic markers-approximators are found in their real use in modern Russian speech. At the same time, explanatory dictionaries of the Russian language, which are primarily used by foreign students, do not describe the pragmatic meaning of many truly frequent linguistic units, which can create problems for the acquisition of the Russian language in a foreign audience (linguodidactic aspect of the study).

4.   The function of reducing the categorical nature of the utterance is performed by markers-approximators in speech together with hedges of different types; units of both these classes mutually reinforce the pragmatic significance of each other, although they retain their belonging to different types of functional speech units: hedges lie within the parts of speech, pragmatic markers-approximators – outside these limits (pragmalinguistic aspect of the study).

5.   Pragmatic markers-approximators is a phenomenon inherent in Russian speech, there are no analogues for it in Chinese speech, which requires translators to be able to use the method of discourse analysis, take into account contextual factors and correctly understand the functions of pragmatic markers-approximators (linguocultural and translation aspects of the study).

6.   The use of pragmatic markers-approximators is often accompanied by noticeable gestures, which are more than just waving the speaker's hands or attracting someone's attention, they are non-verbal means of human language that emphasize, complement or clarify something in speech (paralinguistic and multimodal aspects of study).

CHAPTER 1
THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE STUDY

1.1. Oral spontaneous speech as an object of linguistic research

Oral spontaneous speech (OSS) is an unprepared speech pronounced by the speaker in constantly (sometimes every minute) changing conditions of communication (*Tezekbaeva* 2011: 76). That is why OSS, as the most natural and direct form of language communication, reflects the true inner feelings and thought process of a person. Its development is important for social interaction, expression of emotions and improvement of cognitive abilities in humans.

1.1.1. Language and speech

Language and *speech* are all around us, and without them, nothing happens in our lives. They participate in all our thoughts and actions.

In linguistics, the question of the relationship between *language* and *speech* was first raised by the Swiss linguist F. de Saussure in his work «Course in General Linguistics» (1933). According to F. de Saussure, *language* is a symbolic system organized by phonology as an external environment, semantics as an internal meaning, lexical material and grammatical rules, as well as rules for the use of speech shared by members of society in their speech practice. *Speech*, in contrast to the symbolic system, is a set of words that people actually use and produce as speech acts in everyday communication.

According to F. de Saussure, *language* (*la langue*) as an abstract object "exists in a collective, as a set of imprints in everyone's head, like a dictionary, copies of which, quite identical, would be in the use of many people" (*Saussure* 1999: 26-27). At the same time, *speech* (*la parole*) – "the sum of all that people say; It includes: a) individual combinations depending on the will of the speakers; b) acts of phonation, which equally depend on the will of the speakers and are necessary for the realization of these combinations" (*Saussure* 1999: 26).

Language and speech are closely related to each other, but they are different objects of study in linguistics, cf.: "Undoubtedly, these two subjects are closely related to each other and presuppose each other: language is necessary for speech

to be understandable and thus effective; speech, in turn, is necessary for the formation of language; historically, the fact of speech always precedes language" (*id.:* 26-27); "language is both an instrument and a product of speech" (*id.:* 26).

The third of the concepts of F. de Saussure, which unites language and speech into a unique relationship, is *speech activity* (SA) (*le langage*), considered by the author as an act of verbal communication and classified into acoustic, physiological, semantic and mental components.

Within the framework of linguistics in Russia, the question of the distinction between language and speech was raised in the works of L.V. Shcherba. In his opinion, speech exists as an activity, and the language system and the texts themselves produced in this language are directly related to the concept of language. Language is a system that emphasizes unity and acceptability for all members of a certain social group (*Shcherba* 1974: 24). This cannot be considered a simple transcription of the triad *of language-speech-speech activity* put forward by F. de Saussure. For linguistic research, L.V. Shcherba singled out three *aspects of linguistic phenomena*: *speech activity* (the processes of speaking and understanding); *language system* (vocabulary and grammar); *linguistic material* (texts) (*id.:* 24-28). According to L.V. Shcherba, linguistic research requires the use of all these three interrelated aspects, since *linguistic material* can be obtained only from general elements *of speech activity*, and conclusions about *the language system* can be made on the basis of linguistic material (*id.* 2004: 27).

Thus, language and speech form two systems that are inextricably linked with each other. Language is a more or less abstract system transmitted from generation to generation, including vocabulary, grammar, and syntax; and speech, the direct result of the realization of language, refers to the concrete words or sentences that people use, or to anything that the speaker can say and understand. The following sections of this work are devoted to speech.

1.1.2. Oral speech and written speech

The material carrier of the language is the criterion for distinguishing oral speech from written speech. The main definitions of oral and written speech are

based on the differences in the channels and forms of communication: *oral speech* is "sounding, pronounced speech" (*Trosheva* 2006b: 567), and *written speech* (WS) is "speech depicted on paper (parchment, birch bark, stone, linen or any other surface) with the help of special graphic signs (signs writing)" (*id.* 2006a: 285).

According to F. de Saussure, language exists in the connection between sound images and concepts in the consciousness of the speaker and the listener (participants in the communicative act). The signifier, by its nature perceived by ear, develops only in time and is characterized by attributes borrowed from time: a) it has an extension, and b) this extension has one dimension, i.e., a line. The ear signifiers are located on this timeline, and their elements follow one another to form a chain of sounds (*Saussure* 1999). It follows that oral speech is not as smooth and precise as written speech. While WS usually requires more time to prepare and can be worked out and revised, OS arises spontaneously in one of three forms: *monologue, dialogue,* or *polylogue*. It can be said that spontaneity is practically not characteristic of WS (*Filippov* 1993: 7).[4] Cf.: "A separate act of speech, a speech act, in normal cases is a two-sided process that encompasses speaking and auditory perception and understanding of what is heard proceeding in parallel and at the same time. In written communication, the speech act embraces, respectively, writing and reading (visual perception and understanding) of what is written, and the participants of communication can be distant from each other in time and space" (*Maslov* 1987: 11). Thus, oral speech should be studied as seriously as written speech. And not only its creation, but also perception and understanding in the process of communication.

OS is of interest for linguistic research for a number of reasons. The study of

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[4] There is, however, another opinion on this matter, cf.: "spontaneous speech is also possible in written form – especially when writing personal letters without prior detailed thought" (*Admoni* 1994: 10: see also a number of works on natural, spontaneous, written speech of different genres: *Lebedeva N.B.* 2001, 2003, 2006 a, b, 2007). The conclusion about the presence of spontaneity in written speech is also true for the oral-written form of communication on the Internet, which is spontaneous to a greater extent than prepared speech. Indeed, "many written texts perform the same functions as oral conversational speech. The purpose of exchanging letters, notes, Internet and SMS messages is casual communication on everyday topics, which is spontaneous in nature. The same goal is pursued by communicators communicating within the framework of computer forums and chats" (*Sidorova, Savelyev* 2008: 398). Cf. also: "previously, speech was oral and written, but now oral-written speech has appeared, that is, technically it is written (written in letters), but in many ways it behaves like oral speech: it is spontaneous, linear (a person does not correct, does not reread)" (*Levontina* 2021).

oral speech is useful for analyzing the structural characteristics of language, studying social pragmatic factors, considering cognitive mechanisms, and familiarizing with the structure and functioning of discourse.

The oral form of the functioning of discourse is the most important and decisive in the life of every person. According to N.V. Bogdanova, live speech is important not only chronologically, in terms of the time of its origin, but also in its impact on a person as a personality, as an individual, as a native speaker: "With the help of the living word, people communicate with each other, the living word helps and heals, and the written form of speech is built on its basis, which created all the conditions for the formation of an exemplary variety of the national language – the codified Russian literary language" (*Bogdanova* 2001: 6). OS is a special linguistic and stylistic category, which in the process of its functioning is constantly developing and is influenced by various specific rules.

OS has long been in the focus of attention of linguists of various directions. Cf. oral speech "is the first and true state of language, and any language is revealed in its entirety only in living use, in the speech **of the speaker** (emphasis added. – *Y. X.*) persons" (*Humboldt* 1960: 68). Even I.A. Baudouin de Courtenay called the "living language" the main source of "material for both grammatical and any other linguistic research and conclusions" (*Baudouin de Courtenay* 1963: 103). Wed. also: "it is colloquial speech that is the property of any native speaker, regardless of his age, education and culture" (*Rusakova* 2002: 32). Thus, oral speech, in contrast to written speech, reflects not only the socio-psychological characteristics of a person, but also speech acts of communication, which are important for many aspects of linguistics.

1.1.3. Oral speech, colloquial speech and spontaneous speech

The concepts *of oral speech*, *colloquial speech* (CS) and *spontaneous speech* (SS) are semantically close, but still somewhat different from each other. The study of oral spontaneous speech is directly related to the establishment of a relationship between these concepts.

Oral speech is defined as "any speech manifested in oral form" (*Zemskaya* 1998: 406), and is a more diverse object of study than colloquial speech, which is determined not so much by the oral form as by its main features: "ease of relations between communication partners, unpreparedness of the speech act and lack of orientation to a message of an official nature". (*Zemskaya et al.* 1981: 57).

According to the definition of V.D. Devkin, CS is "the basis of the existence of the language, its most general variety (uniting all members of the nation, regardless of social and individual differences), the most natural and accessible to everyone" (*Devkin* 1979: 7). According to the researcher, the main form of functioning of colloquial speech is oral speech.

O.B. Sirotinina included colloquial speech (a narrower concept) in the field of oral speech (a broader term), understanding the latter as any genre of speech presented in oral form (*Sirotinina* 1983: 5). O.B. Sirotinina noted that ease is typical only for informal communication, so CS is oral informal speech (*id.:* 20).

N.A. Sibiryakova also considered CS as one of the types of oral speech, compare: "The definition of colloquial speech as the spontaneous informal speech of city dwellers, *not limited by the framework of literacy* (italics mine. – *Y.X.),* to a greater extent corresponds to the real place of colloquial speech in the system of the national language" (*Sibiryakova* 1996: 115).

However, CS is used by speakers in everyday life and, importantly, is characterized by the same features as OS as a whole: ease, some carelessness of design, which does not at all indicate its imperfection or second-rate (*Devkin* 1979)*,* "economy on significant parts of the sound chain and an almost disordered ability to grow chaotically on less significant ones" (*Bogdanova* 2011: 42) and a number of others, E.A. Grishina believes that the spontaneity, unpreparedness, and irreproducibility of CS ensure its syntactic, semantic, and morphological originality (*Grishina* 2007: 147).

As can be seen from the above review, there is still no consensus in linguistics on the question of the correlation between the concepts of oral and colloquial speech, cf.: "Those areas of speech that are usually defined as 'oral',

'colloquial' or 'oral-colloquial' speech have not yet been studied to such an extent that it would be possible to assert with all certainty that this or that selection of the object under study is in all respects the most expedient. Nor is it indisputable to what features the decisive role can be ascribed in this case (publicity – non-publicity, informality – officiality, subject matter of speech, etc.)" (*Shmelev* 1977: 22).

Oral speech is closely related to the category of *spontaneity*. *Spontaneous speech* is traditionally opposed to prepared speech, is the result of the simultaneous process of thinking and generating the text, representing a particularly important source of linguistic material for the study of language. It follows that SS is a real indicator of the level of speech competence of the speaker.

S. Bally was the first to define spontaneity as a category of oral speech. It includes speeches that are not planned and not thought through, partly due to lack of time (*Bally* 1961). O.A. Lapteva believes that the spontaneity of oral speech "meets the laws of speech generation and consists in the development of the lexical and grammatical program of the utterance in the course of speech" (*Lapteva* 1990: 541). It is also worth noting once again that "spontaneous <... > can be not only an oral, but also a written monologue – for example, friendly letters, blitz essays or expositions that are written with a time limit and without the possibility of checking and editing, diary entries, etc." (*Bogdanova* 2006: 288; see also: *id.* 2004).

In modern linguistics, the category *of spontaneity* is often confused with another feature of oral speech – *unpreparedness*, i.e. lack of preliminary planning. There are three main points of view on this issue, each of which is applied depending on the position from which various linguistic phenomena are evaluated.

According to the first point of view, *spontaneity* and *unpreparedness* are synonymous, and although unpreparedness is a necessary condition for spontaneous speech, it is very difficult to draw a line between these concepts. Spontaneous speech is "a form of oral speech that can be combined with a different degree of preparation (deliberation) of its content and used in various communication situations (conversational dialogue or polylogue, conversation, free

monologue, report or lecture read without relying on a written text, etc.)" (*Phonetics of spontaneous speech* 1988: 5); it is "freely and momentarily generated oral speech" (*Devkin* 1979: 15). L.V. Bondarko specifies that speech can be both prepared and spontaneous, and in the category of spontaneous – carefully thought out or more relaxed (*Bondarko* 1998: 258-259).

According to the second understanding, the concepts *of spontaneity* and *unpreparedness* of speech are different. Spontaneity is a property of speech processes that are conditioned by internal causes and motives, and not by external influences. By spontaneity E.A. Zemskaya understands "speech that arises from the outside, without any external impulses" (*Zemskaya* 1988: 8). Accordingly, "unpreparedness and spontaneity name different signs of speech. For example, speech can be unprepared, but also non-spontaneous if someone forced a person to speak. <… > In other words, speech can be non-spontaneous and unprepared, non-spontaneous and prepared, spontaneous and unprepared, spontaneous and prepared" (*id.*). The author identifies several stages of speech preparation and comes to the conclusion that spontaneous speech is not equivalent to unprepared speech.

According to the third approach, based on the concept of spontaneity, this concept is based not on the unpreparedness of speech, but on the presence of some failures and obstacles in the production of speech, usually associated with pauses in hesitation (PH), stammering, etc. (in the English-speaking tradition, the phenomenon of *speech disfluencies*): "Spontaneity is a manifestation of failures in speech communication associated with the inconsistency of thought with the conditions of communication. This happens due to the conflict of the transmitted thought with the emotional, sensual, intellectual or cultural state of the speaker" (*Sound corpus...* 2013: 58). The manifestation of spontaneity in speech and the fluctuations of speech occurring within the speaker show the very process by which spontaneous speech is produced: "The gap between thoughts and language is observed <... > in speech hesitations, false starts and reformulations, which abound in everyday speech. Interestingly, both introspection and speech glitches show that people are constantly comparing their thoughts to their verbal expression

and other possible variations of that expression. Obviously, people mentally monitor verbal options that can be used to organize and express their thoughts, weighing different possibilities" (*Chafe* 2015: 63). Even a very thoughtful speech can be spontaneous, compare: "A verified, prepared speech in the conditions of conflict communication <... > is saturated with numerous manifestations of spontaneity" (*id.:* 51).

According to some scientists, the spontaneity of oral speech is associated with such reasons as the situation (lack of time for thinking; unpreparedness of speech) and psychology (unawareness of the choice of linguistic means, automatism of speech). L.P. Yakubinsky believes that spontaneity is the result of an unconscious choice of linguistic means and automation of speech (*Yakubinsky* 1986: 26). V.D. Devkin also describes spontaneity as thoughtlessness and automatism of speech acts in the study of the features of German colloquial speech (*Devkin* 1979: 15).

We can also talk about *quasi-spontaneous speech*, which is characterized, on the one hand, by a certain degree of preparedness, and on the other hand, by a certain degree of spontaneity (*Dergacheva* 2014). This is a clear feature of the colloquial speech of characters in literary texts. Despite the written expression, in its essence it is real oral speech and, obviously, differs in many respects from written speech. According to V.V. Vinogradov, in works of art, colloquial speech is "literaryized"; it primarily uses those phenomena of speech that are associated with its stylistic expression and expressiveness. In the speech of the characters, depending on the social status of the hero, all elements of the CS can be used: both literary and non-literary (*Vinogradov* 2001: 356). The most important task of linguistic research is to distinguish between quasi-spontaneous and spontaneous speech. One of the main differences is that the speech act of quasi-spontaneous communication is more or less prepared. This is due to the fact that such a speech is often planned in advance and is not designed exclusively for direct participants in communication. The quasi-spontaneous speech of the characters in literary

works, artistically processed by the author, is an imitation and reflection of everyday colloquial speech.

One of the objects of this research is the speech of characters of works of fiction, stylized as colloquial. And the other object of research is Russian spontaneous speech, recorded with the help of a dictaphone, without preliminary preparation, in the most natural communicative situations. Further in the work these three terms – *oral speech*, *colloquial speech*, *spontaneous speech* – are used as synonyms.

1.1.4. The main forms of oral speech: monologue, dialogue and polylogue

Depending on different conditions and the number of speakers (one, two, more than two), oral speech is realized in different genres: *monologue*, *dialogue* and *polylogue* (*Zemskaya* 1979: 6).

Dialogical speech, as the main and natural type of communication, is a form (type) of speech 'consisting of the exchange of utterances-remarks, the linguistic composition of which is influenced by direct perception, which activates the role of the addressee in the speech activity of the addressee" (*Vinokur* 1990a: 135). "The external form of dialogical speech (alternation of remarks) is characteristic of the philosophical-journalistic genre, for example, the dialogues of Plato, Galileo in modern discussion, interviews, round-table conversations, and examples in which, however, most of the typological features of dialogical speech are absent" (*id.*).

Dialogue is the most important genre of oral spontaneous speech, compare: "The only adequate form of verbal expression of true human life is an incomplete dialogue. Life is dialogical by nature. To live means to participate in a dialogue – to ask, to listen, to answer, to agree..." (*Bakhtin* 1979: 241). *Dialogue*, according to O.S. Akhmanova, is "one of the forms of speech, in which each statement is directly addressed to the interlocutor and is limited to the immediate topic of the conversation" (*Akhmanova* 1966: 132). Dialogue "is primarily determined by the fact that two partners actively participate in it, and the specificity of the unfolding of the text is that the speech utterances of the participants alternate all the time" (*Phonetics of spontaneous speech* 1988: 13).

Dialogue is the most common and least prepared type of verbal spontaneous speech, which invites others to participate and is based on mutual understanding. The development of dialogue occurs spontaneously, since the stimuli and reactions of the interlocutor are often unknown or unpredictable in advance. According to L.V. Shcherba, dialogue is a chain of remarks consisting of "mutual reactions of two individuals communicating with each other, reactions that are normally spontaneous, determined by the situation or the statement of the interlocutor" (*Shcherba* 1957: 115). L.P. Yakubinsky shared the position of L.V. Shcherba and spoke about the nature of dialogue as a form of speech: dialogue is one of the forms of speech utterance, i.e. an intermittent form of speech interactions, in which the actions and reactions of the interlocutor during the dialogue change relatively quickly (*Yakubinsky* 1986: 30).

L.P. Yakubinsky also believed that non-verbal components, such as facial expressions, gestures, tone, intonation and intensity, play an important role in a dialogue: "Facial expressions and gestures sometimes play the role of a remark in a dialogue, replacing verbal expression. Often a mimic remark gives an answer earlier than a verbal one. On the other hand, facial expressions and gestures often have a meaning similar to the meaning of intonation, i.e. they modify the meanings of words in a certain way" (*id.*: 31). Cf. also: "the situation, the gesture, the facial expression, the intonation – all this helps mutual understanding to such an extent that words and their forms cease to play any significant role in this process, and speech is easily reduced to one word" (*Shcherba* 1957: 116). V.D. Devkin defines dialogue as "a conversation in which there is a direct exchange of statements <... >, it is one of the most essential forms of language" (*Devkin* 1965: 5). The author notes that the transfer of information in a dialogue occurs through the following channels: intonation, verbal, situational-objective, mimic-gestural (*Devkin* 1965).

Monological speech is to a large extent an artificial language type, it is a form (type) of speech, "formed as a result of active speech activity designed for passive and indirect perception" (*Vinokur* 1990b: 310).

In the opinion of L.V. Shcherba, a monologue is "an organized system of thoughts clothed in verbal form, which is by no means a remark, but a deliberate influence on others" (*Shcherba* 1957: 115). A monologue is metaphorically defined by the scholar as "a literary work in embryo" (*id.*). Undoubtedly, in a monologue the speech is much more prepared: "In the monologue speech of all this (stammering, slips of the tongue, etc. – *Y.X.*) does not happen or happens to a much lesser extent: it proceeds more within the framework of traditional forms, the recollection of which, with full control of consciousness, is the main organizing principle of our monologue speech" (*id.:* 116), so the stability and traditionality of the literary language is relevant for monologue speech as well.

Monologue, as a form of speech, "not requiring anyone's immediate answer and proceeding independently of the reactions of the perceiver (even if the latter are active), is freely realized in the form of both oral (these are public speeches) and written (journalism, memoirs, diaries)" (*Khalizev* 1987: 97). L.P. Yakubinsky established the characteristics of a monologue: "duration and the coherence and structure of the speech series caused by it; one-sided nature of the statement, not designed for an immediate response; the presence of predetermination, preliminary deliberation, etc." (*Yakubinsky* 1986: 30). Usually, a monologue combines rather large fragments of the text containing structurally and semantically related statements that have "individual compositional structure and relative semantic completeness" (*Vinokur* 1990b: 310).

The question of the full inclusion of a monologue in the speech type of dialogue or its absolute independence as a type of speech is still debatable in linguistics.

V.V. Vinogradov believed that a monologue is almost always included in a dialogue as its constituent part. These two forms of speech have different communicative goals for the speaker, depending on which four types of monologue can be distinguished: 1) *persuasive* (oratorical speech); 2) *lyrical* (expression of emotions); 3) *dramatic* (a complex system of expression of thoughts,

feelings and experiences); 4) *communicative type* (transfer of information) (*Vinogradov* 1963: 20-21).

In contrast to this approach, N.Y. Shvedova singles out the monologue as an independent structural unit, both in form and content (*Shvedova* 1956, 1960). She distinguishes the following types of monologues in colloquial speech: 1) *scientific* monologue; 2) *monologue* as *a story addressed to the interlocutor*; 3) *monologue* as *a part of the dialogue*, creating a response of the interlocutor (*id.* 1956: 68).

In addition, linguists study various possibilities of the appearance of the form of monologue in colloquial speech. In the understanding of O.A. Lapteva, CS is always focused on the listener and addressed to someone, but this means not only dialogicity: "To exclude a monologue from oral speech, even from dialectal speech, means not to take into account the existence of many of its genres, and first of all, the genre of narration, story" (*Lapteva* 1976: 49). O.A. Lapteva also singles out the relative length of the remark as the main feature of monologue oral speech (*id.*). O.B. Sirotinina, in contrast to O.A. Lapteva, suggests that a monologue as a type of oral speech is pronounced only on official occasions and is not part of colloquial speech (*Sirotinina* 1974, 1983). According to E.A. Zemskaya, colloquial speech is presented only in the form of a dialogue, and rare monologues inserted into the CS are always dialogical to a greater or lesser extent (*Zemskaya* 1979).

The last type of oral speech is *polylogue*. It occurs when several people communicate directly. This term was introduced in the late 1970s to denote a communication situation in which more than two interlocutors take part (see *Vinokur* 1990c: 381). S.V. Kostyuk defines this term as follows: "polylogue is a specially structured communication of three or more communicants, which involves the achievement of a certain result, the solution of a specific problem or the implementation of a certain goal" (*Kostyuk* 2001: 90). This is a complex form of organizing a dialogue on the basis of their analogous compositional and semantic structure (see *Solganik* 1997: 130-134; *Akhadov* 2006: 60; *Norman* 2017). The semantic and formal connection of remarks in a polylogue is more variable than in a dialogue. The most important feature of a polylogue is that speakers can

participate in the development of several topics at the same time. At the same time, the statements of some communicants may intersect with the statements of others. "In cases where the speech of several speakers is heard at the same time, a situation of a 'speech cocktail' may arise, i.e., the simultaneous sound of several dialogues (polylogues) in the room, which are not included in a single act of communication" (*Phonetics of spontaneous speech* 1988: 14).

M.L. Makarov distinguishes between a polylogue and a dialogue by a variety of linguistic and extralinguistic transformations that occur in a polylogue, in contrast to dialogue: changes in the communicative roles of the participants, differences in lexical content, and specific patterns of transition from one order of speech to another (*Makarov* 1998).

In general, in linguistics, there is usually no need to distinguish dialogue and polylogue as separate forms of speech. First, the semantic connections between the remarks of a polylogue are always more complex than the connections between the remarks of a dialogue, but the main constitutive features of a dialogue and a polylogue coincide: for example, the meaningful constructive connections between the remarks and the general spontaneous nature of speech (*Solganik* 1997). A polylogue can also be called a *multilateral dialogue*, however, the general feature of collectivity in the generation of speech and the context of communication itself do not allow us to clearly contrast dialogue and polylogue.: "The presence of more than two communicants does not bring anything fundamentally new to the essence of communication. In both cases, several persons play an active role in communication, and speech works appear as a product of collective creativity" (*Kolokoltseva* 2001: 18). In addition, for practical linguistic reasons, i.e., because of the meaning of the word itself, there is no need to use the term *polylogue*: "It is a mistake to think that the term 'dialogue' presupposes exactly two participants (the Greek prefix *dia* – 'through' – in the word *dialogue* and the Greek *di* – 'two' – are only superficially similar). There can be any number of participants in a dialogue, so there is no need for the term *polylogue*, which is sometimes used in the sense of 'a conversation of many participants'" (*Kibrik A.A.* 2024).

This paper examines pragmatic markers-approximators in two forms of oral speech – monologue and dialogue. Dialogue is defined as a primary, more natural, less prepared form of speech, and monologue – as a secondary, less natural and more prepared form. A dialogue always involves two or more interlocutors, alternating their communicative roles in the process of exchanging statements. In a monologue, there is usually one active communicant, but this does not exclude purposeful speech. A monologue is also contrasted with a dialogue as a longer (both in terms of the duration of the statement and the time of speaking) form of speech, which often has a certain structure and a specific topic (see *Pigrova* 2005; *Kukanova* 2009; *Filippova* 2010). The structure of communication in a dialogue is not distinguished by the monotony of topics, the development of predetermined communication or the definiteness of semantic parts. In the corpus of the ORD, MURCO, SS RNC and in the selected works of fiction from the MS RNC, with rare exceptions, a dialogue is presented, and in the corpus of the SAT – a monologue (with extremely rare, listener-oriented, dialogical inserts).

1.1.5. Corpus approach to the study of oral spontaneous speech

As noted above, in this study, the sources of material for the analysis of oral spontaneous speech are five corpora: "One Speech Day", "Balanced Annotated Text Library", as well as the main, spoken and multimedia subcorpora of the RNC. Thus, this study was carried out within the framework of the *corpus approach* to the analysis of Russian speech, which serves as the most convenient and promising way to describe the speech act of a native speaker of a particular language, which is due to the characteristics of the material being studied.

Corpus linguistics is "a branch of computational linguistics that deals with the development of general principles for the construction and use of linguistic corpora (corpora of texts) using computer technologies" (*Zakharov* 2005: 3). V.A. Plungyan characterizes *corpus linguistics* as a "rapid" and "ultra-modern" direction (*Plungyan* 2008: 9). He believes that the corpus is necessary for researchers who are engaged in systematizing facts about the analyzed language, as well as for academic purposes, since in this way the process of mastering language

competencies is faster (*id.:* 11). The subject of corpus linguistics is "theoretical foundations and practical mechanisms for the creation and use of representative arrays of linguistic data intended for linguistic research in the interests of a wide range of users" (*Zakharov* 2005: 4). The principles of corpus linguistics have been developed since the 1990s, they were laid down during the creation of the first corpora of written and oral speech, which was the result of the wide spread and subsequent widespread use of computer technologies in linguistics. In corpus linguistics, an *active method of purposeful interviewing according to a certain program* is usually used to obtain oral material, which is also one of the leading *field linguistics* (*Kibrik A.E.* 2024; *Bogdanova et al.* 2008).

In linguistics, *a corpus* is understood as an information and reference system based on a set of texts in a certain language in electronic form, a corpus represents a given language at certain stages of its existence and in all the variety of genres, styles, territorial and social variants, etc. (*What is a corpus?* 2024). Important features of corpora are large volume, unification, structure, electronic form, the presence of annotation (morphemic, morphological, syntactic, semantic, and many others), the massiveness of linguistic data, philological competence and the purpose for solving linguistic problems (*Sound corpus...* 2013: 71). In addition, the corpus should contain structural markup and meta-markup, including, for example, data on the genre, author of the text and some of its relevant characteristics.

The corpus of everyday Russian speech of the ORD is one of the most representative linguistic resources for the study of Russian oral discourse today (*Asinovsky et al.* 2009; *Russian language...* 2016; *Bogdanova-Beglarian et al.* 2016 a, b, 2017; *Bogdanova-Beglarian and others.* 2017a, 2019a; *Pragmatic markers...* 2021), which has been created and actively developed at the Faculty of Philology of St. Petersburg State University since 2007. The purpose of creating this resource is to study the speech behavior of a native Russian speaker throughout the day (the 24-hour recording method is used in the formation). The volume of the corpus to date: more than 1450 hours of sound recordings, 128 informants, more than 1000 of their interlocutors-communicants representing

various social groups of the modern Russian city, 2800 macro episodes of speech communication and more than 1 million word forms in transcripts.

In addition, all informants participating in the recording of the ORD corpus filled out a sociological questionnaire and underwent psychological testing (tests by G. Eysenck, R.B. Cattell, and EPI), which opens up new opportunities for studying the material, taking into account the psychosocial characteristics of the speaker and his social role in a particular communicative act. This is the largest database of modern Russian oral spontaneous speech, which, in addition to linguistic material, also contains sociological and psychological information about all recorded informants (gender, age, place of birth and longest residence, qualification/specialty according to the diploma, education, occupation, type of temperament, psychotype, etc.). In addition, during the recording, all informants kept a "Speech Day Diary", in which they noted the presence of the speaker and described the main events that occurred during the day (for example, "shopping in the store", "conversation in the subway", "report at the seminar", etc.).

"The priority task of this project is to obtain recordings of Russian spontaneous speech in the most natural conditions" (*Sound corpus...* 2013: 146). Thus, it can be seen that one of the distinctive features of the ORD corpus is the maximum naturalness of the statements of the informants, which was the main reason for choosing this corpus as a source of material for this study. Researchers saw the naturalness of recorded speech in two aspects: a) nothing should affect the features of the speaker's speech behavior in specific speech situations; b) the informant performs his/her behavior in standard speech situations (*id.*). The corpus is one of the first implementations of a new methodological approach to recording spoken speech with the possibility of creating new promising solutions in the course of data analysis (*Bogdanova et al.* 2009: 38).

The second of the corpora that record oral spontaneous speech of a different type – monological – SAT, has been collected at the Department of the Russian Language of the Faculty of Philology of St. Petersburg State University for more than 20 years, using the author's (N.V. Bogdanova-Beglarian) method of data

collection, which involves a fairly strict set of experimental procedures (see about this corpus, for example: *Bogdanova et al.* 2008; *Bogdanova* 2010; *Bogdanova-Beglarian and others.* 2017b, 2019b). In total, the CAT currently includes about 50 hours of sound and about 800 texts recorded from five professionally oriented groups of native speakers (lawyers; doctors; "computer scientists"; philologists, teachers of Russian as a foreign language and teachers-philosophers), several blocks of students' speech (philologists and non-philologists), as well as four blocks of interfered Russian speech of speakers of other languages (Americans, Francophones, Chinese, Dutch and Italians).

The balancing of the material in the SAT corpus was carried out in three directions (linguistic, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic), which ensured the maximum level of representation of both texts of different genres and the speech of informants belonging to different social and psychological groups (see more about this: *Sound corpus...* 2013).

The material of the SAT corpus is compiled into a database taking into account the social and psychological affiliation of the informants (for more information on the created database and decryption signs, see *Zaides* 2019). In the transcripts of the corpus texts, both ordinary physical pauses and various manifestations of speech spontaneity are noted, such as hesitation pauses, filled and unfilled, vowel and consonant stretches, speech breaks, as well as certain paralinguistic elements, such as laughter, sigh, cough, tongue clicking, etc. The materials of the CAT corpus also provide researchers with opportunities for a comprehensive study of various features of spontaneous speech (see, for example: *Sound corpus...* 2013, 2014, 2015).

Comprehensive balancing of the materials of the ORD and SAT corpora makes it possible to establish significant correlations between various linguistic characteristics of speech and individual (social and psychological) characteristics of the speaker and to compare the results obtained.

The RNC (currently about 2.205 billion word usages), the largest corpus of the modern Russian language, was opened for free access on the Internet on April

28, 2004 and includes such subcorpora as main, spoken, media, accentological, syntagrus, multimedia, parallel, poetry, dialect, educational, historical and multiparc (https://yandex.ru/company/news/2004-0428).

MS RNC – texts focused on the Russian literary language. They can be divided into two main arrays, which have their own characteristics: modern written texts (mid-20th – early 21st century) and early texts (mid-18th – mid-20th century). MS – is a large representative corpus of Russian written texts of various genres from the XVIII century to the present day, he contains various types of texts. The volume of MS is more than 374 million word usages, including the share of literary texts (including drama and memoirs) currently 40% (https://ruscorpora.ru/corpus/main).

SS RNC (currently the volume of the subcorpus is more than 14.5 million word usages) includes transcripts of tape recordings of public (for example, a scientific lecture, a report at a seminar, a meeting of the author with listeners, an interview or talk show on television, a sports radio report) and everyday speech (for example, a dialogue in a store or a conversation at the table with the family), as well as transcripts of films, theatrical performances and recordings of readings of fiction performed by authors and professional readers. The material is presented in the form of transcripts, the corresponding sounding text is not available. The corpus uses morphological, semantic, and metatextual annotation, which is standard for the RNC, including the region in which the text was recorded, as well as a sociological annotation specific to the oral corpus. Each remark is assigned information about the speaker (if known): gender, age or year of birth, occupation (https://ruscorpora.ru/corpus/spoken).

The MURCO subcorpus was developed by a group led by E.A. Grishina (and after her death in 2016. – S.O. Savchuk), mainly on the basis of film materials accumulated during the replenishment of the oral speech subcorpus and the accentological subcorpus within the RNC. Currently, the volume of MURCO is approaching 5.5 million word usages. The advantage of this electronic resource is that the video material can be easily and quickly found not only by the spoken text,

but also by gestures (nodding the head, the sound of drumming with fingers, patting on the shoulder, etc.) and certain types of speech actions (appellations, praise, agreement, etc.). This provides a unique opportunity to study oral speech from the point of view of phonetics, intonation, syntax, gestures, style, communicative strategies, genre structures and typologies (https://ruscorpora.ru/corpus/murco).

The corpora of the ORD and SAT track modern everyday speech and record the language in its most natural form, as well as provide a complete multi-level view of Russian spontaneous speech and access to material for solving many applied language problems and teaching the language in a sounding form (*Russian language ...* 2016: 17). In contrast to the ORD and SAT, the SS and MURCO subcorpora mainly represent more or less prepared (quasi-spontaneous) speech, which is characterized by a certain spontaneity and thoughtfulness, a clearer structural organization and imitation of colloquial speech (cinema speech).

Within the framework of this study, a total of 21 contexts from 10 Russian works of fiction including pragmatic markers-approximators were extracted from the MS RNC (for more details, see Section 2.4 of this study).

The advantages of the corpus approach to the analysis of spontaneous oral speech are mainly reflected in increasing the efficiency of research, promoting interdisciplinary research, increasing the objectivity and accuracy of research, as well as accelerating the integration of linguistic theory and practice. To date, the corpus approach allows the most complete and adequate reflection of the features of various types of modern oral speech and the establishment of important correlations between them. Already the first observations on the material showed that the verification of the most seemingly obvious and generally accepted linguistic statements on the corpus sometimes leads to completely unexpected and interesting results (see. *Russian language ...* 2016: 37).

1.2.   Approximation in language and speech

Language and speech, like all living organisms, are in endless motion and development; they are needed by humans not only to communicate, but also to

organize their thinking. In order to better maintain social relations and exchange ideas when communicating with each other, people adhere to the *principle of approximation*, which allows speakers to express their opinions without being straightforward and/or evading responsibility for their statements.

