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Discourse Functions of Phatic Interjections
in the English, Russian and Japanese Languages
(with special focus on English)

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

by

Petrishcheva Nina

2006
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This work would not have been possible if it had not been for kind help and continuous efforts of a large number of people. I would like to thank many of my teachers and fellow–students at the Department of Letters in Hokkaido University for their comments and suggestions.

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I was also blessed with the opportunity to study under the guidance of Masuhiro Nomura. His challenging and enjoyable seminars led me to better understanding of cognitive linguistics, and, what is, maybe, even more important, taught me careful and thoughtful reading of scientific works. I am also grateful to Mr. Nomura for his invaluable help during my work at this dissertation. Due to his most intellectual questions and comments, I managed to formulate some ideas, crucial for this work.

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Finally, I want to thank my family for their devoted love, care and support. My parents, Yuriy and Galina Petrishchevi, my younger sister Valentina have been a constant source of strength for me regardless of the distance between us.
Abstract

The dissertation presents a contrastive analysis of discourse functions performed by some phatic interjections in the English, Russian and Japanese languages. Although the word class of interjections has recently gained interest of linguists both in Japan and abroad, there has been neither contrastive analysis of the three languages nor a comprehensive description of conditions defining the discourse functions of the interjections within one language.

The goals of this paper are (i) to identify conditions distinguishing between the discourse–marker and speech–act functions of the interjections; (ii) to examine types of discourse markers and speech acts the interjections can constitute and (iii) to investigate differences and commonalities displayed by the interjections with respect to positions (i) and (ii) both within a particular language and cross–linguistically.

The study claims that the condition distinguishing between the two discourse functions of the interjections is the same in the three languages. It is the place of the interjections with respect to a communication scenario evoked. When the interjections are used outside the communication scenario, they serve the phatic function of language as discourse markers. When the interjections occupy some position within the structure of the communication scenario, they serve the informative function of language as speech acts. Contrastive analysis of the discourse marker and speech act types allowed me to identify which of the interjections constitute functional equivalents in the three languages.
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Abbreviations

S : Speaker
H : Listener
DM / DMs : Discourse Marker/s
SA / SAs : Speech Act/s
CS / CSs : Communication Scenario/s
Chapter 1. Introduction

In this dissertation I conduct a contrastive analysis of some phatic interjections in the English, Russian and Japanese languages. I concentrate, in particular, on English interjections YEAH, OK, SURE, UH-HUH and ALL RIGHT, Russian interjections DA, AGA, NU and HOROSHO and Japanese interjections HAI, EE, UN and WAKATTA.

The research pursues several aims: 1) to identify conditions defining whether phatic interjections perform the function of direct and indirect speech acts\(^1\) (hereafter SAs) or serve as discourse markers\(^2\) (hereafter DMs); 2) to investigate types of DMs these phatic interjections can perform; 3) to examine types of SAs the interjections can constitute; 4) to identify (a) types of communication scenarios\(^3\) (hereafter CSs) that can host the interjections in the SA function and (b) triggering remarks necessary for the SA function of the interjections in question; 5) to investigate mechanisms which allow the hearer (hereafter H) to correctly decode the function of phatic interjections when the latter are used as indirect speech acts; and 6) to investigate differences and commonalities displayed by the interjections both within a particular language and cross-linguistically.

This paper argues the following points. 1) Phatic interjections perform their primary discourse–marker function (i.e. serve the phatic function of the language) when used outside of the CS (hereafter used scenario–externally) and perform their secondary speech act function (i.e.

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\(^1\) For discussion see Section 2.3.

\(^2\) For discussion see Section 2.4.

\(^3\) For discussion see Section 2.5.
constitute direct and indirect speech acts) when used within the CS (hereafter used scenario–internally). 2) The mechanisms which allow H to identify the indirect speech act performed by phatic interjections involve metonymic operations applied to the elements of CS. 3) Each phatic interjection slightly differs from the others as to the distribution between the discourse–marker vs. speech–act function within the one language. Interjections can be grouped cross–linguistically according to commonalities in discourse functions they perform.

As I will show later, many approaches to interjections denied them the ability to perform any function except that of expressing speaker's emotional state. I argue, however, that interjections can also contribute to transfer of meaningful information in a conversation. Moreover, I demonstrate that the theory of speech act scenario metonymy, introduced by Panther and Thornburg (1998), is extremely useful for the analysis of interjections. The suggestion made by the authors concerning the role of metonymic operations for interpreting indirect speech acts has found further evidence in the speech–act function of interjections.

To achieve the goals stated above, I analyze examples of mini–dialogues in which the interjections are used. Not all dialogues are the shortest possible ones (consisting of a triggering remark and the interjection in question). My data also include context sufficient for identifying the type of CS in which the speakers are involved. To define whether an interjection fulfills its discourse–marker or speech–act function in every given case, I applied the schema of the CS in question to every dialogue and analyzed if the interjection in question occupies some place in the schema.
All the dialogues under analysis are taken from novels and screenplays, rather than from corpus data. These data sources were chosen because they supply examples of most prototypical uses of interjections. The main objective of the given work was to propose a theory that explains the informative and non–informative uses of interjections and to examine if the theory holds true. The choice of data sources is justified by the following factors. First, the context of a novel or a screenplay allows one to define the type of CS the conversation belongs to with a high degree of certainty. Secondly, such examples of dialogical speech serve as source of data for many linguists (see, for example, Wierzbicka 2003). Such data are most easily available, if compared to recordings of spontaneous talk. Fourth, the influence of such factors as educational background, personal speech preferences and dialectisms is much less in a novel, than in recordings of spontaneous speech. On the other hand, Asher (1994) argues that dialogues in narratives are mediated representations of conversations (p. 2688). All the above said leads to the conclusion that dialogues in narratives should not be considered inferior to spontaneous conversations.

Chapter 2 introduces the theoretical framework on which I based my analysis. In Section 2.1 of the given work I enumerate recent approaches to the interjection and ground the choice of the functional approach as the most suitable for the purposes of my research. Section 2.2 describes the phatic function of language and the place phatic interjections occupy within other means of phatic communion. Sections 2.3 and 2.4 are dedicated to the current discussions on discourse markers and speech acts, respectively. In Section 2.5 I introduce Panther & Thornburg’s CS approach. Section 2.6
dwells on different approaches to metonymy and Section 2.7 explains the
notion of metonymic transfer within a scenario.

In Chapter 3 I present analysis of data on the phatic interjections in
English. In Section 3.1 I explain the semantic types of interjections and in
Section 3.2 – the functions they performed in the data analyzed. Section 3.3
is dedicated to careful analysis of each interjection. Section 3.4 presents
data per source and Section 3.5 – overall data and discussion.

Chapter 4 contains analysis of phatic interjections in the Russian
language. The principles and proceedings of analysis are identical to the
analysis of English phatic interjections. In Section 4.2 I explain which
semantic types the Russian interjections belong to. In Section 4.4 I analyze
the two discourse functions of the interjections. Section 4.5 presents data by
the source and Section 4.6 gives general analysis.

Chapter 5 is dedicated to analysis of phatic interjections in the Japanese
language. Section 5.1 gives brief information on the semantic classes UN,
HAI, EE and WAKATTA belong. Section 5.2 presents statistical data by the
source and Section 5.3 contains discussion of the results.

In Chapter 6 I offer contrastive analysis of phatic interjections and their
discourse functions in the three languages. Section 6.1 is dedicated to
general discussion of semantic types of interjections and conditions defining
their discourse functions. Section 6.2 analyzes similarities and differences in
the DM function of the interjections and Section 6.3 – in their SA function.
Section 6.4 presents information on semantic types of CSs. The manuscript
finishes with Chapter 7 that contains concluding remarks concerning main
achievements of the paper and posits problems for further research.
Chapter 2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Approaches to interjections

2.1 (a) Descriptive grammar approach

The traditional account of interjection treats it as a word class, the sole function of which is to describe the emotional state of the speaker (hereafter S). For example, Huddleston and Pullum (2002) give the following definition of the phenomenon:

“The general definition of interjection is that it is a category of words that do not combine with other words in integrated syntactic constructions, and have expressive, rather than propositional meaning. Central members of the interjection category in English are such words as ah, hey, oh, oops, ouch, sh, ugh, wow (or the now dated alas), which in their sole or primary function are used as expressive exclamations, on their own, or as supplements with clausal anchors, as in (ii) Damn, we’ve missed the bus again! There are also a number of words such as blast, ... fuck, which are primarily verbs, but which in supplements like (ii) have lost their verbal meaning, and are best regarded as having been reanalyzed as interjections” (p. 1361).

Some other definitions of interjections under this approach concentrate on phonetic features of this word class but still do not specifically point out any function the interjection can play in discourse besides the one given above. Such approach can be illustrated by the definition given by McArthur (1992):

“INTERJECTION... A part of speech and a term often used in dictionaries for marginal items functioning alone and not as conventional elements of
sentence structure. They are sometimes emotive and situational: *oops*, expressing surprise, often at something mildly embarrassing, *yuk/yuck*, usually with a grimace and expressing disgust, *ow, ouch*, expressing pain ... They sometimes use sounds outside the normal range of a language: for example, the sounds represented as *tut–tut/tsk–tsk, ugh, whew*. The spelling of *ugh* has produced the variant of the original, pronounced ‘ugg’. Such greetings as *Hello, Hi, Goodbye* and such exclamations as *Cheers, Well, Hurray* are also interjections”. (p. 522)

Another approach that has appeared recently offers a more comprehensive treatment of interjections. The interjection is considered to represent a word-class of its own, possibly of a universal quality: “...apart from nouns and verbs, interjections ...are another word class found in all languages” (Ameka, 1992 (a):101). Researchers who accept this point of view concentrate not only on morphosyntactic features characteristic of members of this class, but also on specific functions which interjections perform in discourse and conditions which make it possible for interjections to perform those functions. My present research is based on this broader approach.

2.1 (b) Approach of universal semantics

Wierzbicka is one of linguists who analyze interjections in the light of the theory that views the interjection as a separate word-class with features and functions of its own. She suggests the following definition:

“An interjection can be defined as a linguistic sign (1) which can be used on its own, (2) which can express a specific meaning (emphasis added), (3) which does not include other signs with a specific meaning, (4) which is not
homophonous with another lexical item that would be perceived as semantically related to it, and (5) which refers to the speaker's current mental state or mental act (for example I feel ..., I want ..., I think ..., I know ...) (Wierzbicka, 2003:290)

Two important points distinguish Wierzbicka’s definition from those by Huddleston and Pullum or McArthur quoted above. First, it is parameter (2), which explicitly states that interjections have a specific meaning. Unlike the vague “expressive, rather than propositional meaning” in Huddleston and Pullum’s definition, Wierzbicka describes how “we can capture the subtlest shades of meaning encoded in interjections relying exclusively on universal or near–universal concepts such as ‘good’ and ‘bad’, ‘do’ and ‘happen’, ‘want’, ‘know’, ‘say’ or ‘think’” (Ibid, p. 289). Secondly, it is parameter (5), which is broader than McArthur’s “They (interjections) are sometimes emotive and situational”. Along with “mental state”, Wierzbicka includes “mental act”. In my point of view, this inclusion stresses the fact that the functions of interjections are not limited to the expressive one.