1.2.1. The concept of hedging and approximation

The concept of "hedging" (from Eng. *Hedge*) was borrowed from economics, where it means a way of hedging price risk in financial markets that allows investors to react to potential changes in the value of a security or other asset. Linguistic hedging is in some ways similar to hedging in economics. In the field of linguistics, hedging helps to "insure" the speaker's liability for the true meaning of propositions, and also emphasizes the importance of information and the speaker's attitude to what is said in situations of oral or written communication.

The concept of hedging is relatively new in linguistics. It has been the object of study of linguistics since the second half of the twentieth century. The broad concept overlaps with a large number of other discursive effects, such as *ambiguity*, *mitigation*, *vagueness*, *politeness*, etc. (*Clemen* 1997).

It is believed that the phenomenon of hedging was first introduced by the American mathematician and logician L. Zadeh (1965). He did not use the concept of "hedging" itself, but wrote about *fuzzy sets theory* in modeling the structure of natural languages. In his work, the author argues that some objects in nature are not always easily associated with linguistic categories that describe the world. that fuzziness plays an important role in human consciousness, and believes that it is inherent in most phenomena of the real world. According to this theory, lexical modifiers should not be used everywhere, since when marking a concept with a lexical modifier, the indication will not be introduced to the prototype of this class. For example, the statement "an eel is something like a fish" is true, and "a pike is something like a fish" already sounds absurd, since a pike is a fish (*Zadeh* 1965: 349).

Later, in 1966, the concept of hedging was described by W. Weinreich in his work «On the Semantic Structure of English» (*Weinreich* 1979). The author writes

that for simpler purposes languages use their own metalanguage. He claims that in all languages one can identify similar concepts, or "metalinguistic operators", which cannot be characterized grammatically or morphologically and to which he refers such words as *like*, *true*, *real*, *so-called*, *strictly speaking*, and others. According to W. Weinreich, the main function of these metalinguistic operators is the free or strict interpretation of designata, i.e. such expressions regulate our perception of the information communicated (*id.*: 63).

The founder of the linguistic theory of hedging is considered to be the American linguist J. Lakoff, who in the 1970s first introduced this concept into linguistic use in the article «Hedges: A Study in Meaning Criteria and the Logic of Fuzzy Concepts» (*Lakoff* 1973). In this article, the concept of *hedge* was used in the sense of *a calculatedly noncommittal or evasive statement* (*Lakoff* 1973: 421). Initially, hedging was considered by J. Lakoff from the point of view of formal semantics, within the framework of the cognitive function of natural language. J. Lakoff drew attention to the problem of correlation between natural phenomena and natural linguistic concepts, which, according to him, have "blurred boundaries". The subject of research is J. Lakoff were linguistic phenomena that could be used for peripheral concepts belonging to more generalized conceptual categories.

According to the scientist, hedging modifies predicates regarding belonging to a certain category. Objects of the real world rarely correspond to one or another category perfectly. The speaker's judgments are based mainly on graduals, and this idea became central to the work of J. Lakoff. This concept is also related to the *prototype theory*, according to which each object is related to a certain category, but represents it to a different extent (*Rosch* 1973). J. Lakoff notes that the use of hedging is relevant only in relation to concepts that are remote from the prototype (*Lakoff* 1972, 1973). For example, for most English speakers, *the robin* is a more characteristic representative of the category "bird" (prototype) than *the penguin*. Therefore, the expression "A robin is something like a bird" is incorrect, and "a penguin is something like a bird" is true or close to the truth (*Lakoff* 1973: 471).

J. Lakoff designated linguistic means of hedging with the term *hedges* (hedges will be described in detail in section 1.2.2.1 of this work), these means help the speaker to make the content of the statement more vague. J. Lakoff's study and his definition of hedging became the starting point for many subsequent works devoted to this phenomenon. However, if in the 1970s hedging was considered exclusively from a semantic point of view, then in subsequent studies the emphasis shifted, and the communicative-pragmatic aspect and discourse analysis came to the fore.

In 1975, the American linguist B. Fraser wrote that "hedging is a rhetorical strategy by which the speaker declares his unwillingness to bear full responsibility for the meaning of some element of the utterance or mitigates its illocutionary force" (*Fraser* 2010: 15). B. Fraser wrote about the weakening of the meaning of the utterance if it contains hedging, the use of which is a deliberate action of the speaker. Thus, B. Fraser introduces the concept of *hedged performative*, considering the semantic and pragmatic aspect of such verbs as *promise*, *admit*, *wish*, *suggest* and modal verbs. According to the author, these verbs are hedged performatives (*id.* 1975: 187). The scientist focuses on the communicative and pragmatic orientation of the use of these units. Thus, the theory proposed by B. Fraser significantly expands the framework of the concept of hedging.

Further development of the concept of hedging is presented in the work of P. Brown and S. Levinson «Politeness: Some Universals on Language Usage» (*Brown, Levinson* 1987), where hedging is interpreted as an integral element of the implementation of the strategy of communicative *politeness* within the framework of speech acts. Including hedging tools among forms of expressing politeness, P. Brown and S. Levinson emphasize that their use is motivated by the fact that each participant in the conversation cares about their own perception and, if possible, strives to "save the face of the interlocutor" without offending him. In this way, the authors consider hedging as a strategy aimed at minimizing threats to the "face" of the speaker and the listener, embodying the desire of both to build mutually beneficial and mutually comfortable communication. The term "*face*" implies a

positive social value that each member of society possesses (*Goffman* 1972; *Brown, Levinson* 1987). There are two main types of face: "positive" and "negative". *A positive person* is a dignified, positive image that communicants claim in the course of verbal interaction, literally "the desire to be desired by others". The *negative face* is the desire of every adult to have freedom of action, the inadmissibility of interference from others (*Brown, Levinson* 1987: 61-62). From the authors' point of view, the purpose of hedging is to avoid straightforwardness in expressing one's opinion and to soften the categorical nature of assessments and judgments. Hedging and politeness are interrelated linguistic phenomena that help maintain and coordinate relationships between communicants and play an important role in achieving mutual understanding in various interactional communications.

Recently, Russian scientists have also been actively studying this linguistic phenomenon, see: *Maryukhin* 2010; *Glushak* 2010; *Pastukhova* 2019; *Vlasyan* 2019; and some others.

For example, G.R. Vlasyan notes that linguistic hedging is a pragmatic strategy, the use of which makes it possible to mitigate the illocutionary power of a speech act in order to maintain a positive communicative balance and reduce possible communicative risks (*Vlasyan, Petrova* 2021: 224). G.R. Vlasyan refers the following to the functions of hedging:

- defense of the propositional component of the utterance,

- avoidance of conflicts,

- preservation of the "face" of the speaker and listener,

- weakening of the illocutionary power of the utterance (*Vlasyan* 2019: 76).

These features are not always used in isolation. In some cases, one function may prevail, in others all functions interact, and it is impossible to single out one main.

E. Crespo-Fernández writes in his works that hedging is a euphemistic strategy that is aimed at mitigating the proposition (*Crespo-Fernández* 2005: 82).

By resorting to hedging, the speaker may also signal uncertainty about the truth of the proposition or about his attitude towards the statement itself (*Gribanova* 2019; *Lebedeva I.S., Gribanova* 2019). Thus, in addition to the above-mentioned hedging functions, there are different opinions in linguistics about hedging strategies related to the value of *approximation*.

As early as 1989, the linguist G. Kolde in his work, relying on the concept proposed by J. Lakoff, noted that hedges – "linguistic fences" – can modify statements (*Kolde* 1989). The German linguist M. Pinkal shares the point of view of G. Kolde and emphasizes that hedging serves to denote fuzzy, indefinite statements (*Pinkal* 1991).

There are different approaches to the definition of the concept of *approximation*. Most often in linguistic research this term is found in connection with the category of quantity, with the connotation of indefinite and inexact quantity. S.L. Sakhno considers this as an approximate nomination of subject concepts, attributes and quantities. Approximate nomination, in the author's opinion, has a modal nature, it allows to express the attitude of the addressee as to the nomination itself (unreliability nomination) and to the named object, as well as to the addressees of speech and to the communicative situation (*Sakhno* 1983a: 16).

T.M. Pristinskaya distinguishes two aspects in the semantics of approximation:

– *cognitive*, expressed in the speaker's incomplete knowledge of the object of the name, or in the lack of knowledge of the exact name for the object, or in the absence of an exact nomination in the language system;

– *pragmatic*, consisting in the desire to give the object a figurative nomination due to the irrelevance of the exact nomination in a given communicative situation, in the desire to veil the exact characteristic of the object or to soften the categorical nature of the assessment (*Pristinskaya* 2005: 163).

G. Klemen emphasizes that statements containing means with the meaning of approximation express epistemic uncertainty/uncertainty. Adverbs with the meaning of approximation signal to the addressee that only approximate data are

presented, and there is no more accurate information about what is being communicated. Speaking about the pragmatic aspect of the use of this linguistic device, G. Klemen notes that often behind such approximate statements there is not a lack of exact knowledge, but inappropriateness or unwillingness to provide more precise information that may be irrelevant in a communicative situation (*Clemen* 1998: 105).

The meaning of approximation is the conceptual basis for the category of "approximation", expressed by various linguistic means characteristic of a particular language. According to E.Y. Sorokin, *approximation* is considered as an evaluative category with additional semantics of approximation (*Sorokin* 1988: 7).

In logic, *approximation* (from Lat. *approximare* – 'to approach') is understood as "an approximate expression of some quantities through other, simpler or more well-known quantities, in one sense or another close to the initial ones" (*Kondakov* 1978: 48). In linguistics there is no unanimity of opinion regarding the interpretation of approximation as a linguistic phenomenon, but usually *approximation* is understood as an approximate nomination, i.e. an inaccurate, approximate naming of various objects of reality: objects, quantities, qualities, processes (*Buzarov, Lynova* 1991: 100).

An attempt is made to classify the types of approximation in linguistics at all levels of linguistic structure. This category was studied in the following works: *Buzarov, Lynova* 1991; *Gurochkina* 2003; *Ionova* 2006; *Boldyrev* 2010; et al.

Approximation can be defined as a conceptual category – these are "conceptual structures, units of mental content that reflect the content categorization associated with the reflection of objects, properties, relations of objective reality, and do not depend on the features of individual languages" (*Gurochkina* 2003: 63). Conceptual categories, on the one hand, are the result of comprehension of objects, their properties and relations between objects and phenomena of the real world, constituting their orientation and content aspects; on the other hand, they are expressed in various ways that a language has at its disposal at a certain stage of its historical development (*id.*).

N.N. Boldyrev distinguishes three systems of language classification: lexical, grammatical, and modal (interpretive). In his opinion, modal categories program the possibility of different interpretations by speakers of this or that conceptual content and the formation of corresponding individual meanings (for example, approximation, evidentiality, emotivity, negation, etc.). The modus system, which reflects the anthropocentricity of language, includes the categories of approximation, modality, negation, evidentiality, etc. The interpretative nature of modal categories presupposes their secondary status and, consequently, depends on the primary knowledge that is the object of interpretation (*Boldyrev* 2010: 17-19).

It is also worth paying attention to the possibility of approximation functioning at the text level. According to S.V. Ionova, the category of approximation has the status of a general scientific category of thought and should be considered in the system of textual categories. Approximation in texts characterizes the main constitutive properties of texts (coherence, integrity, completeness, articulation), accompanies semantic processes (informativeness, modality, interpretability, intertextuality), is property of human cognitive abilities and participates in the process of creating texts, and also functions in the process of understanding speech. Approximation affects both the ontological properties of the text and the methods of its cognitive processing. Approximation of secondary texts is the determining principle of secondary textual formation, since it is a functional-semantic category indicating the meaning of approximation and inaccuracy on the part of language and text (*Ionova* 2006: 5, 96). Secondary texts traditionally include texts based on existing ones (for example, adaptations, annotations, stylizations, parodies, etc.). Textual approximation is determined by the consciousness of the author of the secondary text and is the result of rethinking and interpreting the original text.

Approximation, as a universal conceptual modal category, is associated with human thinking and represents the speaker's subjective attitude to the facts of objective reality. This category is conceptual-linguistic in nature, as it is focused on the assessment and interpretation of information by the addressee in the process

of its transmission by linguistic means (*Boldyrev* 2010: 33), the general conceptual basis of which is the meaning of approximation. In particular, the speaker turns to approximation for help when he or she may have difficulty finding the right word or expression in oral communication, may not know it at all, or may consider it undesirable for use for some reason (*Pragmatic markers...* 2021: 304). Methods of implementing the category of approximation have traditionally been considered as linguistic units with the meaning of approximation with the help of *approximators*. For more details on approximators, see 1.2.2.3 and 1.2.3 of this paper.

Above we have considered how the concepts of hedging and approximation have been modified in the scientific works of domestic and foreign linguists, how research approaches and views on them have changed. Hedging was considered from the standpoint of the theory of fuzzy sets, the theory of prototype, the theory of metalanguage, the theory of politeness, the theory of euphemism and approximation. The approximation contains the meaning of approximation and expresses the speaker's uncertainty, which has been studied at the level of conceptual, mode, and textual categories. Based on the analysis of scientific literature on the topic of hedging, it can be concluded that scientists still disagree on the definition and content of the concepts of hedging and approximation.

In this paper, the concepts of hedging and approximation are considered as synonyms, they are understood as a pragmatic strategy that performs the function of "insuring" the speaker in case of doubt about reliability, relieving the speaker of responsibility for what is said, and also allowing to distance himself from the statement. Rather, approximation and hedging are a universal feature of oral communication, inherent in the same communication in any language. The aim is to weaken the illocutionary power of the utterance, to soften the proposition as a whole or its individual parts, and their modes of expression are different means of realization in language and speech, which will be described in detail in the next section.

1.2.2. Ways of expressing hedging and approximation in the language

Oral and written speech are different forms of language existence, which together form the tools of human communication. In language, people express hedging and approximation with the help of hedges and a number of semantic constructions. Let's consider them in more detail.

1.2.2.1.   Hedges

As noted above, J. Lakoff used the term *hedges* to designate linguistic means of hedging: "words whose meaning implicitly involves fuzziness – words whose job is to make things fuzzier or less fuzzy". words whose function is to make things more or less indistinct" (*Lakoff* 1973: 471). To these linguistic means in the English language, J. Lakoff refers to words and expressions such as: *mostly, sort of, loosely speaking*, *kind of*, *more or less*, *roughly*, *relatively*, *strictly speaking*, *in essence*, *almost*, *typically/typical*, *actually,* etc. (*id*.). In other words, J. Lakoff defines *hedges* as words whose meaning implicitly implies vagueness. For example, he writes that hedges are phrases or words whose main function is to ambiguously describe objects and phenomena. Their use indicates that the speaker is not completely confident in the accuracy of the information he or she is conveying during communication. Instead of making the proposition sound like a fact (*This medicine will help you*), the speaker uses hedges to purposefully avoid direct statements (*I believe that this medicine could help you*) (*id.*). It is clear that in J. Lakoff's understanding of hedges there is no distinction between linguistic units.

In linguistics, there is no single classification of hedging facilities. There is disagreement among scientists about which remedies fall into this category.

Thus, the British linguist K. Hyland in his study of hedging emphasizes that hedges can be considered as means indicating the vagueness, indefiniteness of a proposition. The author classifies hedging means and identifies those that are content-oriented and those that are reader-oriented. At the same time, K. Hyland emphasizes that it is not always easy to distinguish one meaning from another, so it is difficult to attribute individual linguistic means to specific ones functional categories (*Hyland* 1996: 437). Let's consider this classification in more detail.

1. *Content-oriented hedges* serve to soften the content of a statement and present the truth in it. Their function is to make a connection between what the writer knows about the world and what the world is really like. Among them, K. Hyland distinguishes two levels: orientation to truth (accuracy) and orientation to the author (*Hyland* 1996: 439):

- *hedges focused on accuracy* indicate the author's desire to convey information as accurately as possible in the event that the statement is based on an assumption and reality may not be fully reflected, to minimize the risk of an erroneous statement (*id.:* 437);

- *Hedges focused on the author* serve for the author's "self-defense", allow you to limit the author's personal responsibility for the statement and protect him from negative consequences in case of incorrect transmission of information (*id.*). Such hedges are characterized by the absence of a reference to the author, which is achieved with the help of impersonal constructions, forms of passive voice.

2. *Reader-oriented hedges* are used mainly to create a favorable relationship with the recipient. In the author's opinion, the use of hedging in this function implies the mitigation of the proposition, and the emphasis is on the perception of information by the addressee, whose consent/acceptance is important for the addressee (*id.:* 446).

However, this classification cannot always be used to describe hedges, since many of their varieties can relate to both groups at the same time (*id.:* 434).

In the classification proposed by S.N. Kishko, hedges are described as illocutionary units, the purpose of which is to realize the communicative intention of the speaker. Here, hedges are divided into two categories, according to the principle of implicitness/explicitness (*Kishko* 2008: 54).

Implicit hedges express the speaker's uncertainty at the syntagmatic level. They include means of different levels:

- lexical: the use of the pronoun *we* instead *of I* and abstract nouns;

- lexical and grammatical: the use of pragmatic transpositions of tense forms of the verb, passive-impersonal constructions, separative questions;

- syntactic: the use of uncertainty comments, pauses, phonetic repetitions.

Explicit hedges include language means that contain uncertainty at the lexical and grammatical levels, and do not depend on the context of the utterance. Among them are adverbs with modal meaning, modal verbs and markers indicating the unlikely possibility of an action. Explicit lexico-grammatical hedges include subjunctive mood constructions in which a hypothetical modality is expressed (*Kishko* 2008: 56-57).

V. Namsaraev (1997) distinguishes the following types of hedges in the Russian language[5]:

- modal particles (*vryad li*, *kak by*, *vrode by);*

- modal words expressed by different parts of speech (adverbs: *vidimo, po-vidimomu, veroyatno, vozmozhno, ochevidno, odnako, pozhaluy, naverno*; adjectives or pronouns: *opredelennyy, izvestnyy, dostatochnyy, nekotoryy, kakoy-to);*

- *moch* + infinitive;

- *mozhno/vozmozhno* + infinitive;

- epistemic verbs in the form of the 1st person singular (*dumayu, polagayu, predpolagayu, schitayu*);

- constructions with reflexive verbs (*kazatsya, predostavlyatsya, schitatsya, otmechatsya, kak eto nazyvaetsya*, etc.);

- introductory constructions (*na nash vzglyad, s nashey tochki zreniya, po-nashemu ubezhdeniyu) (Namsaraev* 1997: 71).

E. Prince offers a pragmatic classification of hedges (*Prince* 1982: 83). The study of the pragmatic features of hedges began later than the study of their lexical features. If semantically hedges are vague, then pragmatically they do not change

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[5] V. Namsaraev's typology is presented in the author's terms, the discussion of which is not within the scope of this study.

the essence of the sentence itself, but reflect only the communicative goal of the speaker. Here hedges play a role as an important communication strategy.

In pragmatics, hedges are divided into two groups – *hedges-approximators* and *hedges-shields.*

Hedges-approximators can influence people's perception of a certain context. They can change the true essence of the statement based on facts, or provide some variability to the original text. This group of hedges includes modal particles, modal words, the verb *moch* + the infinitive of the verb, the constructions *mozhno/vozmozhno* + infinitive in Russian.

Hedge approximators, in turn, are divided into two subcategories: *adaptors* (words that change the original meaning of a statement in a certain way) and *rounders* (words that provide a certain degree of variability).

Hedges-shileds, unlike hedges-approximators, do not change the true meaning of the statement. Their main purpose is to emphasize the speaker's opinion about the degree of truth of the proposition. This group of hedges in the Russian language includes epistemic verbs; constructions with reflexive verbs (*kazatsya, predostavlyatsya, schitatsya, otmechatsya,* etc.); introductory constructions (*na nash/moĭ vzglyad, s nashey/moey tochki zreniya, po-nashemu/moemu ubezhdeniyu*). Like hedges-approximator, hedges-shileds can be divided into two subgroups: plausibility shileds and attributive shileds (*id.*).

The classification of hedges proposed by the German researcher G. *Graefen* (*Graefen* 2000: 7) includes the following types of means:

- modal verbs (*mozhete sdelat*);
- introductory words (*mozhet byt*);
- parenthetic constructions[6] (*sobstvenno govorya*);
- adverbs of measure and degree, modal particles (*priblizitelno*, *pochti*);

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[6] The term "parenthetic constructions" is used for the Russian language to describe functions similar to the hedging function, cf.: "Parenthetic constructions allow one to formalize not only the presentation of the text itself, but also its author's interpretation. Correct use of this syntaxeme helps to observe the etiquette norms of communication, relieve emotional tension in the process of communication, softening the categorical nature of the entire text or part of it. Typical examples of parenthetic constructions that perform similar functions are *po-moemu, chestno govorya, mozhet byt, mne tak kazhetsya, prosto, navernoe, pozhaluy, dumayu, veroyatno, po-vidimomu, polagayu* and many others" (*Antonova* 2015: 12).

- matrix sentences[7] (*mozhno predpolozhit*);

- impersonal constructions (*zamechatelno*, *chto*; *kazhetsya*).

G. Grefen's point of view seems to be the most suitable for the material of this study, and in this work it is its classification that is used. In addition, in the Russian language, indefinite pronouns and adverbs are traditionally included in the composition of hedges (*kakoy-nibud*, *gde-to*, etc.).

Let us dwell on the main concepts that are important for the use of this classification.

Indefinite pronouns are formed from relative (interrogative) pronouns with the help of the prefixes *ne-, koe-* and the suffixes *-to, -libo, -nibud* and indicate indefinite persons, objects, phenomena, quantity (*nekto, nechto, nekotoryy, neskolko, koe-kto, koe-chey, kto-to, kakoy-to, chto-libo, skolko-libo, kto-nibud, chto-nibud, chey-nibud*, etc.).

Indefinite adverbs are formed from relative (interrogative) adverbs with the help of the prefixes *ne-, koe-* and the suffixes *-to, -libo, -nibud* and indicate an indefinite place, time, cause, mode of action or purpose (*koe-gde, kuda-to, otkuda-libo, kak-nibud*).

Adverbs of measure and degree are determinative adverbs that denote the intensity of the manifestation of an attribute of an action or other attribute, answer the questions: *Skolko? Vo skolko? Naskolko? V kakoy stepeni? (chut-chut, nemnogo, vdvoe, trizhdy, slishkom, ele-ele, vesma, sovsem, krayne*, etc.).

Modal particles introduce various shades of meaning into the sentence, as well as express the feelings and attitude of the speaker. Particles that introduce semantic shades into the sentence are divided into groups according to their meaning: question (*li, razve, neuzheli*); indication (*vot, von*); clarification (*imenno, kak raz);* highlighting, limitation (*tolko, lish, isklyuchitelno, pochti*). Particles expressing the feelings and attitude of the speaker are also divided into groups

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[7] It was quite difficult to find an equivalent for the German term *matrix sentences* in Russian. In the cited article, the author gives an example of a complex sentence, the main part of which contains the indefinite personal pronoun *man* and verbs of speech-thinking activity. In Russian, such constructions are translated using impersonal sentences (*mozhno predpolozhit*).

according to their meaning: exclamation (*chto za*, *kak*); doubt (*vryad li*, *edva li*); strengthening (*dazhe*, *dazhe i*, *ni*, *i*, *zhe*, *ved*, *uzh*, *vse*, *vse-taki*); mitigation, requirement (*-ka*).

Modal verbs contextually indicate a modality such as probability, ability, permission, request, ability, suggestion, order, obligation, or advice. Modal verbs always accompany the basic (infinitive) form of another verb that has semantic content. In English, the modal verbs *can, could, may, might, shall, should, will, would* and *must*. Examples in Russian: *mogu, khochu, stal by, khotel by*, etc.

Introductory words and constructions are words and phrases that are part of a sentence, but do not enter into syntactic connections with its members. As a rule, they express the speaker's attitude to the statement, its assessment, give information about the source of the message or connection with the context. Introductory constructions are typical for direct speech, since they reflect the emotions and feelings of the speaker (*veroyatno*, *mozhet byt*, *vozmozhno*, *sobstvenno govorya*, *po slovam*, *po mneniyu*).

Impersonal constructions are one-component sentences, the main member of which names a state or process that takes place without any actor. Verbal constructions or constructions with a predicative, in which there is no position for the canonical subject in the sentence. A verb in an impersonal construction appears in one of the following forms: 3rd person singular present or future tense (*svetaet*, *rassvetet*); cf. p. of the past tense (*svetalo*); infinitive (*svetat*); short participle (*bylo nakureno*).

In this paper, not all words or phrases belonging to the above categories are considered as hedges, but only those that have the meaning of uncertainty.

1.2.2.2.   Semantic constructions

Lack of information is often a good reason for the appearance of approximate nominations in the text (*Buzarov, Lynova* 1991: 100). In such cases, it is quite expected, for example, to use constructions with the semantics of approximation to create a comfortable communicative situation. This may be the situation of naming a person's approximate age (see: *Sadova, Zhang Wenzhe* 2022:

35), especially "in cases where the exact naming <... > is impossible, undesirable, or inappropriate" (*Nikolina* 2015:71). There are such semantic constructions in the Russian language, let's consider them briefly.

Reverse word order construction. The ways of expressing the semantics of approximate quantity in the modern Russian language have repeatedly attracted the attention of researchers (*Suprun* 1962; *Melchuk* 1985; *Tolstopyatova* 1986; *Billings, Yadroff* 1999; *Plank* 2004). "The most specific", according to A.E. Suprun, means of approximation is the construction of the type of *chelovek dvadtsat,* in which the meaning of approximation is expressed with the help of the reverse word order (*Suprun* 1962: 5).

Construction with the juxtaposition of numerals. In addition to inversion, the means of expressing approximation include the juxtaposition of numerals, or, in terms (*Melchuk* 1985: 157), multiple and homogeneous (with a conjunction *ili*) numerical constructions: *dva-tri dnya*, *dva ili tri dnya* (*Suprun* 1962: 10; *Tolstopyatova* 1986: 135-139). In such constructions, the uncertainty value is created either by a numerical interval (multiple construction) or by a disjunction of numbers (homogeneous construction) (*Melchuk* 1985: 158).

Construction with adverbs or prepositions. The semantics of approximation can also be expressed lexically (with the help of adverbs and prepositions). *Tolstopyatova (*1986) distinguishes the following groups of approximation markers:

1) numerical constructions with adverbs *priblizitelno*, *primerno* and *predlogom poryadka,* which determine the quantity indefinitely, the deviation can be both increasing and decreasing;

2) constructions of "approaching from below": with the adverb *pochti* and the combination *bez malogo*; combinations with the preposition *okolo* (which can also mean "approaching from above"); combinations with the prepositions *do* and *k,* adverbs *menee*, *menshe*;

3) constructions with adverbs *bolee (bolshe),* a preposition *svyshe*.

I.A. Melchuk offers a classification of indicators with the semantics of approximation, based on the syntactic principle (*Melchuk* 1985: 363):

1) adverbs and adverbial utterances (*priblizitelno*, *primerno*, *etak*, *(ne) bolee chem*, *(ne) menee chem*, *bez malogo*);

2) prepositions: *okolo*, *do*, *ot – do*, *s*, *pod*, *za* (*let za pyatdesyat*);

3) forms of comparative degree: *bolee*, *menee*, *bolshe*, *menshe*, *svyshe*.

An important feature is that the indicators of type (1) can be combined with indicators of types (2) and (3), but the markers of approximation of types (2) and (3) cannot be combined with each other (*id.*).

Construction with round numbers. According to *Krifka* (2002, 2009), round numbers are usually used to express the semantics of uncertainty, since they themselves convey the meaning of approximation, outside of approximative constructions. M. Kryfka proposes to call this "*the Round Numbers Round Interpretation principle*" – the principle of approximative interpretation of round numbers (my translation – *Y. X.*). Wed. with Russian examples such as *desyat/sorok/sto/tysyachu raz tebe govoril*, in which cardinal numerals denoting round numbers do not indicate the exact number, but generally mean 'many' (*Suprun* 1962: 5).

Descriptive construction. Another type of approximation, called "absolute approximation", is expressed, as a rule, with the help of various descriptive constructions (there are no numerical or quantitative words) and indirectly indicates the age of a person. This is a special type of "approximate nominations" (*Sakhno* 1983b: 31). Many of them are the result of metaphorical and metonymic transferences, for example: *devushka nezhnogo vozrasta*, *chelovek zrelykh let*.

1.2.2.3. Approximators in the language

Approximation as a nomination of approximation plays a significant role in the formation of the linguistic picture of the world. In addition, it indicates the conceptual sphere of the Russian language and adequately characterizes the mentality of its speaker.

Approximators as a means of implementing the category of approximation have traditionally been considered in the context of approximate nomination (*Sakhno* 1983a; *Majidov* 1995; *Pristinskaya* 1998; *Nikishenkova* 2000).

S.V. Adamovich defines approximators as multi-level linguistic means functioning in the field of qualitative and quantitative relations and characterized by the presence of the semantic element "approximation" (*Adamovich* 2011): *almost, about, around,* etc. V.I. Karasik calls them "special signs of approximation" (*Karasik* 2011).

According to E.Y. Sorokin, approximation is considered as an evaluative category with additional semantics of approximation. The researcher designates lexical units that have the meaning of approximation with the term "approximators" and understands it as "linguistic units (morpheme, word, phrase, predicative construction) that have this 'approximation' in the semantic structure" (*Sorokin* 1988: 7). In the author's opinion, approximators have a dual nature: on the one hand, they mark the approximation of the attribute, and on the other hand, the non-categorical assessment of the degree of its manifestation (*id.).*

According to E.Y. Dubovitskaya, the term *approximator* is understood to mean those elements of the language (lexical, morphological, phraseological, syntactic, phonetic) that express the semantic category of approximation in the text (*Dubovitskaya* 2008: 34). The main feature of approximation is that with the help of an approximator the speaker expresses his doubts about the legitimacy of the name given by him, and this doubt entails a certain assessment (*Sakhno* 1983a: 4).

E. Prince distinguishes lexical units used for rounding meanings among approximators. In the author's opinion, they are used when more precise data are not available or are not important in a particular text. Such methods do not express uncertainty or vagueness of judgment, and therefore they are not hedge-relevant (*Prince* 1982: 95).

Mauranen argues that, on the contrary, even if lexical units with the meaning of approximation are used to deliberately conceal redundant information, they should still be regarded as hedges, since, unlike exact names or numbers, they have

a connotation of uncertainty (*Mauranen* 1997: 121). One can agree with this point of view and recognize that the use of approximators performs the function of hedging, regardless of whether the author omits accurate information due to its redundancy or gives approximate values to soften the statement. Moreover, the author's motives for avoiding an exact nomination are not always obvious from the context, and the information presented in this way is always perceived by the reader as vague and ambiguous.

The classification of approximators was developed in a number of works: *Sorokin* 1988; *Shkot* 1990; *Bocharova* 2001 (in modern English); *Adamovich* 2011 (on comparative examples from the Russian, Belarusian and German languages).

S.V. Adamovich classifies approximators according to three criteria – semantic-pragmatic, functional and structural (*Adamovich* 2011: 114-122).

Y.E. Sorokin's classification is based on the structural and semantic features of approximators, the types of which are distinguished as follows: morphemic (*-ish, -like*), one-word (*almost, somewhat*) and non-one-word (*more or less, if I am not mistaken*). In the semantic aspect, one-word and non-one-word approximators include three classes: 1) "limit" (*on the whole, largely*); 2) "diminutive" (*faintly, at least*); 3) "limiting", consisting of three subgroups: "de-intensifying" (*a bit, sort of, kind of, slightly*), "indefinite" (*somewhat, nearly*) and "relative-comparative" (*comparatively, relatively, like*) (*Sorokin* 1988: 7-9).

The classification of E.S. Bocharova takes into account the semantic properties of approximants and includes the following four groups: 1) "absolute" approximators (*almost, nearly*); 2) approximators of "approximate assimilation" (*kind of, sort of, something like, half, semi*); 3) comparative approximators (*at least, no fewer than, not more than);* 4) "approximately undefined" approximators (*up to, from ... to*) (*Bocharova* 2001: 9-11).

It should be noted that the above classifications reflect only one of the ways of the category of approximation in a language (implementation with the help of approximators) and imply the functioning of linguistic elements with the seme "approximation" within a single semantic structure: an approximator and the words

defined by them. However, the understanding of approximation as a universal conceptual modal category presupposes the possibility of its implementation at different levels of linguistic structure.

Some of the multi-level means of expressing approximation can be found in the classification of I.L. Shkot. The author calls the approximator at the phonetic level a pause reflecting the speaker's hesitation. In written speech, such hesitation can be expressed by ellipsis, i.e. graphically. At the lexical level, according to I.L. Shkot, approximation can be expressed by 1) separate words (*almost, nearly, practically, kind of of*); 2) lexical-semantic constructions, the category of which includes stable phrases such as *in a way, to some extent*. At the grammatical level, the seme "approximation" can be expressed by such constructions as *neither... nor, is... is not, either... or* (*Shkot et al.* 2007: 26-27).

L.D. Chesnokova distinguishes approximators (words of approximation) that indicate: 1) the initial limit (*bolee, svyshe*); 2) the final limit (*do, ne bolee*); 3) the middle point of reference (*primerno, okolo*) (*Chesnokova* 1982: 26).

S.R. Madzhidov distinguishes 8 semantic groups of approximators (words of approximation), with the meanings of 1) "greater than the reference point" (*svyshe*), 2) "greater than or equal to the reference point" (*ne menshe*), 3) "less than the reference point" (*pochti*), 4) "less than or equal to the reference point" (*do*), 5) "less, greater than or equal to the reference point" (*priblizitelno*), 6) "between two reference points" (*mezhdu*), 7) "greater than or equal to one reference point, less than or equal to another reference point" (*ot ... do*), 8) "one of the two" (*ili*) (*Madzhidov* 1995: 121-122).

Thus, in the language, hedging and approximation are usually expressed with the help of various hedges and semantic constructions, but in Russian spontaneous speech there are other ways that are peculiar exclusively to oral discourse.

1.2.3. Approximators in speech

To implement hedging and approximation strategies in oral speech, a whole class of special functional units is used – *pragmatic markers-approximators*, which have become the object of attention in this study.

The use of PMA is a special case of expressing uncertainty in Russian oral spontaneous speech. In oral communication, we are always unsure of something and constantly demonstrate this uncertainty, our unwillingness to be responsible for every word – in particular, with the help of special discursive words (markers) – *tipa, vrode*, *kak by*, *svoego roda*, etc., as well as with the help of reflexives of the type under consideration (*Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2017: 11). Such features of PMA, as a rule, are out of sight of researchers, although, according to L.V. Shcherbs, just such syncretic (transitional) formations should be in the center of attention of linguists, cf.: "Here, as elsewhere in the language (in phonetics, in 'grammar' and in the dictionary), it must be remembered that only extreme cases are clear. Intermediate ones in the very original source – in the consciousness of the speakers – turn out to be hesitant and indefinite. However, it is this unclear and fluctuating that should attract the attention of linguists most of all" (*Shcherba* 1958: 35-36). The pragmatic markers-approximators considered in this paper are just one of such "unclear and fluctuating" units.

1.2.3.1.   Pragmaticization as an active process of oral speech

The essence of the dictionary is the organization of the linguistic picture of the world, statically represented in the lexical system; the essence of pragmatics is the elusive behavior of linguistic and non-linguistic elements in various and unstable acts of speech (*Sklyarevskaya* 1995: 63).

Pragmaticalization is the process of transition in natural speech of certain grammatical forms, individual lexemes to the communicative-pragmatic level of the language, where units become purely pragmatic, begin to express not the propositional content of the sentence, but various reactions of the speaker to the surrounding reality and have the form of independent statements (*Graf* 2011: 296; *Gü nthner, Mutz* 2004).

An ordinary lexeme in this function is transformed into a *pragmalexeme* (*Rathmayr* 1985), or *pragmateme*[8]. Due to the fact that these units can include not only lexemes, but also word combinations, and even entire "sentences"[9] or constructions, N.V. Bogdanova-Beglarian (*Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2014a) replaces the term "pragmalexeme" first with "pragmatem", and then with "pragmatic marker". Such terminology is used in this work as well.

According to N.V. Bogdanova-Beglarian, *pragmatic markers* are those units of oral spontaneous speech (full-valued words) that have undergone the process of *pragmaticization* and, as a result, "in a number of their uses, <...> have lost (fully or partially) their lexical and/or grammatical meaning and have acquired a pragmatic one, they have moved from the category of speech to the category of conditional-speech (communicative-pragmatic) functional units of Russian speech" (*Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2021: 7). In the process of pragmaticalization, "a syntagma or word-form changes its lexical meaning in favor of a discursive-interactive meaning" (*Iriskhanova* 2014: 225).

1.2.3.2. Pragmatic markers vs discursive markers

Close to the concept of PM is the concept *of a discursive marker* (DM). Discursive markers (words) include introductory and auxiliary parts of speech, as well as some adverbs (see, for example: *Baranov et al.* 1993; *Shiffrin* 1996; *Lenk* 1998; *Discursive words...* 1998, 2003; *Shourup* 1999; *Beliao, Lacheret* 2013). N.V. Bogdanova-Beglarian cites a number of differences between PM and DM (*Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2021: 17):

1) PM are used by the speaker unconsciously, reflexively, at the level of speech automatism; DM are introduced into the text consciously, primarily for the purpose of structuring it;

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[8] The term *pragmateme* was introduced by I.A. Mel'čuk. It is used by the researcher in a different meaning: it is a complete speech sequence that unambiguously identifies a certain segment of the displayed extralinguistic reality from the point of view of place, time, participants of the event, and the author's modality (*Mel'čuk* 1995).

[9] The term *sentence* in the study of oral spontaneous speech is traditionally enclosed in quotation marks, since due to the unwritten nature of speech, such a syntactic unit is somewhat conditional and can only be obtained experimentally, for example, using a punctuation experiment (for more details, see: *Bogdanova* 1993, *Sound corpus...* 2013: 26, 34), cf.: "a sentence is a way and tool for organizing speech. But this thesis is certainly applicable only to prose speech (most obviously - to institutional, less obviously - to everyday writing, least obviously - to oral conversational)" (*Norman* 2020: 96). In this paper, we also adhere to this approach.

2) PM do not have lexical and/or grammatical meaning or have it in a significantly weakened form; are actually outside the system of parts of speech, including the category of particles, which also do not even have a generalized grammatical meaning and uniform criteria for distinguishing them into this lexico-grammatical category; DM are full-fledged lexical and grammatical units of oral discourse;

3) PM are used only in oral speech or its stylization (imitation) in a literary text; DM are found both in written text and in oral spontaneous speech;

4) PM demonstrate the speaker's attitude to the process of speech generation itself or to its result, verbalizing all his difficulties and hesitations, and are often metacommunicative units; DM either structure the text (introductory words, service vocabulary) or convey the speaker's attitude to what he is reporting;

5) PM, in all their functional diversity, are practically outside of lexicographic fixation and, as a rule, remain outside the framework of linguodidactics and various applied systems of speech processing; DM are part of traditional lexicography, being lexemes, on the one hand, and are also considered in discursive studies as operators of structuring statements, on the other hand.

In the process of pragmaticalization in speech communication, a new, pragmatic meaning (function) is consolidated. From the source word – a full-valued word – the marker develops along the path: *desemantization – (grammaticalization) – pragmaticalization – consolidation of the function* (*Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2021: 17).

In the dictionary-monograph created under the guidance of N.V. Bogdanova-Beglarian, a typology of PM was proposed on the basis of the functions of specific units performed by them in Russian spontaneous speech (*id.*: 28-33). Let's consider it in more detail.

1.2.3.3.   *Typology of pragmatic markers*

The typology of PM includes 10 classes, one of which is markers-approximators.

Approximators (A) [10] show the speaker's uncertainty about what he is talking about: *kak by*, *vrode*, *tipa*, *ili tam*.

Hesitative markers (H) are used to fill in the pauses of hesitation, most often when searching for the right unit or continuation of speech, in the course of overcoming a communicative difficulty or in other situations: *eto*, *eto samoe*, *kak eto*.

Boundary markers (B) help the speaker to structure the spoken text, functioning as starting, guiding (navigational) or final: *znachit*, *nu vot*, *koroche*, *eto samoe*.

Self-correction markers (S) help the speaker to replace a lexical, grammatical or stylistic element in speech, to correct a slip of the tongue or mistake: *eto*, *eto samoe*.

Xeno-markers (C) – introduce into the narrative someone else's (in the broad sense of the term, i.e. one's own, said earlier or planned for the future, as well as one's own or someone else's thoughts and even "interpretation of the behavior of another person, his reaction, etc." – *Lewontina* 2010: 284): *takoǐ /aya/ie*, *tipa togo*, *vrode togo chto*, *eto samoe*.

Reflexive markers (R) express the speaker's reaction to his/her own speech behavior, in particular, to the hesitational search, as well as an assessment of the degree of adequacy of the found unit to the original intention: *skazhem tak*, *ili kak tam*, *ili kak ego (eë , ikh)*.

Deictic markers (D) are descriptive PM with an indicative function, containing three deictic elements in a row, according to the model *vot (...) vot: vot tak vot, vot tuda vot, vot takoǐ vot*.

Metacommunicative markers (M) help the speaker to comprehend what is said himself, as well as to establish and then maintain contact with the interlocutor, to cause the correct interpretation of the utterance: *znaesh, predstav, (ya) ne znayu*.

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[10] In brackets, after the name of the marker class, the teg used in the marking (annotation) of PM in corps material (ORD and SAT) is indicated.

Rhythm-forming markers (Y) allow you to create harmony of rhythmic groups in the speech stream (the examples below are marked taking into account the relative isochronism of certain fragments of the oral text):

девять тысяч там | с копейками (ORD)[11];

дабы не досталось | вот её сопернице (SAT).

Replacement markers (E) are used instead of someone else's speech, a series of enumerations or its parts: *(i) vse dela, (i) vsyakoe takoe, tuda-syuda, to-së* .

This functional classification of pragmatic markers is the basis of this study. The term "pragmatic marker" was chosen as the main one to designate purely functional, pragmatical, units of oral spontaneous speech. The subject of this research is one of the types of PM – pragmatic markers-approximators, which are considered in the next chapter of the work.

1.3.   Conclusions on the chapter

This chapter describes the specificity of oral spontaneous speech as an object of linguistic research and approximation in language and speech.

The first section considers the relationship between the concepts of language and speech, oral and written speech, oral, colloquial and spontaneous speech; forms of oral speech; corpus approach to the analysis of oral spontaneous speech.

Language is a system of symbols that began to be actively used by people and gradually developed and enriched. Speech is the implementation of the language system, carried out within the framework of human speech activity, taking into account his socio-psychological characteristics and cognitive abilities. Oral speech is considered the main form of language existence in human development, characterized by spontaneity, irreversibility and automatism of generation, while written speech allows the author to think over and improve the created text. In linguistics, there is still no consensus on the correlation between the

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[11] The vertical line in the examples given separates fragments of approximately the same duration. Without the highlighted units, this isochrony would not have been achieved (for more details on instrumental confirmation of the existence of such isochrony, see: *Sherstinova* 2010; *Sherstinova et al.* 2013).

concepts of *oral, colloquial* and *spontaneous speech*. In this work, the terms OS, CS, SS are used as synonyms.

In the study, oral speech is divided into two forms – monologue and dialogue/polylogue, while dialogue is understood as a form of speech in which two or more speakers actively participate, exchanging statements and changing communicative roles, and monologue as a less natural form of oral speech pronounced by one active participant.

The corpus provides the best opportunities for describing and analyzing the functioning of Russian words or expressions in language and speech. That is why the source of the material for this study was 5 corpora: "One Speech Day", "Balanced Annotated Text Library", as well as the main, spoken and multimedia subcorpora of the Russian National Corpus. In the corpus of the ORD, mainly dialogical speech is presented, while in the corpus of the SAT – monologue. In the corpora MURKO, SS, as well as in the selected literary texts from the MS, most of the material relates to the imitation of dialogical speech.

In the second section of the chapter, the relationship between the concepts of hedging and approximation is considered, the ways of expressing hedging and approximation in language and speech are listed, and the typology of pragmatic markers adopted in colloquialism is given.

A review of the literature on the topic of this study has shown that there is still no single definition and classification of means of expression of hedging and approximation in linguistic science. In this work, these concepts are considered as synonyms, in the meaning of 'a practical strategy that serves as insurance for the speaker in case of doubt about reliability'. Hedges and semantic constructions, and in oral speech pragmatic markers-approximators are added to them. PMA, as a type of pragmatic markers, are the result of an active process of pragmaticization. Hedges and PMA equally mean those units that perform the function of reducing the categorical nature of the speaker's statement, but they differ: hedges lie within the parts of speech, PMA – beyond this framework, the units of both these classes mutually reinforce each other's pragmatic significance.

The next chapter of the paper presents the results of a comprehensive analysis of PMA as a micro- and macro-study. *Macro-study* includes the analysis of material at the phrase level: type of speech, type of communication, topic of conversation, linguistic "neighbors" in the context, the position of the PMA in the phrase, forms of speech, the presence of pauses in transcripts, characteristics of the speaker (gender, age, profession, etc.) and the functioning of the PMA in Russian speech. To the *micro-study* includes the analysis of the correlation of PMA with the speaker's psychotype and form of speech, a comparative analysis of the Russian speech of Russians and Chinese (in the interests of teaching Russian as a foreign language), the specifics of the translation of Russian PMA into Chinese, as well as gestural accompaniment of markers of this type.

CHAPTER 2
PRAGMATIC MARKERS-APPROXIMATORS IN RUSSIAN EVERYDAY SPEECH

2.1. *Pragmatic markers-approximators and their functioning in russian spontaneous speech*

This chapter of the work describes the results of a multidimensional analysis of the features of the functioning of pragmatic markers-approximators in Russian everyday speech. In the course of the analysis, such aspects as *the type of speech, the type of communication, the topic of conversation, the linguistic analysis*[12] *of the marker's "neighbors" in the context, the position in the phrase,* the *form of speech (monologue or dialogue)* [13]are taken into account. The subject of the analysis was not only typical and frequent PMA (*kak by, tipa, vrode, ili tam*), included in the Dictionary of pragmatic markers (*Pragmatic markers… 2021*) and became the basis for this study, but also potential markers-approximators (*v svoem rode, v nekotorom rode, kak budto (by)*), not fixed by the PM dictionary.

All sections of this chapter are based on various articles by the author, which is specifically specified each time.

2.1.1. KAK BY

This section is based on the author's article: *Xiang Yanan* 2023a.

Kak by – this is the most frequent pragmatic marker-approximator in the list of 60 main Russian PM, it has a rank of 5 and IPM[14] 900 (for 300 thousand tokens in the annotated subcorpus of the ORD) (*Pragmatic markers... 2021: 54*).

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[12] By "neighbors" we mean not any units standing next to the marker, but only hedges, other PM or particles that can be considered as expanders of the basic structure of the PMA: *nu, kak, da,* and so on.

[13] Dialogue and monologue are interconnected. In the process of communication, a monologue can acquire the properties of a dialogue; there are also a number of intermediate forms. In this work, three forms of oral communication are distinguished by the number of tokens: monologue, monologue/dialogue (m/d), and dialogue. In a dialogue, the number of tokens is up to 30, in m/d – 30-50, in a monologue – more than 50. The number of *tokens* includes all elements of the transcript texts, separated by a space, including words and transcript signs (designations of the end of a syntagma, various types of pauses, etc.).

[14] IPM (abbreviated from *instances per million words*) – calculated using the following formula:

$$IPM = \frac{number\ of\ occurrences \times 1\ 000\ 000}{case\ volume\ in\ tokens}$$

V.I. Novikov calls *kak by* a symbol of the Russian cultural epoch, cf. "a parasitic word that lives exclusively in the linguistic organisms of the intelligentsia" (*Novikov* 1998: 140). This "word" appeared relatively recently in Russian everyday speech and received "total, almost epidemic-like spread. It is so widespread and all-encompassing that we can talk about a whole generation (and already several generations) – a generation *kak by* (here and further in the quotation the authors' italics – *Y.X.*). There are several reasons for this, no less than when we can talk about the Next generation or the Pepsi generation. By analogy, obviously, we can talk about consciousness *kak by*, and about culture *kak by*, and about the way of life *kak by*" (*Veresov, Swartti* 2008: 341).

The user subcorpus of this study includes 501 contexts with a unit *kak by*, of which 444 uses (88.6%) perform the function of a pragmatic marker. In these contexts, one can see not a codified, dictionary usage *kak by*, but a functional-pragmatic one, characteristic of PM.

Of course, in living sources one can find many examples confirming the traditional, dictionary, fixation of this unit. Let us first consider these meanings codified by dictionaries.

Kak by – 1) *a conjunction*: when a sentence member is attached with the meaning of a conditional-presupposition comparison; when a subordinate clause of a compound sentence is attached, which contains an unreliable comparison or reveals the content of the main part; 2) *a particle* with the meaning of presumption, conventionality of the statement (*Efremova* 2006).

Dictionaries record both the isolated use of this unit and its functioning as part of various stable formations.

Kak by ne – apprehension, fear; ***kak by to ni bylo*** – at least under all conditions (*MAS* 1986).

Kak by ne tak – an expression of disagreement, indignation, refusal; ***kak by*** – *a particle*: conditional assumption, *conjunction*: comparison, fear (*BTS* 1998).

See examples of dictionary usages *kak by* from a user subcorpus:

1) [[№ 5, муж, журналист] *В наших условиях/ **как бы** там **не** было плохо/ но всё-таки работой обеспечат/ можно/ реально/ конкретно/ именно малый бизнес/ основная ставка* (УП);

2) *да чую / блин / **как бы не** просидеть без толку* (ОРД).

Kak by as a whole unit was recorded in the RNC around 1830, and at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries its activity increased sharply, which continues to this day (see Fig. 1).
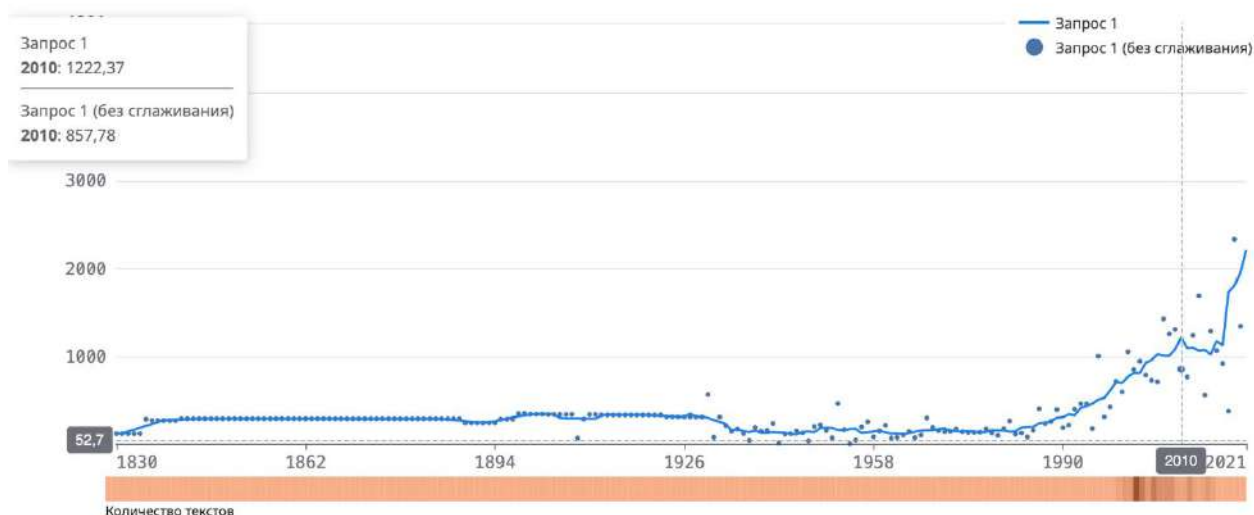
Fig. 1. Distribution of usage KAK BY by year

The most frequent "neighbors" *kak by* in the speech chain: various hedges, other PMs (*tam*, *vot ... vot*, *da*, *tipa*, *znaesh*, *vidish*) (underlined in contexts), cf.:

3) [3, муж, 26, 1977, инженер] *Если бы у нас была <u>какая-нибудь</u> борьба **как бы** <u>вот</u> за эти <u>вот</u> посты* (УП);

4) [Полина Семёновна, жен, медсестра] *Ну оно <u>такое</u>/ <u>знаешь</u>/ **как бы** упражнения на растяжку/ на вытяжку* (УП);

5) [Екатерина Павловна Л., жен, студентка] *Ну тоже **как бы** <u>типа</u> привлечение к остросоциальной теме* (УП);

6) *потому что он (э) **как бы** <u>вроде</u> получился недорого а / фарш-то у него весь / который можно придумать сейчас* (ОРД).

PMA *kak by* and hedges in these contexts together reinforce the speaker's shade of uncertainty about his words.

Analysis of the material showed that in dialogue *kak by* occurs more often (74.5%) than in m/d and monologue.

In addition, *kak by* is somewhat more common (52.7%) in the speech of women aged 45-60 years with different professions (engineer, economist, journalist, psychologist, etc.), i.e. we can say that there is a slight correlation between the use of PMA *kak by* and the gender and age of the speaker.

The assumption that *kak by* is used to a greater extent in public speech (55.0%) turned out to be correct, which is not limited to close contact with the interlocutor.

The share of use *kak by* in everyday conversations accounts for 28.4% of the use in the user subcorpus, in discussions – 20.5%, in talks – 17.6%.[15]

The topic of conversations in which there are *kak by* is any: private life, politics and public life, science, sports, art and culture, etc.

The most preferable position *kak by* is in the middle of the phrase (88.3%).

Kak by is a whole unit, there is never a pause between its components, although sometimes there is a pause before *kak by* (17.3%), rarely (3.2%) – both before and after.

The leading function of the marker *kak by* is approximative, but this PMA can also perform other functions in oral discourse: hesitative (H) (9.0%), boundary (B) (3.2%) and the function of xeno-markers (input of someone else's speech) (C) (1.1%). It is clear that the marker is a polyfunctional unit, like most Russian PMs. At the same time, approximation is always preserved. Let us give some examples (the tag of the corresponding function/functions is given in brackets after the context).

7) [№ 6, муж, предприниматель] *Во-первых/ мы говорим про правила игры/ что они **как бы** отсутствуют* (УП) **(А)**;

8) *Он будет называться "Репродуктор". Это **как бы**… название/ давно установлено* (УП) **(А + С)**;

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15 The "public speech" block of the SS RNC includes such types of text as **conversation**, discussion, interview, sports commentary, lecture, report, etc. The speech in this block is maximally prepared and controlled by the speaker. The "non-public speech" block of the SS RNC contains transcripts of everyday **talks** and micro-dialogues. These are texts related to informal communication (recordings of telephone talks, talks with friends, various kinds of non-public talks). It is on this basis that the concepts of conversation and talk will be distinguished here and further in the work.

9) [В.Е., жен, дизайнер] *И как раз вот мы должны были шестнадцатого вернуться с моря/ и вот восемнадцатого-девятнадцатого праздновать. А они уезжают **как бы*** (УП) **(А + В)**;

10) *потом в итоге она меня спрашивает то же самое / **как бы** / что* <u>*вот (э...э) зачем должны быть* </u> */ были быть изначально вопросы* (ОРД)[16] **(А + С)**.

The marker *kak by* can occur multiple times in one statement (11.0%), often embedded in the PM chains (other members of the chains are underlined in contexts), cf.:

11) [М., муж] *Вроде **как бы** / собрание можно считать / **как бы** сказать / открытым* (УП);

12) *какого такого стиль(?) сказал / я говорю / да / ну ? *В я говорю / так ты мне это предложение даёшь / **как бы** <u>вот</u> (...) <u>ну вот</u> / на сейчас или вообще ? *П да ну / форевер конечно / чего ты думаешь / форевер // я говорю / ну форевер / ну хорошо // в общем у тебя будут живые клиенты / которым это будет интересно / *В ну ты в общем мне звони // *П Коля% / ну тебе говорю / ну всегда / ну конечно* (ОРД)[17].

Thus, the final characteristic *kak by* as a pragmatic marker, as a result can be as follows: marker-approximator (A), *hesitative* (H), *boundary marker* (B), and (rarely) xeno-marker (C), which is somewhat different from the data of the Dictionary PM, in which the function of the xeno-marker is not fixed (*Pragmatic markers...* 2021: 210). Here it is appropriate to cite the idea of N.V. Bogdanova-Beglarian, expressed by her in one of her last articles: "Everyday oral speech is rich not only in lexical, but also in grammatical innovations, which are revealed the more numerous the wider the corpus material is involved in the study. And although many observations of this kind in linguistics are no longer new, it seems useful to involve more and more diverse material in the analysis in order to both verify and clarify the observations already made, and to identify some new features

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[16] The fragment (э…э) in the transcripts of the ORD corpus signifies one of the variants of non-verbal hesitation. For other features of the orthographic presentation (discursive transcription conventions) of the ORD material, see: *Russian language...* 2016: 242-243. The transmitted foreign speech is underlined here and everywhere further in the contexts.

[17] The *В sign in ORD transcripts means a noisy inhalation, the *П sign means a pause in hesitation, the % sign is placed without a space after the name or other personal information (diagnosis, telephone number, personal address, etc.), which in this case is anonymized; the ellipsis in brackets (…) denotes another variant of non-verbal hesitation. For other features of the orthographic presentation (conventions of discursive transcription) of ORD material, see: *Russian language…* 2016: 242-243.

that have not been previously noticed by linguists" (*Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2024c: 14). In this case, something new was revealed in the course of the analysis.

2.1.2. TIPA

This section is based on two articles by the author: *Xiang Yanan* 2023b, 2024a.

The pragmatic marker-approximator *tipa* has a rank of 15 and IPM 297 in the PM dictionary (*Pragmatic markers...* 2021: 54).

The unit *tipa* in a few dictionary fixations is described (in addition to the noun – *MAS* 1988: 365) as a particle in the function of an introductory word, has the mark *jarg. crim.* (*Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2014b: 252) and is defined as follows: "Vrode, napodobie, kak by, etc. • A meaningless pause filler, "verbal garbage", is usually found in somewhat difficult, undeveloped speech, more often among representatives of the criminal world" (*Khimik* 2004: 608). It is curious that the meaning of a function word (preposition or comparative conjunction) for *tipa* not noted by academic dictionaries at all, although there are enough such uses in the corpus (and in everyday speech), cf.:

13) *что-то **типа** пробки там* (ОРД);

14) *известные артисты / речевики / **типа** Ираклия_Андроникова$ / понятное дело* (ОРД)[18];

According to the RNC, the first context with a unit *tipa* recorded in the SS dates back to about 1937, and in recent decades there has been a steady rise in its use, especially in the speech of young people (in the words of one of the linguists, "Generation *kak by* was replaced by generation *tipa*") (quoted in *Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2014b) (see Bogdanova-Beglarian 2014b) (see Fig. 2).

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[18] The $ sign in ORD transcripts is placed without a space after a well-known name or title (film, company, place, etc.). For other features of the orthographic presentation (discursive transcription conventions) of ORD material, see: *Russian language…* 2016: 242-243.
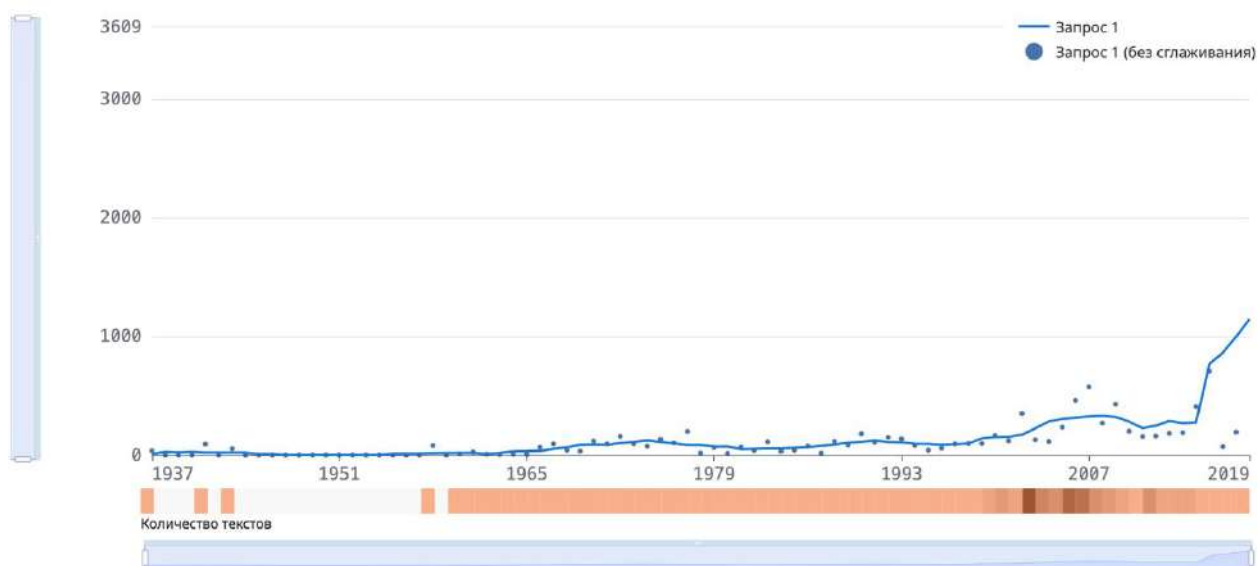
Fig. 2. Distribution of usage TIPA by year

The user subcorpus for this part of the study included 503 contexts with the unit *tipa* and its structural variants *of tipa togo/ tipa togo chto*, including 332 uses (66.0%) in the PMA function. The analysis of the corpus material showed that the word *tipa* implements many meanings in oral discourse, of which only about a third correspond to its dictionary definition as a noun.

First, let's look at examples of dictionary usages *tipa*:

15) [Г.Е.А., жен, 54, 1958, лингвист] *Значит/ различаются эти два **типа** касаний довольно существенно* (УП);

16) *дальше мы смотрим / (а-а) ... по сути дела сангвиник / да / можем дать характеристику / как психологи / сангвинического **типа** темперамента / да / что (...) чем он характеризуется* (ОРД).

В роли ПМА данная единица значительно более частотна, ср.:

17) *Она у тебя неожиданно появляется? **Типа** так... Опа!* (УП);

18) *а мы как бы в подмастерья к нему / ну (...) ну что-то он так / (...) шугается / я говорю / ну что ты шугаешься / мы(:) у Егора% есть опыт / ну / (...) там / сделаем / всё нормально // он говорит / нет (...) **типа** (...) Серёга% профи блин / *П давай говорит / (м...м) *П просто будем ему помогать // ну вот* (ОРД);

19) *блин / у Ильюхи% спрашивал / когда вот потолки красил говорю / *В что / откосы белые будем делать ? *П такой / (...) что ты / зату... затупил / не / говорит там / (...) зачем вот такой / зачем белые **типа** сразу же // *П *В *П я говорю / а что в цвет стен ? *П ну **типа** в цвет стен* (ОРД).

In example (17), PMA *tipa* plays the role of a comparative particle, close to *vrode*. *In* this sense, V.I. Podlesskaya refers to the class *of markers-approximators*, "ascending to words and constructions with the meaning of similarity. For example, the classical approximator in English is *like*; in the well-known work of Andersen 1998 it was shown that *like* can be included in any type of groups – nominal, verbal, quantitative, etc. In the Russian language, such approximators as *svoego roda, tipa, kak by,* etc., behave in the same way." (*Podlesskaya* 2013: 635).

The analysis showed that PMA *tipa* occurs more often in the dialogue (73.8%) than in m/d and monologue.

In addition, *tipa* is somewhat more common (56.6%) in the speech of women aged 18-25 years (mainly in communication between students – 61.7%), i.e. we can say that there is a small correlation between the use of PMA *tipa* and the gender and age of the speaker.

The assumption that *tipa* is more often used in non-public speech (56.3%) and is limited to close contact with the interlocutor turned out to be also correct.

The share of using *tipa* in everyday conversations is 44.4% of the volume of the user subcorpus, in talks – 22.6%, in lectures – 12.7%.

The topics of conversation in which *tipa* occurs can be very different: art and culture, science and technology, politics and public life, sports, private life, etc.

As for the position in the phrase, the most preferable position for *tipa* is in the middle of the phrase (83.1%).

Sometimes there is a pause before *tipa* (26.8%) and after *tipa* (25.6%), rarely on both sides at once: both before and after *tipa* (9.9%).

In one use of *tipa*, more than one pragmatic meaning (function) can be realized: approximator + xeno-marker (20), (21a), approximator + hesitative (21b) (polyfunctionality), cf.:

20) *ну у нас там / вообще так тупо / элективный курс / да **типа** надо* (ОРД);

21) *Дора% / **типа** (а) привет / *П у меня к тебе шкурная тема *П Коля% / и какая у тебя шкурная тема ко мне ? *П ну **типа** (б) / *П причём*

разговаривает в каком-то таком стиле // *П красавица с накладными мозгами (ОРД).

A fairly frequent structural realization of the unit under consideration (10.6% of the total volume of combined approximators in the user subcorpus) can be considered a construction *chto-to tipa* (hedge + PMA). This combination shows the approximate and vagueness of the nomination mentioned by the speaker, cf.:

22) *Да/ в нём есть определённое **что-то типа** героев/ класса и прочего/ прочего* (УП).

It is curious that in this context (22) a combined marker of fuzzy nomination of *chto-to tipa* is used next to the adjective *opredelennyy,* which in most of its semantic varieties has the meanings of 'firmly established', 'clear, distinct', 'undoubted, unconditional' (*MAS* 1986: 629). One gets the impression that with such a combination of units the speaker seems to want to emphasize that he is *definitely not sure* in what he is talking about. It turns out to be *chto-to tipa* "certain uncertainty" or "clear fuzziness". One can imagine how difficult it is for a foreigner to understand such an expression in the speech of an interlocutor or a character in a work of fiction, or to find an analogue in another language for a translator[19].

The most frequent "neighbors" in the speech chain (contact or distant) for marker *tipa* are various hedges*,* as well as other PMs: *tam, takoy, vot, kak by, tak, znaesh,* etc., cf. ("neighbors" are underlined in the contexts):

23) *Одиннадцатого числа? **Типа** <u>в районе</u> одиннадцатого числа/ по-моему. <u>Может</u> девятого…*(УП);

24) *а <u>какая-нибудь</u> **типа** Ирочка_Скорбеж% это умеет делать ?* (ОРД);

25) *потом он … я уже в отпуске был / он () он мне звонит / **типа** / <u>короче</u> / мы всё готово / <u>короче</u> / <u>туда-сюда</u> / а я говорю / я в отпуске* (ОРД).

In example (23), the units *v rayone* and *mozhet* are typical linguistic means of hedging, according to the classification proposed by G. *Graefen* (*Graefen* 2000: 7). In this case, the hedges reinforce the speaker's uncertainty expressed by the

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[19] These difficulties for a foreigner and a translator are not removed even by the fact that one of the dictionary meanings of the adjective *opredelennyy* is 'izvestnyy, tot ili inoy, nekotoryy' (*MAS* 1986: 629), i.e. something close to a hedge.

*marker- approximator.*Such double intensification is in principle typical of colloquial speech, compare, for example, similar observations on the functioning of units *kak raz taki* (*Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2023a) and *sovsem ot slova sovsem* (*Lokalina* 2022).

Structural variations of the unit *tipa* are also very frequent (42.1%) in the corpus material, which are formed due to the addition of a component *tam* and thereby acquire an additional hesitative function (i.e., they give the speaker time to think about the next remark). In addition, the addition of such words performs, quite likely, a rhythm-forming function (*Pragmatic markers...* 2021: 298), cf.:

26) *Не обязательно должны быть экзотические случаи **типа там** го/ и вот красота позиции/ в общем довольно фиксированная/ потому что там красота она вот в расположении фишек на доске/ а вот в образах/ которые могут быть совершенно произвольные* (УП);

27) *ну заходят / а тётка такая значит там говорит(:) / эта самая старая дева говорит / вот блин // тут такая вот **ерунда / вот (...) вот (...) я (...) втихаря от тебя / вот там () я с ним там () **типа там** (...) отрывалась по полной программе* (ОРД).[20]

A non-one-word pragmatic unit ("internal speech cliche") [21] *tipa tam* consists of two PMs: the verbal hesitative, the approximator and the xeno-marker *tipa* and the verbal hesitative and the xeno-marker *tam* (see about it: *Pragmatic markers...* 2021: 391-395). Both of these markers (like most PMs) are clearly multifunctional: *tipa,* in addition to their main function of hesitation, they can also introduce someone else's speech into the narrative (xeno-marker), as well as (less often) act as a boudary, approximator, and rhythm-forming marker. *Tam*, in addition to hesitation, it can also act as a rhythm-forming marker and (less often) a xeno-marker. Examples from speech corpora illustrate this well, cf. (functional

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[20] The symbol (**) in the speech material marks units that replace unprintable words.

[21] N.V. Bogdanova-Beglarian and Sun Xiaoli contrast two types of speech cliches: "(1) those recognized by native speakers, lexically significant and codified, recorded in dictionaries and reference books; in lexical minimums for foreigners (at a high level of RFL), and today also in the "Russian Constructicon" [https://constructicon.github.io/russian] or in the "Pragmaticon" [https://pragmaticon.ruscorpora.ru]"; and "(2) not consciously perceived by native speakers, realized at the level of speech automatism, very frequent, pragmatically significant but not lexically, characteristic of the speech of almost any speaker and recorded only in a special dictionary of pragmatic markers (PM) [PM 2021]: *vot (...) vot, skazhem tak, ili kak ego (ee, ikh, tam, eto), vrode togo chto, ili chto, ili tam, eto samoe* and so on. Units of the second type can be considered as a kind of "internal cliches" (like inner speech); they are distinguished by stability, frequency, reproducibility in the speech of many speakers and help them overcome various speech difficulties that arise during spontaneous speech production" (*Bogdanova-Beglarian, Sun Xiaoli* 2024: 139).

tags are indicated in parentheses after the context) (contexts from corpora can be repeated in different places of work):

28) *ну у нас там / вообще так тупо / элективный курс / да **типа** надо* (ОРД) (**А**);

29) *Дора% / **типа** привет / *П у меня к тебе шкурная тема *П # Коля% / и какая у тебя шкурная тема ко мне ? *П # ну **типа** / *П причём разговаривает в каком-то таком стиле // *П красавица с накладными мозгами* (ОРД) (**Н + А**);

30) *и спросил / ну **типа** <u>умеешь вообще кататься или нет ? сидела за рулём</u> ?* (ОРД) (**С + А**);

31) *И он всё / пошёл типа залезать в машину. **Типа** <u>«Иди сюда / поехали!»</u> Я говорю / «Ну надо же какой хитрец!»* (УП) (**С + А**);

32) *вы что-то / говорит / ищете(:) (...) а да мои девки ис... присели отдыхают // ну(:) () **там** () шлялись* (ОРД) (**Н + В**);

33) *стильную **там** всякую мебель* (ОРД) (**Н + В**);

34) *ну сколько ? # грубо говоря **там** / четыре с половиной на два восемьдесят где-то* (ОРД) (**Н + В**);

35) *и она как на нас налетела ! вот **там** <u>ты-ты-ты-ты-ты-ты</u> / да мы <u>алкаши</u> **там** / ну что-то там такое / я не помню* (ОРД) (**Н + С + В**).