Based on parameter (5), she introduces three classes of interjections:
“(1) emotive ones (those, which have in their meaning the component ‘I feel something’, [e.g. OOPS]); (2) volitive ones (those which have in their meaning the component ‘I want something’ and which do not have the component ‘I feel something’, [e.g. HEY]); (3) cognitive ones (those which have in their meaning the component ‘I think something’ or ‘I know something’ and which have neither the emotive component ‘I feel something’ nor the volitive component ‘I want something’ [e.g. OH–OH]). (Ibid; p. 291)

The author admits possibility of other classifications.
2.1 (c) Problematic points of descriptive grammar approach and approach of universal semantics

Definitions of interjections adopted by descriptive grammar may lead one to believe that the interjection does not to perform any function in discourse, besides expressing speaker’s emotional state. The definitions quoted, in my view, overlook two very important features of this word class. First, they do not explain the purpose S pursues when uttering this or that interjection. Absence of such purpose makes it impossible to distinguish between interjections used intentionally, and exclamations, which Sadanobu (2002) calls non-linguistic. Secondly, definitions like those quoted above, though they sometimes admit that interjections can perform speech acts, do not explain what mechanisms make it possible for them to do so.

The approach of universal semantics also raises some questions. First, as Wierzbicka herself points out, “by these criteria, exclamations such as ... Christ! or Hell! are not interjections” (Wierzbicka: 2003:290), because they violate criterion (4) of the above. It poses the problem of categorizing such words (they are not limited to nouns, as I will demonstrate later) or defining conditions, under which different parts of speech can serve the same function as the interjection does. The next question originates from parameter (5), which, though elaborate, seems somewhat insufficient. This insufficiency becomes more obvious, when one considers her classification of interjections.

Though the classification introduced by Wierzbicka serves the practical

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4 These are cases when a person produces sounds while in pain, or performing some strenuous work, or coughs (Sadanobu, 2002:96).
purposes of analysis posed by the author quite well, I see two problems, which may arise if it is used universally. First, some interjections may have two conflicting meanings. In some cases, Wierzbicka proposes to distinguish between homonymous cognitive and emotive interjections, though criteria for such distinction are not explicitly defined. Sometimes such distinction seems inapplicable. For example, consider the following description of OOPS:

“\textit{oops}

I now know:

I did something bad

something bad happened because of that

I didn’t want it (to happen)

I would not want someone to think that it is very bad

(I feel something because of that)” (Ibid, p. 289)

In the analysis offered, there are two conflicting components: ‘I know’ (the first line of the description) and ‘I feel’ (the last line, possibly, optional). The author does not clarify which one is to be considered primary and on what basis. If the two components are of equal importance, then to which class (emotive or cognitive) does the interjection belong and why?

The second problem is that some interjections do not have either of the components proposed. I suggest that such interjections as WELL, OKAY and some others, which take part in the organization of discourse, do not fall under any of classes introduced by Wierzbicka. For example, OKAY in its
DM function may be used for summarizing the ongoing situation.\(^5\) I argue that in this use no component that serve as the basis for deciding on the class the interjection belongs to can be defined as the leading one. It usually does not contain the emotive component, and though one might point out that the volitive component ('I want to summarize the situation') and cognitive component ('I think the ongoing discourse contains the following points') are present, they do not cause the use of the interjection. OKAY as a DM of summarizing the situation is used for the purposes of discourse organization, not for the purposes of expressing purely volition or understanding.

2.1 (d) Functional approach

Another classification of interjections was offered by Ameka (1992). His approach seems to be more clear–cut and serves the purposes of my work better. On the formal aspect, Ameka’s description does not differ much from definitions supplied by McArthur and Huddleston and Pullum quoted above. Interjections do not take derivations or inflections and their phonological shape is often anomalous. But from here Ameka goes further and distinguishes between \textbf{primary} and \textbf{secondary} interjections. “Primary interjections are little words or non-words which in terms of their distribution can constitute an utterance by themselves and do not normally enter into construction with other word classes...” (Ameka, (a) p. 105)

“... secondary interjections are forms that belong to other word classes based

\(^5\) For detailed discussion see Section 3.3.1 (b).
on their semantics and are interjections only because they can occur by themselves non-elliptically as one-word utterances and in this usage refer to mental acts.” (Ibid., p. 105)

We can summarize his findings in Fig. 1, which shows the two semantic types of the interjections.

Figure 1. Semantic types of interjections.

Among other primary interjections one can name previously mentioned *ah, hey, oh, oops, ouch, sh, ugh, wow, tut–tut/tsk–tsk, ugh, whew, yuk* and many others. Words like *damn, hell, Christ, blast, fuck, shit, dear;* etc. become secondary interjections when used as non-elliptical utterances with heavy emotional charge.

Developing functional classification of interjections, Ameka appeals to the functions of language the interjections serve. According to expressive, conative and phatic functions of the language, the author distinguishes between expressive interjections, conative interjections and phatic interjections.

*Expressive* interjections express the speaker’s mental state. The author illustrates them with English *Ouch! Wow! Yuk!* (I can offer illustrations
from two more languages: Japanese ARA! and Russian OY! belong to the same class and express surprise. It is interesting to note that what Wierzbicka calls “cognitive interjections” in Ameka’s classification is subsumed under expressive class. Thus, the class is subdivided into emotive and cognitive (with Russian Aha! illustrating the latter).

**Conative** interjections serve to get the hearer’s attention or to demand and action from the hearer. Ameka illustrates them with English *sh!* or Russian *a’u* (which serves to establish and maintain contact between people walking in a forest). I can add here the English interjection *hey*, Russian interjection *ei* and Japanese interjection *anone*.

**Phatic** interjections serve the phatic (i.e. interpersonal, non–informative) function of language. They refer to a class of elements that are normally used to establish, maintain and finish smoothly a communicative contact. In a conversation they function as discourse markers (Ameka (a), pp. 113–114). I claim that all the interjections I analyze in this work belong to this class. It is necessary to point out that the whole class of phatic interjections in the respective languages is not limited to the words in question.

I suggest that Fig. 2 illustrates the *functional* types of interjections, as defined by this author.
Among other expressive interjections words like *wow, yuk, oops, tsuk-tsuk* are primary and words like *damn, blast, Christ, shit* etc. are secondary. Among conative interjections elements like *sh, pss* are primary and words like *listen* are secondary interjections. Among phatic interjections *aha* is an example of primary interjections and *yeah, sure, all right* are secondary.

Thus, the approach offered by Ameka differs from the one offered by Wierzbicka on two basic points. The first point concerns the definition of interjections and thus the decision which items belong to the class. Unlike Ameka, Wierzbicka does not recognize the secondary type interjections. The second point concerns the basis for classification of functions of interjections. Wierzbicka chooses mental state or mental act of the speaker as the basis for defining functions of interjections. Ameka correlates functions of interjections with functions of the language.
2.2. Phatic function of language

As I have mentioned above, phatic interjections serve the interpersonal, non-informative function of language. Though the primary function of language is to ensure exchange of information, it is not the only one. Language may also serve to “establish atmosphere of sociability, rather than communicate ideas”, “to put people at their ease and in harmony with each other” (Asher, 1994:3006). This function is performed by phatic communion.

The inventory of phatic communion means consists of units of different levels of organization. The highest one is considered to be “small talk”. It is a socially required conversation with minimal informative value. The topics chosen for small talk must be uncontroversial.

Formulae of speech etiquette (or routines) represent elements of another level. These are utterances with fixed syntactic form and highly conventional meaning. Formulae of speech etiquette belong to a class of routine formulae, which are used for highly recurrent communicative tasks. Routine formulae “fulfill functions on the interaction level, especially for discourse control. As meta-communicative signals, formulae are used “to define the nature of a conversation, to establish an agenda of topics, to steer the flow of discourse form one stage to another, to distribute speaking rights and to indicate cognitive attitudes, such as belief, surprise, and disagreement” (Asher, 1994:1293).

Besides formulaic speech, there are some other utterance–level units that may serve as means of phatic communication. For an informative utterance to fulfill phatic function, it must make “two things mutually manifest: (a) that the main relevance of the utterance lies with the act of
ostension (not with the proposition built on the linguistic meaning of the utterance), and (b) in which circumstances the proposition built on the linguistic meaning of the utterance would be highly relevant” (Žegarac, 1998, p. 348) In other words, any informative utterance “whose main implicit import has to do with the speaker’s disposition towards establishing and / or maintaining a social relationship with the hearer” serves as an element of phatic communication (Ibid, p. 330).

The smallest units of phatic communication are phatic interjections. They are used “in the establishment and maintenance of communicative contact” (Ibid: p. 1713). Such interjections are used to indicate the speaker’s desire to begin or finish communication, his attitude to the ongoing discourse, etc. As I have mentioned earlier, interjections, which are used in organization of discourse (taking turns in a dialogue, introduction of new topics, etc), also belong to this class.

Ameka (1992) has convincingly shown the difference between routines and phatic interjections. The distinction is both formal and functional. On the formal side, most routines are multi-word expressions. In case of a one-word formula, the distinction between a routine and interjection is functional. The former are intentional and socially expected reaction to a situation, while the latter are spontaneous (Ameka (a); pp. 108-109).

2.3 Discourse markers

2.3 (a) Definition of discourse markers

As I have mentioned above, phatic interjections take part in organization of discourse, functioning as discourse markers. There are other parts of
speech, which also fulfill the same function.

Although the phenomenon of discourse markers has been studied for several decades, there is no “classic” definition of discourse markers. Even the name of the phenomenon itself is not unanimously accepted. Most authors refer to it as “discourse marker” (Schiffrin, 1987), while others use such terms as “discourse particle” (Schourop, 1982), or “pragmatic markers” (Brinton, 1996). The reason for such diversity of names and definitions partly arises from the fact that discourse markers are multifunctional. The name and the definition of the phenomenon depend on what function this or that author chooses as central. Later I will discuss in detail the functions which the interjections under analysis fulfill in discourse.

In my work I accept the definition of discourse markers, proposed by Schiffrin (1987): discourse markers are “sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk” (p. 31). Later the author stresses the fact that discourse markers are multifunctional. This definition is most appropriate for my work because, on the one hand, it does not impose limits on the number of functions any given discourse marker can fulfill and, on the other hand, it stresses the fact that discourse markers cannot be used at whim but must follow some sequential pattern.

My analysis has shown that the scenario–external use of the interjections corresponds to Schiffrin’s definition of discourse markers (Schiffrin, 1987:31). Phatic interjections occur in strictly defined positions: (a) at the beginning of the turn, (b) when a new topic is addressed, (c) before one starts summarizing the ongoing situation, and (d) as reactions to complete units of information. Further, when used scenario–externally, the
interjections possess what Schiffrin calls “the property of sequential
dependence: [...] brackets look simultaneously forward and backward – the
beginning of one unit is simultaneously the end of another and vice versa”
(Ibid, p. 35). This property is demonstrated explicitly in topic change + info
receipt and turn-change + info receipt functions described below: the first
part of the labels points to the unit of talk following the discourse marker
while the second part of the label refers to the preceding unit of talk.