It can be seen that both markers are very close to each other in their pragmatic meanings (functions), which is reflected in the properties of their combination *tipa tam*, cf.:

36) [Слава] *Макс. Максим. Надо слоган какой-то убедительный придумать. **Типа там** / <u>Я дам вам… Что он им может дать?</u>* [Леша] *Смотря чего у них нет* [Слава] *Ничего у них нет* [Леша] *Такой слоган / Я дам вам всё* (УП) (**Н + С + А**);

37) *и там написано что как раз вот это вот ... (а) как это () жадность да ? ну что **типа там** <u>они не платят тоже как оправдание / на самом деле просто ты им не нравишься типа</u> / вот из этого разряда* (ОРД) (**С + А**);

38) *Ну были/ конечно/ такие трудные институты/ это как бы серьёзные **типа там**/ я не знаю/ там где-то технические или там/ не знаю/ университет* (УП) (**Н + А**).

Contexts (36) and (37) are curious, in which the unit *tipa tam* acts, among other things, as a xeno-marker and introduces sufficiently long fragments of someone else's speech. The presence of the hesitative *tam* gives the speaker

additional time to think over these alien remarks (hesitation), and the presence of approximator *tipa* indicates that the speaker is not quite sure of the correctness of the transmitted speech and is not ready to bear responsibility for its accuracy.

In all the examples, one can also see a multitude of hedges, which, as noted above, often accompany approximation and "cooperate" with the combination of PM in expressing uncertainty, as well as other PMs that indicate various difficulties of the speaker. It is evident that the functions of hesitation and approximation are present in usages *tipa tam* almost always.

The results obtained can clarify the existing descriptions of pragmatic markers *tipa* and *tam*. The range of speech cliches is expanded at the expense of "internal" or metalinguistic units. The study has shown that the main functions of a combination ("internal speech cliche") *tipa tam* can be recognized as hesitation, approximation and introduction of someone else's speech into the narrative, it is not typical for their unification, because the length of the resulting unit in syllables is too long[22].

Another frequent "neighbor" of a word *tipa* in the speech material is the PM *takoy (takaya/ takoe/ takie)* (23.3%), which also indicates the speaker's hesitation and gives him time to choose the right word or think about the next remark, cf.:

39) *А нет/ он <u>там</u> по-русски кусок и кусок по-английски/ я **такая типа**/ ну я <u>там</u> отрывисто <u>что-то</u> поняла/ что он <u>типа</u> едет брать интервью у него/ <u>туда-сюда</u>/ и вот он хочет свалить – вот посмотреть на этот кошмар/ он у него спрашивает/ как доехать или <u>что-то в этом духе</u>* (УП).

In addition to those under consideration, there are many other hedges and hesitatives in the context of (39) (underlined in the example). It is clear how diverse they are in Russian speech and how typical the semantics of uncertainty is for oral communication as a whole. Cf.: "The hedging strategy aims to weaken the illocutionary power of utterance (*Fraser* 2013), hedging makes the material vague, reduces the categorical nature of statements, and can demonstrate the speaker's

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[22] The rhythm-forming function is most often performed by monosyllabic markers (*vot, nu, tam* and so on). The longest of the recorded PM of this type is the marker *koroche*, cf.: **nu** *vse* **koroche** | *knigi u nego* | *zakanchivayutsya* | *tragichno* (ORD).

incomplete confidence, and at the same time his openness to dialogue. According to Brown-Levinson's classical theory of politeness (*Brown, Levinson* 1987), hedges reduce the threat to the speaker's social face (*Kostina* 2022a), which is important for building non-conflict communication.

On the basis of the marker *tipa* in Russian oral speech, other stable combinations ("internal cliches") are also constructed, in addition to the units considered. This can be discussed separately, cf.:

40) *Это уже как патефон / знаешь / **типа того*** (УП);

41) *Ну / **типа того** / как концерт?* (УП);

42) ***Типа того** / давайте гайзы/ come on / пишите в Москву* (УП);

43) *ну вот // *П и тут звонок в дверь // стоит этот мужик // *П **типа того что** блин / *П *Х *П давайте общаться !* (ОРД);

44) *он такой / я же сказал / надо () головой во все стороны крутить / чтобы шея / что / *В ну что / чтобы шея сломалась / **типа того что** не надо бояться* (ОРД).

Other *tipa*-based speech cliches can serve as an incentive to continue research in the chosen direction. Here the same functions of hesitation, approximation and input of someone else's speech are revealed, to which are also added the functions of the start (42) and final (40) delimitation PMs.

In general, the analysis shows that a large number of uses of the pragmatic marker-approximator *tipa* and its structural variants in everyday speech are frankly unsignificant and lie completely outside the framework of codified language and lexicographic fixation (*Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2014b: 254).

In addition, *tipa* can occur multiple times in one statement (14.5%), often embedded in the PM chains, cf.:

45) [Саша, жен, студентка] *Вот/ и они **типа** сказали/ за пять сто мы поменяем вам экран/ **типа** оригинальный/ бла-бла-бла и так далее* (УП);

46) *слушай говорит / а мне а мне сказали / что они отдали там чьи-то деньги / ну вот // она короче (э) звонит и говорит / ну как это **типа** / она говорит / я ж тебе отдала / ты ж забыла* (ОРД).

Thus, the final characteristic of the marker *tipa* can be formulated as follows: *approximator* (A), *hesitative* (H), *xeno-marker* (C), *boundary* (B) and *rhythm-*

forming (Y), which fully corresponds to the data of the PM Dictionary. Marker *tipa* is a multifunctional unit, like most Russian PMs. In this case, the approximation is always preserved.

2.1.3. VRODE

This section is based on two articles by the author: *Xiang Yanan* 2024 b, c.

A variety of *approximators* (although not PM) is also a number of constructions in which *vrode, tipa* and *napodobie* act as a preposition (*poezd* **vrode** *elektrichki, albom* **tipa** *knigi, chto-to* **napodobie** *lodki*) and which are sometimes described as markers of *fuzzy nomination* (*Savchenko* 2015). The preposition *vrode* is the most frequent in this series: out of a full sample of 181 contexts from the oral subcorpus of the RNC, the share *vrode* is 64%, *tipa* – 32%, *napodobie* – 4% (*id.*). In the frequency list of 60 PMs, Russian everyday speech *vrode o* occupy 23rd place (*Pragmatic markers...* 2021: 55), which also indicates its high use in Russian communication. In other words, unit *vrode* deserves a separate consideration.

In dictionaries *vrode* does not have a clear codification. Most dictionaries indicate that this word can be a *preposition* (with the Genitive case) and a *particle*. The meaning of a preposition is usually clarified by synonymous substitution: napodobie kogo-, chego-l., kak kto-, chto-l.; podobno komu-, chemu-n., skhodno s kem-chem-n. (*MAS* 1985: 227). «Russian grammar» of 1980 refers *vrode* to simple adverbial prepositions (*Russkaia grammatika* 1980, vol. I: 705). Modern dictionaries interpret *vrode* as a particle with two meanings: modal (expression of presupposition and uncertainty) and explanatory (before enumeration). The second meaning was not found in the material of this study. It can be said with a high degree of certainty that it disappears, at least in oral speech (*Pragmatic markers...* 2021: 112).

First, let's look at examples of dictionary usages *vrode* from a user subcorpus:

47) [Ведущий, муж] *Это* <u>*что-то*</u> **вроде** *детской мечты или сознательно продуманный коммерческий шаг/ создание такого рода представления?* (УП);

48) [Анна, жен, администратор] *Вы знаете/ но/ наверное/ я вам посоветовала бы начать с чего-нибудь более пластичного/ аа что-то вроде стрейчинга/ то есть растяжки/ аа может быть/ вог* (УП).

In context (47) there is an indefinite pronoun (*chto-to*) before *vrode* and there are other hedges: *navernoe, chego-nibud, mozhet byt* (underlined in the context). The speaker cannot immediately find the appropriate word to express his thought, so he strives for self-correction. The speaker may have difficulty finding the right word or expression, may not know it at all, or consider it undesirable for use for some reason (*Pragmatic markers...* 2021: 304). *Vrode* in this case acts as a pretext.

According to the RNC, the unit *vrode* has been first recorded in Russian speech around 1889, the peak of its use falls on 2008, and in recent decades there has been a decline in its use (see Fig. 3 below).

The paper analyzes the dynamics of the use of PMA *vrode (vrode togo/ vrode togo chto)* in SS and creates a user subcorpus of the material, which includes 501 contexts with a unit *vrode*, including 431 uses (86.0%) in the PMA function. In other words, in the role of PMA, this unit is the most frequent, cf.:

49) [Ш.А.Б., муж, 73, 1890, лингвист] *Ну и помните / первое такое / ээ... такое вроде как бы что-то коллективное такое было / кода у нас был... произошла такая стихийная дискуссия по поводу аа... выставки худож... художественной* (УП).

In context (49), the speaker uses PMA *kak by* immediately afterward *vrode*, to express his insecurity. He does not allow himself to be too categorical and tries to absolve himself of responsibility for what he has said with the help of these words. The marker *kak by* is much more common than *vrode* (see section 2.1.1 of this study about it). The combination of PMA and hedges in one context is considered as a frequent phenomenon of oral discourse. It is likely that this is a universal feature of oral communication, inherent in communication in any language.
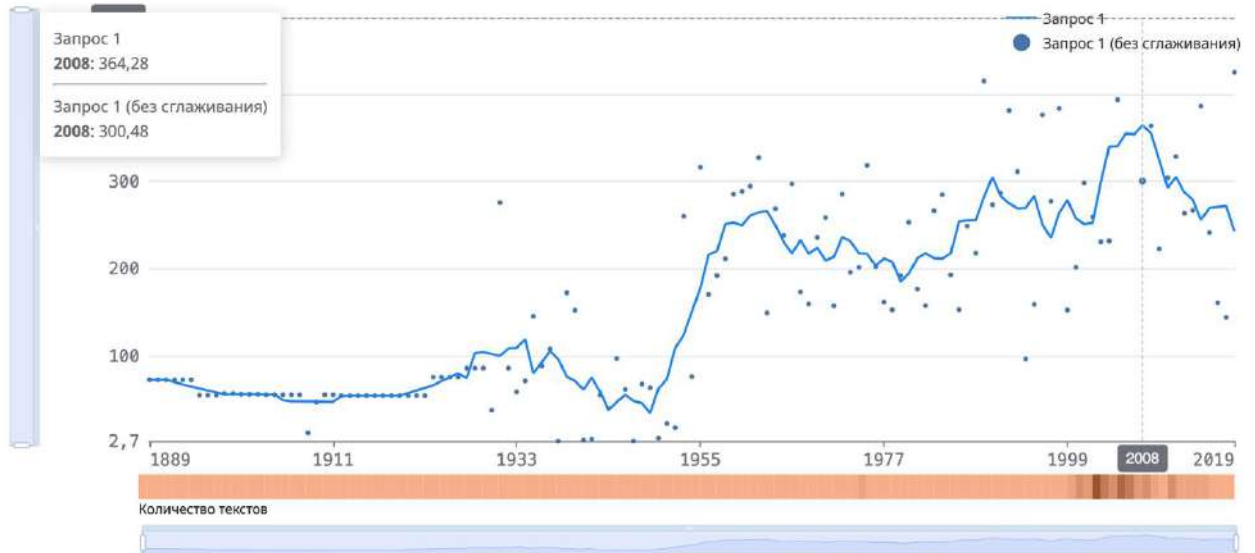
Fig. 3. Distribution of usage VRODE by year

Vrode can occur many times in one statement, often embedded in the PM chains, cf.:

50) [№ 1, жен, 30, 1941-1947, музыкант] *А она/ <u>там</u> значит/ бьёт ногой/ и <u>что-то</u> **вроде**/ <u>знаешь</u> ли/ <u>такой там</u> значит мелодики/ когда это значит она <u>что-то</u> изображает **вроде** такого общения с публикой/ но в общем/ <u>понимаешь</u> ли/ такая эстрадная манера/ то есть я тебе хочу сказать/ что <u>понимаешь</u>/ это даже/ <u>ну</u>/ в зале Чайковского я бы тоже бы не спела/ а <u>вот</u> в зале гостиница "Советская"/ спеть такой цикл/ очень даже хорошо* (УП).

The modal meaning of the word *vrode* is a signal of possible incorrectness of the statement. In context (50), the speaker uses *vrode* in one sentence to reduce the degree of categorical nature of his statement. He also uses auxiliary pragmatic means for the formation of approximation: contact verbs (PM-metacommunicatives) *znaesh* and *ponimaesh*, which appeal to the mentality of the interlocutor and help the speaker to establish contact with him. There are many other PMs and hedges in the speaker's speech (also underlined). In this way, we can feel the speaker's reflection and psychology.

51) *А родители на вас смотреть будут / подбадривать? – **Вроде того*** (ОРД).

With the help of a word *vrode* or its structural variants, the speaker can express agreement (51). The shade of approximation (fuzziness) is preserved in all cases.

The unit *vrode* can also deduce the function of boundary marker, cf.:

52) [П.Е.Н., муж, 76, 1936, зоолог] *Тада ещё там/ я не знаю/ там какая-то была природа такая дикая/ **вроде*** (УП).

In context (52), the use *vrode* seems to be interpreted as a marker of the ending and/or a reflexive marker, showing the speaker's reaction to everything said about nature. In either case, the approximation function is preserved.

Next, let's take a closer look at the "neighbors" of PMA *vrode* in oral discourse.

There are only 153 usages in the user subcorpus (35.5%) with the extension of the marker structure at the expense of "neighbors", which can be to the left of the marker (26.1%: *nu **vrode**, vot **vrode**,* etc.), to the right of the marker (60.1%: ***vrode** kak,* ***vrode** vse,* etc.), as well as from both sides at once (13.7%: *nu **vrode** togo chto*, etc.).

Of the left-wing contextual "neighbors" of the marker, the most frequent *vrode* is the particle nu (26.2%)*,* the PM-metacommunicative *da* (14.8%) (see about it (*Pragmatic markers...* 2021: 159-167)) and PM *vot* (11.5%) (see about him (*id.:* 91-109)); the most frequent "neighbors" on the right are the particle *kak* (55.8%), various hedges (8.0%) and PMA *kak by* (7.1%) (see about him (*id.* 2021: 210-214)), cf.:

53) [Маргарита Владимировна С., жен, студентка] *Я сижу такая/ так вот в стену туплю/ такая отхожу/ потом думаю/ надо чё-то куда-то/ это самое/ как-то отвлечься – села/ прочитала/ **ну вроде**/ нормально* (УП);

54) [Ирина, жен] ***Да вроде** нормально/ да ей тут такое задание дали интересное* (УП);

55) [Н.Д., муж, политический деятель] *То есть компания/ **вроде**/ **как** ухудшает свои показатели/ а топ-менеджмент получает всё большие доходы* (УП);

56) *Но он/ **вроде**/ **где-то… где-то** подрабатывает/ но всё равно этого же мало* (УП);

57) [Ш.А.Б., муж, 73, 1890, лингвист] *Ну и помните / первое такое / ээ… такое **вроде как бы** <u>что-то</u> коллективное такое было / кода у нас был… произошла такая стихийная дискуссия по поводу аа… выставки худож… художественной* (УП);

58) *вот один из них спросил таким / *К *П так / это просто со странным немножко (...) отношением и взглядом / *П а зачем ? *П **ну вроде того что** их интересует только живая / (...) музыка // живой фольклор* (ОРД).

Together with its "neighbors" PMA *vrode* reduces the categorical nature of the utterance, performing its main, approximative, function. At the same time, its other functions in oral speech are also possible: boundary, hesitative, introduction of someone else's speech, etc. (see more (*id.* 2021:109-112)). Taking into account contextual "neighbors" can contribute to a better understanding of the PMA's behavior in everyday communication in Russian.

Other observations made during the analysis are shown below.

In dialogue, *vrode* is more common (79.4%) than in m/d and monologue.

Vrode is more common (60.2%) in the speech of men aged 45-75 years, with different professions (such as biologist, politician, linguist, scientist, etc.). This means that there is a slight correlation between the use of PMA *vrode* and the gender and age of the speaker.

The assumption that *vrode* is used more often in public speech (55.9%) turned out to be correct and is not limited to close communication with the interlocutor.

The use *vrode* is 41.8% of the user subcorpus in talks, 23.2% in conversations, and 9.7% in discussions.

The topic of conversations in which *vrode* is any: business, health, art and culture, science and technology, education, sports, privacy, etc.

The most preferable position for *vrode* is the middle of the phrase (81.2%).

A pause more often appears before *vrode* (34.3%), sometimes (13.2%) – both before and after.

Thus, PMA *vrode* is a complex multifunctional unit, the role of which can only be determined in context. As a result, the final characteristics of a word *as* a pragmatic marker are as follows: marker-approximator (A), *hesitative* (H), *boundary marker* (B), and (rarely) *xeno-marker* (C). To the functions noted in the

Dictionary of the PM, a boundary marker and a "conjugated" reflecxive-marker (R) were added.

2.1.4. ILI TAM

Significantly less frequent than those discussed above is PMA *ili tam* (rank 51 and IPM 3), but only because it is difficult to isolate it during annotation of corpus material (see for more details: *Zaides* 2021; *Pragmatic markers...* 2021: 210). This section is based on the author's article: *Xiang Yanan* 2023c).

The pragmatic marker-approximator with the meaning of approximation *ili tam* "was born", as can be assumed, from a combination of the conjunction *ili* with the colloquial particle *tam*, meaning 'for example' (not recorded in any dictionary). In the MAS, for the word *tam*, considered as PM, the closest variety of use is the use to denote approximation in some limited contexts: "In combination with pronouns and adverbs (often indefinite) are used to enhance the shade of disdain or *doubt, uncertainty* (italics mine. – *Y. X.*)" (*MAS* 1988: 337). It is the approximative function of the marker *tam* is transformed there into the function of "inaccurate" search in PMA *ili tam*: the function of filling in the *hesitative* pause in the search containing the speaker's assumption. Thus, PMA *ili tam* retains the meaning of the approximation of the nomination, but as a marker it is combined not only with pronouns and adverbs, but is also used when searching for any language unit (*Pragmatic markers...* 2021: 206).

In this paper, the dynamics of the use of *ili tam* in everyday speech was analyzed and a user subcorpus of the material was created, which included 484 contexts with the unit *ili tam*, including 139 of *ili tam* (28.7%) in the PMA function. The results of the study were as follows.

Ili tam appeared in Russian speech as a whole unit around 1927, and by 2014 there was a decline in its use (see Fig. 4).
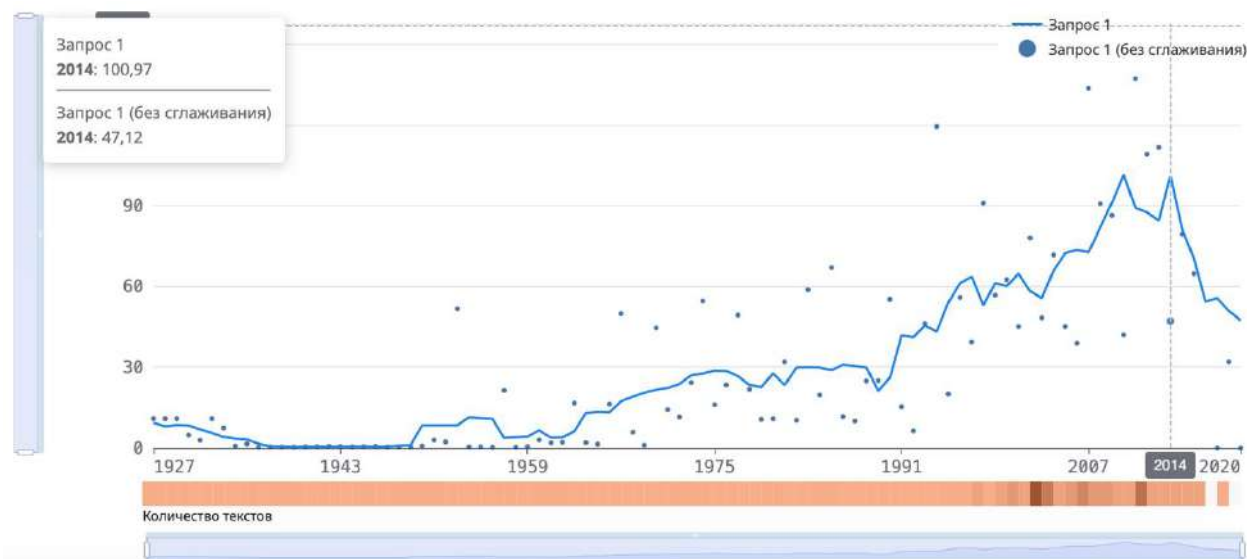
Fig. 4. Distribution of usage ILI TAM by year

Like all the considered PMAs, *ili tam* is more often used in public speech (68.3%), which is not limited to close contact with the interlocutor.

The share of uses *ili tam* in talks accounts for 33.8% of the user subcorpus, cf.:

59) [Анна Александровна (жен, товарный кассир на железнодорожной станции, пенсионер)] *И всегда все говорили/ а-а…/ **Или там** шо-нибудь это/ там шо-нибудь мама/ де-то/ босые бегаем/ это/ «ты что/ «за Антончука» хочешь?»* (УП).

The topic of conversations in which there is a marker *ili tam*, any: private life, politics and public life, science, art, culture, etc.

The most frequent "neighbors" *ili tam*: *tam*, various hedges and other PMs (*vot, da, kak by, vrode),* cf.:

60) [Таисия М., жен] *С... кашу мне/ суп **или там** чё-то ещ... ну/ всякое на обед готовит* (УП).

The most preferable position for *ili tam* is a position in the middle of a phrase (54.0%), cf.:

61) *И всегда все говорили/ а-а…/ **Или там** шо-нибудь это/ там шо-нибудь мама/ де-то/ босые бегаем/ это/ «ты что/ «за Антончука» хочешь?»* (УП).

In a dialogue *ili tam,* it occurs more often (74.8%) than in m/d and monologue.

Quite often (30.9%) there is a pause after *ili tam*.

Ili tam is more common (63.9%) in the speech of men aged 25-45 years, i.e. there is a correlation with the gender of the speaker.

On the basis of the data obtained, it is possible to construct a scale of transitivity: from the combination of the conjunction *ili* and the pronoun *tam* – to PMA (see Fig. 5).
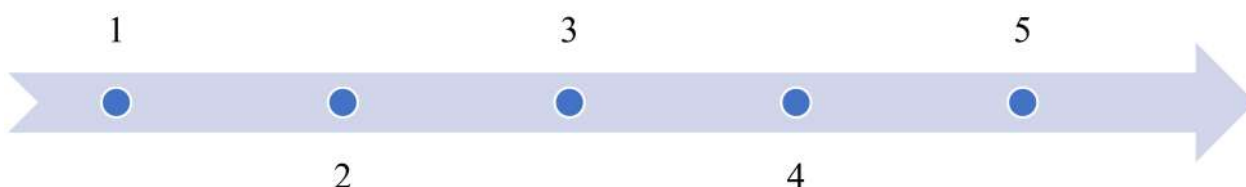
Fig. 5. Transitivity scale for the unit ILI TAM

Let's consider the relevant examples.

Point 1 – conjunction + adverb:

62) [5, муж, 46, 1958, рабочий] *Ну/ то есть/ мы **или там**/ или здесь* (УП).

Point 2 – Conjunction + introductory word + significant word:

63) [Д.В.А., муж, ученый, биолог] *Это значит/ что Homo sapiens женского пола/ они в течение многих миллионов лет/ да/ **или там** по крайней мере тысяч лет предпочитали самцов более крупных/ ну/ возможно/ даже более агрессивных* (УП).

The conjunctive means *ili* formally separates two homogeneous parts of the sentence, although the second of them is actually invented by the speaker after the pronunciation of the first. The shade of approximation (approximation) is preserved (*Pragmatic markers...* 2021: 207).

Point 3 – Conjunction + introductory word + hedge:

64) [Таисия М., жен] *С... кашу мне/ суп **или там** чё-то ещ... ну/ всякое на обед готовит* (УП).

In the context *ili tam* is used with an indefinite pronoun, in which a shade of inaccurate meaning is additionally manifested.

Point 4 – Intermediate stage:

65) [Анна Александровна (жен, товарный кассир на железнодорожной станции, пенсионер)] *И всегда все говорили/ а-а.../ **Или там** шо-нибудь*

это/ там <u>шо-нибудь</u> мама/ <u>де-то</u>/ босые бегаем/ это/ «ты что/ «за Антончука» хочешь?» (УП).

There are, however, difficult cases that cannot be unambiguously identified: we have before us both a hesitative marker and a hedge (marker-approximator).

Point 5 – Almost PM, although there is a conjunction (hesitative):

66) [Д.В.А., муж, ученый, биолог] *То есть происходит разделение некой доступной территории на участки/ и на каждом участке/ <u>например</u>/ живёт один тигр/ **или там**/ <u>например</u>/ семья волков/ или <u>например</u> там стая гиен* (УП).

The hesitative function of the marker is more pronounced in contexts when the word or phrase is searched for by the informant in the course of speech generation, and not invented in advance. In contexts with *ili tam*, there may also be breaks and rearrangements of phrases, filled and unfilled pauses of hesitation, as well as other pragmatic markers (*da, skazhem*), next *to ili tam* it also performs a hesitative function (*Pragmatic markers...* 2021: 208).

Ili tam is also able to occur many times in one statement and be embedded in the PM chains, cf.:

67) [В.Г.Б., муж, 57, 1955, ученый] *Ящики не нашли/ ну **или там** они как-то уничтожились/ да/ но ты видишь развал осколков/ ты видишь/ какие массы куда улетели/ с какой… значит ты восстанавливаешь по баллистике/ на какой высоте где что было/ и с хорошей вероятностью можешь предположить/ был ли там взрыв/ **или там** турбулентность/ или ещё что-то* (УП).

Thus, the frequency of use does not allow us to consider the unit in question as an ordinary combination of "dictionary" *ili* and *tam*. The final characteristic of the marker *ili tam*, according to the results of the analysis, can be as follows: marker-*approximator* (A), *hesitative* (H) and *boundary marker* (B), which fully corresponds to the data of the PM Dictionary.

2.1.5. V SVOEM RODE

This section is based on the article by the author: *Xiang Yanan* 2024d.

According to the MAS definition, a kind of unit *v svoem rode* means 'from a certain point of view' (*MAS* 1984: 121). This is a stable combination that means 'in a certain sense, relationship (often with the words *zamechatelnyy, edinstvennyy*)'.

In the SS there were only 33 examples with the unit *v svoem rode*, including quite a lot (42.4%) of "dictionary" uses of the expression under study, cf.:

68) [Р.К.С. (муж, фармаколог)] *Она была **в своём роде** <u>замечательный</u> человек/ потому что она была/ по-видимому/ очень способный человек* (УП);

69) [М.М.В. (муж, биолог-ихтиолог)] [Смех] *Аа я/ по-моему/ даже снялся в галстуке – тоже <u>единственная</u> **в своём роде** фотография* (УП).

Consequently, "dictionary" uses can be considered in which the meaning recorded in dictionaries is emphasized by a combination with evaluative adjectives *edinstvennyy, unikalnyy, zamechatelnyy, nepovtorimyy, neplokhoy,* etc. (underlined in contexts). It is this high score that is reduced (softened) with the help of unit *v svoem rode.*

However, other uses in which the studied expression *v svoem rode* functions in different pragmatic meanings are more interesting. In addition to "dictionary", the rest of the "non-dictionary" uses (57.6%) go slightly beyond the "dictionary" and expand the range of meanings (functions) of the unit under study. They can be divided into 3 groups.

The first group of uses is also combined with evaluative units: *kustarnyy promysel, udovolstvie videt vas, tiran, ochen velikiy chelovek, neplokhoy khozyain, spektakl (peren.), tonkiy (*in meaning 'refined, sophisticated' – *MAS* 1988: 380), geroy, udivlen* and *voskhishchen.* Here the expression *v svoem rode* reduces the categorical nature of both high appreciation (*udovolstvie videt vas, velikiy chelovek, neplokhoy khozyain, tonkiy, udivlen i voskhishchen*) and low (*kustarnyy promysel, spektakl (peren.), tiran*), cf.:

70) [№ 7, муж, 30, 1973, рабочий] *Вы знаете/ в чем-то очень интересно/ потому что это был **в своем роде** <u>очень великий человек</u>/ потому что он за собой столько народу повел/ об этом стоит/ да/ думать и знать/ что это за человек* (УП);

71) [С.К., муж, 31, 1967, музыкант|поэт] *Это человек достаточно ироничный и... **в/ своём роде**/ <u>тонкий</u>* (УП);

72) [№ 8, муж, 25, 1976, преподаватель] *Конечно/ тяжело понять человека/ попавшего в такую ситуацию/ но зачем тратить огромные*

*средства на поднятие? Устраивать **в своем роде** <u>спектакль</u>? Эти деньги могли спасти еще многих людей* (УП).

In context (70), the speaker explains why *what he is talking about* is interesting by means of an expression *v svoem rode* and a hedge *v chem-to*. *The hedging strategy*, as noted above, involves the speaker's use of words (units) of a "cautious" modality – indefinite pronouns or adverbs – as well as introductory words expressing the speaker's uncertainty (*kakoy-nibud, veroyatno, gde-to*). Hedges "implicitly imply ambiguity, their function is to make things appear more or less unclear" (*Lakoff* 1973: 471), thereby reducing the overall categorical nature of the statement. In oral speech, PMA and hedges jointly implement a hedging strategy that "performs a protective and euphemistic function <... > by presenting objects and phenomena as fuzzy and ambiguous" (*Pastukhova* 2019: 10). In this context, the use of an expression *v svoem rode* and a hedge *v chem-to* helps to reduce the categorical (high assessment) of the speaker.

In context (71), the speaker searches for a suitable word to characterize a person and uses a marker *v svoem rode* of role as both an exploratory hesitative and a so-called "anticipatory" reflexive, with the help of which he seems to prepare the listener for the definition that he is about to pronounce (cf. *Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2023b). The search function of the expression under study is also supported here by punctuation: with an ellipsis before the marker and the resulting word *tonkiy*[23].

According to the MAS definition, the word *spektakl* means 'theatrical performance; *razg.* about some interesting spectacle, incident, etc.' (*MAS* 1984: 219). At the same time, in the context of (72) this word is used in the figurative meaning of 'a funny, entertaining spectacle', which is often realized in combination with the verb to *ustraivat*. Here expression *v svoem rode* helps the speaker to reduce the categorical nature of the low evaluation in his speech.

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[23] *Ellipsis* as a punctuation mark, in addition to interruption of speech, incompleteness of a statement or omission in the text (*MAS* 1986: 283), is also capable of expressing a pause associated with uncertainty or *choice of word* (see: (*Sidorova* 2005; *Basalaeva, Shpilman* 2015)). This feature of written speech also influences researchers who present transcripts (discursive transcription) of oral speech material in corpora.

From the above examples it can be seen that the expression *v svoem rode* is in the phrase before the evaluative structures, and can be combined with different parts of speech (both adjectives and nouns) and word combinations.

The second group of uses *v svoem rode* is without semantics of evaluation: *napravlenie raboty, vtoraya malaya rodina, smes, shagi, ultimatum, knyazhna, zanyatie, preprovozhdenie vremeni, razvlechenie, momenty protivostoyaniya, imennoe oruzhie.* The lexical ("dictionary") meaning of the reduction of categoricality "goes away", only the function of uncertainty remains. A pragmatic marker-approximator begins to "be born", cf.:

73) [Г.Е.П., муж, священник] *Но дело в том/ что когда мы говорим о крещении/ а я напоминаю/ что для нас это важно/ поскольку мы сейчас проводим вот такие аналогии/ аа ну/ если позволите/ между таинствами и Шагами/ потому что таинства – это тоже определённые Шаги **в своём роде** аа внутри церкви/ да/ христианской жизни* (УП);

74) [Следователь (О. Басилашвили, муж, 43, 1934)] *Для них это/ **в своём роде**/ занятие/ препровождение времени/ развлечение/ что ли* (УП);

75) [1, муж, 53, 1950, рабочий] *Да нет/ мне кажется/ это в какой-то мере даже направление работы правительства/ **в своём роде*** (УП).

In context (73) the expression *v svoem rode* follows the adjective *opredelennye,* which, in addition to the most typical meaning 'clear, distinct', also means 'this or that, some' (*MAS* 1984: 629), i.e. it also conveys uncertainty (is a hedge). At the same time, vocalizations (aa) are used in speech, indicating the speaker's hesitation. Unit *v svoem rode* turns out to be "surrounded" by such hesitation phenomena, as if "drawn" into hesitation, which in this case also provides it with the status of a hesitation (cf.: *Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2024a).

In context (74), the marker *v svoem rode* also expresses an approximation supported by a particle *chto li*[24]. In context (75), the speaker expresses his opinion using a marker *v svoem rode* and a series of hedges (*kazhetsya, kakoy-to*). Here*, v svoem rode,* it is at the end of the phrase, performing the additional function of a

_____

[24] Cf. the lexicographic characteristics of the unit *chto li (l)*: "(in the meaning of an introductory word) – used to express doubt, uncertainty, motivation, etc." (*MAS* 1988: 686).

boundary marker of the ending (*Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2021: 29). In this group, the expression *v svoem rode* is combined only with nouns and substantive phrases.

In the third group of uses, semantics is not even thought of *v svoem rode*, only the function of approximation remains. In the singular context (76) the expression *v svoem rode* is combined with the verb *pomogla*. We can say that here a pure pragmatic marker-approximator is "born", cf.:

76) [№ 1, жен, 34, 1967, экономист] *Во время войны эта дисциплина тоже* ***в своем роде*** <u>*помогла*</u> (УП).

In this context, the expression *v svoem rode* no longer has a lexical meaning (it should be noted that the ability of this expression to grammatical inflection and, accordingly, the grammatical meanings of its components, were lost by it at the stage of formation of a stable "dictionary" unit – as a result of the process of *idiomatization*, which is also very active in Russian oral discourse), but only helps the speaker to express his uncertainty and relieve himself of responsibility for what he said.

Thus, for the expression *v svoem rode,* it is possible to build a kind of *pragmaticalization scale*, which shows first the weakening, and then the loss of the lexical meaning of this expression and the appearance of a marker-approximator (see Fig. 6).
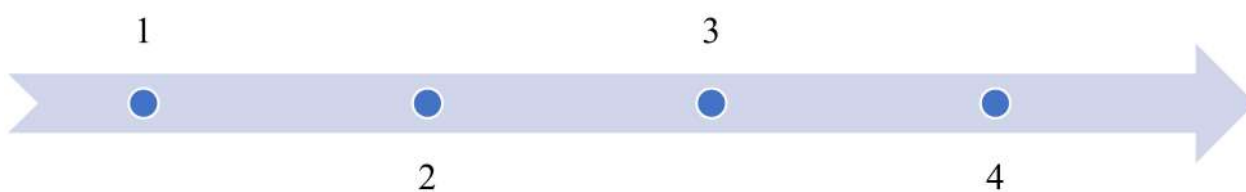
Fig. 6. Pragmaticalization scale for the unit V SVOEM RODE

Point 1 – the unit *v svoem rode* has a pure "dictionary" meaning ('from a certain point of view'), softens the categorically high assessment and is combined with evaluative adjectives: <u>*edinstvennyy v svoem rode, unikalnyy v svoem rode, pervyy v svoem rode, luchshiy v svoem rode*</u>, etc.