2.3 (b) Schiffrin’s typology of DM functions

If there are several ways to name a phenomenon and multiple
definitions of it, it is not surprising that there is no universally
acknowledged coherent and exhaustive set of functions which discourse
markers may fulfill in speech. Discourse analysts prefer to analyze
individual markers rather than construct a comprehensive taxonomy. For
example, Schiffrin (1987) considers functions which a given interjection may
perform, while presenting her analysis of this or that interjection. “My brief
discussion of y’know suggests that y’know has expressive meaning, i.e. as a
speaker appeal for hearer cooperation in a discourse task.” (Schiffrin, p. 63)
“Oh is a marker of information management: it marks shifts in speaker
orientation (objective and subjective) to information which occur as speakers
and hearers manage the flow of information produced and received during
discourse” (Ibid, pp. 100-101). On the whole, it is possible to single out the
following types of discourse markers in the analysis proposed by Schiffrin:

(a) markers of information management,
(b) markers of response,
(c) discourse connectives,
(d) markers of cause and result,
(e) temporal deictic markers (like now and then),
(f) category of information and participation

In her later work the author suggests the following generalization: “...discourse markers function in cognitive, expressive, social, and textual domains, i.e. simultaneously on different planes of discourse.”

Though very elaborated and full of theoretical insight, the analysis proposed by Schiffrin does not seem to be applicable to my research. This inapplicability originates from differences in research tasks posed in the two works. In her work, Schiffrin made an attempt to create a theoretical framework, which would allow one to analyze the phenomenon of discourse markers in the most comprehensive way. So, she takes into account various planes of discourse structure and tries to follow the functions discourse markers as a phenomenon play on each of the plane. Further, she looks for interrelations between those functions. The purpose of my work is to analyze functions which given interjections perform in a conversation when used as discourse markers. I only need to analyze the influence the interjections make on the conversation in terms of the organization of the latter. Thus, the taxonomy of functions, offered by Brinton (1996) better serves the purpose of the present dissertation.
2.3 (c) Brinton's typology

Brinton (1996) offers a “fundamental set of functions” of what she calls “pragmatic markers”:

“(a) to initiate discourse, including claiming attention of the hearer, and to close discourse;
(b) to aid the speaker in acquiring or relinquishing the floor;
(c) to serve as a filler or delaying tactic used to sustain discourse or hold the floor;
(d) to mark a boundary in discourse, that is, to indicate a new topic, a partial shift in topic (correction, elaboration, specification, expansion), or the resumption of an earlier topic (after an interruption);
(e) to denote either new information or old information;
(f) to mark “sequential dependence”, to constrain the relevance of one clause to the preceding clause by making explicit the conversational implicatures relating the two clauses, or to indicate by means of conversational implicatures how an utterance matches cooperative principles of conversation;
(g) to repair one’s own or others’ discourse;
(h) subjectively, to express a response or a reaction to the preceding discourse or attitude towards the following discourse, including also “back-channel” of understanding and continued attention spoken while another speaker is having his or her turn…;
(i) interpersonally, to effect cooperation, sharing, or intimacy between speaker and hearer, including confirming shared assumptions, checking or
expressing understanding, requesting confirmation, expressing deference or saving face (politeness)”  

(Brinton, pp. 37-38)

Unfortunately, the author does not give any examples, but I will illustrate some of the positions of this classification in further sections of this work. I use this classification to specify the functions which phatic interjections under analysis performed in my data when they were used as discourse markers.

2.3 (d) Types of DMs the phatic interjections may constitute.

In the dialogues I analyzed I found that in the English language the interjections performed functions described in entries (b) “to aid the speaker in acquiring or relinquishing the floor”, (d) “to mark a boundary in discourse, that is, to indicate a new topic, a partial shift in topic (…), or the resumption of an earlier topic”, (e) “to denote either new information or old information”, (f) “to mark “sequential dependence”, to constrain the relevance of one clause to the preceding clause (…)” and (h) “subjectively, to express a response or a reaction to the preceding discourse or attitude towards the following discourse, including also “back-channel” of understanding and continued attention spoken while another speaker is having his or her turn (…)” of Brinton’s classification. (Brinton, 1996, pp. 37 – 38) However, discourse markers are usually multifunctional, so I called the combination of parameters (b) and (e) “turn-change + info receipt”, the combination of parameters (d) and (e) “topic-change + info receipt”. It is necessary to note that pure “information receipt” would constitute back channeling.
Parameter (f) is extended to cover not only the preceding and following clause but to include preceding and following discourse and is called “summary of situation”. Parameter (h) is used in the way Brinton (1996) used it and is called “back channeling”.

Though DMs described by parameter (f) in its pure form were not among the types the English phatic interjections constituted in the texts analyzed, I found some clause–connectors in Russian examples. Moreover, as will be shown in the analysis of DM function of Russian phatic interjections, they can perform the expressive function, described by the first part of parameter (h), thus serving as “expressive” DMs. Further, in the data on both the Russian and the Japanese languages, phatic interjections performed functions, described by parameters (a) and (c) of the classification above. I found examples of “discourse initiators” and “fillers” in conversations under analysis.

2.4 Speech acts

When the interjections serve the informative function of language, they are used as information transmitting units. Throughout this work I use the term speech act. Clark (1996) criticizes the traditional use of the term on the bases that it focuses on the speaker and virtually leaves the hearer outside the scope of linguists’ attention. The author suggests the notion of joint construal. “For each signal, the speaker and addressees try to create a joint construal of what the speaker is to be taken to mean by it” (Ibid, p. 212). As for the indirect speech acts, Clark treats them as elective construals, i.e. the addressee is free to chose the interpretation he/she finds most appropriate.
However, this approach seems somewhat one–sided. I maintain that motifs and intentions of the speaker performing this or that speech act are as important as the interpretation of this speech act by the listener and the effect the speech act had on the latter. Thus, based on Austin (1962) and Searle (1979) the term direct speech act as used here refers to communicative activity (locution), defined in terms of illocution (intentions of the speaker) and perlocution (effect the utterance had on the H). As for indirect speech acts, the classical definition runs as following: “An indirect speech act is one in which S performs one illocutionary act but intends H to infer by way of relying on their mutually shared background information, both linguistic and non–linguistic, another illocution” (Asher, p. 4127). However, the above–given definition does not explain the nature of the “mutually shared background information” and fails to specify the mechanisms of inference proper. I will suggest another definition of an indirect speech act after I discuss the notion of communication scenario, on which the former depends.

It is necessary to mention that to perform a SA in discourse the interjection must be triggered by some other remark or by the current situation of communication. In other words, interjections in SA function constitute the second part of adjacency pairs. Clark (1996) gives the following definition of adjacency pairs:

“1. Adjacency pairs consist of two ordered actions – a first part and a second part.
2. The two parts are performed by two agents A and B.
3. The form and content of the second part is intended, among other things, to display B’s construal of the first part for A.

4. The first part projects uptake of a joint task by the second part.”

(Ibid, p. 201).

In case of phatic interjections used as SAs, conditions 1 and 2 of the definition above refer to the triggering remark and the SA performed by the interjection itself. However, I want to stress the fact that in some, rather rare, cases SA use of interjections may be triggered by the situation in general or by actions of one of the participants rather than by some remark by speaker A. In (1) below ALL RIGHT constitutes a commissive speech act and was triggered by actions, not by an utterance.

(1) /A SA use of ALL RIGHT triggered by a non-verbal act/

[A mute man wanted to make a woman read what he had written]

Hands trembling, head pounding, Nick took his pad and pen out and scrawled a note in big jagged letters. He tore it off and held it out …She battered it aside. He picked it up, grabbed the back of her neck and shoved the note into her face.

Se screamed: “ALL RIGHT! I’ll read it! I’ll read your crappy note!”

(“St”, p. 277)

The situation would hold even if both of the participants were in full command of their organs of speech.

Taking into consideration Clark’s definition of the word construal, I
suggest that position 3 expresses the perlocutionary effect A’s action (in most cases, SA) had on the listener. I take parameter 4 to refer to the general relationships between SAs (for example, a directive SA presupposes a commissive as a reaction).

In further parts of this work I will show that the phatic interjections under considerations most often perform two major types of what Clark (1996) calls illocutionary acts: direct assertives and direct and indirect commissives. It is necessary to mention that Bach and Harnish (1979) suggest the same types of SAs. An assertive serves to “get the audience to form, or to attend to, the belief that the speaker is committed to a certain belief” (Clark, p. 134) (For example, Is it 5 o’clock now? – YEAH.) Commissives serve to “commit a speaker to a future action” (Ibid, p. 134) (For example, I’ll finish the work by 5 o’clock tomorrow.) The triggering remark in this use of interjections usually belongs to some type of the directive speech act. Directives serve “to get the audience to do things. … Directives fall into two major classes: requests for actions … and requests for information (as with most questions)” (Ibid, p. 134) I will further refer to the last class of directives as yes/no questions. More seldom triggering remarks constitute an assertive. Later I will discuss this question in more details.

2.5 Communication scenario approach

2.5 (a) Definition of communication scenario

As I have already mentioned above, none of the previous approaches to the interjections (not even the functional one) differentiated between the
DM and SA functions of this word class. I maintain that in discourse phatic interjections may perform either of these two functions.

To define conditions differentiating between the two functions of the phatic interjections, I introduce the notion of CS. This term is based on the works of Panther & Thornburg (1998) and Ungerer and Schmid (1996). A communication scenario is communicants’ knowledge, based on previous experience, of a specific sequence of actions (both verbal and non-verbal) that is most likely to take place in a specific situation of communication.

It is important to differentiate between CS, event (in Fillmore’s (2003) terminology) and script (in Ungerer and Schmid’s terminology). Events are the biggest units among these four. They pertain to conceptual structuring and representation of real–world phenomena. For example, the “commercial event” would include the following categories and relations between them: BUY, SEL, MONEY, GOODS, PRICE, etc. (Fillmore, 2003, p. 282) Scripts are conceptual structures of a lower level. They code frequently recurring event sequences and usually consist of several CSs. For example, the script “buying clothes in the market” may consist of the following scenarios: “inquiry” (about presence of some particular goods), “request” (for permission to try them on), the “bargaining” phase (which may consist of “explanation” (that the price is too high), “threats” (to buy the goods at some other place), “persuasion” (initiated by the seller, stating that the price is just and the goods are becoming to the customer), “agreement” (on some price)) etc.

Another notion close to CS is joint project introduced by H. Clark (1996). He defines a joint project as “a joint action projected by one of its
participants and taken up by the others” (Ibid, p. 191). However, the notion of joint project covers a wide range of phenomena, starting from minimal possible pairs (like question–answer) and going through situations the boundaries of which are not clearly defined (request) to long elements like narratives or conversations. Thus, the minimum extreme of a joint project scale is smaller than a CS while the maximum one is much larger than a CS – a conversation may include several CSs.

Further, the structure of a joint project seems too vague. The author mentions some instigating events (Ibid, p. 193) and preparatory conditions (Ibid, p. 211) and says that the joint event itself consists of two parts: “the speaker proposes a joint project and the addresses take it up” (Ibid, p.150). However he suggests no grounds for judgment on the boundaries of each part or the end–point of a project. I consider Palmer and Thornburg’s (1998) CS a more strictly defined and clearly structured unit of analysis that serves the purposes of my research better. It restricts the number of verbal and non–verbal actions applicable to one unit of communication and allows for possibilities of encoding some extra–linguistic parameters within its structure. Besides, a CS allows for a relatively high certainty as to the decision on whether every element of communication bears some meaningful information or not.

2.5 (b) Structure of communication scenario.