Point 2 – the unit *v svoem rode* softens the categorical nature of both high and low evaluation, is combined mainly with nouns or substantive phrases, cf.:

high evaluation: *v svoem rode <u>udovolstvie videt vas</u>, v svoem rode <u>ochen velikiy chelovek</u>, v svoem rode <u>geroy</u>*;

Low evaluation: *v svoem rode <u>kustarnyy promysel</u>, v svoem rode nemnogo <u>tiran</u>*[25]*, ustraivat v svoem rode <u>spektakl</u>*.

Point 3 – the unit *v svoem rode* is combined with words without the semantics of evaluation. There is no categoricality, there is nothing to reduce, i.e. the lexical meaning "leaves", only the function of indeterminacy (approximation) remains. A pragmatic marker-approximator begins to "appear": *v svoem rode/ <u>zanyatie/ preprovozhdenie vremeni/ razvlechenie</u>, v svoem rode moe <u>imennoe oruzhie</u>, v svoem rode <u>knyazhna</u>*.

Point 4 – the semantics of the unit *v svoem rode* is not even conceivable, only the function of approximation remains. In the only context of this type found in the SS, the unit *v svoem rode* is combined with the verb: *tozhe v svoem rode <u>pomogla</u>*. Here the expression *v svoem rode* has already turned into a "pure" PMA.

The conducted analysis showed that the uncertainty marker *v svoem rode* is, in its own way, quite active in Russian everyday oral speech. In the spoken subcorpus of the RNC, 57.6% of the uses of the unit under study go beyond the "dictionary" meanings and expand the range of its functional capabilities: pragmatic meanings of approximation, hesitation, reflection and marking of the final statement/remark. The lexical and grammatical meaning of this expression in oral use is first weakened and then completely lost, and is replaced by a pragmatic meaning that is not described in any dictionaries. Thus, *v svoem rode* can be considered as a potential pragmatic marker-approximator, which may become the basis for the inclusion of this language unit in the PM dictionary[26].

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[25] The adverb *nemnogo*, which in its lexicographic characteristics also has the meaning 'to some extent, slightly' (*MAS* 1986: 455), acts as an "assistant" of the expression *v svoem rode* of softening the low assessment contained in the word *tiran* ('one who torments, oppresses someone' – *MAS* 1988: 366).

[26] It should be noted, however, that the unit under study is very close to the unit of *svoego roda* described by N.V. Bogdanova-Beglarian: it also "occupies, as it were, (*svoego roda*) (here and further in the quotation, the author's italics. – Y. X.) an intermediate position between significant units of language and lexically empty, purely pragmatic

2.1.6. V NEKOTOROM RODE

This section is based on the article by the author: *Xiang Yanan* 2025.

As defined by the MAS, the unit *v nekotorom rode* means 'somewhat, several' (*MAS* 1984: 722-723). It is used to indicate an incomplete correspondence with something or to describe a situation that is partially true or applicable.

In the SS, there were only 48 contexts containing this unit, in which there are quite a lot (56.3%) of "dictionary" usage, cf.:

77) [Василий Иваныч (В. Невинный, муж, 43, 1934)] *Прошу покорно извинить/ ваше превосходительство/ что отнял время/* ***в некотором роде****/ драгоценное для отечества* (УП).

In dictionary usage, the expression *v nekotorom rode* combined with evaluative words: adjectives (*khoroshenkie, svyatoe*), adverbs (*estestvenno, sovershenno*), nouns (*povyshenie, neudovolstvie*), substantive phrases (*temnaya loshadka, bezvozdushnoe prostranstvo*). In such usage, the unit *v nekotorom rode* reduces the categorical assessment expressed by the speaker.

More interesting, however, are the contexts in which the expression *v nekotorom rode* functions in one or another pragmatic meaning. Such uses (43.7%) go beyond the fixed lexical meaning of the unit under study and expand its pragmatic functionality.

The first group of uses *v nekotorom rode* already devoid of the semantics of evaluation: *raneniya, pensioner, moy rodstvennik, vash zemlyak*. The lexical ("dictionary") meaning of the decrease in categoricality "disappears", only the function of uncertainty remains. The PMA begins to be "born", cf.:

78) [Фома Брыль (М. Светин, муж, 52, 1930)] *Ну это что/ это тоже/ наверное/ тёзка/* ***в некотором роде*** (УП).

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units of oral discourse ("parasite words", or pragmatic markers). *Svoego roda* (let us add: and *v svoem rode*. – Y. X.) cannot be unambiguously attributed to the class of PM, since this expression is used not only in oral but also in written speech, and also has lexicographic fixation. The phrase *svoego roda* (let us add: and *v svoem rode*. – Y. X.) is similar to pragmatic markers in its unconsciousness, automatism of use by the speaker, as well as verbalization of some of his difficulties in the course of speech production or reaction to this speech production itself. It seems that this is a "parasite word" of intelligent speech: in a similar situation, a speaker with a lower level of speech culture (speech competence) would rather use the marker *tipa* or *kak by* (*Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2023b: 106). It seems that everything that N.V. Bogdanova-Beglarian said about the unit of *svoego roda* can be successfully applied to the unit of *v svoem rode* studied in this work.

In the second group of usages *v nekotorom rode* combined mainly with verbs (*provesti, nayti*), here there is no question of evaluation, only the function of approximation remains: pure PMA is "born", cf.:

79) [Анна Борисовна (А. Фрейндлих, жен, 70, 1934)] *Значит/ у Пети когда-то **в некотором роде**/ скажем так/ была жена* (УП).

It is even possible to construct a kind of *pragmaticalization scale* for expression *v nekotorom rode*, which indicates a weakening of the lexical meaning of the unit under study, followed by the loss of this meaning and the "birth" of a pragmatic marker-approximator (see Fig. 7).
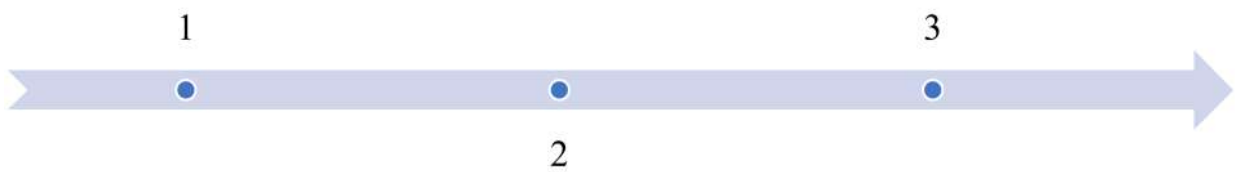
Fig. 7. Pragmaticization scale for the unit V NEKOTOROM RODE

Point 1 – the unit *v nekotorom rode* has a purely "dictionary" meaning ('to some extent, several'), reducing in its use the categorical nature of the evaluations expressed by the speaker, and combining it with evaluative adjectives (*vydayushchiysya, dragotsennoe*)*,* adverbs (*deystvitelno, estestvenno*), nouns (*vlast, edinolichnik*)*,* substantive phrases (*temnaya loshadka, bezvozdushnoe prostranstvo*).

Point 2 – the unit *v nekotorom rode* combined with words that do not have evaluative semantics. There is no categoricality and nothing to reduce here. In other words, the lexical meaning "disappears", only the function of uncertainty (approximation) remains. PMA begins to "be born": *v nekotorom rode <u>raneniya</u>, v nekotorom rode <u>pensioner</u>, <u>tezka</u>/ v nekotorom rode, v nekotorom rode/ moy <u>rodstvennik</u>.*

Point 3 – the semantics of the unit *v nekotorom rode* is not taken into account, only its approximation function remains. In this case, this unit is mainly combined with verbs: *v nekotorom rode <u>imeyu</u> otnoshenie, v nekotorom rode <u>naydem</u> zamenu.* Here the expression *v nekotorom rode* is already pure PMA.

The analysis shows that the marker of uncertainty *v nekotorom rode* is especially active in Russian everyday speech. In the spoken subcorpus of the RNC, 43.7% of the uses of the studied unit go beyond the "dictionary" meaning of this unit and expand the range of their pragmatic functional capabilities: approximation, hesitation, reflection and marking of the final statement. The lexical meaning of this expression, used in spoken speech, is completely lost, replaced by a pragmatic meaning that is not noted in any dictionaries. Thus, in some way, it can be considered as a potential PMA and serve as a basis for including this unit in the PM vocabulary.

2.1.7. KAK BUDTO (BY)

This section is based on article by *Xiang Yanan* 2024d.

In terms of functional status, the unit *kak budto (by)* is close to the pragmatic markers-approximators that the speaker uses to express his uncertainty.

According to the MAS definition, the unit *kak budto (by)* is a colloquial particle that "indicates uncertainty, presumptive proposition, doubt about its validity: 'kazhetsya'"(*MAS* 1984: 121). From this definition alone, it is clear that we are indeed dealing with an approximator, synonymous with the other PMA described above.

The user subcorpus of this part of this study includes 60 contexts with the unit *kak budto (by)* as an approximator from the RNC SS. The analysis showed that most often this unit appears in the middle or at the beginning of a phrase (46.7 and 43.3%, respectively) (see Fig. 8).
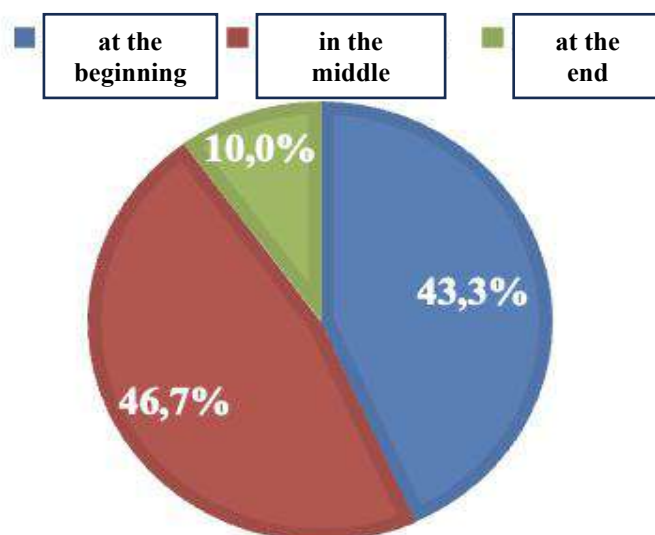
Fig. 8. Position KAK BUDTO (BY) in the phrase

A typical position *kak budto (by)* is between the subject and the predicate (75.0%), less often between the predicate and the object (7.1%) (all underlined), cf.:

80) [№ 1, жен, 61, 1940, преподаватель] *Неделю не выходили на работу всё только потому/ что всё уже* **как будто** *убрано/ и отчиталось домоуправление/ а канализационный люк был забит/ ливневка вот эта/ вернее/ была забита* (УП);

81) [М.О.В. (жен, кандидат культурологии, доцент кафедры культурологии и социальной коммуникации РАНХиГС)] *Забавно/ что все эти рекомендации исследователей опираются на очень важное допущение/ что необходимо выработать какую-то новую культуру взаимодействия с этими субъектами – с троллями/ потому что не существует* **как будто бы** *никакого офлайн-аналога такого поведения* (УП).

In context (80), the speaker is not completely sure that *всё убрано*, and uses the marker *kak budto (by)* to express this uncertainty.

In context (81), the speaker is also unable to express his opinion confidently and by using *kak budto (by)* to express his uncertainty about the object of the action, thus relieving himself of responsibility for what has been said. It can be seen that in these examples *kak budto (by)* performs the function of approximation.

In the user subcorpus of this part of this study, there are also examples in which *kak budto (by)* is at the beginning or at the end of a phrase (see Fig. 8), performing an additional function of a boundary marker, cf.:

82) [М.В.Г., жен, 83, 1925, лингвист] *До конца убедительных данных у меня нет. **Как будто бы** всё-таки звонкий! Наталья Дмитриевна/ по-Вашему?* (УП);

83) [А.З., муж, 75, 1935, ученый] *Всё равно же это нам ничего не даёт **как будто бы*** (УП).

In context (82), the speaker has *no convincing data,* she doubts her sound sensations and expresses this with the help of a starting marker *kak budto (by)*.

In context (83), the speaker seems to express his point of view quite decisively, but at the end he still adds *kak budto (by)* as a final marker, in order to reduce the categorical nature of the expressed opinion. In both examples*, kak budto (by)* plays the role of a boundary marker, in which there is also a shade of approximation.

In the user subcorpus, there were 32 usages (53.3 % of the total) *kak budto (by)* with a variety of contextual "neighbors". Recall that "neighbors" do not mean any units next to the marker, but only *hedges,* other PMs or particles that can be considered as extensions of the basic structure. They can be to the left of the marker (31,3 %: ***vot** kak budto (by),* ***vrode** kak budto (by)*, etc.), to the right of the marker (46.9%: *kak budto (by)* ***tam**, kak budto (by)* ***takoy***, etc.), as well as from both sides at once (21.9%: ***tipa** kak budto (by)* ***tam***, etc.). Of the left-based contextual "neighbors" of the marker *kak budto (by)*, the most frequent are PMA *kak by* (20.0%) and PM *vot* (20.0%); the most frequent "neighbors" on the right are various hedges (29.4%), PM *vot* (23.5%) and PM *tam* (17.6%) (see Fig. 9-10).
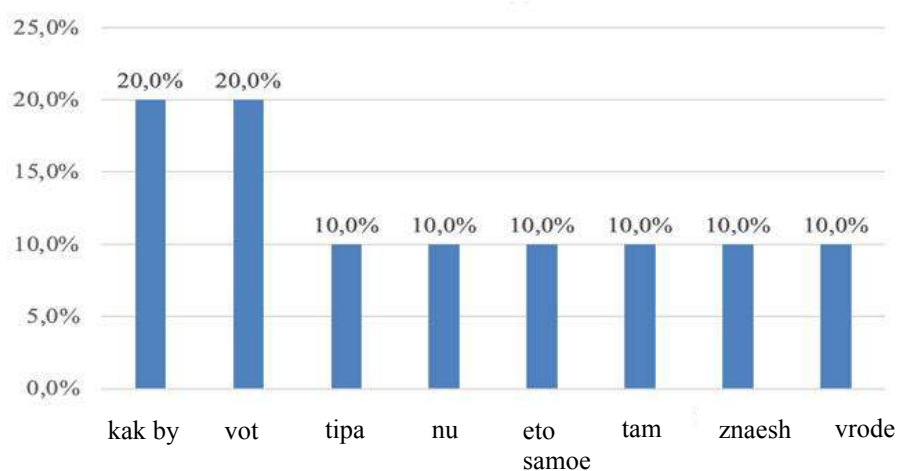
Fig. 9. Left-Contextual "Neighbors" KAK BUDTO (BY)
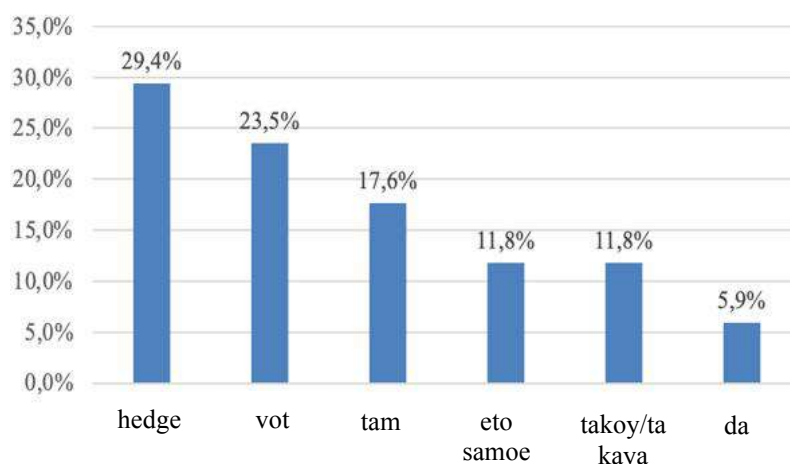
Fig. 10. Right-Contextual "neighbors" KAK BUDTO (BY)

Let's consider the relevant examples:

84) [Ирина, жен] *Пошла/ посмотрела и поняла/ что это **как бы/ как будто** пуля* (УП);

85) [Собеседница1, жен] *Потом ещё сказал/ что/ вроде/ у него контры с начальством/ в этом тоже **вроде как будто** я виновата* (УП);

86) [Ира, жен] *Я не знаю… была просто такая машина/ с виду она/ **как будто такая**/ в траве вся/ то есть трава/ заросшая машиной такая…* (УП);

87) [Валентина Васильевна Х., жен, медсестра] [Смех]. *Эти чё-то сегодня прям **как будто/ эт самое**… Ди… а он… а он ещё мне говорит/ «Да нет/ чё-то/ – гт/ – они там… чё-то/ – гт/ – там они готовят»* (УП);

88) [Надежда Васильевна Г., жен, пенсионерка] ***Как будто какая-то** лишняя/ ну/ неприятность и всё* (УП).

In context (84), the speaker did not really *understand*, so she uses the PMA *kak by* and the marker *kak budto (by)*, they together reinforce the vagueness of her utterance.

In context (85), by means of a combination of PMA *vrode* and the marker *kak budto (by)*, the speaker is trying to signal to the interlocutors that her statement may be unreliable.

In context (86), the speaker wants to find a more appropriate synonym for the word *God* and, in order to "buy time" for the search, uses pragmatic markers *da* and *tam* (see about them: *Pragmatic markers...* 2021: 125-130, 312-315).

In context (87), the speaker is completely "immersed" in hesitation: with the help of markers *kak budto*, *eto samoe* and numerous hesitation pauses, he

verbalizes the search for the right word. It is clear that the speaker's speech is built with great difficulty, he cannot immediately choose the correct speech design for his thought. In these examples, the marker *kak budto (by)* performs a hesitation function, accompanying the function of approximation.

In context (88), the speaker uses hedge (*kakaya-to*), which is a frequent "neighbor" of the marker *kak budto (by)* in Russian everyday speech.

Examples with PM chains of different lengths were also found in the subcorpus, cf.:

89) ***вот как бы как будто бы такой*** *// она обо что-то будет цепляться и так* (ОРД);

90) *ну вот(:) / *П и он значит каждый раз восхищается / как подогнано / но (...) знаешь / действительно подогнано так / что () дырок нету нигде /* ***вот () как будто вот (...) прям*** *...* (ОРД);

91) [Хадижа, жен, студентка] *Короче/ ну* ***там****/* ***типа****/ когда копы выступали/ они* ***там*** *пели/* ***там*** *все им подпевали и... ну они как бы ещё какие-то самые маленькие отрывочки* ***там*** *аа разыгрывали из своих сцен и/* ***типа/ там****...* ***типа/ как будто там*** *умер один из копов/ и они такие/ знаешь/* ***там*** *...* (УП).

In context (89), the speaker's remark begins with a chain of PMs of various types. Here we can apparently speak of hesitation, approximation, and the boundary function of the units used. In context (90) *kak budto* is built into the deictic structure *vot (...) vot*, which in everyday speech exists exclusively as a standard model, which is filled with a new unit each time[27].

In context (91), the speaker uses a variety of different PMs, including the hesitational chain *tipa/ tam... tipa/ kak budto tam*, including *kak budto*.

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[27] In this case, the filling of this structure used by the speaker is somewhat different from the traditional one, which is considered to be the addition of a third deictic element to this model: *vot **tak** vot, vot **tuda** vot, vot **takoy** vot*. (*Pragmatic markers...* 2021: 109-112). The element *kak budto* cannot be classified as demonstrative (deictic), its undoubted approximatively hesitation character is supported in this context by a number of hesitations and hesitation pauses, as well as by the particle *pryam*, which does not allow this chain to be given an unambiguous interpretation. See, however, similar observations by E.V. Erofeeva on the variants of filling the model *vot (...) vot*, among which there are even elements of the predicative type. In general, the construction that the author designated as <vot + X + vot> "can perform <...> hesitation (with and without search), navigational/guiding, rhythm-forming functions, as well as the function of syntagmatic division (pre-pause and post-pause) and final marker" (*Erofeeva* 2024: 1162).

It can be seen that *kak budto (by) in* colloquial speech often appears next to other markers and is included in various chains, demonstrating its obvious polyfunctionality.

This marker can occur repeatedly in one, even quite short, statement. And next to it you can see many other "neighbors" acting in various functions, cf.:

92) [Володя, муж] *Я их знаю с армейских времён. Это **как будто бы** такие же солдаты – <…> **как будто бы*** (УП);

93) [Анжела (жен)] *Гарик там наш был/ Валера там был/ там такие грит эти/ ночью/ **как будто** кто-то смеётся/ разговаривает/ **как будто** вот эти вот…/ Откуда-то вот…* (УП).

Speech is the result of the interaction of the speaker and the objective world in the process of linguistic thinking, it is subject to the influence of a number of factors. The meaning of uncertainty for the unit *kak budto (by)* fixed in the dictionary, moreover, it is used not only in oral, but also in written speech, so it cannot be unambiguously attributed to the class of pragmatic markers, but only its undoubted approximative nature can be recognized. Examples given in this section demonstrate the polyfunctionality of the expression *kak budto (by):* in almost all contexts, this unit acts as an approximator, but sometimes it also performs the function of a hesitative, a boundary marker, etc. It can be said that the unit *kak budto (by)* occupies an intermediate position between the significant units of language and the purely pragmatic units of Russian oral speech.

2.1.8. Conclusions on the section

Kak by, tipa, vrode, ili tam as typical pragmatic markers-approximators, as well as *v svoem rode* and *v nekotorom rode* as potential PMA and *kak budto (by)* as a potential marker-approximator are actively functioning in Russian everyday speech.

Section 2 of this chapter provides a multidimensional analysis of typical PMA of Russian everyday speech, such as *the type of speech*, *the type of communication*, *the topic of conversation*, *the linguistic analysis of the "neighbors" in the context*, *the position in the phrase*, *the forms of speech (monologue or dialogue)*, *the presence of pauses in the transcripts*, the *character of the speaker*

(*gender, age, profession,* etc.), *functioning*, etc. For a generalization of these data, see Table 1-4.

Table 1

Results of multidimensional analysis of the marker KAK BY

№	Aspects of analysis		%
1	type of speech	public	55,0
		non-public	44,8
		etc.	0,2
2	type of communication	conversation, discussion, talk, etc.	
3	topic of conversation	private life, politics and public life, science, sports, art and culture, etc.	
4	"neighbors"	various hedges, other PMs (*tam, vot ... vot, da, tipa, znaesh, vidish, sobstvenno*)	
5	position in the phrase	beginning	7,4
		middle	88,3
		end	4,3
6	forms of speech	dialogue	74,5
		m/d	21,2
		monologue	4,3
7	presence of pauses in transcripts	before	17,3

Continuation of table 1

			between	0
			after	11,9
		both before and after		3,2
8	characteristics of the speaker	gender, age, profession	woman	52,7 (45-60 years old, various professions)
			man	47,3
9	functions	approximative, hesitative, boundary, xeno-marker		

Table 2

Results of multidimensional analysis of the marker TIPA

№	Aspects of analysis		%
1	type of speech	public	43,7
		non-public	56,3
		etc.	0,6
2	type of communication	conversation, talk, lecture, etc.	
3	topic of conversation	art and culture, science and technology, politics and public life, sports, privacy, etc.	

№				
4	"neighbors"	various hedges, other PMs (*tam, takoy, vot, kak by, tak, znaesh*)		
5	position in the phrase	beginning		9,6
		middle		83,1
		end		7,8
6	forms of speech	dialogue		73,8
		m/d		19,3
		monologue		7,5
7	presence of pauses in transcripts	before		26,8
		between		
		after		25,6
		both before and after		9,9
8	characteristics of the speaker	gender, age, profession	woman	56,6 (18-25 years old, among students – 61.7%)
			man	43,4
9	functions	approximative, hesitative, xeno-marker, boundary, rhythm-forming		

Table 3

Results of multidimensional analysis of the marker VRODE

№	Aspects of analysis			%
1	type of speech	public		55,9
		non-public		43,6
		etc.		0,5
2	type of communication	conversation, talk, discussion, etc.		
3	topic of conversation	business, health, art and culture, science and technology, education, sports, privacy, etc.		
4	linguistic analysis of "neighbors"	various hedges, other PMs (*vot, vse, da, kak by*), the particle *kak*		
5	position in the phrase	beginning		11,6
		middle		81,2
		end		7,2
6	forms of speech	dialogue		79,4
		m/d		15,5
		monologue		5,1
7	presence of pauses in transcripts	before		34,3
		between		
		after		18,8
		both before and after		13,2
8	characteristics of the speaker	gender, age, profession	woman	39,8
			man	60,2

				(45-75 years old, various professions)
9	functions		approximative, hesitative, boundary, xeno-marker	

Table 4

Results of multidimensional marker analysis ILI TAM

№	Aspects of analysis		%
1	type of speech	public	68,3
		non-public	30,9
		etc.	0,7
2	type of communication	conversation, lecture, talk, etc.	
3	topic of conversation	private life, politics and public life, science, art, culture, etc.	
4	linguistic analysis of "neighbors"	various hedges, other pms (*tam, vot, da, kak by, vrode*)	
5	position in the phrase	beginning	43,2
		middle	54,0

Continuation of table 4

		end		2,9
6	forms of speech	dialogue		74,8
		m/d		18,0
		monologue		7,2
7	presence of pauses in transcripts	before		25,2
		between		15,8
		after		30,9
		both before and after		9,4
8	characteristics of the speaker	gender, age, profession	woman	36,1
			man	63,9 (25-45 years old, various professions)
9	functions	approximative, hesitative, boundary		

Language is in a state of constant development. New functional units appear in speech, which differ in many ways from the lexicon of the language (*Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2023b: 102), but their pragmatic meaning is often not recorded in any dictionary. In this section of the work, in addition to the typical and basic pragmatic markers *kak by, tipa, vrode* and *ili tam*, included in the

Dictionary PM, potential PMA *v svoem rode* and *v nekotorom rode*, as well as a potential marker-approximator *kak bydto (by)* were described.

The analysis made it possible to draw a number of conclusions.

Thus, in all the examples, it can be seen that a multitude of hedges often accompany approximation and "cooperate" with the PMA in expressing uncertainty, as well as with other PMs that indicate the speaker's difficulties. In oral discourse, the PMA and hedges jointly implement *hedging strategy* that "performs a protective and euphemistic function <... > by presenting objects and phenomena as fuzzy and ambiguous" (*Pastukhova* 2019). Hedges and markers-approximator can be said to mutually reinforce the speaker's uncertainty about what he is talking about. Units that implement hedging strategies often act as multifunctional, i.e., they implement, in addition to the approximative function, also the function of hesitation, text navigator, xeno-marker or rhythm-forming. The shade of approximation (fuzziness) is preserved in all cases. Other PMs often help to implement these functions, forming a variety of pragmatic chains in speech.

An interesting question is why people so often use the strategy of ambiguity in oral communication. There are many studies *of evasiveness* in scientific texts, where it is simply good form (*Markkaren* 1997), P. Brown and S. Levinson point to its connection with *politeness* (*Brown, Levinson* 1987), but rather in imperatives and commissions[28], rather than in statements. On the contrary, vagueness in statements violates P. Grice's *principle of cooperation* (Grice 1985), which, however, sometimes brings a certain benefit to the speaker or the entire group of communicants. It can be considered that vagueness of expression are a common feature of everyday speech. A non-categorical statement is informative enough to continue communication (*Sadock* 1977), but at the same time a comfortable situation is maintained, in which neither the speaker nor the interlocutor needs to concentrate on the spoken word. Everyday conversations take place as if we are

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[28] *Komissivy* - speech acts (SA) obligations, promises (*obeshchayu, klyanus, dayu slovo*), see the typology of SA, for example: *Austin* 1986: 119; *Serl* 1986: 182.

always in a sphere of uncertainty. The next section will describe the correlation of the expression of uncertainty and vagueness with speech forms..

2.2. Pragmatic markers-approximators in dialogue and monologue: comparative analysis

Dialogical speech and monologue speech are ways of linguistic expression, but have different characteristics and scenarios of application. Dialogue is communication between two or more people, each of whom has his own part of speech, while monologue is the narration of one person without the participation of others (for more information on the forms of oral speech, see Section 1.1.4 of this study). Pragmatic markers-approximators show the speaker's uncertainty about what he is talking about. Their functioning in dialogue and monologue is studied in this section, which is based on the author's article: *Xiang Yanan* 2024f.

2.2.1. Comparative analysis of the material

The source of the *material* for the analysis was the corpus of everyday Russian speech "One Speech Day" (ORD), which presents mainly dialogue, and the corpus of Russian monologue speech "Balanced Annotated Text Library" (SAT) (a block of lawyers' speech), where only a monologue is presented.

The user subcorpus of this study includes 123 uses of the PMA *tipa, kak by, vrode, ili tam* from the dialogues of the ORD, and 54 uses of the same units from 12 monologues of lawyers from the SAT corpus (on the topic of spending free time).

The pilot analysis showed that the main functions of PMA in dialogue and monologue can be recognized as *approximation* (reducing the categorical nature of the speaker's statements) (100.0% in both types of speech, i.e. all 123 uses of PMA from dialogues and all 54 uses of PMA from monologues) and *hesitation* (overcoming speech fluctuations and shaping speech search) (25.2% of 123 uses in dialogues and 25.9% of 54 uses in monologues). In a small number of uses (15.4 and 14.8% in dialogues and monologues, respectively), markers of the beginning or end of the speech/monologue were revealed (see Table 5).

Table 5

Frequency of use PMA in different functions in dialogue and monologue (%)

Form of speech Function of PMA	Dialogue	Monologue
Approximation	100,0	100,0
Hesitation	25,2	25,9
Start or final marking	15,4	14,8
Input of someone else's speech (xeno-marker)	7,3	–
Rhythm-forming marker	1,6	–

Let's look at a few examples.

94) *я / (...) **как бы** / я не знаю / у них <u>какое-то</u> ... / ну просто не досмотрели <u>чего-то</u> ребята // *C* (ОРД);

95) *что за йока ? что за блю... блюдо такое йока ? йока это когда / <u>значит</u>/ **как бы** яйцо / яйцо вместе с блином пожаренное / <u>вот такое вот</u> / **типа** <u>это самое</u>* (САТ);

96) *то есть ты мог к стенке подъехать / <u>например</u> / упереться и <u>это самое</u> **или там*** (ОРД);

97) ***вроде** ∫ не сплю до часа <смех> а уже заканчиваются (...) <u>вот</u> (...) выходной день (...) <u>в принципе</u> даже (...) он нужен нисколько (?) ∫ потому что он есть [...] сколько (...) в чисто моральном плане* (САТ)[29].

In example (94) the speaker *does not know* the real situation he is talking about, and to express his doubts he uses the PMA *kak by* and a series of hedges (*kakoe-to, chego-to*) (underlined in the context).

In example (95) the speaker is confused in explaining what *yoka* is. Using PMA (*kak by, tipa*) and other PMs (*znachit, vot takoe vot, eto samoe*) (underlined in the context), the speaker seeks to relieve himself of responsibility for the truth of the statement. At the same time, in the process of speech production, he tries to "win" time to select a suitable expression, i.e., in addition to approximation, here you can also see hesitation (hesitation of the speaker), expressed, among other things, by markers-approximators.

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[29] The sign (∫) in the transcripts of the SAT corpus denotes a physical pause in hesitation, the sign (?) denotes the researcher's uncertainty in adequately identifying an auditory image with a specific word during transcription. For more information on the features of the orthographic presentation (conventions of discursive transcription) of the SAT material, see: (*Russian spontaneous speech* 2008: 13).

In example (96) the marker *ili tam* are at the end of the phrase, in example (97) the marker *vrode* is at the beginning of the phrase, i.e. PMA also perform the function of marking the beginning or end of the utterance. And in example (97) there is also hesitation, expressed with the help of PM *vot, v printsipe*, as well as with the help of numerous stammers, indicated in the transcripts as an ellipsis in parentheses (...). It is known that ellipsis as a punctuation mark of written speech, in addition to interruption, incompleteness of the statement or omission in the text (*Dictionary...* 1986: 283), is also able to express a pause associated with uncertainty or *word choice* (see about it (*Sidorova* 2005; *Basalaeva, Shpilman* 2015)), which explains the use of such a sign in the transcription of oral speech.

It can be seen that in all the above examples, despite the presence of other functions implemented by PMA, there is always an approximation.

The analysis of the material also showed that it is possible for the main PMA under consideration to implement the function of a xeno-marker (when entering someone else's speech) and a rhythm-forming marker in a dialogue; despite the fact that no such functions were found in these markers in a monologue (see Table 5).

Consider the following examples:

98) *и спросил / ну **типа** <u>умеешь вообще кататься или нет ? сидела за рулём ?</u> я говорю / ну(:) как ? пару раз было дело конечно* (ОРД);

99) *ну да(:) // а они значит собирают / там **типа** / там <u>кто едет в Финляндию</u> / там **типа** / <u>мы едем в Финляндию</u> / там <u>давайте поехали</u> // *П там сели поехали / собралась там / компания там / четыре девчонки из Питера там / мальчик потом подсоединился из Москвы* (ОРД).

In example (98), the PMA *tipa* introduces someone else's speech into the narrative (underlined). The xeno-marker function is often used when the speaker is not sure of the accuracy of someone else's or his own words, or only "reads" someone else's speech, interpreting someone else's "speech behavior". The xeno-marker function in such contexts is additional to the PMA *tipa*.

In example (99) the speaker uses PMA *tipa* twice to introduce someone else's speech (underlined) and to mark his uncertainty about its accuracy and

word-for-word. At the same time, due to the addition of a component *tam* and largely due to it, the marker *tipa* implements an additional hesitative function (numerous *tam* give the speaker time to think about the next "portion" of speech). In addition, the addition of this kind probably also performs a rhythm-forming function (*Pragmatic markers...* 2021: 398).

2.2.2. Conclusions on the section

Based on the analysis of the corpus material, the paper shows the specifics of the functioning in the dialogue and monologue of the main pragmatic markers-approximators, showing the speaker's uncertainty about what he is talking about.

The analysis showed that the main functions of PMA both in a monologue and in a dialogue can be considered approximation, hesitation and (rarely) marking the beginning or end of a speech/monologue. In the dialogue, PMA also perform the function of a xeno-marker and a rhythm-forming marker; no such functions were found in the monologue. PMA, like other pragmatic markers, have a pronounced multifunctional character.

The next section will describe the correlation between the expression of uncertainty and ambiguity and the speaker's psychotype.

2.3. *Correlation of the use of pragmatic markers-approximators with the speaker's psychotype*

Pragmatic markers-approximators are a kind of speech units unique to oral communication, and their use helps to study the cognitive-psychological trajectory hidden in the "black box" of the human brain in order to explain the generation and understanding of discourse in a more scientific way. The study suggests that PMA in Russian everyday speech is not only an expression of linguistic forms, but also a reflection of psychological activity and cognitive processes. This section is based on the article by the author: *Xiang Yanan* 2023d.

2.3.1. The main psychological types of a person and their features

The main psychological types of a person and their features can be understood with the help of the *theory of psychological types* by C. Jung (*Jung* 1995), who divides human psychotypes into *introversion* (orientation inward) and

extroversion (orientation outward, outward). The difference between these two types lies in the attitude of a person to external objects – *introverts* (I) and *extroverts* (E).

It is obvious that there is a correlation between a person's psychological type and the characteristics of his oral speech, especially in situations related to solving complex problems. Researchers agree that the more difficult the task and the higher the level of anxiety expected when performing it, the easier it is to distinguish introverts from extroverts (*Dewaele, Furnham* 1999). Introverts have a richer vocabulary and, on average, richer speech, while extroverts speak more, louder, with more repetitions, with fewer pauses and hesitations, with a higher rate of speech, and less formal language (*Scherer* 1979; *Furnham* 1990; *Gill, Oberlander* 2002). For example, on the basis of the analysis of the material of 16 monologues, N.V. Batyukova concluded that the speech of introverts is dominated by simple (1.9 times) and complex sentences (2.3 times), and in the speech of extroverts there are interruptions and clarifying constructions (*Batyukova* 2002: 74).

In most cases, in anxious or tense situations, more conditional speech units appear in speech. N.V. Batyukova notes a greater number of pauses in introverts (1.8 times more than in extroverts) and the use of pragmatic markers by extroverts (in the terminology of N.V. Batyukova – "weedy" words): *vot, nu, tipa, eto samoe*, etc. (*id*.). At the same time, D.A. Gorbunova believes that "introverts use pragmatic markers in speech twice as much as extroverts" (*Gorbunova* 2021).

In this part of the work, the assumption is tested that the difference between introverts and extroverts can be identified by the amount of PM in their speech. The analysis is carried out on the material of the SAT corpus and takes into account the psychological characteristics of the speaker when using PMA in speech. A key factor is a person's level of introversion/extroversion.

Let us consider the features of psychological types separately.

2.3.1.1. Introversion

Introversion is "in constant retreat before the object, gives way to it, keeps away from external events, without entering into interconnection with them" (*Jung*

1995: 702). An introvert, "before performing actions, carefully thinks through them <... >. Psychological protective means include conscientiousness, scrupulousness, pedantry, thrift, caution, distrust, moderation, honesty, straightforwardness, politeness. Introversion is a passive, but energy-saving and protective attitude of the psyche, leading to the development and deepening of the already existing, focused on the inner world" (*Zhuravleva* 2008). A *deep introvert* is characterized by rationality, timely actions, calmness and consistency. His circle of communication, as a rule, is not wide, limited to close people, and feelings are under constant control (*Eysenck* 1995). Introverts usually prefer written speech to oral speech. They are not proactive in their speech, so they prefer reciprocal remarks. However, their focus on the content of the dialogue is high, which is why their remarks are characterized by preparedness and thoughtfulness (*Zhuravleva* 2008) (quoted in *Gorbunova* 2021: 30-31).

As for speech characteristics, introverts try to conduct a conversation on a topic that is important to them, they are more focused on themselves and concentrate on a more in-depth discussion of one subject in all aspects (*Teiger, Barron-Teiger* 1998). A study based on monologues from the SAT corpus confirmed the hypothesis that introverts tend to speak in a "cautious" modality, i.e., more inaccurately and less confidently.

2.3.1.2 Extroversion

According to C. Jung, *extraversion* is characterized by "interest in an external object, responsiveness and readiness to perceive external events" (*Jung* 1995: 701). This is an active and energy-consuming attitude of the psyche (*Zhuravleva* 2008), leading to the expansion of the sphere of activity. According to H. Eysenck, *typical extrovert* can be considered an open, impulsive and sociable person. His actions are aimed at increasing emotional excitability, while introverts avoid this (*Eysenck* 1995).

A common feature of extroverts' speech is a fast pace and a vivid external expression of emotions. Extroverts are those people "who think aloud, speak most of the time, are less self-centered, and tend to move from topic to topic" (*Teiger,*

Barron-Teiger 1998). Their focus on the content of speech is relatively low (*id.*). Extroversion is one of the most striking and noticeable personality types (*Funder* 1995), as well as one of the few types for which researchers generally recognize the presence of "consistent and reliable information" (*Jonassen, Grabowski* 1993: 367). In studies conducted from a biological perspective, extraversion is related to the degree of repression and arousal present in the central nervous system (quoted in *Gorbunova* 2021:28). A study conducted on the material of monologues from the SAT corpus confirms that extroverts speak more accurately and confidently than introverts.

2.3.2. Material and informants

The *material* for this part of the study was oral spontaneous monologues-stories from the SAT corpus (lawyers' speech block). The topic of the monologue is a way of spending free time.

The *informants* are 10 native speakers of Russian, lawyers by education and professional activity, with different psychological types: 5 extroverts and 5 introverts. The affiliation of the informants to a particular psychotype was determined by means of a special psychological test by G. Eysenck (*Personality Questionnaire EPI* 1995) (see more: *Sound Corpus...* 2013). The list of questions is given in Appendix 1 to this work.

2.3.3. Correlation of use PMA with the speaker's psychotype

In each monologue, PMA and hedges were manually identified and the frequency of using the hedging strategy by different speakers was calculated (see Table 6).

Table 6

Frequency of using the hedging strategy in monologues-stories of extroverts and introverts

No inf.	Psychotype	N (number of words)	H (number of hedges)	X (H/N ratio) (%)
1	E	245	9	0,04
2	E	261	3	0,01
3	E	460	4	0,01

4	E	245	2	0,01
5	E	330	15	0,05
	Σ	**1 541**	**33**	**2,1**
6	I	623	30	0,05
7	I	7 281	330	0,05
8	I	1 865	83	0,04
9	I	579	14	0,02
10	I	157	10	0,06
	Σ	**10 505**	**467**	**4,4**

Table 6 shows that the average value of the frequency of using hedging strategies by introverts and extroverts differs significantly (4.4 and 2.1%, respectively). These strategies directly depend on the psychological type of the speaker: Introverts use them twice as often as extroverts (cf. with the data obtained from the monologues of philology students: I hedge 4.34 times more often than E – *Kostina* 2022a).

When using the hedging strategy, a large amount of PMA is noticeable. It has already been noted above more than once that hedges and PMA mutually reinforce the speaker's uncertainty, his unwillingness to "take responsibility for his words", cf. the abundance of the corresponding units (in font) in the contexts:

100) *<вздох> до дачи ну вот то есть дело тоже со **всякими** / **там** разными приключениями и поэтому **как бы как бы** вот так интересно / да / завязались такие отношения которые не могу сказать / что такие отношения они носили **как бы** вот м-м такой значит / изначально дружеский характер просто это было обычное знакомство а потом они / **в принципе** / переросли в дружеские отношения* (I);

101) *что за йока? такое йока / скажите/ что такое йока? а это говорит / наше такое блюдо в общем / очень интересное / что за йока? что за блю... блюдо такое йока? йока это когда / значит/ **как бы** яйцо / яйцо вместе с блином пожаренное / вот такое вот / **типа** это самое **типа** такого **чего-то*** (I);

102) *вот / **пожалуй** // **так** / бездарно прошла ну **наверно** / <вздох> вот **месяца два / три** последних моих выходных // всё* (I);

103) *так как нужно было готовиться к экзаменам / в понедельник <смех> ну вот **наверно** так / были проведены выходные* (E).

In context (100), the speaker (I) describes his memories of free time and uses a large number of PMA *kak by* and various hedges (*всякими там, в принципе*) to

mark his insecurities and relieve him of responsibility for what he said (the accuracy of memories).

In the context (101), the speaker (I) tries to explain to his interlocutors *what yoka is*. He strives to convey his thought as accurately as possible, but in the conditions of time deficit inherent in spontaneous speech generation, he cannot find the appropriate words, repeatedly gets confused, and, finally, is forced to express himself extremely inaccurately.

In contexts (102) and (103), the speakers conclude their monologues with the above remarks. The beginning and end of a monologue are the most difficult parts of a spontaneous text. Therefore, various paralinguistic elements often arise in them, for example, laughter (*Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2022), rhythmic disruptions, indicators of metacommunication, including an accumulation of hedges, of which the introvert again has more than the extrovert.

2.3.4. Conclusions on the section

An introvert is characterized as a person who is focused mainly on himself, indecisive and incapable of communication; an extrovert is an open and sociable person who easily makes contact and quickly adapts to any situation.

In the monologues-stories of lawyers, markers of fuzzy nomination, both PMA and hedges, are often used next to other PMs (*vot, tam, znachit, eto samoe*, etc.). Sometimes whole chains of pragmatic markers are built, which, in principle, are characterized by such "magnetism" (*Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2021: 17): in this way, the speaker tries to relieve himself of responsibility for his words when he is not completely sure of them, when he is experiencing stress (*Kostina* 2022b) or seeks to hide his real thought.

When building oral discourse, people use PMA and hedges to verbalize their insecurities and avoid the accuracy of nominations. At the same time, introverts are 2 times more likely than extroverts to use hedging strategies, which is probably due to the characteristics of this psychological type: introverts tend to express themselves more cautiously than extroverts, even if it is just a story about rest.

Pragmatic markers-approximators play a significant role in oral communication, reflecting the mental state and cognitive processes of a person, their use is closely related to the psychological type of the speaker. By studying the use of PMA in Russian everyday speech, we can gain a deeper understanding of the speaker's psychological activity and intellectual activity, which in turn will contribute to a better understanding of oral speech and greater interpersonal communication.

Situations with the use of PMA differ in the speech of people not only with different psychological types, but also with different levels of Russian proficiency, if we are talking about speakers of Russian as a non-native language. This is the next section of our work.

2.4. *Comparative analysis of russian speech of native speakers of russian and chinese languages*

The study of pragmatic markers-approximators is of great importance in teaching Russian as a foreign language (RFL). Firstly, PMAs are an important part of Russian everyday communication, and learning to use them (and most importantly – to understand the speech of Russians containing such markers) can help foreigners to better adapt to the Russian-speaking environment. Secondly, PMAs can help foreign students better understand the linguistic and cultural features of Russian speech, to better understand Russian culture and thinking. And, finally, the description of PMA can help foreigners improve their own Russian colloquial language in order to communicate more successfully with native Russian speakers. This section of the chapter is based on the articles of the author: *Xiang Yanan* 2024 g, h, i.

2.4.1. Material and informants

The SAT corpus contains (among other things) monologues-descriptions in Russian, recorded not only from Russian informants, but also from native Chinese speakers. This part of this study is devoted to a comparative analysis of the use of hedging strategies in monologues-descriptions of the same image recorded from native and Chinese speakers (i.e., in speech in the native and non-native languages).

The *material* for the analysis was 8 spontaneous monologues-descriptions in Russian, recorded from 4 Russian and 4 Chinese informants. Both groups of informants were balanced by gender (male-female: M/F) and psychotype[30] (extrovert-introvert: E/I). The group of Chinese informants was also balanced by the level of Russian language proficiency: lower level B2 and higher C1. To describe the informants, the informants were offered a story in pictures (comic) by H. Bidstrup "Elixir for hair" (see Fig. 11).

Fig. 11. H. Bidstrup. Elixir for hair (https://bidstrup.ru/content/1103.html)

As you can see in the picture, the plot image is divided into 13 pictures and represents the story of one bald man who bought and used a hair elixir. Describing

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these pictures sequentially, the informants built their descriptive monologue. Comparison of texts revealed differences in the frequency of using a hedging strategy (especially PMA) when constructing a monologue by the participants of the experiment in their native and non-native languages.

All *Russian informants* are native Petersburgers, philology students: 2 boys and 2 girls, aged (at the time of registration) 20-21 years old, including 2 extroverts and 2 introverts (see table 6 below).

All *Chinese informants* are students and postgraduates of various humanitarian universities in St. Petersburg, aged (at the time of registration) 23-27 years. Among them are also 2 boys and 2 girls, 2 carriers of the B2 level (TORFL-2) and 2 carriers of the C1 level (TORFL-3), according to the Russian state system for testing foreign citizens (*Russian state testing system...* 2021), 2 introverts and 2 extroverts.

2.4.2. Results of the material analysis

2.4.2.1.   Russian speech of Russians

A monologue-description is a spontaneous narrative on the theme of a comic book. "Constructing" such a story, the speaker often tries to absolve himself of responsibility for what he said, using PMA and hedges. There are especially many of them in the speech of native speakers of the Russian language, cf.:

104) *как бы подумал что э-э // что **там** // **какое-то** действие должно быть // за ночь произойти и ложится спать / и че... / трогает свою голову / что н-не н-начали ли расти у него волосы // а потом он **как будто бы** встаёт* (R1, F, E)[31];

105) *и заканчивается тем что он просыпается и на самом деле / всё это было только сон потому что он трогает свою голову // она по-прежнему лысая / и непонятно рад он или нет но-о / **видимо** рад тому что он // н-не так / порос // и **вроде как** он **наверно** уже привык к своей лысине* (R1, F, E);

106) *причём **зачем-то** залезает в раковину то есть **в принципе ну** в советских обычно / э ванных комнатах у них / эти стенки **практически** картонные то есть раковина там висит на-а соплях / а тут он **как бы** з-з-залез э-э / **ну-у*** (R3, M, E).

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[31] All examples in this section are attributed with the informant's number and nationality (R1, C1, etc.), as well as gender (M/F), psychotype (E/I), and level of proficiency in Russian (for Chinese) (B2/C1).

In the context of (104), the speaker assumes that the hero expects some effect from the elixir, but is not sure of the correspondence of his description and reality, so he uses various means of reducing categoricality: PMA *kak by* and other hedges (highlighted in the text).

From the context (105) it is clear that the speaker cannot determine the real mood of the hero from the pictures. Based on his own knowledge of life, the informant thinks that the hero is most likely happy, because he *is already used to his bald head.* The PMAs and hedges used in the example are again highlighted.

In the context of (106), the speaker's uncertainty is mainly associated with the verb *zalezaet,* which reflects the actions of the comic book hero. In addition to PMA and hedges (highlighted), the informant's hesitation is also expressed here by other hesitational phenomena: *e, na-a, z-z-zalez, e-e, ni-и* (for more information on hesitations in the speech of Russian speakers, see, for example: *Sound corpus...* 2013). However, the reduction in the categorical nature of the statement is achieved in these texts precisely due to the use of PMA *kak by* and hedges.

2.4.2.2.   Russian speech of Chinese

In the monologues of the Chinese, a few cases of hedging strategy implementation were found mainly in the speech of speakers with a higher level of Russian proficiency C1, and there were no approximating markers in the material at all, cf.:

107) *у него ⌊ волосы / длиной уже двух метров / и-и ⌊ такие волосы превратили его / **можно сказать** / в **какого-то** / **неизвестного** ⌊ зверя / караул! / караул! / кто сможет ⌊ ы меня выручить?* (C6, F, I, C1)[32];

108) *э-э человек / **где-то** ⌊ в возрасте / сорока лет / **может** ещё больше / сходил в магазин / купить ⌊ **какое-то** средство ⌊ э для-я ⌊ волос* (C7, M, E, C1);

109) *раньше / о... один мужчина / э-ы ⌊ у него ⌊ у него / нет ⌊ воло-сы ⌊ волосОв / н н ⌊⌊ э-ы это-о ⌊ очень ⌊⌊ э-н ⌊⌊ г... ⌊ э-ы ⌊ э-ы ⌊ ему очень грустно // поэтому ⌊ он ⌊ н-н ⌊ пошёл в магазин / и-и хочу покупать ⌊ н-н ⌊ **какой-то** ⌊⌊ н-н ⌊ для-я ⌊ растения-я ⌊ во-ло-сОв* (C5, F, E, B2)[33];

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[32] In Chinese monologues, the sign (⌊) marks the physical pause of hesitation.

[33] The monologues of Chinese informants are given in their original form, without any editing. The capital letter in

110) *один человек [э-м [хочет хотел купить [эликсир для вОлосы в магазине / и потому что у них [потому что-о [у них нет вОлосы* (C8, M, I, B2).

It can be seen that in speech in a non-native language, speakers' hesitations are expressed mainly by vocalizations (*у, е-м*), vowel stretches (*i-i, chto-o*) and physical hesitation pauses ([) (for more information on hesitations in the Russian speech of the Chinese, see, for example, *Cheng Chen* 2021). There are practically no verbalized means of reducing categoricalness in the lexical arsenal of foreigners. Cf. similar observations on Russian speech of speakers of different languages, including Chinese: "the higher the level of TORFL, the more often (although still rarely) purely Russian colloquial PMs appear in the monologues of foreigners" (*Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2024b: 135), including markers that help the speaker structure ("build") the oral text, demonstrate the process of reflection itself, or express uncertainty about what is said (PMA and hedges).

2.4.3. Comparison of russian speech of russians and chinese

In each monologue, in the course of contextual analysis, PMA and hedges were identified, and the frequency of using the hedging strategy was calculated (see Table 7).

Table 7

Frequency of use hedging strategy in monologues of native speakers of Russian and Chinese

№	Informant	**N** (number of words)	**H** (HS quantity)	**X** (**H/N** ratio) (%)
1	R (F-E)	325	23	7,1
2	R (F-I)	168	11	6,5
3	R (M-E)	534	30	5,6
4	R (M-I)	157	8	5,1
	Σ	**1184**	**72**	**6,1**
5	C (F-E)	174	1	0,6
6	C (F-I)	342	9	2,6
7	C (M-E)	125	7	5,6
8	C (M-I)	105	1	1,0

the word indicates incorrect stress.

	Σ	746	18	2,4

Table 7 shows that the average value of the frequency of using the hedging strategy by native speakers of Russian and Chinese differs significantly (6.1 and 2.4%, respectively). Native Chinese speakers in spontaneous speech in a non-native language hedge much less than native speakers.

From the above data, it can be seen that in the process of constructing a monologue-description, Russians tend to actively hedge in order to reduce the categorical nature of their statements and relieve themselves of responsibility for what is said, while the Chinese rarely use hedges and do not use markers-approximators at all (cf. *Kostina* 2022c).

The reason for this state of affairs may be that (and this is clearly seen in the examples given) the approximators implement a pragmatic meaning in the context, and not the codified lexical meaning familiar to foreigners. And this can become a "stumbling block" for foreign students when learning Russian and using it in communication.

The revealed situation can also be explained by the fact that PMAs are simply not familiar to the Chinese audience. For example, in the «Big russian-chinese dictionary» the word *vrode* is described as follows: "(1) [preposition] (with the Genitive case) 像,类似 (napodobie kogo-, chego-l., kak kto-, chto-l.; podobno komu-, chemu-n., skhodno s kem-chem-n.) *palto vrode moego. pisat chto-to vrode vospominaniy. On vrode tebya, tozhe chudak.* (2) [particle]< conversational>似乎, 好像 (pokhozhe, chto, kazhetsya, kak budto) *Vrode tak. On vrode zabolel.* (3) [explanatory conjunction] (before enumeration) 例如,譬如,诸如 (naprimer) *Nedelyu nazad oni vstretilis. Obnyalis i dolgo tryasli drug drugu ruki, prigovarivaya nichego ne znachashchie, no vzvolnovannye slova, vrode: "Nu, kak ty? ... da nichego ..., staryy druzhishche ..."* (*Big russian-chinese dictionary* 2001: 245). The possibility of using *vrode* as a marker-approximator is not even mentioned in the dictionary. The word *kak by* is described as follows: "要是,如果 (esli by) *Kak by poranshe vzyalis, togda pospeli by."* (*Big russian-chinese*

dictionary 2001: 766*)*. Here, *kak by* is not considered as a possible marker-approximator. The same is true for PMA *tipa* and *ili tam*.

For Russians, the reason to use a particular word in speech (especially in a situation of multiple choice) may be its increased frequency, and for the Chinese, in addition, the fact that the word is included in the corresponding *lexical minimum* is also important (*Bogdanova-Beglarian, Xie Roi* 2021: 288). The presence of one in the lexical minimum for the corresponding level of TORFL is an important factor that helps students of Russian as a foreign language to master it language. However, in fact, the markers-approximators, which are very frequent in everyday Russian conversation (everyday discourse), *kak by* and *vrode* are outside such lexical minimums (see, for example, *Xiang Yanan* 2024a). For example, in the lexical minimum, C1 (*Lexical minimum* 2014) is present only *kak*: «(1) Kak tvoya ucheba? (2) Kak ya rad! (3) Krasnyy kak pomidor. (4) razg. – On kak prygnet! (5) kak budto – Vadim govoril tikho, kak budto kogo-to boyalsya. (6) kak ..., tak i ... – Etu problemu obsuzhdali kak v gazetakh, tak i v Internete. (7) kak tolko – Kak tolko my prishli domoy, nachalsya dozhd. (8) razg. – kak raz – Tufli mne kak raz." In the lexical minimum B2 (*Lexical minimum* 2018) there are no interpretations of units *kak by*, *vrode*, *tipa* and *ili tam*.

Pragmatic markers most often do not have an absolute equivalent in Chinese either in form or function (*Sun Xiaoli, Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2023: 211), which further complicates the understanding of Russian oral texts by Chinese students. This may become another reason preventing foreign students from mastering the Russian language fully. Non-equivalence is a normal phenomenon in learning a new language, it often expresses the truth of the language itself. Thus, studying the differences in speech in the native and non-native languages can help both in language teaching and in translation practice.

2.4.4. Application of the results in teaching Russian as a foreign language

The main source of material for this part of this study was the tests in Russian as a foreign language (levels B2, C1 and C2) published on the website of the Language testing centre of St Petersburg University (*Language testing centre*

2023).

In the tests, only 13 contexts were found with units *kak by, vrode (kak)* and *tipa*, and in most of them (76.9%) these units act exactly as PMA, and not in their dictionary meanings, cf.:

111) *ну вот знаете/я **как бы** понимаю/что в конце двадцатого века/ такой вопрос задавать ну странно что ли* (В2);

112) *Ядро моей труппы – пять человек: я, моя жена и трое сыновей . Семья наша **как бы** в вечном движении* (С1).

According to the MAS, the conjunction *kak* in combination with the particle *by* "is used to express a conditionally assumed comparison" (*MAS* 1986: 17). In context (111), the speaker uses the PMA *kak by* to express uncertainty about his words. In addition, there are other PMs (*nu vot, znaete*), as well as a hedge *kogda-to*, which together weaken the illocutionary power of the utterance. In context (112), the speaker uses PMA *kak by* to express his doubt and negation. It can be seen that here too this unit acts precisely in the role of PMA, and not in its dictionary meaning of a comparative conjunction.

113) *Дело в том, что только кажется, что это сей час придумали, что мода и повседневность так важны. У меня есть свой , так сказать «телескоп», сквозь который я вижу эту тему. Это Бальзак. Так вот у него был такой «Трактат об элегантной жизни» 1730 года. Там написано: «Костюм есть выражение общества». По фраку можно понять, чем человек занимается, по полосе у него на спинке (как он опирается этим фраком на спинку кресла) – он бухгалтер или кто-то другой. Ум человека проявляется в том, как он держит трость. И что костюм, я тоже из него цитирую, костюм есть иероглиф. Лафатер говорил, что можно по чертам лица понять характер. А Бальзак придумал вестигномику – **как бы** науку об одежде, по которой можно всё определить. Другое дело, что мы этого языка не знаем* (С1).

In context (113), the speaker faces a problem. He does not know how to explain "vestignomiku" to his interlocutors. He tries very hard to define this concept, but he does not succeed very convincingly. And with the help of PMA *kak by,* he absolves himself of responsibility for what he said. There are also a considerable number of hedges (*kazhetsya, kto-to, mozhno ponyat, mozhno*

opredelit). It is noticeable that the combination of approximators and hedges increases the speaker's inaccuracy and uncertainty.

It can be seen that even in dictionary meanings the unit in question has a colloquial connotation, which in itself complicates its assimilation by foreigners, while its transition to the pragmatic level and "transformation" into a marker further increases these difficulties. Cf., for example, real usages *kak by* in real oral discourse:

114) *сегодня мы должны(:) **как бы** (...) что-то решить с вами* (ОРД);

115) *то есть **как бы** (э...э) (...) я надеюсь что (...) до сих / ну до сих пор в общем **как бы** (...) на самом деле зауважал тебя / что ты так ответственно отнёсся // и **как бы** наде... надеюсь что / надеюсь что в дальней... ну () на хрен / (...) дальше ты **как бы** ну (...) не бросишь меня здесь одного опять / и отработаешь* (ОРД).

Есть такие примеры и в материалах для тестирования, ср.:

116) *Дядя Коля: Я хочу/ чтоб Вы знали/ Андрей Павлович// Мы с ее отцом <друзья> были// И вот его нет/ а я остался/ **вроде как** заместо отца// Ну разве стал бы я вмешиваться/ тут каждый себе хозяин* (С1).

In dictionaries, *vrode* has not an unambiguous codification. Most dictionaries note that this word can be *a preposition* (with Gender) and *a particle* (see Section 2.1.3 of this study). In the context of (116), with the help of PMA *vrode kak*, the speaker seems to be trying to express his thought carefully.

The speaker builds his speech and, as it were, revises and evaluates it right during communication, cf. (we will repeat the quotes already quoted, which have now turned out to be very useful): "the process of speech generation is closely intertwined with the process of generating thought, forming a single speech-thinking process carried out by the mechanisms of verbal thinking" (*Katsnelson* 1972: 110). W. von Humboldt described the act of speech as a spontaneous confrontation, a dramatic conflict between thought and its verbal embodiment: "For the most everyday feeling and the deepest thought, language is insufficient, and people look at this invisible world as at a distant country, where only language leads them, never bringing them to the goal. Any speech in the high sense of the

word is a struggle with thought, in which one feels either power or powerlessness" (*Humboldt* 1985: 378); "The gap between thoughts and language <... > is observed in speech hesitations, false starts and reformulations, which abound in everyday speech. Interestingly, both introspection and speech glitches show that people are constantly comparing their thoughts to their verbal expression and other possible variations of that expression. Obviously, people mentally monitor verbal options that can be used to organize and express their thoughts, weighing different possibilities" (*Chafe* 2015). As a result, spontaneous speech generation is accompanied by the abundant use of pragmatic markers, which are of great importance for the construction, coherence, logic and coherence of oral speech. The analysis showed that it is difficult for foreign students to understand the PM of everyday Russian speech, which are not included in the lexical minimums for the corresponding levels of TORFL and are not supported by either Russian explanatory or bilingual dictionaries.

It seems that the high frequency of the use of the units under consideration in the pragmatic sense should become the basis for their inclusion in the lexical minimums for the corresponding level of TORFL and in bilingual dictionaries. Thus, foreign students will be able to get a more complete understanding of Russian oral spontaneous speech, which occupies a very important place in everyday communication.

2.4.5. Conclusions on the section

Communication is the exchange of information. Pragmatic markers in this process play the role of a "connecting link", thanks to which the speaker and the listener can maintain mutual connections. Despite the fact that PM are familiar to native speakers, their mastery (primarily at the level of listening and comprehension) causes difficulties for those who study this language as a foreign language. It is very important for foreign students to be able to understand the pragmatic meaning (function) of these units in speech in the language being studied.

The comparative analysis of oral texts-descriptions showed that native speakers of Russian in the course of building such a monologue hedge almost 3 times more often than native Chinese speakers. Using hedging strategies helps the speaker express their insecurities, buy time to find the right expression, or try to absolve themselves of responsibility for what was said when describing the image. For the Chinese, the ability to hedge directly depends on their level of proficiency in the Russian language, while the ability to use markers-approximators is simply not formed in them.

For foreign students, it is difficult to understand the PMA of everyday Russian speech, which are not included in the lexical minimums for the corresponding levels of TORFL and are not supported by either Russian explanatory or bilingual dictionaries. It seems that it is necessary and important to introduce foreign students to PMA and hedges in the process of learning Russian. For example, the inclusion of such units (with the necessary comments) in the lexical minimums for the corresponding level of TORFL and in bilingual dictionaries can improve the communicative abilities of non-native speakers, primarily at the level of comprehension and speaking. Here I would like to agree with N.V. Bogdanova-Beglarian that "at the *listening* level (here and further in the quote the author's italics. *Y. X.*) it is simply necessary to acquaint foreign students with the specifics of our oral speech <... >. There is no doubt that correct *listening* will lead to correct *understanding*, and then, inevitably, to "more Russian" *speaking*" (*Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2024b).

Studying the differences in speech in the native and non-native languages can help both in language teaching and in translation practice. In the next section, we will describe in detail the features of translating Russian PMA into Chinese.

2.5. *Specificity of translations of Russian pragmatic markers-approximators into Chinese (based on the material of parallel texts of literary works)*

Translation is a creative linguistic activity that transforms a text in one language into a text in another. *Literary texts* are works of art created with the help of language. Literary translation is the translation of works of fiction (*Komissarov*

1990: 93), its important part is the adequate translation of the colloquial speech of the characters. In fact, we can talk about *quasi-spontaneous speech* here. The main forms of speech of characters in literary texts are *dialogues* and *internal monologues,* which together create a *speech portrait* of a particular character. The speech of the character helps the reader to feel the inner world of the character; accordingly, the translation of this speech should perform the same function.

Quasi-spontaneous speech of characters in literary works, artistically processed by the author, is its imitation and reflection of everyday colloquial speech. It inevitably contains the implementation of the hedging strategy, i.e. pragmatic markers-approximators and hedges. It seemed interesting to conduct a comparative analysis of Russian texts containing similar elements and their Chinese translations. This section of the chapter is based on the article: *Xiang Yanan, Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2024a.

2.5.1. Material and methodology

The *material* for the analysis in this part of the work was 21 contexts from 10 Russian works of art from the main subcorpus of the RNC and their Chinese translations (*Yu Hong* 1982; *Su Zhouxiong* 1983; *Geng Jizhi* 1985; *Jing Liming* 2000; *Zheng Tiwu* 2004; *Xia Yan* 2006; *Li Gang* 2015; *Jin Ren* 2015; *Zhang Pingheng* 2016; *Gao Huiqun* 2019). All the selected Russian texts are original and contain the PMA under study: *ili tam* (13.0%), *kak by* (13.0%), *vrode* (*vrode togo/ vrode togo chto*) (74%)[34]. Most often, in Russian works, PMA *vrode* and its

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[34] It so happened that there were no uses of the marker *tipa* and its structural variants in the material of this part of the study: apparently, by the time the fiction works used were written, the time of the "tipa generation" had not yet come, cf.: "In a few dictionary entries, *tipa* is described as a particle in the function of an introductory word, has a *slang. crimen.* mark and is defined as follows: "Vrode, napodobie, kak by, etc. • A meaningless pause filler, "verbal garbage", is usually found in somewhat difficult, undeveloped speech, more often among representatives of the criminal world" (*Khimik* 2004: 608). However, recently this little word (a variant of its written entry – *tipo*) has become very popular in the oral speech of ordinary (by no means connected with crime) native speakers, especially in the speech of young people. One linguist even put it this way: "The generation *kak by* was replaced by the generation *tipa*" (*Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2014b: 253). To be fair, it should be noted that in the new dictionary of the same V.V. Khimik, published in 2017, in the dictionary entry for the word *tipa*, the first, i.e. most important, meaning appeared: "*particle, in the function of an introductory word.* **1.** Expression of some uncertainty, weakening, softening of the meaning of some word or concept. – *Chto eto? – Nu, eto t. dvizhok, motor takoy* (italics and emphasis added by the author. – Y. *X., N. B.-B.*)" (*Khimik* 2017: 338). The mention of *criminal* speech was replaced (in the second meaning of this word) by simply *slang* (*id.*). We also note that the first meaning of this unit, attributed by V.V. Khimik's addition to the somewhat strange class of "particles in the function of an introductory word" essentially repeats the definition of a marker-approximator (*Pragmatic markers...* 2021: 396-404).

variants (*vrode togo/ vrode togo chto*). It has already been noted above that the PMAs under consideration, as well as many other pragmatic markers of everyday speech, often "attract" other PMs, i.e., they have high syntagmatic activity and have a kind of "magnetism" (cf. *Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2019). As a result, chains of pragmatic markers are formed, which constitute an additional difficulty for translators (see *Sun Xiaoli, Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2023).

In this part of the work, such scientific *methods* as purposeful sampling (with the help of which a user subcorpus was collected), descriptive (contextual), comparative and discursive types of analysis were used.

2.5.2. Specifics of translations of pragmatic markers-approximators into Chinese

As it has already been noted more than once in this work, markers-approximator in Russian CS show the speaker's uncertainty about what he is talking about (*Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2021: 32). Let's consider several relevant examples from the user subcorpus and their translations into Chinese[35].

117) *Ну? Вы прочли, или что? **Вроде** не читаете. Вот, вы человек взрослый. Грамотный. В тюрьме посидели, понимаете, что это за письмо* [А. Солженицын. В круге первом (1968)];

好啦，看完没有？"米辛问。"全看完了吗？听着，你是个成年人，有文化的人，在监狱里蹲过的，应该懂得这是一封什么信！(*Цзин Лимин* 2000: 284).

* *Хорошо, ты закончил читать? – спросил Ми Синь. – Ты всё это прочитал? Слушай, ты взрослый, грамотный человек, сидел в тюрьме. Ты должен понять, что это за письмо!*

In context (117), the speaker is not sure that the interlocutor has read what is being said, and with the help of PMA *vrode* has expressed this uncertainty. The Chinese translator apparently did not find an analogue of this marker-approximator in his language, as a result, the entire sentence *Vrode ne chitaete* remained completely untranslated, which can be regarded as the first, unsuccessful, "method of translation" of the units under consideration: **the mothod of omission**.

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[35] Below are three versions of each context: the original Russian text, the published Chinese translation, and – marked with an (*) – the interlinear translation, i.e. the literal translation performed by the author of this study.

118) *При этом левая часть его лица выразила то, что и положено выражать лицу Арнольда Шварценеггера при улыбке – что-то неуловимо-лукавое и **как бы** мальчишеское, такое, что сразу становилось понятно* [В. Пелевин. Чапаев и пустота (1996)];

这时，他的左脸上表现出阿诺德·施瓦辛格在微笑时应该表现出的一种神情——几分难以捉摸的狡黠和几分孩子**似的**顽皮，见到这种表情，你马上就会明白…… (*Чжэн Тиву* 2004: 74).

* *В это время на левой стороне его лица появилось выражение, которое должен был проявлять Арнольд Шварценеггер, когда улыбается, – **как** немного неуловимой хитрости и немного детского озорства. Когда вы увидите это выражение, вы сразу поймёте...*

In context (118), the marker *kak by* is translated as the comparative conjunction 似的 *shi de*, which is "used after a noun, pronoun, or verb to express a resemblance to a certain thing or situation" (*Dictionary...* 2005: 1245). It is obvious that the translator knows Russian *kak by* as a presumptive-comparative conjunction (*MAS* 1986: 17) and confines himself to such a translation, preserving the semantics of approximation common to the conjunction and PMA[36], but not seeing the fact that the marker in this case does not perform the grammatical function of the conjunction (pragmaticalization has taken place). Such – undoubtedly unsuccessful – translation of PMA can be regarded as the second method of translation: **as a function word with close semantics**.

119) ***Что-то вроде того, что*** *работа ваша при всей своей талантливости противоречит установкам, данным на том знаменитом совещании* [В. Гроссман. Жизнь и судьба (1960)];

似乎是这样，您的论文尽管有不少独到的见解，但是和那次有名的会议上所定的方针是抵触的。(*Ли Ган* 2015: 1093);

* ***Кажется****, что, хотя ваша статья содержит много оригинальных идей, она противоречит политике, установленной на той знаменитой конференции;*

120) *Чего-то мне **вроде** не хватает, какая-то чесотка на меня нападет, не усну – и шабаш!* [М.А. Шолохов. Тихий Дон (1932-1940)];

就像是缺点儿什么似的，浑身痒痒起来，——怎么也睡不着！(*Цзинь Жэнь* 2015: 3562);

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[36] According to V.I. Podlesskaya, "the meanings of assimilation and approximation are not accidentally adjacent on the semantic map" (*Podlesskaya* 2013: 637).

*** Кажется**, что-то не так, всё тело начало чесаться – я не могла спать!*

121) *Три, говорит, мерки, а сколько в них – мне не счесть! Не жалели денег-то, **вроде** бар* [М. Горький. Жизнь Матвея Кожемякина (1910)];

他说：这是三升，至于里面有多少，我也数不清！他们挥金如土，**好像**贵族一样。(*Гэн Цзичжи* 1985: 33);

*** Он сказал: Это три литра. А сколько в нём, я не могу сосчитать! Они тратят деньги, **кажется**, они дворяне.*

122) *Казарма нашей пожарной роты – полное название было **что-то вроде** «Комсомольско-молодежная рота противопожарной охраны Ленинского района»* [Ю. Трифонов. Дом на набережной (1976)];

我们消防连的营地位于亚基曼卡，在桥后面，我们连的全称**大概**是"列宁区共青团和青年消防连。(*Су Чжоусюн* 1983: 166).