After Panther and Thornburg I single out the following components of a communicative scenario: the before component, that refers to the conditions which must be fulfilled before the action proper can take place; core
component that represents the action itself, the **result** component which proves that the action was felicitously performed and the **after** component that describes the intended consequences of the action. Unintended consequences are encoded in one ‘other consequences’ position of the realization branch. The presuppositional branch describes the factual aspect of the scenario. The **motivational branch** shows the motives of communicants, which prompted them to engage this or that CS. Panther & Thornburg attribute both branches to the **before** component. However I suggest treating them as a set of **preliminary conditions** that make the scenario possible, rather than a part of CS itself. The reason for such division is the fact that these two branches represent states and motives rather than actions.

I suggest a general structural schema of a CS in Model 1 below. Panther and Thornburg developed the schema for a request scenario, but they did not offer an abstract schema, which might describe an abstract unit of communication. Model 1 is an attempt of such an abstraction, though it still needs further contemplation. There are many extralinguistic parameters that influence communication, and as such should be reflected in the schema. However, the exact manner of their encoding is a subject of further consideration.
Model 1. Abstract Schema of CS

Presuppositional branch
S and H exist
Entity X exists /
Action X is possible

Motivational branch
S bears some attitude towards X /
S wants H to perform X
S can perform action Y

Preliminary

conditions
BEFORE
S expresses his / her desire concerning X to H

CORE
S performs action Y that involves H

RESULT
H is affected by Y

AFTER
H performs action X / involving X as a result of Y

Other consequences

Realization branch

From Model 1 we can see that preliminary conditions encode some extralinguistic parameters of the situation, and partially, what Searle (1983) called illocutionary force of the core component SA. The before and the core components represent a locutionary act, while the result component explicates the perlocutionary effect.

Panther and Thornburg claim that the felicity of an indirect speech act depends directly on the small conceptual distance between the act itself and the core component of CS. The dependence of a speech act felicity on conceptual distance can be illustrated by two examples:
I suggest that Model 2 below illustrates the “speech etiquette” CS of greeting.

Model 2. “Greeting” CS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preliminary conditions</th>
<th>Presuppositional branch</th>
<th>Motivational branch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S and H meet for</td>
<td>S’s reasons for wanting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the first time during the day</td>
<td>to greet H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S wants to greet H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**BEFORE**  S expresses his desire to greet H  
**CORE**    S uses a speech etiquette formulae to greet H  
**RESULT**  H responses with a speech etiquette formulae of greeting  
**AFTER**   S and H have established friendly atmosphere

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other consequences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Realization branch</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though B’s initial remark does not belong to the speech etiquette formulae of greeting, A’s response shows it was decoded as such. B’s remark refers to the **preliminary conditions** of greeting CS (“communicants meet for the first time during the day”). In the structure of the scenario, there is only one interfering component (**before**: “S wants to greet H”) between this position...
and the core component (“performing an act of phatic communion by using speech etiquette formula of greeting”). Thus, the conceptual distance between the two elements is extremely small and the indirect speech act (assertion in the function of greeting) is felicitous.

Example (3) illustrates an infelicitous indirect act of request.

(3) /An infelicitous SA of request/

[A and B are colleagues and B is an experienced user of Microsoft products while A is not. A wants B to help her]

A: Our boss wants me to write the new form in “excel” by tomorrow!

B: Yeah, that’s our boss! Lots of work for little money…

To explain the communicative failure of A, I suggest considering Model (3), which is a modification of a Model developed by Panther & Thornburg (1998, p.760) and illustrates a CS of request.
Model (3) “Request” CS.

Distance Scale and Strength of Metonymic Link

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preliminary Conditions</th>
<th>Presuppositional branch</th>
<th>Motivational branch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X is possible / available</td>
<td>S’s reasons for wanting X (to be done)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H can perform/give X to S</td>
<td>S wants X (to be done)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S wants H to perform/give X to S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BEFORE      S expresses his/her desire that H performs/gives X to S
CORE        S puts H under obligation to perform/give X to S
RESULT      H is under obligation to perform/give X to S
AFTER       H will perform/give X to S // S will have X (done)

Other consequences

Realization branch

A’s remark in (3) belongs to the **preliminary conditions** of a request CS (S’s reasons for wanting X (to be done)). It was not identified as a request because there are 3 intermediate positions of **preliminary conditions** between her remark and the **core** component of the CS: 1) B can help A (**presuppositional branch**); 2) A needs help (**motivational branch**); 3) A wants B to help A (**motivational branch**). The metonymic distance between the **core** component and A’s remark is too big for the latter to stand for the former.

According to the CS approach, direct speech acts constitute the **core** component of a given scenario. Indirect speech acts belong to some other element of the scenario, but they have the illocutionary force of the direct
speech act that would belong to the core component of the scenario. In this case the component of the CS to which the actual utterance belongs stands for the core component of the scenario. Such phenomenon is possible due to metonymic link between the components.

Properties of the metonymic link:

(i) the metonymic link is strong if the component containing the actual utterance is close to the core one;

(ii) the more interfering components there are, the weaker the metonymic link is;

(iii) for an indirect speech act to be felicitous, the metonymic link between the core component and the component to which the utterance belong must be strong.

I can also add that metonymic link between the component containing the actual utterance and the core component may be strong by virtue of conventionalization. For example, “Can you pass me the salt?” is considered a request by default. Due to this fact and some extralinguistic parameters that might help to identify the type of CS quickly and with high probability, it is difficult to state the exact number of maximum possible interfering components.

Thus, basing my analysis on Panther and Thornburg (1998) I suggest the following definition of indirect speech act: an indirect speech act is one in which S performs one illocutionary act but intends H to infer another illocution by applying metonymic operations to components of a CS.
2.6 Approaches to metonymy

For quite a long period of time this notion was considered to pertain to lexicology and literary studies only. This approach can be illustrated by the definition of metonymy, given in McArthur (1996): “METONYMY. A figure of speech, (highlighted by me) which designates something by the name of something associated with it: the Crown substituting for monarchy, the stage for the theater, the bottle for alcoholic drink.... Metonymy is closely related and sometimes hard to distinguish from metaphor. Sometimes it has also been seen as containing synecdoche. Both metaphor and metonymy express association, metaphor through comparison, metonymy through contiguity and possession. Many standard items of vocabulary are metonymic...” (p. 656). To close the subject of lexical metonymy, I want to mention that some lexical units are products of combination of metonymy and metaphor. For example, “to give vent to one’s anger”. The increase in body heat here metonymically stands for anger. Further, anger is metaphorically seen as the heat of a fluid in a container. (Ungerer & Schmid: 1996; p. 134)

However, nowadays the situation has changed. Numerous studies are dedicated to the problem of identifying the degree to which metonymy and metaphor define human cognition and communication. To name just a few authors who have conducted research in this field, I can refer to Lakoff (1987), Langacker (2000), Fauconnier (1999) and many others. Their works have successfully shown that metonymic operations play an important role in human cognition and as such underlie many linguistic phenomena. For example, Lakoff (1987) calls metonymy one of “imaginative processes” (p.
371), thus implying that it is a mental operation which may result in lexical metonymy, as well as have some other consequences. Langacker (2000) also refers metonymy to human thinking processes: “Metonymy instantiates our basic cognitive ability to invoke one conceived entity as a reference point for purposes of establishing mental contact with another” (pp. 358-359). Fauconnier (1997) says that “metonymy and synecdoche are pragmatic mappings” (p.11). “Pragmatic function mappings”, in turn, are a class of connections between domains. Thus we again come across understanding of metonymy in terms of human cognition.

However, all the quotations above may as well describe metaphor and synecdoche. In this part I present a brief overview of recent works on metonymy and cite the definition of metonymy I accept in my work. I will also explain my choice.

### 2.6 (a) Dirven’s view

In his work “Metonymy and metaphor: Different mental strategies of conceptualization”, René Dirven (2003) states that metonymy is a syntagmatic operation based on combination and contexture, which needs contiguity of two objects to be performed successfully. Metaphor, on the other hand, is a paradigmatic operation based on selection and substitution, which needs similarity or contrast of two objects to be performed successfully.

The author distinguishes between three types of metonymy. The first one is linear metonymy, in which metonymic interpretation of a word or phrase depends on the context of the sentence. The second type is conjunctive
metonymy, which takes place when two objects co–occur in time, or the existence of one causes the existence of the other. In this case the metonymic interpretation is a part of the word's meaning. The third type of metonymy is inclusive metonymy, in which figurative meaning of a word or phrase emerged as a result of metonymic chain.

The author singles out two factors that he considers fundamental for metonymy. The first one is presence of contiguity of some kind between two domains. The second factor is that the source domain does not “dissolve” in the metonymic use.

2.6 (b) Seto’s analysis

In “Distinguishing Metonymy from Synecdoche”, Ken–ichi Seto suggests the following definition of metonymy: “Metonymy is a referential transfer phenomenon based on the spatio–temporal contiguity as conceived by the speaker between an entity and another entity in the (real) world” (Seto, 1999, p. 91). He further stresses the fact that a metonymic transfer is only applicable to entities.

There seems to be a simple test to identify a metonymic transfer. If it is possible to say that A is “a part of” B, and A is used for B, we face such a transfer. If one has to say that A is “a kind of” B, and A stands for B, we deal with synecdoche.

The author distinguishes between three kinds of entities: spatial (such as “a bottle”), temporal (“retirement”) and abstract (“beauty”). He further claims that each type of entity is characterized by different types of metonymy. Spatial entities are characterized by whole–part metonymy,
container metonymy and adjacency metonymy (for example, in “He drank three bottles” the container, a ‘bottle’ metonymically stands for the liquid contained). For temporal entities, metonymic transfer occurs between a whole event and a subevent, or between a preceding and an ensuing situation (for example, in “He took off the uniform at last” the preceding situation ‘taking off the uniform’ stands for the event of retiring). Object–property metonymic transfer occurs between abstract entities and their properties (for example, in “She was a great beauty in her youth” the property of the lady – her beauty – stands for the lady herself) (Ibid, pp. 103 – 112).

2.6 (c) Panther and Thornburg’s approach

In their article “The roles of metaphor and metonymy in English –er nominals” Panther and Thornburg (2003) maintain that it is incorrect to think that any conceptual or semantic relation is a contiguity relation (the notion crucial for classical definition of metonymy). They suggest the following properties of metonymy:

“(1) Metonymy is an intra–domain mapping.
(2) Metonymy is based on a contingent (i.e. conceptually non–necessary) relationship between conceptual entities.
(3) From (2) it follows that the link between a metonymic source and its metonymic target is in principle cancelable.
(4) Metonymy highlights the target concept, but the source concept is in general still recoverable.
(5) However, the source concept may become completely detached from the target, a development that results in a post–metonymy. “

(Ibid, pp. 282-283)

Though the authors admit that these characteristics of metonymy are not exhaustive, they account for uncontroversial cases of metonymy. They point out that their view of metonymy is close to that of Seto (1999). The difference, as pointed out by Panther and Thornburg is that they “do not regard metonymy as a purely referential relationship; it is also pervasive on the predicational and illocutionary levels” (Ibid, p.281).

2.7 Communication scenario and metonymic transfer

Panther and Thornburg’s (1998) claim, that indirect SAs are possible due to metonymic transfer between components of a CS. It means that S can refer to the core component of a scenario by referring to some other of its components, thus performing an indirect SA.

I cannot accept the treatment of metonymy suggested by Dirven (2003). As I have already mentioned, he maintains that contiguity between two domains is necessary for metonymic transfer to take place. However the components of a CS belong to one and the same domain – the domain of this or that CS. The other condition is met – the core component, or the source concept, is always retrievable, i.e. it “does not dissolve” in the metonymic use (which is proved by the felicity of an indirect speech act).

The relationship between components perfectly satisfies the conditions of metonymy offered by Panther and Thornburg (2003): the mapping here is
intra–domain (within one and the same scenario). The relationship between the components is contingent and in principle cancelable (in ex.(1) *You are early today. – Morning!* the speaker might have answered something like *No, it’s half past ten already* instead of *Morning!*). Moreover, the source concept (the core component of the scenario) is recoverable and, moreover, it is this recoverability that makes the whole process of metonymic transfer within the scenario possible.

Besides, the transfer within the scenario is based on metonymy, rather than on synecdoche. One cannot say that “the before component is a kind of CS”, but has to say that “the before component is a part of CS”. I suppose that by Seto’s classification, a CS constitutes a temporal entity, because it has temporal beginning and end. Metonymic transfer between elements of a CS belongs to the “subevent – whole event” type of metonymy in Seto’s terms.

Now I am ready to postulate the main claims of my work:

I hypothesize that (i) In the English, Russian and Japanese languages phatic interjections serve as DMs when they are used outside a CS. (ii) When phatic interjections occupy some position within the structure of the scenario, they constitute SAs (see Fig. 3 below). (iii) Phatic interjections are able to perform indirect SAs due to metonymic link between elements of a CS.
Figure 3. SA and DM functions of phatic interjections.

PHATIC INTERJECTIONS

- Discourse–marker function (primary function)
  - scenario–external use

- Speech–act function (secondary function)
  - scenario–internal use
Chapter 3. Analysis of phatic interjections in English

3.1 YEAH, SURE, OK, ALL RIGHT, UH-HUH: primary and secondary types of interjections

In Chapter 2 I have presented three approaches to interjections. The traditional one is reflected in descriptive grammar reference books. It is almost solely concerned with formal and, sometimes, syntactic aspects of the phenomenon. In rare cases when functional and/or semantic aspects come to consideration, the only thing mentioned is that interjections serve to express S’s mental state. No further explanations are given as to the kinds of mental states interjections can describe or what makes it possible for interjections to fulfill this function. Studies, which have appeared under a more recent approach, besides morphosyntactic features of interjections, are concerned with their functional and semantic properties.

Under the approach of universal semantics, interjections are treated as having specific meaning and expressing not only mental state of the speaker, but also mental act. However, under this approach items which have semantically related homonyms in other grammatical categories are excluded from the category of interjections.

In my research I stand on Ameka’s (1992 b) position in accepting semantic division of interjections into primary (items like UH-HUH which do not have independent semantic value) and secondary (items like YEAH, OK, SURE and ALL RIGHT which have independent semantic value) ones. I analyzed which semantic type every of the interjections under consideration belongs to. The basis for defining the semantic type of the interjection was the dictionary definition of its meaning. Thus, Sinclair et al (1987) give the
following definition of UH-HUH:

“...used in written English to represent a sound that people make when they are agreeing with you, when they want to show you that they understand what you are saying, or when they are answering ‘yes’ to a question; used in informal English” (p. 1578).

UH-HUH has only one meaning, and belongs to only one grammatical category, that of interjection. Thus, it belongs to the primary semantic type.

Pearsal (1998) gives the following definition of YEAH:

“exclamation & noun non–standard spelling of YES, representing informal pronunciation” (p. 2139). One can see that this interjection may belong to two grammatical categories, that of noun and that of interjection, so it has two lexical meanings. (McArthur’s definition of yes: “exclamation: 1. used to give an affirmative response ...; 2. used as a response to someone addressing one ...; 3. used to question a remark or ask for more detail about it ...; 4. encouraging someone to continue speaking ...; 5. expressing delight; noun an affirmative answer or decision, especially in voting: answering with assured and ardent yeses” (p. 2141))

We can see that entries 2 and 4 of the definition on p. 2141 perfectly match Ameka’s functions of phatic interjections to establish and maintain smoothly a communicative contact.
The definition of OK also includes more than one grammatical category: “OK informal exclamation used to express accent, acceptance or agreement ...; adjective satisfactory, but not especially or exceptionally good ...; adverb in a satisfactory manner or to a satisfactory degree ...; noun an authorization or approval ...; verb ...sanction or give approval ...” (Ibid, p. 1289). SURE “adjective confident in one’s thinks or knows, having no doubt one is right ...; adverb certainly...” (Ibid, p. 1866);

ALL RIGHT: “adjective satisfactory, acceptable ... adverb 1) in a satisfying manner or to a satisfactory extent; fairly well ... 2) used to emphasize how sure one is of something ...” (Ibid.; p. 47).

Thus, YEAH, SURE, OK and ALL RIGHT belong to the secondary semantic type of interjections (because they have more than one meaning and belong to several grammatical categories).

Besides, after Ameka, I recognize three functional types of interjection: conative, expressive and phatic ones. In this work I present evidence that all the interjections under consideration in this study belong to the phatic type.

3.2 Primary and secondary: type and function

Here it is necessary to explain the difference between primary and secondary interjections and primary and secondary (or discourse–marker and speech–act respectively) function of interjections. According to the definition above, “primary and secondary interjections” concern the semantic nature of the interjection in question. The notion was introduced
by Ameka (1992 (b)). On pp.40-42 of the given work I discussed this question in detail. I have classified UH-HUH as a primary interjection and YEAH, SURE, ALL RIGHT and OKAY as secondary ones.

The terms “primary and secondary functions of interjections” are my own terms. I had the following grounds for naming the functions in this way. My analysis of data has shown that the interjections can be used as DMs and as SAs. As phatic interjections serve genuinely interpersonal, non–informative function of language, it is only natural to consider their discourse–organizing function primary. Any other function they may fulfill in discourse (in our case, constitute speech acts) is secondary.

Interjections of both primary and secondary semantic types may fulfill primary and secondary functions in discourse. The interjections in question fulfill their primary function (serve as discourse markers) when used scenario–externally. They fulfill their secondary function (serve as speech acts) when used scenario–internally.

### 3.2 (a) Primary function (scenario–external use)

Example (4) illustrates the primary function of secondary phatic interjection OKAY. According to the discussion above, the interjection is secondary, because it has some lexical meanings independent of that of the interjection (it can also serve as an adverb, for example).

(4) /OKAY in the primary function/

[Two of the three communicants (Reese and Foley) are people with a higher social status than Marty who is a teenager.]

“Been any place unusual in the past twelve hours?” Reese
questioned.

“Home, school, here”, Marty answered with a shrug.

“Been in the vicinity of 2980 Monroe Avenue today?” asked Foley.

“Where?”

“Over by the old Orpheum Theater”, Reese said.

Marty hesitated for a moment before answering. (...) “No”, he said.

Reese finally gave him back his wallet. “OKAY, Martin. You have a good evening now”.

“Yeah,” Marty said (...) “Right.” (“BF”)

In (4) there is a sequence of “inquiry” scenarios and that of “leave – taking”. Based on the Model for “request” speech act scenario developed by Panther and Thornburg I suggest the following model for “inquiry” CS:

Model 4. “Inquiry” CS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preliminary conditions</th>
<th>Presuppositional branch</th>
<th>Motivational branch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Information X exists</td>
<td>S’s reasons for wanting to know X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H knows X</td>
<td>S wants to know X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H can share X with S</td>
<td>S wants H to share X with S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

S

**BEFORE**       S expresses his/her desire that H shares X with S

**CORE**         S asks H a question concerning X

**RESULT**       H answers the question concerning X

**AFTER**        S knows X

Other consequences
Realization branch

The first turn by Reese belongs to the core component (S asks H a question concerning X) and Marty’s answer to the result component (H answers the question concerning X). Foley’s remark, again, belongs to the core component of the same scenario, and Marty’s reply ‘No’ – again to the result component. The intervening mini-dialogue of Marty and Reese is another “inquiry” of the same structure with Marty’s question belonging simultaneously to the after component ['other consequences'] of the previous inquiry and core component of the current inquiry. ‘You have a good evening now’ by Reese contains a formula of speech etiquette that constitutes the core component of the “leave-taking” CS. However, ‘Okay, Marty’ by the same S does not belong to any component of either of the two CSs. If one deletes these two words, the informative aspect of the dialogue will not suffer any damage. OKAY here serves to close one topic and start another one, that is functions as a discourse marker.

Example (5) illustrates the primary function of primary phatic interjection UH-HUH. The English interjection UH-HUH is primary in the sense that it has only one lexical meaning – that of interjection – and no other independent ones. If this primary phatic interjection is used outside a CS, it performs its discourse-marker (primary) function as in (5) below:

(5) /UH-HUH in the primary function/

(explanation of an audiotape)

“In case you wondered, the first voice is Sarah Jessica Parker, an actress. The second is Brad Pitt”
“Who is he?”
“An actor.”
“UH-HUH.”
“Each phrase is followed by another voice (…)” (“Dr”, p. 293)

UH-HUH in this case shows H’s continued attention and does not perform any informative function. It has no place within the CS of “inquiry” and serves the phatic function of language.

3.2 (b) Secondary function (scenario–internal use)

For illustration of scenario–internal use of secondary phatic interjection OKAY consider example (6):

(6) /Secondary function of OKAY/

[Flagg is a kind of dictator and Lloyd is his right hand.]
Flagg bent over the intercom again. “Has Lloyd left yet?”
“No, I’m right here.”
“Hold off a bit on Diana’s cycle”, he said.
“OKAY”
The intercom clicked off. (“St”, p. 653)

Here the CS is that of “order” with the core component performed by a direct directive speech act. I suggest the following model for this type of scenario (Model 5)
Model 5. “Order” CS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preliminary conditions</th>
<th>Presuppositional branch</th>
<th>Motivational branch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Action X is desirable for S.</td>
<td>S’s reasons for desiring X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H can do X.</td>
<td>S wants H to do X.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S has authority to make H perform X.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BEFORE  S expresses his/her desire that H does X
CORE    S puts H under obligation to perform X.
RESULT  H is under the obligation to perform X
AFTER   H performs X
         Other consequences

Realization branch

Flagg's second turn belongs to the core component of the scenario (“S puts H under obligation to perform X”). It is a directive expressed by a sentence in imperative mood. And it triggers OKAY, which belongs to the result component (“H is under the obligation to perform X”). The interjection here is the only sign that the directive speech act was felicitous. OKAY occupies a definite place in the scenario and cannot be omitted. Though (6) is quite unambiguous that the order would be fulfilled, (6’) leaves some doubts:

(6’)/The same CS without OKAY/

Flagg bent over the intercom again. "Has Lloyd left yet?"

“No, I’m right here.”
“Hold off a bit on Diana’s cycle”, he said.

The intercom clicked off.

The deletion of OKAY here affects the informative aspect of the dialogue.

The same is true for the primary phatic interjections. Consider example (7) below:

(7) /UH-HUH in the secondary function/

[A telephone conversation between two friends]

“If you think we ought to go to see Douglas, then probably we should. It’s been too long.

“Your appointment’s there, isn’t he?”

“Uh – huh.”

“Okay. I’ll look for you at ten on Saturday. Hey, maybe, we’ll take the Scout. Give it a run.”