*** Лагерь нашей пожарной роты располагался в Якиманке, за мостом, и полное название нашей роты, **вероятно**, было «Ленинский районный комсомольско-молодёжный пожарный отряд».*

In contexts (119)-(111), the markers-approximators are also translated into Chinese as significant words, but this time not functional, but introductory:

- *Vrode togo chto* (119) – as 似乎 *si hu* 'kazhetsya' (*Dictionary...* 2005: 1295);

- *Vrode* (120) – as 就像 *jiu xiang* 'kazhetsya' (*id.:* 1491);

- *Vrode* (121) – as 好像 *hao xiang* 'kazhetsya' (*id.:* 544);

- *Vrode* (122) – as 大概 *da gai*, which 'indicates a high probability' (*id.:* 251).

It can be seen that different introductory units are used in the translations, which often have the same semantics of uncertainty, approximation (119)-(121) as PMA *vrode*, but can also have the opposite value of high probability (= confidence) (122). In addition, it can be seen that in these contexts PMA is often accompanied by hedges (*chto-chto, chego-to, kakaya-to*), which, together with markers, preferably also with similar semantics of approximation, mitigate the illocutionary power of statements. **Translating PMA with introductory words** can be considered another method of translating Russian markers-approximators into Chinese. The semantics of this introductory word can be both close to

approximation ('kazhetsya') and different ('high probability' (122) and 'naprimer' – see below).

123) *Из синода новое прошение прислали, вставить в ектинью, **или там какое-то** моление заздравное, не хочу врать* [Б.Л. Пастернак. Доктор Живаго (1945-1955)];

主教公会也写了新的呈文，要增加一次祷告，为他的健康祈祷，我可不哄你。(*Чжан Пинхэн* 2016: 100).

* *Конференция епископов также написала новое обращение, чтобы добавить молитву за его здоровье. Я не буду вас уговаривать.*

In the context (123), the speaker is not convinced that *the new petition* should be *inserted* specifically *into the litany*, but assumes that it must be some *kind of prayer for health*, and accompanies his assumption with a combination of PMA and hedge: *ili tam kakoe-to*. It is worth noting, however, that in this case another interpretation of the context is possible: *the petition* must be inserted ***ili* in the litany**, ***ili*** in another *prayer for health*, i.e. the element *ili* can be considered precisely as a dividing union, and not as part of a marker (in this case, only a single hesitative there remains a pragmatic marker). Such ambiguity in the interpretation of diffuse and, as a rule, poorly structured ("uncombed" – *Thompson* 2003: 277) of oral discourse and the interpretation of its functional units is a completely common thing: many forms not only in Russian *speech*, but also in the Russian *language* are characterized by the "absence of status constancy" (*Sulimova* 2020: 57), in the case of such units it is impossible to "assign" them a particular final grammatical status and it is necessary to keep in mind the presence of transitivity, when "it is impossible to qualify according to the principle of 'ili-ili', but it is necessary to mark 'kak to, tak i drugoe'" (*Babaitseva* 1983: 37). In the opinion of L.V. Shcherba (we will repeat a very appropriate quotation again), it is precisely such syncretic (transitional) formations that should be in the center of attention of linguists, cf.: "Here, as elsewhere in the language (in phonetics, in "grammar" and in the dictionary), it should be remembered that only extreme cases are clear. Intermediate ones in the very original source – in the consciousness of the speakers – turn out to be hesitant and indefinite. However, it is this unclear and fluctuating

that should attract the attention of linguists most of all" (*Shcherba* 1958: 35-36). In view of the above, this example (123) (as well as the following one) is nevertheless considered in this paper among others, where the status of PMA is more unambiguous. However, in any case, the translator left this fragment untranslated (again the **mothod of omission** was used).

124) *Может, ту, где медведи <спиной>, значит, трутся об земную ось **или там** обо что-то еще?* [В. Распутин. Последний срок (1970)];

也许是那首吧？里面唱的是一群熊用后蹄站起，踩着地球的轴，**或者**踩着什么别的**来着**？(*Юй Хун* 1982: 440).

* *Может быть, та? Речь идет о группе медведей, встающих на задние лапы, наступающих на ось земли, **или** о чём-то другом?*

In the context (124), the speaker cannot remember exactly what *bears rub against* in the famous Soviet song, so he uses PMA *ili tam* and hedge *obo chto-to*. Here the marker *ili tam* is translated as 或者......来着 *huo zhe.. lai zhe* 'huo zhe – maybe (*Dictionary...* 2005: 623), lai zhe – '*razg.* indicates the events that have occurred' (*Dictionary...* 2005: 623), 'a function word that is used at the end of an interrogative sentence to express inauthenticity' (*Zhang Yisheng* 2000: 66). The method of **translating PMA with meaningful words** is repeated – in this case, service words. Although here there is still a possibility of a different interpretation, when the conjunction *ili* simply separates two objects: *ob zemnuyu os **ili** <...> obo chto-to eshche*[37]. In this case *tam* can be interpreted as a single verbal hesitative (see more about it: *Pragmatic markers...* 2021: 391-395).

In the course of overcoming the communicative difficulty (speech hitch), the speaker (the character of the work) is sometimes forced (by the will of the author) to look for suitable units to continue the speech, using the same markers-approximators, but with an additional function of *hesitation*, cf.:

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[37] This duality of interpretation of the marker *ili tam* has already been noted above: see Section 2.1.4 of this study. Cf. also the entry for the word *tam* in the dictionary of V.V. Khimik: "*Particle*. Teenage-young. Word usage with a weakened meaning, a pause filler; used when it is difficult to find the right word. ● Usually in difficult, undeveloped speech" (*Khimik* 2017: 329) (see also: *id.* 2004: 601). The author speaks here about a particle, but in fact gives a definition of a marker-hezitative, only mistakenly attributes it to adolescent-youthful and undeveloped speech. Our observations show that the scope of such uses has expanded significantly today, and verbal hezitatives, in particular the word *tam*, are characteristic of the speech of any, including a very educated, native speaker of Russian.

125) *А ежели мужики за дровами приедут **или там**... вообще, – как же я?* [М. Горький. Мать (1906)];

如果农民来砍柴，**或者那儿**……有点什么事那我怎么办？把他们捆起来？这种事我可不会干！……(*Ся Янь* 2006: 294).

* *Что делать, если придёт фермер рубить дрова **или там** ... что-то произойдёт? Связать их? Я не буду делать такие вещи!..*

"Live speech data make it possible to make sure that in cases where the speaker has difficulties in selecting an adequate exact nomination or simply avoids an accurate nomination for some pragmatic reasons, he usually uses a whole set of signals of different levels that warn the listener about this situation" (*Podlesskaya* 2013: 642). In the context of (125), the speaker at the moment cannot come up with a suitable ending to the phrase he has begun. Using PMA *ili tam* and a physical pause of hesitation (expressed in writing by an ellipsis), he tries to "win" time to search for the right unit. PM *voobshche*, which follows the hesitation search, means that the speaker has not been able to find an adequate expression (for more details on PM *voobshche*, see: *Pragmatic markers...* 2021: 86-90). Here in the Chinese text, PMA *ili tam* is translated as 或者那儿 *huo zhe na er*– literally *ili* and *tam*. Obviously, this is an erroneous translation, which becomes (within the framework of our user subcorpus) another translation technique used: **a literal translation with a loss of meaning**. It should be noted, however, that the ellipsis, which conveys the speaker's hitch in the written text, is retained in the translation, i.e., this pragmatic aspect of the original is nevertheless noticed by the translator.

Markers-approximators, within the framework of their polyfunctionality, characteristic of most Russian PMs, often not only express uncertainty or hesitation, but also accompany the transmission of someone else's speech, i.e. they act as a *xeno-marker* (from Greek. *xenos* – 'alien'). In such contexts, they mark the inaccurate transmission of someone else's (or their own) words or thoughts, often only assumed by the speaker, cf.:

126) *Я сказал **что-то вроде того, что** боюсь воров и прошу ее поберечь деньги до моего отъезда* [М.А. Булгаков. Мастер и Маргарита (1929-1940)];

我说恐怕失窃，所以在我动身前请她代为保管。（*Гао Хуэйцюнь* 2019: 309);

* *Я сказал, что боюсь, что его украдут, поэтому попросил её оставить его мне, прежде чем я уйду;*

127) *Я только сейчас понял, – он все бубнил **что-то вроде**: би... би... би... би, а это он просил: «Пить, пить», кружка рядом, хоть бы выполнил его последнюю волю* [В. Гроссман. Жизнь и судьба (1960)];

先前他一个劲儿嘟哝，**好像**是'霍……霍……霉……'，现在我才明白，他这是要喝水。茶杯就在旁边，真应该满足他最后的要求。（*Ли Ган* 2015: 390);

* *Раньше он бормотал, **кажется**, «би... би... би... би», но теперь я понял, что он хочет пить воду. Чашка чая была рядом, что должно было действительно удовлетворить его последнюю просьбу;*

128) *Он должен был произнесть **что-нибудь такое вроде**: я, мой меч и мой народ, как Вильгельм, или что-нибудь в этом духе* [Б.Л. Пастернак. Доктор Живаго (1945-1955)];

他本应当讲些这类的话，**比如说**：'我，我的剑和我的人民……'就像威廉皇帝那样，总之是这方面的话。（*Чжан Пинхэн* 2016: 277);

* *Ему следовало бы сказать что-нибудь в этом роде, **например**: «Я, мой меч и мой народ...», как кайзер Вильгельм, вот и всё;*

129) ***Что-нибудь вроде*** *«признаю свою вину, исказил, обещаю исправить, осознал», вот в таком роде, вы ведь знаете, уже есть стандарт* [В. Гроссман. Жизнь и судьба (1960)];

比如，就写：'我承认错误，我错了，现在认识到了，保证改正。'就写诸如此类的话，您是知道的，这都是老一套了。（*Ли Ган* 2015: 1279);

* ***Например***, *просто напишите: «Я признаю свою ошибку, я был неправ, теперь я это осознаю и обещаю исправить». Знаете, просто писать такие слова, это всё то же самое;*

130) *Отец уклонялся объяснять или же выставлял что-нибудь смехотворное, **вроде**: «Видишь ли, в принципе я не против твоего Левки, или Шулепки, как ты его называешь* [Ю. Трифонов. Дом на набережной (1976)];

遇到这样的问题，父亲向来回避解释，或者用一句逗笑的话一带而过，**比如**，你瞧，原则上我不反对你的廖夫卡或舒列帕，你是这样叫他吧？（*Су Чжоусюн* 1983: 29);

* *Встречаясь с такой проблемой, мой отец всегда уклоняется от её объяснения или выдаёт её смешной фразой, **например**, я в принципе не имею ничего против вашего Лёвки или Шулепы, вы его так называете?*

131) *От Люси бывали и длинные, подробные письма, особенно если она перед тем долго не давала о себе знать, в которых матери отводилось больше места и в которых она писала **что-нибудь вроде**: «Скажите маме, что лекарства помогают в любом возрасте»* [В. Распутин. Последний срок (1970)];

有时也会接到柳夏寄来的写得比较详细的长信，特别是在她久无音讯之后，在这种情况下，写到妈妈的地方也就稍微多些，在这样的信里她总是写一些**诸如**"请你们跟妈妈说，吃药对任何年龄的人都有好处一类的话"。(*Юй Хун* 1982: 445);

* *Иногда я получала длинные и подробные письма от Лю Ся, особенно после того, как о ней долгое время не было вестей. В этом случае она писала лишь немного больше о своей матери. В таких письмах она всегда пишет такие фразы, **как, например**: «Пожалуйста, скажите маме, что принимать лекарства полезно людям любого возраста»;*

132) *Жербунов пробормотал **что-то вроде** «мал ты мне указывать», но все же закинул винтовку за плечо* [В. Пелевин. Чапаев и пустота (1996)];

热尔布诺夫咕哝了一句"还轮不到你来指挥我"**之类**的话，但还是把步枪背到了肩上。(*Чжэн Тиву* 2004: 35).

* *Жербунов пробормотал, **например**: «Пока не твоя очередь мной командовать», но винтовку всё равно перекинул через плечо.*

Most often, one of the markers-approximators in the function of *xeno-marker* is PMA *vrode (vrode togo/ vrode togo chto),*[38] and the translation of such uses is also a significant difficulty.

In context (126), the speaker uses a combination of hedge chto-to and PMA *vrode togo chto,* to introduce his own speech, which he conveys very approximately. Here, the translation uses **the method of omission**: the interpreter has translated only the speech itself, without a marker *vrode*.

In context (127), in a similar situation, PMA *vrode* is translated as the introductory word 好像 *hao xiang* 'kazhetsya'.

In context (128), someone else's speech is again introduced by a combination of marker and hedge. Here PMA *vrode* is translated as 比如说 *bi ru*

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38 The marker-approximator *tipa (tipa togo/ tipa togo chto)* is also common in this role (see more about it: *Pragmatic markers...* 2021: 396-404, as well as section 2.1.2 of this study), however, such examples, as already noted above, were not the focus of attention in this part of the work.

shuo 'bi zhu is a marker of examples, shuo is to speak' (*Dictionary...* 2005: 70, 1285). Apparently, we can talk about a new method of translation, which is found in the material of the user subcorpus: the **use of significant words (not function and not introductory) with the function of PMA,** or the **omission of PMA, but the transfer of its function in other words.**

In contexts (129) and (130), PMA *vrode* is translated as the introductory word 比如 *bi ru* 'for example'. In Chinese 比如 *bi ru* can be synonymous with 好像 *hao xiang* 'kazhetsya' in certain contexts. This is a familiar **method for translating PMA as an introductory word**, only the range of these introductory words expands, and not all of them have the semantics of approximation or uncertainty.

In the context of (131), PMA *vrode* is translated as the introductory word 诸如......一类 *zhu ru ... yi lei* 'as for example' (*id.:* 1776); in the context of (132) – as 之类 *zhi lei* 'such as ..., for example' (*id.*: 827). These examples do not provide any new methods of translation.

Russian PMA are also capable of performing the function of boundary marker in speech, of which only the final ones were found in the user subcorpus, cf.:

133) *Писем от вас не было **вроде**...* [М.А. Шолохов. Тихий Дон (1932-1940)];

好像没有接到过您的什么书信…… (*Цзинь Жэнь* 2015: 1977);

* ***Кажется**, я не получал от тебя писем..*;

134) *Вы против богатых, за бедных **вроде*** [М.А. Шолохов. Тихий Дон (1932-1940)];

你们反对的是财主，**似乎**是为穷人谋福利的。 (*Цзинь Жэнь* 2015: 2233).

* *Вы выступаете против богатых и, **кажется**, выступаете за благо бедных.*

In context (133), PMA *vrode* is translated as the introductory word 好像 *hao xiang* 'kazhetsya'. In context (134) it is translated as the introductory word 似乎 *si hu*, which also means 'kazhetsya'.

In the user subcorpus, there are also frequent in Russian colloquial phrases of PM and multiple uses of PMA in one sentence, cf.:

135) ***Ну как бы*** *да. Можно и так сказать. И не только они, кстати. У нас внутри – весь кайф в мире. Когда ты что-нибудь глотаешь или колешь, ты просто высвобождаешь какую-то его часть* [В. Пелевин. Чапаев и пустота (1996)];

好像是的。也可以这么说。不光它们，顺便说一句。世界上的所有快感都在我们的体内。当你吞吃或是注射什么时，你释放的不过是所有快感的一部分。（*Чжэн Тиву* 2004: 297);

* ***Кажется***, *да. То же самое можно сказать. Не только они, кстати. Все удовольствия мира находятся внутри нас. Когда вы что-то глотаете или впрыскиваете, вы высвобождаете лишь часть общего удовольствия.*

136) *Он прибежал туда **вроде как бы** прощаться* [Ю. Трифонов. Дом на набережной (1976)];

他**似乎**是跑到那里去辞行的。（*Су Чжоусюн* 1983: 166);

* *Он, **кажется**, прибежал туда попрощаться.*

137) ***Вроде*** *зря я их вызвал, **вроде** обманул. Я понима-а-ю* [В. Распутин. Последний срок (1970)];

好象我平白无故地把她们叫了来，**好象**我欺骗了她们，我明-明白。（*Юй Хун* 1982: 336).

* ***Казалось***, *я позвал их сюда ни с того ни с сего, **казалось**, я их обманул, и я это знал.*

In context (135), PMA *kak by* as part of the starting chain, is translated as the introductory word 好像 *hao xiang* 'kazhetsya'.

In context (136), of the two PMAs (*vrode* and *kak by*), only one marker (似乎 *si hu* 'kazhetsya') is translated, for the second the translator used **the omitting method**.

In context (137), PMA *vrode* is used twice, which is again translated as the introductory word 好象 *hao xiang* 'kazhetsya'.

The results of the study are presented in Table 8.

Table 8

Methods of translation of Russian pragmatic markers-approximators into Chinese

Methods of translation		Number of contexts (%)
(1) Omission PMA		**17,4**
(2) Omission PMA, transfer its function in other words		**4,3**
(3) PMA → meaningful word	PMA → function word	11,1*[39]
	PMA → introductory word with approximation semantics	61,1*
	PMA → introductory word with different semantics	22,2*
	Literal translation of PMA with loss of meaning	5,6*
	All	**78,3**

Table 8 shows that the analysis of the user subcorpus revealed three different methods of translating Russian PMA into Chinese. Most often (78.3%) when translating Russian markers-approximators, translators used ordinary significant words. There may be several reasons for this state of affairs. Either translators do not see any pragmatic specificity in these units or even do not know about the existence of PMA in Russian colloquial speech, or they see this specificity and know about markers, but cannot find corresponding analogues in their language, or, which is quite likely, such analogues simply do not exist in Chinese or they have not yet been identified and described by specialists in Chinese colloquial speech. In any case, the conclusions obtained in this work become especially significant in this situation, since such a method of translation cannot be considered successful. Especially unsuccessful is the literal translation of PMA with significant words (4.3%), with a complete loss of both meaning and pragmatic specificity.

It should be noted that the same high (although somewhat lower against the background of our data) percentage of translation with significant words was also revealed on the material of translations into Chinese of the Russian marker-hesitative – *eto samoe* – 52.5% (*Sun Xiaoli* 2021: 190), which indicates, on the one hand, the universality of the problem of translating Russian PMs into other

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[39] The percentages marked with (*) are calculated from the total number of translation methods of the considered PMAs using significant words.

languages (including Chinese), and on the other hand, about the fact that the difficulties of translating different markers are not quite the same.

In second place in terms of prevalence in the user subcorpus, as in the case of the PM hesitative *eto samoe,* was the method of omitting the marker: 17.4 and 25.0%, respectively. This method also cannot be considered a successful translation: the absence of the PM clearly changes the speech portrait of the character.

Finally, in this study, the most successful translation method was revealed: the omission of the PMA with the transfer of its function in other words (4.3%) (cf. 2.5% of such translations of the marker *eto samoe* in the above-mentioned work by *Sun Xiaoli*). Here the translator clearly "recognized" the Russian marker, but could not find a worthy analogue for it in Chinese.

It should be noted that in this study, there were no cases of PMA translation with the appropriate Chinese marker (PMA → PMA), which would be the most successful translation method and what was found for PM *eto samoe*: 20.0% of such transfers (*Sun Xiaoli* 2021: 190).[40]

2.5.3. Conclusions on the section

Translation facilitates communication between different countries and nationalities in different fields. It is not easy to engage in literary translation, especially great difficulties for translators are created by the colloquial speech of characters, which in literary works is the main means of forming the images of these characters.

In addition to achieving semantic equivalence when translating literary colloquial speech, it is also necessary to pay attention to equivalence in pragmatic effects. However, pragmatic markers most often do not have an absolute equivalent in Chinese either in form or function (*Sun Xiaoli, Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2023).

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[40] The situation is similar in other languages: see, for example, the experience of analyzing the translations of the same Russian hesitation marker *eto samoe* into Serbian (*Timotijevich* 2022) and Finnish (*Osmak* 2023), where the authors managed to find a number of correspondences to this Russian PM. Other studies on the translations of pragmatic Russian markers-approximators apparently do not yet exist for any language.

Literary translation should convey the artistic concept of the original work so that the readers of the target text can get the same aesthetic perception as the readers of the original text. Thus, the specifics of the characters' speech cannot be ignored when translating. These factors further complicate the translation work of Russian literary texts by Chinese translators, which requires translators to use the method of discursive analysis, take into account contextual factors and correctly understand the functions of PMA. This is the only way to preserve the individuality of the characters in the original literary work.

As for the subject of this study, the results of the analysis allow us to outline some of its *prospects.* Thus, we can take a set of the closest analogues of PMA used by translators in the analyzed works (*si hu* 似乎, *jiu xiang* 就像, *hao xiang* 好像(象) – for "pure" approximators, *bi zhu* 比如, *zhu ru* 诸如, *lai zhe* 来着 – for approximators-xeno-markers), find them in Chinese literary texts and see how they were translated by now Russian translators. Hypothetically, these units have a "chance" to coincide not only with the introductory words *kazhetsya* and *naprimer*, but also with the Russian PMA *tipa, kak by, vrode* – and then it will be possible to talk about analogues of these units in the Russian and Chinese languages.

It seemed interesting to further analyze the gestural accompaniment of Russian PMAs – the next section of the work is devoted to this.

2.6. *The Relationship of pragmatic markers-approximators and their gestural accompaniment*

According to A. Merabyan, only 7% of the transmission of information in the course of communication is carried out by verbal means, another 38% are accounted for by sounds and intonation, and the remaining 55% are by facial expressions and gestures (*Mehrabian* 1981). This raises the question of the need to study not only the verbal, but also the non-verbal component of language.

There is no doubt that there is a close relationship between gestures and spoken pragmatic markers-approximators, which together make up many ways of human communication. Gestural accompaniment, as a form of non-verbal

communication, enhances colloquial expressions, making them more vivid and concrete. This section of the chapter is based on the articles: *Xiang Yanan, Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2024b, *Bogdanova-Beglarian, Xiang Yanan* 2025.

The source of the *material* for the analysis in this part of the work was the Multimedia subcorpus of the Russian National Corpus, which contains oral texts aligned with the corresponding video fragments and provided with transcripts. MURCO thus allows you to study oral speech, using not only written texts, but also real sound and its gestural accompaniment.

Let's consider the results obtained in the course of the study.

2.6.1. Gestures in language

The study of gestures has become a hot topic in the field of cognitive linguistics in recent years. Gestures are a kind of precursor to language and were vital for the early stage of human communication. There is a *theory of gestures* – one of the hypotheses about the origin of language. According to this theory, language originates from certain forms of gestures, spoken language is preceded by *gesture language*, which is subsequently gradually replaced by vocal signals, becoming "a secondary complement to the sounds of the voice" (*Bunak* 1966: 524). This statement was quite popular in the last century, and many linguists and psychologists agree with it. For example, according to the teaching of the Soviet linguist N.Y. Marr, gestures ("linear or kinetic speech") served as the only means of communication of primitive people for one and a half million years – in the period between the animal state and the emergence of sound speech (*Marr* 1931: 271). Gestures are the earliest means of communication used in the process of human evolution and became the basis for the emergence and development of language.

Language is an undoubted miracle and the most unique human ability. Spontaneous generation of oral speech is often accompanied by gestures, which, complementing speech and helping speakers to convey their thoughts, emotions and experiences more vividly to the interlocutor, thereby forming a single

multimodal cluster (*Grishina* 2011). Gestures are made in combination with words that have a specific (not necessarily lexical) meaning.

Language and gestures are the two main modes of human communication. *Language* is a sign system of symbols that expresses meaning through sounds, and *gestures* complement this meaning through body movements. Language and gestures can interact with each other, increasing the effectiveness of communication. Spontaneous speech is often associated with a gesture that profiles the properties of the referent (*Müller* 2014: 1691). Verbal speech is often accompanied by gestures that complement the meaning of what is said. Gesture accompaniment is not only an illustration of speech, but also its component (*McNeill* 1985: 350). It can be said that gestures are a kind of "window" into thought processes, into the speaker's subconscious (*McNeill* 1992: 12; *Cienki, Mü ller* 2008: 493). Using gestures in everyday speech can help speakers express themselves better and be better understood by listeners.

2.6.2. Gestures of uncertainty and pragmatic markers-approximators

The study of the relationship between gestures of uncertainty and PMA is presented in this section of the work on the material with the unit *tipa*. The user subcorpus includes 48 contexts from the MURCO subcorpus, in which *tipa* has gesture accompaniment. The analysis of the gesture behavior of speakers was based on the classification of K. Müller and A. Chenki (*Müller* 1998; *Cienki* 2013), who distinguish, among others, *pragmatic* gestures, involving hand movements with various subfunctions and mainly related to discourse. Cf. contexts and figures below.

138) [Д.О.Д., муж, 60, 1953, лингвист] *это* <u>*там*</u> ***типа*** <u>*что-то (…)*</u> <u>*какое-нибудь*</u> <u>*там*</u> *«встать не с той ноги»/* <u>*там*</u> *а по-английски это «to get out of the bed from the wrong side»/ а немецкое оно тоже похоже. И полное отсутствие эквивалента это* [нрзб] *объяснить/ или кстати* <u>*там*</u> *немецкая идиома* [говорит по-немецки]*/* <u>*как бы*</u> *"зуб времени"/ который глодает нас всех/ а по-русски мы скажем «печать времени»/ или* <u>*там*</u> *«время наложило на него свою печать»/ то есть это попадёт* <u>*вот*</u> *в аналоги/ то есть* <u>*как бы*</u> *внутренняя форма совпадает/ но образ совсем не тот.*

Fig. 12   *Fig. 13*

In context (138), the speaker is trying to express an idea, but he is not completely sure of the wording, so he uses PMA *tipa* to buy time to find a suitable expression. It can be seen that in the example there are also many other PMs (*tam, kak by, ili tam*) and various hedges (*chto-to, kakoe-nibud*) that weaken the illocutionary power of the statement, make it vague, partially relieve the speaker of responsibility for what is said and soften the categorical nature of his statements (*Fraser* 2013) (all such elements are underlined here and further in the context). It can be said that hedges and markers-approximator together increase the speaker's uncertainty (*Xiang Yanan, Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2023). As can be seen from Figures (12)-(13), when pronouncing a word *tipa* the speaker waves his hand, accompanying this gesture with a marker-approximator.

139) [С.С., муж, 48, 1953, лингвист] *Но про то/ как конкретно… Мы знаем/ что они произносились **типа** приблизительно как «т»/ «д» и «дх»/ но может быть… Есть разные гипотезы по поводу того/ как конкретно/ что/ может быть/ «д» было не «д»/ а/ скажем/ глоттализованное «т». Есть такая теория. И так далее.*

Fig. 14   Fig. 15

In context (139), the speaker's uncertainty is expressed with the help of PMA *tipa*, hedges (*priblizitelno, mozhet byt*) and PM (*skazhem*). As can be seen from figures (14)-(15), when pronouncing *tipa,* the speaker waves his hand vigorously. Interestingly, he repeats the same gesture with his hand on the word *priblizitelno*, as if equalizing these units functionally.

The data of the analysis show that about a third (27%) of all uses *tipa* in the corpus material turned out to be uses *tipa* like PMA. More than a third (36%) of such uses *tipa* are accompanied by noticeable gestures. As a rule, these are hand gestures or gestures with both hands. Movements of one hand when pronouncing *tipa* look like a go-ahead (they say, it's not so important) or a "search in the air" for the specifics they are looking for. With both hands, when pronouncing *tipa xeno-marker*, the speaker sometimes seems to draw a circle into which he closes someone else's speech. It is quite difficult to separate the gestures accompanying the pronunciation of the *tipa* from other gestures, although the connection between *tipa* and hand gestures is still visible to the naked eye.

2.6.3. Gestures of introducing someone else's speech and pragmatic markers-approximators

A separate class in the PM series are *xeno*-markers, which introduce *someone else's speech* into the narrative – in the broad sense of the term, i.e. one's own, said earlier or planned for the future, as well as one's own or someone else's thoughts and even the interpretation of another person's behavior (*Lewontina* 2010;

Bogdanova-Beglarian, Ryko 2022). Usually, the transmission of someone else's speech is discussed within the framework of the category of *evidentiality*. As V.A. Plungyan notes, this category is "a set of grammatical or lexical meanings that express an explicit indication of the source of the speaker's information regarding the situation reported by him" (*Plungyan* 2003: 321). In the Russian language, this category is not grammaticalized, so the evidential meaning is expressed lexically or syntactically. Lexical means can include such introductory words as *govoryat, po slukham*, etc., as well as xeno-markers studied in this section of the work.

The class of xeno-markers in Russian communication is very extensive: from the classical and long-codified *mol, de, deskat,* to the markers *vot, takoy/takaya/takie, grit/grish/grim, tipa/tipa togo/tipa togo chto, vot, tak i tak, koroche,* and many others.[41] The function of the xeno-markers can also become additional for a number of markers-approximators, in cases where the speaker is not sure of the accuracy of the transmitted foreign or own words or only "reads" someone else's speech, interpreting someone else's "speech behavior". Such an ability is possessed by PMAs *tipa/tipa togo/tipa togo chto, vrode/vrode togo/vrode togo chto, kak by*, and some others (see the corresponding sections of this work above).

The user subcorpus of this part of the study includes 21 contexts with markers-approximators, which perform an additional function of xeno-markers in oral speech, while maintaining the pragmatics of approximation (uncertainty). In 14 examples out of 21 (66.7%), the video sequence revealed the gestural accompaniment of the speaker's use of the PMA xeno-markers.

As a result of the analysis of gesture accompaniment on the material obtained, it was possible to build a classification of gestures, which includes such varieties as hand waves, finger movements, bits (gestures that mark the beat), rotation and fluctuation. The frequency of use of the identified types of gestures is presented in Table 9.

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[41] For the most complete lists of "new" xeno-markers, see the following works: *Levontina* 2020; *Shklyaruk* 2023.

Table 9

Frequency of use of different types of gestures

№	Types of gestures	Abs. quantity	Rel. quantity (%)
1	Wave of the hand	6	40,0
2	Finger movements	5	33,3
3	Bits	2	13,3
4	Rotation	1	6,7
5	Fluctuation	1	6,7

Native speakers who like to gesture during a conversation usually express emotions well: they can use gestures to increase the expressiveness of their speech, to express their opinions. In this paper, only hand gestures at the time of speech are considered: their position, direction and movement. Screenshot software was used in the analysis. A typical gesture goes through three stages: preparation, stroke, and retraction. Gestures make it possible to highlight certain shades of pragmatic meaning implicit in the speech of interlocutors (*Lomia* 2014: 47). See the following examples with figures.

140) [Е.Д., жен, журналист] *То ей говорят/ ну/ тогда не в нашей компании. Вот насколько это проблема в том числе законодательства/ что **как бы** есть государство/ которое предлагает работодателю этот длинный декретный отпуск оплачивать.*
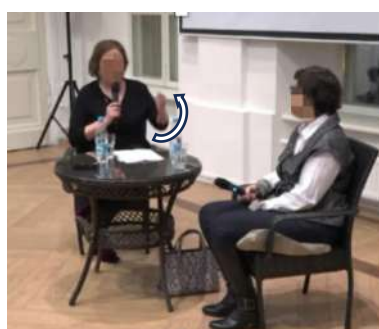
Fig. 16	*Fig. 17*	*Fig. 18*

In context (140), the speaker tries to explain in her own words what the *problem of legislation* is. The approximator *kak by* marks the information she received from an external source, i.e., acts as a xeno-marker. It is for this reason that the transmitted information is potentially not entirely reliable. As can be seen from Figures (16)-(18), when pronouncing the marker *kak by* the speaker rapidly waves her hand upwards, starting to transmit someone else's speech.

It can be assumed that the function of the xeno-marker in the approximator *kak by* is not quite obvious in this context, but it is important for us that it is possible[42]. Oral spontaneous speech is in principle diffuse, vague, poorly structured, and lacks certainty in the use of many units, which makes such material, on the one hand, extremely difficult to annotate and describe, and on the other hand, just as interesting for linguistic research. "Formless state" of oral speech in comparison with codified language was written by L.V. Shcherba, emphasizing that it is "difficult to grasp anything definite" in it (*Shcherba* 1957: 17-18); and B.M. Gasparov wrote about oral speech as "that hard-to-notice and constantly elusive, dynamic aspect of our interaction with language, which accompanies our existence in the language at each of its moments, throughout our life experience" (*Gasparov* 1996: 18). R. Barthes metaphorically called our natural everyday speech "the hum of language", correlating it with the hum of a "properly working machine", with the rustle of leaves, the murmur of springs, the sound of the wind – in a word, with the "trembling of Nature" – and calling to listen to this hum, "asking for the trembling meaning in it" (*Barthes* 1989: 544). According to P. Thompson, "oral narration <... > primitive from the point of view of grammatical structure, full of redundant expressions and unjustified deviations; there is much that is subjective, emotional, and hypothetical" (*Thompson* 2003: 277). However, such "untidy" nature of such a narrative can serve as an additional source of information for the historian of everyday life, since it allows us to identify "often half-conscious, hidden meanings that the speech itself betrays" (*id.*) (quoted in *Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2021: 46).

141) [Г.А.С., муж, пресс-секретарь МУП] *Ну/ давайте уйдём немножко в другую сторону/ я вам просто так хочу сказать/ что вот мы **как бы** тут все/ ну/ я про себя говорю/ да/ молодые ребята/ и многие проекты/ многие проекты мы реализовывали там с минимумом бюджета. Понимаете?*

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[42] It is noteworthy that in the PM Dictionary the function of inputting foreign speech for PM *kak by* is not fixed at all: the material on which this dictionary was built simply did not provide such an opportunity. The expansion of the material undertaken in the present study allowed us to expand the functional potential of this PM.

Fig. 19　　　*Fig. 20*　　　*Fig. 21*

As can be seen from Figures (19)-(21), the speaker, conveying his own speech in the context of (141), first clenches his fist, and when pronouncing the approximator *kak by* unclenches it and waves his hand to the left, as if "throwing" this information to the audience.

142) [А.З., муж, 77, 1935, ученый] *Так вот/ версия состоит в том/ что он не просто оттуда извлёк некоторое содержание/ а что он погрузился в язык Ипатьевской летописи и вот с-умел достичь такого замечательного эффекта/ что сейчас по десяткам/ если не сотням параметров невидимых/ вот **типа того/ что** "еси был"...*

Fig. 22　　　*Fig. 23*　　　*Fig. 24*

The construction *tipa togo chto* is an extended version of the basic PMA *tipa*, which often appears in Russian speech in the function of xeno-marker (*Pragmatic markers...* 2021: 396-404; and Section 2.1.2 of this study). In the context (142), the speaker uses this marker to convey the content of *versii*. Figures (22) to (24) show the speaker rhythmically waving his hand left and right, emphasizing the hypothetical nature of this versii.

143) [М.В.С., муж, экономист][43] *Вот Делягин говорит про Сбербанк/* ***типа****/ какой он эффективный. Я могу сказать/ почему/ что за этим стоит.*
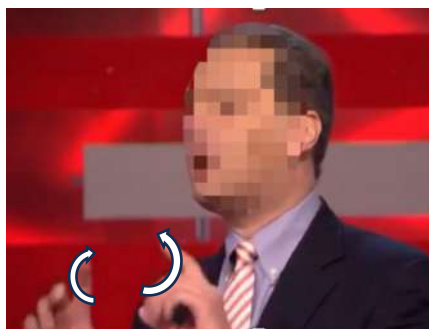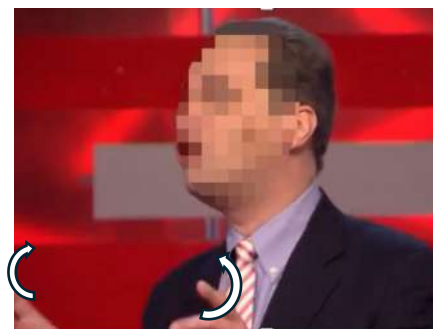

| *Fig. 25* | *Fig. 26* | *Fig. 27* |

In context (143), the speaker introduces someone else's speech, using both the verb *govorit* and the PMA *tipa*[44]. When pronouncing the marker, the speaker draws a circle with both hands, as if enclosing the transmitted speech in quotation marks – see Fig. (25)-(27).