(“Dr”, p. 41)

Here, UH-HUH serves as the positive answer to a general question. It gives the information the speaker sought and thus belongs to the **after** component of the CS of “inquiry”.

Examples (4) – (7) make it obvious that both primary and secondary types of interjections can perform both primary and secondary function in discourse.
3.3 Data analysis

5 literary works became sources of data for examples of conversations containing the interjections. Two of them were novels by S. King and 3 were screenplays written by American authors. The novels were chosen because they provide a longer coherent context if compared to screenplays. Besides, in a novel such extra linguistic parameters as social status of communicants, the situation of communication, etc. are easy to follow. The screenplays were chosen because they represent a different genre and data from them, compared to data from novels, allow for a more realistic picture, which is not obscured by personal preferences of this or that author. Certainly, it is impossible to completely avoid influence of the author’s speech preferences in any case. However real–world speakers have their personal speech preferences, too, so in my viewpoint the analysis I suggest below reflects the real situation.

On the other hand, I must admit that the choice of sources might have influenced the findings to some degree. It especially concerns the DM function of interjections, the back–channeling DMs in particular. The problem is that though back–channeling might be quite frequent in natural conversations, it is rather rare in literary sources. Studies of real conversations which I intend to conduct in future may give additional information on the back–channeling DMs in English.

Sources and abbreviations of titles are the following: “Dr” for “Dreamcatcher” by S. King, ”St” for “The Stand” by S. King, “A” for “Abyss”, screenplay by J. Cameron, “7 Days” for “You Have 7 Days to Live”,


In what follows I will illustrate the positions I have discussed above with concrete examples. I will explore the following four points: (1) conditions that define whether the phatic interjections perform the discourse–marker or the speech–act function; (2) types of DMs the interjections in question may belong to in scenario–external use; (3) types of SAs phatic interjections may constitute in scenario–internal use, as well as types of SAs that trigger the scenario–internal use of phatic interjections; and (4) types of CSs that allow for the speech–act function of phatic interjections.

3.3.1 Okay

3.3.1 (a) Scenario–internal use

The first interjection under consideration is OKAY. Examples, excluded from the analysis were those, in which OKAY is used as an adjective (“It’s okay”). The definition of OKAY quoted in Chapter 3.1 of this work does not contradict empirical data and research. OKAY is an “informal exclamation used to express accent, acceptance or agreement ...” (McArthur, 1998, p. 1866). A recent study of OKAY was conducted by Condon (2001), who writes that “agreements are so highly expected following suggestions that they [agreements] are frequently encoded using only minimal forms (yeah, ok)” (Condon, p. 497). I found that cases of both scenario–internal and scenario–external uses of the interjection do not contradict the two quotations above.

The analysis of data I collected on OKAY shows that to perform the
secondary function, the interjection must occupy a definite position within a CS, as in (8) below. In this dialogue this phatic interjection functions as a direct commissive SA in a request CS.

(8) /OKAY as a direct commissive speech act in “request” CS/

[A conversation between a woman and a doctor whom she sees for the first time. The first S is the doctor]

“Miss Goldsmith, isn’t it? Free Zone committee? A pleasure.”

“Just Fran, please. Or Frannie”.

“Okay, Frannie. What’s the problem?”

“I’m pregnant.”

(“St”, p. 555)

To illustrate my analysis I repeat Model 3 which shows the structure of the scenario.

Model 3. “Request” CS.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{Preliminary} & \text{Presuppositional branch} & \text{Motivational branch} \\
\hline
\text{Conditions} & X \text{ is possible / available} & S’s reasons for wanting X (to be done) \\
& H \text{ can perform / give X to S} & S \text{ wants X (to be done)} \\
& \quad & S \text{ wants H to perform / give X to S} \\
\hline
\text{BEFORE} & S \text{ expresses his/her wish that H performs / gives H to S} \\
\text{CORE} & S \text{ puts H under obligation to perform / give X to S} \\
\text{RESULT} & H \text{ is under obligation to perform / give X to S} \\
\text{AFTER} & H \text{ will perform / give X to S} // S \text{ will have X (done)} \\
& \text{Other consequences} \\
\end{array}
\]
Realization branch

The structure of the scenario is based on the “request” CS structure offered by Panther and Thornburg (1998, p. 760). However, unlike Panther and Thornburg, who consider the motivational and presuppositional branches a part of the before component, I suggest treating them as a set of preliminary conditions that make the scenario possible. The original schema described only a situation when X is an object desirable for S. I extended X to cover both an object desirable for S and an action by H, which S finds desirable. Thus, the contents of positions in Panther and Thornburg’s Model were modified in the following way: (preliminary conditions): presuppositional branch: position “X exists/is available” was changed into “X is possible/available”, position “H can give X to S” was changed into “H can perform/give X to S”; motivational branch: positions “S’s reasons for wanting X” and “S wants X” were changed into “S’s reasons for wanting X (to be done)” and “S wants X (to be done)” respectively; (scenario): the before component was changed from “S wants H to give X to S” to “S expresses his/her wish that H performs/gives X to S”, the core component “S puts H under obligation to give X to S” was extended into “S puts H under obligation to perform/give X to S”, the result component was changed from “H is under obligation to give X to S” to “H is under obligation to perform/give X to S”, and the after component was transformed from “H will give X to S / S will have X” to “H will perform / give X to S // S will have X (done)”. The realization branch remained intact.

The woman’s remark “Just Fran, please. Or Frannie.” is a direct directive speech act that belongs to the core component (the full form of the
utterance is “just call me Fran or Frannie”): “S puts H under obligation to perform/give X to S”. In case of (8) “X” is H’s calling S “Fran or Frannie”. OKAY constitutes a direct commissive\(^6\) SA and belongs to the **result** component (“H is under obligation to perform/give X to S”. In case of (8), H is under obligation to call S Fran or Frannie). “Frannie” in the same turn (“Okay, Frannie. What’s the problem?”) belongs to the **after** component of the scenario (“H will perform/give X to S // S will have X (done)”. In case of (8) H calls S Frannie, thus performing the action S requested in the **core** component. The **preliminary conditions**, the **realization branch** and the **before** component of the scenario are not spelled out. Example (8) shows that when the phatic interjection functions as a direct speech act it belongs to the **result** component, i.e. occupies a definite place within a CS.

Example (9) illustrates OKAY in the function of an indirect SA. When the interjection is used as an **indirect** speech act, the component to which **triggering remark** belongs to is, as Panther & Thornburg (1998) predict, close to the **core** component:

(9) **OKAY as an indirect commissive speech act in the “request” CS/**

[A conversation between two lovers. The young woman is pregnant and asks her boyfriend what he thinks about it. The first S is the boyfriend.]

“I need a little time to think, too”

“Okay. Would you take us back to the parking lot?(...)

\(^6\) Or “promise” under other classifications, e.g. Bach and Harnish (1979)
The CS here is that of “request”, again. Model 3 presents the structure of
the scenario.

Model 3. “Request” CS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presuppositional branch</th>
<th>Motivational branch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X is possible / available</td>
<td>S’s reasons for wanting X (to be done)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H can perform / give X to S</td>
<td>S wants X (to be done)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S wants H to perform / give X to S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Preliminary Conditions**

**BEFORE**

S expresses his/her desire that H performs / gives X to S

**CORE**

S puts H under obligation to perform / give X to S

**RESULT**

H is under obligation to perform / give X to S

**AFTER**

H will perform / give X to S // S will have X (done)

Other consequences

**Realization branch**

The triggering remark “I need a little time to think, too” belongs to the
motivational branch of the preliminary conditions – “S wants X (to be done)”. In case of (9), “S wants X”, where X is a little time). The utterance constitutes an indirect directive SA expressed by an assertive. The S is making a request by asserting his need, without overtly using a request in an imperative mood (“Give me a little time to think”, for example). In other words, the core component of the CS is missing from the dialogue. “Other consequences” of realization branch, presuppositional branch and “S’s reasons for wanting X (to be done)” of motivational branch are also not
Panther and Thornburg (1998) have convincingly shown that the felicity of an indirect speech act depends directly on the conceptual distance between that act and the core component of the scenario. The closer the speech act is to the core component, the stronger the metonymic link is. The authors suggest two end-points for the scale: the “stand for” relation (the speech act and the core component are very close to each other) and “point to” relation (the speech act and the core component are very far from each other). The closer the metonymic link to “stand for” end is, the higher is the probability of a felicitous indirect SA. In (9) there is only one intervening element between the triggering remark and the core component. It is the before component “S wants H to perform/give X to S”, in case of (9) “S wants a little time”. Thus, the metonymic link between the triggering remark and the core component is rather strong. It allows for the conclusion that the utterance “I need a little time to think, too” is an indirect directive SA expressed by an assertive. To put it differently, the triggering remark readily communicates the idea of “Give me a little time to think”. It is a kind of “cause for consequence” metonymy.

The interpretation of OKAY is rather complicated. On the one hand, it is a reaction to the statement “I need a little time to think, too.” As such, it expresses agreement with the triggering remark. (See the definition of OKAY above). This meaning of interjection can be spelled out as “Yes, I agree that you need a little time to think, too”. At first sight one might conclude that OKAY constitutes a direct assertive speech act.

On the other hand, I have shown above that the triggering remark
“stands for” the core component of the scenario (“S puts H under obligation to perform/give X to S”). Consequently, OKAY can be viewed as belonging to the result component – “H is under obligation to perform / give X to S”. (In case of (9), “H is under obligation to give S a little time to think”). Then, it constitutes an indirect commissive SA.

The continuation of the turn “Would you take us back to the parking lot?” belongs to the after component “H will perform/give X to S // S will have X (done)”. In case of (9), it spells out like “S will have a little time to think”, because the young woman stopped speaking about her pregnancy and thus the young man got a little time to think.

To summarize the above–said, in all the cases under consideration when OKAY is used as a speech act, it belongs to the result component (generally described as “S is under the obligation to do X”) of different CSs (request, offer, etc.), in which the triggering remark is either direct or indirect directive. In all its scenario–internal uses OKAY constitutes a direct commissive SA if the triggering remark is a direct directive. OKAY constitutes an indirect commissive if the triggering remark is an indirect directive. Naturally, indirect speech acts tend to involve more missing components than direct ones.

One mini-dialogue containing OKAY deserves special attention. It takes place between a customer and the shop–assistant who was attacked by that customer.

(10) /A special use of phatic interjections/

[The first S is the customer, who attacked the shop–assistant]
“I don’t want you to call anyone, partner”

“I won’t”

“Swear to God?”

“Yeah. Swear to God.”

“I’m like God”, his customer remarked.

“Yeah, okay. Whatever you – “

(Dr”, p. 781)

Here in the last turn the S uses two interjections, YEAH and OKAY. Such a combination produces the effect of not only receiving new information (one of the interlocutors considers himself to be like God) but agreement with the contents of the triggering remark. This suggestion is proved by the next utterance of the turn, which is obviously interrupted “Whatever you say!” I treat OKAY in this case as belonging to the result component of “persuasion” scenario: “The H agrees with the S”. YEAH, on the other hand, fulfills its primary function signaling understanding of ongoing discourse and is used as a means to acquire the floor.

3.3.1 (b) Scenario–external use

In all the dialogues OKAY is a multifunctional DM, as are many others. The functions which the interjection performed in the examples I analyzed coincide with those referred to by Condon (2001). OKAY is used as both a token of understanding of ongoing discourse and as a means to change the topic. Consider example (11) below:
(11) /OKAY in discourse–marker use: information receipt and topic–change/

[Two of the three communicants (Reese and Foley) are people with a higher social status than Marty who is a teenager.]

“Been any place unusual in the past twelve hours?” Rees questioned.

“Home, school, here”, Marty answered with a shrug.

“Been in the vicinity of 2980 Monroe Avenue today?” asked Foley.

“Where?”

“Over by the old Orpheum Theater”, Reese said.

Marty hesitated for a moment before answering. (...) “No”, he said.

Reese finally gave him back his wallet. “Okay, Martin. You have a good evening now”.

“Yeah,” Marty said (...) “Right.” (“BF”)

We can see that the interjection is used here for two purposes. On the one hand, by saying OKAY Reese has acknowledged Marty’s answer. On the other, the use of interjection allows him to proceed quite smoothly from one topic (discussion of where Marty had been that morning) to another one (leave-taking). To put it differently, OKAY here cannot be interpreted as “I will do so” (commissive speech act) or “Yes, it is so” (assertive speech act). It can only be paraphrased as “I see what you mean, so I close this topic and proceed to the next one.
In approximately one third of the examples S used the interjection to return to a previously interrupted topic. I treat such cases as ‘change of topic’, because though the topic was brought about in preceding discourse, it is different from the latest topic the interlocutors were discussing.

Sometimes OKAY was used to summarize the situation rather than as a reaction to a previous remark. This use often involved no turn change, which may be considered another sign that the interjection referred to the whole situation. Such examples can be illustrated by (12):

(12) /OKAY in the discourse–marker use: summary of situation/

[The captain of a submarine at the crew–meeting]

Demarco: “CINCLANTFLT’s gonna go apeshit. Two Russian attack subs, a Tango and a Victor, have been tracked within fifty miles of here... and now we don’t know what the hell they are. Okay, I don’t have any choice. I’m confirming you to go to Phase Two.”

(“Abyss”)

Here the use of OKAY does not involve either turn–change or topic–change. Moreover, the speaker does not simply react to the previous remark of his interlocutor, but to the whole previous discourse, in which officers–in–charge of different systems of the submarine reported on the situations at their fields. Demarco summarizes their reports and thus, the situation.

---

7 Name of a supervising division at the base
In some other cases when the use of OKAY does not involve change of topic, the interjection is only used to signal understanding of ongoing discourse and to take the floor (example 13):

(13) /OKAY in discourse–marker use: receipt of information and turn–change/

[Marty explains his acquaintance George a plan that would help George to attract attention of a girl he likes”]

“But I've never picked a fight in my entire life!”

“You’re not picking a fight, you are coming to her rescue!” Marty corrected. “Maybe we’d better go over the plan again. Where are you gonna be at 8:55?”

“At the dance,” George replied.

“And where am I gonna be?”

“In the parking lot with her.”

Marty nodded, glad to see that he was paying attention. “OKAY. So right around 9:00 she’s gonna get very angry with me –“

“Why?” George interrupted. (“BF”)

In this example the use of OKAY does not involve any change of topic – the speaker (Marty) continues discussing the plan. The discourse marker here serves two aims: (i) to show that the speaker understood and accepted the information his interlocutor (George) gave; and (ii) to acquire the floor – after OKAY Marty continues his turn.

In utterances like (14) the context is too limited to let one make a
defendable judgment of which function the interjection performs.

(14) /Unclear use of OKAY/

[Two friends talk about a car which stopped at the gas–stand]

“It's state patrol.” – he said. “Looks like your cousin is there”

“Okay.” (“St”, p. 23)

I can summarize the above–said in the following way. In all the works analyzed the phatic interjection OKAY was used as a discourse marker in more than 50% of cases. When it was used as a speech act, it mostly constituted a direct or indirect SA of commissive. In all the cases it belonged to the result component of a CS. This fact proves that the scenario was recognized, i.e. was evoked successfully. When the interjection was used as an indirect SA, the triggering remark also constituted an indirect SA (mostly, an indirect order). Recognition of the scenario was possible because component to which the triggering remark belonged was close to the core component. The examples analyzed show that the scenario was successfully recognized if the triggering remark belonged to the bottom positions of the preliminary conditions, to the before component or to the result component of the scenario. All these positions are placed relatively close to the core component. The metonymic link between them and the core component is strong, thus the metonymic transfer is easy to occur.

When used as a discourse marker, OKAY was used scenario–externally to signal the following 3 cases: 1) turn–change and receipt of information; 2) topic–change and receipt of information; 3) summary of the situation. The detailed analysis of each source and function will be given in sections 3.4
3.3.2 YEAH

3.3.2 (a) scenario–internal use

The next English phatic interjection I analyze is YEAH. The examples show that, like OKAY, this interjection can be used both scenario–internally and scenario–externally. The former usage can be illustrated by (15):

(15) /SA use of YEAH in a CS of “inquiry”/

[A man approached a woman at a dark alley and made a silly joke to her. He turned out to be her friend Larry]

“Listen, wise gut, this isn’t ... hey, is this Larry?”

"Yeah, it’s me. Hi, Arlene.”

(“St”, p. 109)

In most cases when it is used in the secondary function, YEAH constitutes a positive answer to yes / no question, as in the example above. It belongs to the result component of “inquiry” CS – “H gives S the information desired”. The structure of the scenario was given in Model 4 on page 44. Below I repeat it:
Model 4. “Inquiry” CS

\[ \text{Presuppositional branch} \quad \text{Motivational branch} \]

\begin{align*}
\text{Preliminary conditions} & \quad \text{Information X exists} \quad \text{S's reasons for wanting to know X} \\
& \quad \text{H knows X} \quad \text{S wants to know X} \\
& \quad \text{H can share X with S} \quad \text{S wants H to share X with S} \\
\text{BEFORE} & \quad \text{S expresses his/her wish that H shares X with S} \\
\text{CORE} & \quad \text{S asks H a question concerning X} \\
\text{RESULT} & \quad \text{H answers the question concerning X} \\
\text{AFTER} & \quad \text{S knows X} \\
& \quad \text{Other consequences} \\
\end{align*}

\textit{Realization branch}

The remark that triggers YEAH in “inquiry” CS is a direct directive illocutionary act in Clark’s (1996) terminology. Within the scenario it belongs to the \textit{core} component (“S asks H a question concerning X”, in (15) it is “Is this Larry?” In this case X is information concerning the identity of H. S wants to know if H and Larry are the same person). The interjection constitutes a direct assertive. It belongs to the \textit{result} component of the scenario (“H answers the question concerning X” In (15), H proves that he is, actually, Larry).

Another direct SA that YEAH can perform is a direct commissive. Consider example (16) below:
(16) / YEAH as a direct commissive SA/

[A man wants to make his acquaintance have a drink with him.]

“What do you say? Be a man and have a drink with me!”

“Yeah, okay.”

“We’ll have them [drinks] by the window and take in the view.”

(“St”, p. 710)

The CS here is that of “order”. I gave a representation of the structure of this scenario in Model 5 on page 47 (Section 3.2 (b)) and repeat it below:

Model 5 “Order” CS

Presuppositional branch                Motivational branch

Preliminary                              Action X is desirable for S.     S’s reasons for desiring X

Conditions                              H can do X.                 S wants H to do X

X                                      S has authority to make H perform X.

BEFORE                   S expresses his/her wish that H does X

CORE                      S puts H under obligation to perform X.

RESULT                    H is under the obligation to perform X

AFTER                      H performs X

                              Other consequences

Realization branch

The triggering remark “Be a man and have a drink with me!” is a direct
directive. It belongs to the core component of the scenario “S puts H under obligation to perform X.” (In case of 16, S puts H under obligation to have a drink with S). The interjection YEAH belongs to the result component of the scenario (“H is under the obligation to perform X”, in our case, promises to have a drink with S) and constitutes a direct commissive SA.

In the majority of other cases the triggering remark belonged to some components of a CS, other than the core, as is in (17).

(17) /YEAH as an indirect commissive SA/

[Two friends discuss a stranger who appeared unexpectedly out of the woods and whose behavior was very strange.]

“Man, you have to admit it’s a little creepy, him turning up out of the woods like that”

“Yeah, it is.”

“That fart sounded like he had something crammed up his butt.”

(“Dr”, p. 96)

The CS here is that of “order”, too. The triggering remark “Man, you have to admit (...)” is an indirect directive. It belongs to the presuppositional branch of the preliminary conditions. “H can do X” (In case of 17, this component may be spelled out like “H can admit that he also was unpleasantly surprised when the person in question wandered out of the woods”. According to the story, it actually was what he felt). Still, the interjection YEAH belongs to the after component of the whole scenario (“S does X”, in our case, admits what the speaker wanted him to admit) and constitutes an
indirect commissive SA.

In one case the interjection was used in “contradiction” CS. Below I repeat example (18):

(18) /YEAH as a core component of a CS/

[Henry speaks of some disease called byrus to people infected by it. They try to deny they have it.]

“I’ve got it,” Henry said. “Byrus...Some of you may have it. I think you do, Charles – “

“No!” Charles cried

“Yeah, you do,” Henry said. “Major league. So do you, Mond.”

(“Dr”, p. 510)

It is the only case when YEAH belonged to the core component of the CS (“S contradicts H”). The interjection constitutes a direct assertive.

YEAH was also used in the CSs of offer and promise. In example (19) below the CS is that of “offer”:

(19) /YEAH as an indirect directive SA in a CS of “offer”/

[S offers to check whether a car that looks very old works, because H cannot do it himself.]

“Want me to check?”

“Yeah, I guess. Beggars can’t be choosers”

(“St”, p. 776)

The triggering remark constitutes an indirect commissive speech act. It
belongs to the existential branch of the preliminary conditions ("Action X is desirable for H") and constitutes a yes/no question. The direct speech act of this CS would be a commissive speech act belonging to the core component ("S commits himself/herself to doing X for H"). I maintain that YEAH here refers to the result component of the scenario ("S is under the obligation to do X for H"). It is an indirect directive SA (meaning “Please, check the car”). Further development of the situation shows that the question did not refer only to the desire of the H, it rather referred to S’s future actions. S went to check the car. If YEAH had constituted a positive answer to the question only, H would have to make a special request to S to check the car, or the car would remain unchecked. The actions of S in the situation suggest that the question was an indirect offer and YEAH was a signal of acceptance of that offer.

In example (20) the CS is that of “promise”.

(20) /YEAH in the “promise” CS/

[A conversation between a girl and a boy. The girl likes the boy but does not want to show it openly]

“What time does the school start around here?” Marty asked her.

“Nine o’clock”, she said, glancing at her watch. Her eyes grew wide. “Oh, I’m late! Maybe I’ll see you later”

“Yeah”, Marty said thoughtfully. (BF)

The girl’s remark “Maybe I’ll see you later” belongs to the core component of the “promise” CS (“S commits himself/herself to doing X”) and constitutes a
commissive speech act. Marty’s “Yeah” shows that the speech act was successful and belongs to the **result** component (“$S$ is under the obligation to do $X$”). The interjection here is, again, an assertive speech act.