144) [Л.П., жен, 49, 1967, психолог] *Вспомните/ что когда там появился Горбачёв/ который стал с женой где-то появляться/ и как-то по-другому/ да/ я помню вечные такие разговоры про/ «****Типа**** куда она лезет/ зачем вообще ей это? Да. Почему/ почему вообще так?» Так не должно быть. Должен быть одинокий человек/ женатый на стране.*
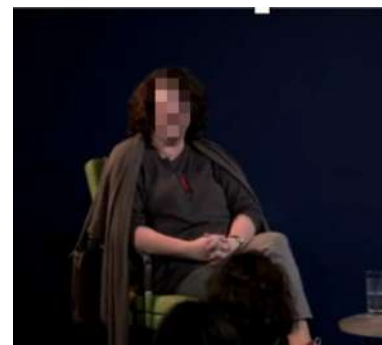
| *Fig. 28* | *Fig. 29* | *Fig. 30* |

In context (144), the speaker encourages listeners *to recall conversations*. Such a recollection a priori cannot be absolutely accurate, which forces her to use PMA *tipa* and a lot of hedges (*gde-to, kak-to*) – the implementation of the hedging

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[43] V.S. Milov was included in the register of foreign agents of the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation on 06.05.2022.

[44] Such situations of simultaneous use of two markers of input of someone else's speech – the traditional verb of speaking and the xeno-marker – are by no means uncommon in Russian oral discourse (see more details: *Pragmatic markers*... 2021: 144-158). See a similar example in context (139).

strategy is obvious. From Figures (28)-(30) it can be seen that in the word *tipa* a woman opens her thumbs of her clasped hands and moves them, which marks the transmission of these long-standing *conversations*. At the same time, she strikes several times with her clasped hands from top to bottom, which probably expresses some of her excitement.

145) [П.Г.С., муж, 35, 1972)] *Тебя привезут к нему в дом/ отведут в залу/ и там наверняка придётся подождать. – Почему? – Я давно Мишку знаю/ он всегда заставляет ждать. Наверно/ страху нагоняет. Услышишь шаги/ вставай к окну. Потом/ когда он войдёт/ повернись и скажи шо-нить **типа**/ «У вас красивый дом».*

Fig. 31	Fig. 32	Fig. 33

In example (145), an approximator *tipa* accompanies the verb *skazhi*, and with the help of both of these units, someone else's speech is introduced, formed according to the model of constructions with direct speech[45]. Figures (31)-(33) show that at the moment of pronouncing the PMA *tipa,* the speaker's right hand rotates strongly.

146) [С.Р.Х., муж, 36, 1971)] *Макс. Максим. Надо слоган какой-то убедительный придумать. **Типа там**/ Я дам вам… Что он им может дать? – Смотря чего у них нету. – Ничего у них нет. – Такой слоган/ Я дам вам всё.*

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[45] For different models of introducing someone else's speech into oral narration using xeno-indicator markers, see: *Shklyaruk, Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2023.

| Fig. 34 | Fig. 35 | Fig. 36 |

In context (146), a structural variant of marker-approximator *tipa* with the function of xeno-marker is used. The variant is formed by adding a component *tam* and thus acquires another additional function – *hesitation* (overcoming speech hitch and shaping speech search). In addition, the addition of a word *tam* is likely to allow the marker *tipa tam* to also implement a rhythm-forming function, as a result of which harmony of rhythmic groups is created in the speech flow. Figures (34)-(36) show that when the speaker pronounces *tipa tam*, his right hand oscillates regularly to the left and right, and this gesture also reflects approximation and hesitation.

Quantitative analysis of the data obtained in this study allowed us to draw a preliminary conclusion that in Russian oral speech, a significant part (66.7% of the total volume of the analyzed material) of the use of markers-approximator in the function of xeno-marker is accompanied by noticeable gestures. At the same time, the speaker makes such pragmatic gestures as waving the hand (one-time or repeated) (40.0%), finger movements (33.3%), bits (13.3%), rotation (6.7%) and hesitation (6.7%). In addition, gestures help the speaker convey strong emotions or attitudes to the situation.

2.6.4. Conclusions on the section

Gestures and spoken language play an indispensable role in human communication and cognitive processes. They are interdependent and influence each other. Gestures arise along with speech and can convey meanings that are hidden in the speaker's mind or that he does not want to be known. Gestures are more than just waving the hands of a speaker or attracting someone's attention,

they are also non-verbal means of human language that emphasize, complement or clarify something in speech. All this points to the possibility of considering gestures as an important non-verbal indicator in discourse.

The analysis showed that there is a close connection between gestures and speech, which is reflected in semantic agreement and temporal synchronization. The results of studies of this kind can be useful for a comprehensive analysis of oral discourse within the framework of colloquialistics and cognitive linguistics. From the point of view of polymodal research, the results obtained can also be useful in elucidating the relationship between gestures and speech in the process of metaphorical representation.

2.7.   Conclusions on the chapter

In this chapter of the work, the results of a comprehensive analysis of pragmatic markers-approximators in Russian everyday speech were presented, in such aspects as the establishment of the functions of PMA within the framework of speech communication, the search for a correlation between the PMA and the speaker's psychotype, a comparative analysis of the Russian speech of Russians and Chinese, the identification of the specifics of the translation of Russian PMA into Chinese and the disclosure of the relationship between PMA and their gestural accompaniment.

In the first section of the chapter, typical PMAs *kak by, tipa, vrode, ili tam*, potential PMAs *v svoem rode* and *v nekotorom rode*, and a potential marker-approximator *kak budto (by)* are considered at the level of a phrase. Aspects of analysis include *type of speech, type of communication, topic of conversation, linguistic analysis of "neighbors" in the context, position in the phrase, forms of speech (monologue or dialogue), whether there are pauses in the transcripts, character of the speaker* (*gender, age, profession,* etc.), *functioning,* etc. The results of the analysis showed that PMAs actively operate in oral communication, implementing a hedging strategy and reducing the categorical nature of the speaker's statements, often performing many functions, such as approximation, hesitation, xeno-marker, boundary, rhythm-forming, etc.

The second section of the chapter examines the functioning of PMA in dialogue and monologue. The analysis shows that in a small number of cases the main functions of PMA in monologue and dialogue can be defined as approximation and hesitation, in a small number of cases – marking the start or end of a remark or monologue. In dialogue PMA also perform the functions of a xeno-marker and a rhythm-forming marker. No such function was found for monologue.

The third section of the chapter describes the correlation of PMA with the speaker's psychotype (introversion / extroversion) – based on the material of monologues-stories. The analysis showed that introverts are 2 times more likely to use PMA than extroverts. In other words, introverts tend to express themselves more "cautiously" than extroverts. It can be said that there is a clear correlation between the psychotype and the characteristics of oral spontaneous speech.

The fourth section presents data from a comparative analysis of Russian speech by native speakers of Russian and Chinese using descriptive monologues as material. The analysis showed that Russians use hedging strategies almost 3 times more often than the Chinese in the course of building such a monologue. At the same time, the Russian speech of the Chinese was not detected at all, although those informants who have a higher level of Russian language proficiency use hedges in their speech. Thus, there is a basis for considering the issue of including PMA in the lexical minimums for the corresponding level of TORFL and in the bilingual dictionary.

In the fifth section of the chapter, the specificity of Chinese translations of Russian PMA is revealed – based on the material of parallel texts of literary works. It was revealed that in most cases (78.3%) translators used ordinary significant words when translating Russian PMA. Direct translation of PMA with significant words (4.3%) is especially unsuccessful: both the meaning and practical specificity are completely lost Among the most successful methods of translation are the omission of the PMA and the transfer of their functions by other means (4.3%). As a research perspective, we can take a set of the closest analogues of PMA in

Chinese literary texts and determine how they were translated by Russian translators.

In the sixth section of the chapter, the relationship between gesture accompaniment and PMA in expressing uncertainty and introducing someone else's speech into the narrative is revealed. The results showed that more than a third (36%) of the use of PMA in the function of reducing categoricality and a significant part (66.7%) in the function of a xeno-marker are accompanied by noticeable gestures between gestures and the use of PMA.

CONCLUSION

In living speech, an active process of *pragmaticization* takes place, as a result of which in semantics "the role of the pragmatic component increases and the importance of the denotative and significative elements decreases" (*Bogdanova-Beglarian* 2014a: 10): special functional units – pragmatic markers – are "born". One of the classes of such PM are approximators. This type of marker is used by the speaker when he is not sure of what he is talking about, or when direct naming of an object, phenomenon or state of affairs is unnecessary, inappropriate or impossible. It is precisely such units that were the subject of a comprehensive analysis in this work.

Hedges are considered to be a concept close to pragmatic markers-approximators. Units of both these classes in oral speech often together perform the function of reducing the categorical nature of utterance and mutually reinforce the pragmatic significance of each other. However, they retain their belonging to different types of functional speech units: hedges are within the parts of speech (are full words), and PMA go beyond these limits.

Pragmatic markers-approximators, as a way of expressing hedging and approximation in speech, have their own unique characteristics and are actively replenished in Russian everyday speech. Typical PMA – *kak by*, *tipa*, *vrode*, *ili tam*, potential PMA – *v svoem rode* and *v nekotorom rode*, close to markers-approximators *kak budto (by)* and their features of functioning are described in detail in this work. The corpus approach to the selection and systematization of speech material creates favorable conditions for the description of such units. According to the results of the analysis of various corpus materials (ORD, SAT, SS, MS and MURCO as part of the RNC), pragmatic markers-approximators, like all other PMs, have a multifunctional character, acting in the functions of approximation (reduction of the categorical nature of the speaker's statements), hesitation (overcoming the speech hitch and the design of speech search), xeno-marker (introduction of someone else's speech), marking the start or end, and some. At the same time, approximation always exists.

In this paper, based on quantitative and qualitative analysis of the material, a correlation is revealed between the functioning of the PMA and the type of text and the speaker's psychotype. The results show that the main functions of the PMA in both monologue and dialogue can be considered approximation, hesitation and (rarely) marking the start or end of a remark/monologue. In dialogue, the PMA also performs the function of a xeno-marker and a rhythm-forming marker; no such function was found for a monologue. The results of a comparative analysis of the PMA and the speaker's psychotype show that introverts use the hedging strategy in their speech twice as often as extroverts, i.e. introverts tend to express themselves more cautiously than extroverts.

It is especially interesting that many linguistic units in modern Russian are actively used in everyday speech, but their pragmatic meaning is not described in explanatory dictionaries of the Russian language, which can become a "stumbling block" for foreign students when studying Russian. Thus, it seems necessary to raise the issue of including PMA in the lexical minimums for the corresponding level of TRKI and in bilingual dictionaries.

In literary texts, writers quite actively use PMA to create a speech portrait of a particular character. The speech of the characters can be considered an imitation of colloquial speech. PMA as a phenomenon is characteristic of Russian speech, but their analogues have not yet been found in Chinese speech. Omitting PMA in translation (or mistranslation) can seriously change the speech portrait of characters in the target language, so translators need to take into account contextual factors and properly understand the functions and pragmatic meaning of PMA.

The analysis of oral texts with the corresponding video fragments demonstrates that the use of PMA is often accompanied by various gestures, such as waving the hand, finger movements, bats, rotation, oscillation, etc. They can convey meaning hidden in the speaker's mind. Such a study is useful for clarifying the connection between gestures and speech generation in the process of metaphorical depiction.

Undoubtedly, the frequency of PMA use can indicate the degree of spontaneity and naturalness of oral speech. Checking certain linguistic data on corpus material can give unexpected and interesting results.

The results of the study can be useful in various applied aspects of linguistics (cognitive science, socio- and psycholinguistics, linguistic forensics, creation of artificial intelligence, etc.), as well as in the practice of teaching Russian as a foreign language (especially in the Chinese audience) and in the practice of translating the oral speech of characters in Russian literary texts into other languages, including Chinese.

LIST OF USED ABBREVIATIONS

A   – pragmatic marker-approximator

B   – pragmatic boundary marker

D   – pragmatic deictic marker

DM   – discursive marker

E   – pragmatic replacement marker

I   – introvert

X   – pragmatic xeno-marker

M   – pragmatic metacommunicative marker

MURCO   – Multimedia Subcorpus of the Russian National Corpus

RNC   – Russian National Corpus

MS   – main subcorpus of the Russian National Corpus

ORD   – Corpus of everyday Russian speech "One Speech Day"

PM   – pragmatic marker

PMA   – pragmatic marker-approximator

WS   – written speech

PH   – pause of hesitation

Y   – pragmatic rhythm-forming marker

SA   – speech act

SA   – speech activity

RFL   – Russian as a foreign language

CS   – colloquial speech

S   – pragmatic self-correction marker

SAT   – Balanced Annotated Text Library

SS   – spontaneous speech

TORFL   – test in Russian as a foreign language

SS   – spoken subcorpus of the Russian National Corpus

OS   – oral speech

OSS   – oral spontaneous speech

R   – pragmatic reflexive marker

H   – pragmatic marker-hesitative

HP   – hesitation phenomena

E   – extrovert

EPI   – Psychological test G. Aizenka

IPM   – Interm per Million Words

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APPENDIX 1

PSYCHOLOGICAL TEST OF G. EISENK (EPI)

1. Вы часто испытываете тягу к новым впечатлениям, к тому, чтобы «встряхнуться», испытать возбуждение?

2. Часто ли вы нуждаетесь в друзьях, которые вас понимают, могут ободрить или утешить?

3. Вы человек беспечный?

4. Не находите ли вы, что вам очень трудно отвечать «нет»?

5. Задумываетесь ли вы перед тем, как что-нибудь предпринять?

6. Если вы обещаете что-то сделать, всегда ли вы сдерживаете свои обещания (независимо от того, удобно это вам или нет)?

7. Часто ли у вас бывают спады и подъемы настроения?

8. Обычно вы поступаете и говорите быстро, не раздумывая?

9. Часто ли вы чувствуете себя несчастным человеком без достаточных на то причин?

10. Сделали бы вы почти все что угодно на спор?

11. Возникает ли у вас чувство робости и смущения, когда вы хотите завести разговор с симпатичным лицом противоположного пола?

12. Выходите ли вы иногда из себя, злитесь?

13. Часто ли вы действуете под влиянием минутного настроения?

14. Часто ли вы беспокоитесь из-за того, что сделали или сказали что-нибудь такое, чего не следовало бы делать или говорить?

15. Предпочитаете ли вы обычно книги встречам с людьми?

16. Легко ли вас обидеть?

17. Любите ли вы часто бывать в компаниях?

18. Бывают ли у вас мысли, которые вы хотели бы скрыть от других?

19. Верно ли, что иногда вы полны энергии, так, что все горит в руках, а иногда совсем вялы?

20. Предпочитаете ли вы иметь друзей поменьше, но зато особенно близких вам?

21. Часто ли вы мечтаете?

22. Когда на вас кричат, вы отвечаете тем же?

23. Часто ли вас беспокоит чувство вины?

24. Все ли ваши привычки хороши и желательны?

25. Способны ли вы дать волю своим чувствам и вовсю повеселиться в компании?

26. Считаете ли вы себя человеком возбудимым и чувствительным?

27. Считают ли вас человеком живым и веселым?

28. Часто ли вы, сделав какое-нибудь важное дело, испытываете чувство, что могли бы сделать его лучше?

29. Вы больше молчите, когда находитесь в обществе других людей?

30. Вы иногда сплетничаете?

31. Бывает ли, что вам не спится из-за того, что разные мысли лезут в голову?

32. Если вы хотите узнать о чем-нибудь, то вы предпочитаете об этом прочитать в книге, нежели спросить?

33. Бывает ли у вас сильное сердцебиение?

34. Нравится ли вам работа, которая требует от вас постоянного внимания?

35. Бывают ли у вас приступы дрожи?

36. Всегда ли вы платили бы за провоз багажа на транспорте, если бы не опасались проверки?

37. Вам неприятно находиться в обществе, где подшучивают друг над другом?

38. Раздражительны ли вы?

39. Нравится ли вам работа, которая требует быстроты действия?

40. Волнуетесь ли вы по поводу каких-то неприятных событий, которые могли бы произойти?

41. Вы ходите медленно и неторопливо?

42. Вы когда-нибудь опаздывали на свидание или на работу?

43. Часто ли вам снятся кошмары?

44. Верно ли, что вы так любите поговорить, что никогда не упустите случай побеседовать с незнакомым человеком?

45. Беспокоят ли вас какие-нибудь боли?

46. Вы чувствовали бы себя очень несчастным, если бы длительное время были лишены широкого общения с людьми?

47. Можете ли вы назвать себя нервным человеком?

48. Есть ли среди ваших знакомых люди, которые вам явно не нравятся?

49. Можете ли вы сказать, что вы весьма уверенный в себе человек?

50. Легко ли вы обижаетесь, когда люди указывают на ваши ошибки в работе или на ваши личные промахи?

51. Вы считаете, что трудно получить настоящее удовольствие от вечеринки?

52. Беспокоит ли вас чувство, что вы чем-то хуже других?

53. Легко ли вам внести оживление в довольно скучную компанию?

54. Бывает ли, что вы говорите о вещах, в которых не разбираетесь?

55. Беспокоитесь ли вы о своем здоровье?

56. Любите ли вы подшучивать над другими?

57. Страдаете ли вы от бессонницы?

APPENDIX 2

TEXTS OF MONOLOUGUES-DESCRIPTIVE

INFORMANT № 1: woman-extrovert

э-э / на первой / к… / в общем тут несколько картинок // видимо они составляют историю на первой / нач… / история начинается с того что лысый мужчина снимает шляпу / перед продавщицей / видимо в каком-то парфюмерном магазине или может быть в аптеке / и-и / м-м / пок… / …казывает на то что он лысый и-и / пришёл к ней за эликсиром для волос // чтобы у него выросли волосы / ну / продавщица вся такая хм-хм-хм / на Мерлин Монро похожа кстати // что-то есть такое вообще // вот ну он весь такой радостный идёт э // видимо домой / чтобы использовать этот эликсир она наверно / м // на первой как раз объяснила как этим пользоваться // вот он приходит домой // э встаёт / рядом / перед зеркалом / рядом с раковиной / н-но видимо в ванне / и э / выплескивает эликсир / себе на голову // и-и / ложится спать // как бы подумал что э-э // что там // какое-то действие должно быть // за ночь произойти и ложится спать / и че… / трогает свою голову / что н-не н-начали ли расти у него волосы // а потом он как будто бы встаёт // и-и чувствует что у него появились первые волосы на голове и он такой радостный бежит к зеркалу // смотрит да действительно выросли волосы / на следующей картинке они уже становятся гуще и он начинает их причёсывать / подплясывает / подпрыгивает / дальше смотрит они уже вообще длинные по плечи становятся такие чёрные волосы / дальше ещё длиннее и длиннее / и он всё уже не знает как их причёсывать / у него уже чёлка как у девушки отрастает и он садится // в удивлении // начинает / обстригать эту чёлку / но ничего у него не получатся потому что у него волосы растут просто с неимоверной скоростью и-и в конце концов / он весь становится т… такой мохнатый / к… как не знаю как / ёжик / одни <смех> руки торчат там ноги / и он уже в ужасе в испуге видимо уже хочет бежать к этой продавщице // и заканчивается тем что он просыпается и на самом деле / всё это было только сон потому что он трогает свою голову // она по-прежнему лысая / и непонятно рад он или нет но-о / видимо рад тому что он // н-не так / порос // и вроде как он наверно уже привык к своей лысине // всё //

INFORMANT № 2: woman-introvert

та-а-ак / эликсир для волос // ну я вижу некого / полненького // молодого человека // лысенького / он приходит видимо в магазин // э-э-э // с целью // купить некий какой-то препарат / для того чтобы э-э // м-м / избавиться от лысины чтобы у него появились волосы на голове /// он это успешно делает /// м покупает // некую скляночку // с содержимым / идёт домой // и-и / выливает её на голову // после этого он ложится спать // очень-нь / озабоченный // видимо на у… / на следующий день он встаёт и обнаруживает что что у него на голове / выросли волосы // он с удивлением

смотрит в зеркало // никак не может прийти в себя // он очень счастлив // расчёсывает их тут / по-моему сушит феном // рассматривает себя в зеркало / н-н но внезапно что-то начинает осознавать что волосы / просто прут из него как // не знаю // как /// как термоядерные // в итоге он начинает их обрезать <смех> // тут конечно картинка <смех> // очень весёлая // в итоге он осознаёт что просто он весь оброс волосами / он их режет но ничего не помогает / он вообще стал / похож на какую-то / сигарашку // ну и в конце концов он-н / встаёт / и видимо обнаруживает что это всё ему просто приснилось // вот //

INFORMANT № 3: man-extrovert

ну значит какой-то / достаточно полный молодой человек / ну даже не молодой он абсолютно лысый // и вот он приходит в какой-то магазин // там всякие скляночки баночки стоят и говорит / э-э дайте мне пожалуйста / какой-нибудь эликсир для того чтобы волосы у меня отлично росли потому что в конце концов меня и женщины не любят я лысый / и-и / толстый / ну толстый ладно это ещё значит добрый а вот лысый это вообще как-то невозможно / ну вот пожалуйста вам такую // скляночку / значит надо / натереть голову // а э-э // ну так только не особо // и-и э-э // с утра просыпаетесь ну вечером натёрлись с утра просыпаетесь всё отлично // ну значит он баночку так любовно взял как реб... / вообще как младенца так хоп / и такой идёт домой // причём походка у него типа (припевая) летящей походкой ну отличная вообще походка // вот приходит домой <смех> / снимает зачем-то э / непонятно зачем снимает он эти подтяжки / причём выглядят они как будто капли п... продолжение то есть сначала подумал что это капли // вот ну и выливает себе на голову причём выливает так обильно // с утра просыпается причём голова у него видимо болит <смех> // то есть когда просыпается он так <смех> // а-а вот // и такой // проснулся лысый / а встаёт хоп / уже как у ёжика / ну так немножко // подходит / к зеркалу // причём зачем-то залезает в раковину то есть в принципе ну в советских обычно / э ванных комнатах у них / эти стенки практически картонные то есть раковина там висит на-а соплях / а тут он как бы з-з- залез э-э / ну-у / ну при этом волосы у него выросли ещё больше // он ещё в пижаме // но у него в руках уже / <со смехом> по-моему две расчёски // а может быть это конечно и зеркало / но возможно это такая расчёска знаешь с пимпочками такими // в-о-от // и-и потом он дальше доходит до зеркала у него уже такой хаир // потом он уже / похож буквально вообще непонятно на кого то есть у него волосы реально уже там ниже плечей то есть такие они по меркам салонов красоты считаются м / уже длинными то есть / это высокая цена то есть (хе) // а-а // вот что // а / ну да-да конечно / <смех> в-о-от / и потом / всё уже / то есть он всё ещё в пижаме / и-и-и / делать-то нечего и по-моему он начинает их стричь причём стричься как бы так серьёзно такими портняцкими ножницами // <смех> при этом он их так / рука козой // то есть он такой нормально пахан (нрзб.) / вот ну //

понятно с пузиком // э-э вот / потом он уже сидит в куче своих волос // у него в руках пучок такой как сено // м-м-м // и видимо эликсир очень / хорошо подействовал // очень отлично // только непонятно / в принципе почему у него на ладонях тогда не растут волосы // потому что когда он <смех> себя н натирал / как-то должно было и отовсюду // то есть в принципе за шиворот должно было налиться ну ладно это н-не суть как важно // вот и потом он похож на домовенка Кузю // м-м похож на домовенка Кузю / у него / реально / вот из всего тела торчат только руки потому что они самые длинные н-ног уже даже не видно то есть он такой шар // волосатый то есть раньше он <смех> был шар просто такой бильярдный а теперь он // ну похож на / на шиншиллу или на что-то/ ну / мило // мило / да и-и // на последней картинке э-э // он-н // просыпается // и он опять лысый // непонятно почему это происходит на самом деле // возможно какой-то некачественный эликсир // но-о-о // он опять лысый и по-моему он рад этому // и голова у него вроде не болит //

INFORMANT № 4: man-introvert

ну / по всей видимости э-э-э / картинка рассказывает нам некоторую историю мужчины / который э-э / страдал или не страдал э-э отсутствием волос / да // э его беспокоила его лысина // в результате чего / он м-м решил прибегнуть к э каким-то средствам которые способны избавить его от этой лысины // а пришёл в магазин или в аптеку / приобрел некоторый / [на лице информанта – недоумение, жест – разводит руками] *раствор / субстанцию / не знаю // э-э-э / увлажнил им свою голову / <вздох> лёг спать и после этого / на его голове начала / появляться растительность // это его чрезвычайно удивило и обрадовало // наш герой э-э-э / начал плясать / от счастья // однако / э-э всё вышло не вполне / приятно для него по всей видимости / <вздох> и растительность на голове начала появляться / в неконтролируемых объёмах / <вздох> что и заставило его э-э /* [на лице информанта – недоумение, жест – водит головой из стороны в сторону] *как-то пытаться / избавляться от неё // <вздох> однако / однако в конце <вздох> мы <вздох> э возвращаемся в реальность / и-и в э-эм <вздох> последняя картинка в э правая нижняя в последнем нижнем <вздох> ряду / говорит нам о том или вернее не говорит / а заставляет нас усомниться в том а было ли это правдой / или это был всё-таки сон э смешного человека который / захотел иметь э-э прекрасную шевелюру //* [жест – кивает головой, подтверждая, что закончил монолог]

INFORMANT № 5: woman-extrovert (B2, 23 years old)

«Эликсир для волос» / м-м [раньше / о... один мужчина / э-ы [у него [у него / нет [воло-сы [волосОв / н-н [[э-ы это-о [очень [[э-н [[г... [э-ы [э-ы [ему очень грустно // поэтому [он [н-н [пошёл в магазин / и-и хочу покупать [н-н [какой-то [[н-н [для-я [растения-я [во-ло-сОв // в магазинов / ы-н [[н-н [[красивая женщина / ы-н [посове... посоветовала [ему что [<кашель> [

одну-у ⌊ ы-н ⌊ лекарст... о... о... одно лекарство / и-и ⌊ сказала что ⌊ ы-н это очень полезно / и-и ⌊ очень быстро // это мужчина очень рад ⌊ очень рад / и-и ⌊ взял ⌊ э... это лекарство домой // ы-н ⌊⌊ когда / когда ⌊ он-н ⌊ вернулся домой / он ⌊ он сразу же / ы-н ⌊ стира... стирал ⌊ голову и-и ⌊ ы-н // голову ⌊ и-и ⌊ использовал ⌊ это лекарство // и после этого ⌊ он ⌊ ы-н ⌊ уже ⌊ ы-н ⌊ уже вечером / и он ⌊⌊ ы-н ⌊⌊ ложился ⌊ ложился спать // ы-н ну ы ⌊⌊ завтра ⌊ завтра вечером завтра-а ⌊⌊ утром / он встался ⌊ встал / и-и ⌊⌊ н-н ⌊⌊ заметил заметил что ⌊ у не... у него // н-н ⌊⌊ ра... ⌊ ы-н ⌊ растился волосы // он ⌊⌊ так рад / и-и ⌊⌊ начал ⌊⌊ н-н ⌊⌊ ра-асы-ы... ⌊⌊ н-н ⌊⌊ н-н ⌊⌊ расчёсыва... вал волосы // н-н // и-и ⌊ расчёсы... расчёсывал ⌊ вал волосы ⌊⌊ н-н // и-и ⌊ расчёсывал ⌊⌊ красиву-ую-ю ⌊⌊ н-н ⌊⌊ присАску // н-н ⌊⌊ он расчёсывал расчёсывал но ⌊⌊ ы-н волосы / ещё ⌊⌊ н-н ⌊⌊ ра... н-н ⌊⌊ дэ... н-н ⌊ волосы ещё ⌊ растил / растили ⌊ и-и ⌊⌊ <кашель> стал ⌊ стали / н-н ⌊ более длинн... ⌊ более длинны // м-м ⌊⌊ он-н ⌊ немножко // н-н ⌊ удиви... удиви... уди... удивило / и-и ⌊⌊ но-о ⌊ н-н ⌊ волосы ⌊ н-ы ⌊ волосы-ы ⌊ всё-ё ⌊ н-н ⌊ всё ещё ⌊ н-н ⌊ ⌊ рас... растили / и-и ⌊⌊ он ⌊ н-н ⌊ уже стал ⌊ н-н ⌊⌊ ужасный ⌊ человек ⌊ с длинными волосами / это какой ⌊ ы-н / кошмар / но-о ⌊⌊ он-н ⌊ кри... кри.. кричал // н-н ⌊⌊ кричал / плакал // и-и ⌊⌊ н-н // как? // н-н ⌊⌊ и-и ⌊ ы-н ⌊ вдруг // он-н ⌊⌊ а ⌊⌊ м-м ⌊⌊ он вдруг ⌊⌊ прос... проснулся // н-н ⌊ и заметил что ⌊ это просто сон / н ⌊⌊ ужасный сон //

INFORMANT № 6: woman-introvert (С1, 25 years old)

ы это одна ⌊ из самых известных ⌊ ы карикатур ⌊ Бидс-трУпа / которая называется «Эликсир для волос» ы-н / герой ы ⌊ этой картины / ы-н ⌊ это Александр ЛесИкович(?) / ы-н ⌊ он очень ⌊ страдался ⌊ от того что / он ⌊ лысый ⌊ и-и ⌊ он хочет / разрешить эту ⌊ проблему / и однажды / он вошёл в парфю... парфюмерную магази... ⌊ парфюмерный магазин / и подошёл ⌊ к отделу / где продаются ⌊ эликси... ы средства для ухода за волосами // ы-н ⌊ одна очень красивая продавщица / ы-н ⌊ познакомила его ⌊ с ы изящной бутыл... бутылочкой // и-и сказала / вот посмотрите / ы это очень эффектный эликсир для волос / «Радость волос» / н ⌊ и пользуйтесь им ⌊ ей ⌊ ему ⌊ ы им ⌊ ы два раза в неделю / и через месяц / у вас будет ⌊ будут ы-н ⌊ густые волосы / н-н ⌊ г... говоря это ⌊ она подняла ⌊ палец вверх // н-н ⌊ ы-н ⌊ Александр ЛесИкович(?) / немного / сомневался ⌊ в н эффекте эликсира / и-и ⌊ но вс... ⌊ наконец-то он решил ⌊ хорошо ⌊ этот ⌊ эликсир я возьму / спасибо вам / ы ⌊ Александр / вернулся ⌊ ы с эликсиром домой ⌊ и на дороге / он думал ⌊ и-и ⌊ ы с... н-н ⌊ и говорил про себя /«Радость волос» / неужели ты ⌊ н так волшебный / давай сегодня я ы ⌊ проверю // а-а когда он был домой / он даже не успел ⌊ раздеваться / и сразу / вылил ⌊ пол... полбутылки эликсира на вОлос... на голову // и долго вытирал его // ночью / Александр / долго не не смог заснуться / от какого-то мо... волнения / ну наконец-то / он ⌊ заснул // и-и ⌊ и-и и и-и ему приснился та... ⌊ приснилось та... такое чудо / на второй день / он ⌊ проснулся / с малень... ы с маленькими волосИками / он ⌊ ы увидел своё изображение в зеркале / и-и ы-н ⌊ ⌊ и-и ⌊ закричал с радостью // ы-н ⌊⌊ ы-н ⌊⌊ через две недели / у неё у него действительно получились о... очень густые ⌊

шикарные [волосы // и-и он / ы прове... ы измерил [ы свои волосы [н [линейкой / это действительно так / ну-у [как говорят гово... ну как говорят / не всё коту масленица / но дело [принимает [потихоньку при... ы прини-мала [ы-н [[н-н [[плохой оборот / волосы у Алек... у Александра / стали [н двадцати / пятидесяти / ы н метров // ы что это такое? как это может быть? / ы Александр немного [испугалась [испугался / и-и [ы-н [и чуть не [распла... расплакался / и-и ножнИцами [ы срезАл свои в... волосы / ну [мп очень странно было / его волосы / после того как он прини... ы-н [использовал эликсир [«Радость воло...» ы [«Радость волос» / ы мп стали немного непослушным / ы-н [щас [у него [волосы / длиной уже двух метров / и-и [такие волосы превратили его / можно сказать / в какого-то / неизвестного [зверя / караул! / караул! / кто сможет [ы меня выручить? [[[(пауза 5 с) на второй день / он проснулся / и ощупывая свою гляп... глядкую н-н [ы-н [и-и [мотышку [макушку] / и-и ы выдох... выдохнул с облегчением / ой господи! / как хорошо! / это был только сон //

INFORMANT № 7: man-extrovert (C1, 26 years old)

э-э человек / где-то [в возрасте / сорока лет / может ещё больше / сходил в магазин / купить [какое-то средство [э для-я [волос // мп сходил / купил / потом-м [вернулся домой и-и начал это уже [сл [попробовать // мп а вто... [первый день / попробовал / лёг спать / когда вот [второй день / когда утром / он проснулся уже [[вот волосы [есть // вот он [э-э был очень рад / и-и [ему-у [очень удивился что это правда правда // вот / и-и [потом [вот [волОс [э э [нАчалось вот [по... по... стал побольше побольше побольше подлиннее <со смехом> подлиннее подлиннее / даже [э-э [вот это-о [наверное он [<смех> никак не ожидал / может это лекарство очень... [чрезвычайно... [чрезмерно э-э [это здесь [сл [помогает // а потОму / э-э он также пытался постригутать(?) [волосы / но [никак не получается и вот [э-у [волосы опять всё равно [э-э [становятся длиннее ещё длиннее // потом [как-то [э-э [[потом как-то вот в конце / опять [[все волосы выпали / и / опять он [стал лысый //

INFORMANT № 8: man-introvert (B2, 27 years old)

один человек [э-м [хочет хотел купить [эликсир для вОлосы в магазине / и потому что у них [потому что-о [у них нет вОлосы [ну [в голове / и он купил / и-и [н-н [у него был очень весело чтобы купил эту вещь / и тогда дома [н-н [он-н стоял [тут перед э-э [зеркалом и-и использовал [эти... [этиксир для волос и тогда-а [вечером [э-м [[вечером [он-н [ло... [ложил в [с [кровать и он трогал [тро-гал свою головУ и-и [думал ч... [думал что [завтра будет-т [н-н [волосы в голове / и [[[(пауза 5 с) и-и [[и [и-и [и тогда утром [э-э [он проснулся и встал / и трогал свою головУ и [[и он [и-и [<смех> там есть волосы и [он сразу бегал [бегАл в [[в туалет и [сто... н-н [стоял [за [зеркало и видел [волосы в голове и он [[и он смеялся и-и [э-э [ему было очень [весело [н-н [и [он делал [ту причёску и танцевал // но [но

это | волосы | эм-эм-эм | росли очень-очень быстро | э-м | он | использовал ножницы чтобы резИть эти эти длинные волосы / но-о | он не может потому что это волосы | н-н | росли очень-очень быстро / уже с головы дО ноги || и очень о… | он и он очень боялся и пра… | и | пракал | прачел пракал прачел пракал | и-и || и тогда уром | утром / он-н || проснулся / и он-н | трогал свою головУ видел что там нет | вОлосы и он думал что это | это | это | невероятная и ужасная история | э-м | была | быра быра | быра соном //