### 3.3.2 (b) Scenario–external use.

In all cases when YEAH functioned as a DM it did not occupy any position within a CS. My findings were consistent with those made by Jucker and Smith (1998): “The most frequent use of yeah is to acknowledge the receipt of information that is new to the discourse but consistent with currently active information” (p.179). However, I must stress the fact that this interjection, as well as OKAY, is multifunctional. It also serves as a turn–taking management device – the function that Brinton described as “to aid the $S$ in acquiring or relinquishing the floor” (1998: p. 37). These two functions (“information–receipt and turn taking”) can be illustrated by (21):

(21) **/YEAH as a “receipt of information and turn–taking” DM/**

[Three friends discuss what has happened to a missing girl]

“She’s alive”, Beaver says flatly.

“Yeah”, Pete says ... “But I think she’s... you know...”

“She’s in deep shit”, Jonesy says... ("Dr", p. 637)

Here, Pete reacts to Beaver’s remark and at the same time uses the opportunity to “take the floor”.

Very often the use of YEAH involved change of topic, as in (22)
(22) /YEAH as “receipt of information and topic–change” DM/  
[A person who had had stomachache notices that it has started snowing hard]  
“Gosh, look at it snow!”  
“Yes”, Jonesy said. “How’s your stomach now?” (“Dr”, p. 93)  

Still, such use obligatory involves change of turn, too. Only in a few cases did YEAH function as a back–channeling discourse marker (see (23)).

(23) /YEAH as a back–channeling DM/  
[One person tells another one about an accident at the air base.]  
“He came back. The sandcrawler ... was full of stuff. God knows where he gets it. Well, he had the guys in stitches at coffee break. You know how he is. To him, weaponry is like a candy to a kid. The last thing he showed us was one of those incendiary fuses. You pull the tab and ... there’s one hell of fire. Small, but very intense”.  
“Yeah”  
“So, Trashy was just about drooling over it, and Freddy Campanary says...” (“St”, p. 679)  

In this case the person who gives explanation continues his turn and the use of YEAH did not involve change of turn or topic. The interjection serves to signal continuing attention.  

In 4 cases the interjection was used to summarize the situation, as in
Example (24) below.

(24) /Scenario–external use of YEAH for summarizing a situation/

[After a chain of unpleasant and inexplicable events two friends play cards in a hunting house.]
The floor creaked and they both jumped a little, looking toward the door on the other side of the big room, but there was nothing to see... They looked at each other, a little shamefaced.

“Yeah, I am jumpy”, Beaver said. (“Dr”, p. 96)

Example (24) makes it clear that the interjection refers to the whole situation. First, the friends have played cards silently for a while, so there is no previous remark for the S to acknowledge. Secondly, the S explicitly says that his “yeah” refers to the whole situation at hand. (“...they both jumped a little” and immediately after that S says: “Yeah, I’m jumpy a little”).

Among more recent studies on the subject, Ikeda (2001) distinguishes between three types and five subtypes of Yes and No: A. triggered, subdivided into answer and acknowledgment; B. spontaneous, subdivided into referential and feeling good and C. potentially triggered, which constitute speech act type ones. The examples of YEAH analyzed above fall under answer, referential and speech act subtypes.

Several examples were impossible to qualify with certainty. Consider example (25):

(25) /Ambiguous use of YEAH/
[A conversation between two lovers. The woman is pregnant. It is late at night. They are pushing their bicycles because they are tired of riding them

“You okay, Fran? The baby bothering?”

“No. I am just tired. It’s a quarter of one in the morning, or hadn’t you noticed?”

“YEAH, it’s late”, Stu agreed and they pushed their bikes side by side in companionable silence. (“St”, p. 489)

On the one hand, YEAH may be treated as a sign of agreement with the triggering question. Then, it fulfills the secondary function constitutes a speech act. On the other hand, the interjection may just be used as a signal of acceptance of information, and then it is used as a discourse maker. The ambiguity arises due to the absence of further conversation which might have made the situation clearer.

This subsection has shown that YEAH can be used both scenario–externally and scenario–internally. In my data, when the interjection was used as a SA, it belonged to CSs of “inquiry”, “offer”, “promise” or “contradiction”. When used scenario–externally, the interjection constituted a multifunctional discourse marker, which facilitates turn–taking, topic change and was occasionally used for back–channeling or summarizing a situation.

3.3.3 SURE

3.3.3 (a) Scenario–internal use
SURE performed the secondary function that is served the informative function of language in more than half of the examples analyzed. However, grammatically, it was not an adverb, because it does not enter a grammatical construction (like, for example, “Are you sure that...?”). It was used scenario–internally as a phatic interjection. This use can be illustrated by example (26), which shows a speech–act function of SURE in the CS of “request”.

(26) /SURE as a direct commissive speech act/

[S wants to return a book to a lady, but she does not feel well, so he talks to her husband.]

“Would you, please give this to her for me? Tell her, I’d like to talk to her when she’s feeling better. And tell her I don’t want to run away anymore. She’ll understand what I mean.”

“Sure, I’ll tell her.”

For ease of explanation I repeat Model 3 of “request” CS from Section 2.5.

Model 2. “Request” CS.

\[
\text{Presuppositional branch} \quad \begin{cases} \text{Preliminary} & \quad \text{X exists / is available} \\ \text{conditions} & \quad \text{H can give X to S} \end{cases} \quad \text{Motivational branch} \quad \begin{cases} \text{S's reasons for wanting X} \\ \text{S wants X} \\ \text{S wants H to give X to S} \end{cases}
\]

BEFORE \quad S expresses his/her desire that H gives X to S

CORE \quad S puts H under obligation to give X to S

RESULT \quad H is under obligation to give X to S

AFTER \quad H will give X to S / S will have X
Other consequences

Realization branch

In case of (26) X should be understood as an action, which H can perform. The triggering remark “And tell her I don’t want to run away” is a directive speech act expressed by a sentence in imperative mood. It is a direct speech act because it belongs to the core component. SURE belongs to the result component and constitutes a direct commissive speech act. The interjection has a certain position within the CS and serves the informative function of language. The continuation of the turn (“I’ll tell her”) proves the considerations above. The informative value of the utterance would not be changed if this continuation were deleted. In all the other cases when the interjection performed the speech–act function, it was also used scenario internally, like in (26).

SURE was often used as a positive answer to a yes/no question in an “inquiry” CS (see (27) below):

(27) /SURE as a direct assertive SA/

[A conversation between two friends one of whom thinks the other spends too much money.]

“How much this party’s costing you?”

“Sure”, Larry said.

“You didn’t rent the house for less than 14 thousand dollars...”

(“St”, p. 40)

If one considers Model 3 below, one can see that the triggering remark is
a general question and SURE belongs to the **result** component of an “inquiry” CS – “H gives S the information desired”. The interjection constitutes a direct assertive speech act.

Model 4. “Inquiry” CS

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Presuppositional branch} & & \text{Motivational branch} \\
\text{Preliminary conditions} & \quad \text{Information } X \text{ exists} & S' \text{ 's reasons for wanting to know } X \\
& \quad H \text{ knows } X & S \text{ wants to know } X \\
& \quad H \text{ can share } X \text{ with } S & S \text{ wants } H \text{ to share } X \text{ with } S
\end{align*}
\]

**BEFORE** 
S expresses his/her desire that H shares X with S

**CORE**  
S asks H a question concerning X

**RESULT**  
H answers the question concerning X

**AFTER**  
S knows X

Other consequences

*Realization branch*

Another type of CS in which SURE is used is that of “order”. However, this use is not so frequent as in “inquiry” or “request”. I only encountered it a few times. Example (28) is one of the cases.

(28) /SURE in “order” CS.

[A man promises a woman to tell their friend some information. He wants to say it to the friend himself. Social status of the man is higher than that of the woman]
“And if you meet him before I do...keep a secret, huh?”

“Sure.”

“Night, Frannie.”

(“St”, p. 423)

Below I repeat Model 5 which represents structure of “order” CS given on page 47, Section 3.2 (b).

Model 5 “Order” CS

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Presuppositional branch} & \text{Motivational branch} \\
\text{Preliminary} & \text{Action X is desirable for S.} & \text{S's reasons for desiring X} \\
\text{conditions} & \text{H can do X.} & \text{S wants H to do X} \\
& \text{S has authority to make H perform X.} & \\
\text{BEFORE} & \text{S expresses his/her desire that H gives X to S} & \\
\text{CORE} & \text{S puts H under obligation to perform X.} & \\
\text{RESULT} & \text{H is under the obligation to perform X} & \\
\text{AFTER} & \text{H performs X} & \\
& \text{Other consequences} & \\
& Realization branch & \\
\end{array}
\]

The triggering remark “keep a secret, huh?” is a direct directive speech act expressed by an utterance in imperative mood. It belongs to the core component of the scenario (“S puts H under obligation to perform X”, in case of (26) X is to keep secret). SURE belongs to the result component (H is under obligation to perform X, on case of 28 – to keep a secret) and constitutes a direct commissive speech act.
The interjection was also used in speech etiquette CS. Example (29) illustrates such use of SURE.

(29) /SURE in speech etiquette CS/

[A telephone conversation between two friends. The man asked the woman to check his drawer and tell him what she found there]

“(…)It’s a savings account book. There’s a balance of …wow! Just over thirteen thousand dollars. If you ask me go anywhere dutch, I’ll brain you.”

“You won’t have to”, he said, grinning. “Thanks, Arlene”

“Sure. I’ll put it in an envelope with your name on it (…)

(“St”, p. 111)

In this dialogue the triggering remark belongs to the core component (S expresses gratitude to H for X). It is expressed by a formula of speech etiquette. SURE belongs to the after component (H accepts S’s gratitude) and constitutes a direct assertive speech act.

3.3.3 (b) Scenario–external use

In all cases when the interjection served as a DM it was used scenario–externally, like in example (30) repeated below.

(30) /Scenario–external use of SURE/
“Sure... Something funny happened last night, Stuart” (“St”, p. 723)

I qualify the CS here as that of persuasion. I suggest the following model for this CS (Model 6):

Model 6. “Persuasion” CS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preliminary conditions</th>
<th>Presuppositional branch</th>
<th>Motivational branch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S holds some conviction X</td>
<td>S's reasons for holding X.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S’s reasons for wanting H to hold X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S wants H to hold X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BEFORE  S states X
CORE     S persuades H that X
RESULT   H holds X
AFTER    H acts basing on X

Other consequences

Realization branch

Remark “That’s nothing you can change, Stuart” belongs to the core component (“S persuades H that X”, in (30) X is conviction that Stuart cannot change the situation with his family). In Stuart’s turn “I know.”
belongs to result component (H holds X), “But I worry” belongs to “Other consequences” of after component. SURE, however, does not have any place in the CS. It serves to indicate receipt of information and simultaneously to signal change of topic. S shows that he understood what Stuart said and introduces a new topic – an accident that had happened the night before.

In (31) the use of interjection does not involve any topic–change; it just gives the other interlocutor an opportunity to take the floor.

(31) /SURE as a turn–changing DM/

[A conversation between a client (Martin) and a repairs man. Martin wants the work to be done as quickly as possible. The repairs man wants to have a rest. Martin’s wife Ellen is also present.]

REMOVAL MAN

Lunch break is till one o'clock.

MARTIN

(sarcastic)

SURE, take your time. (to Ellen) They get a lunch break before they even start working. (7)

If one deletes SURE from this conversation, it will not affect the informative aspect of the dialogue. Thus, such uses of the interjection are scenario–external.

One more scenario–external use of SURE is back channeling. This use can be illustrated by (32):
(32) /SURE as a back–channeling DM/

[A man and a woman discuss a tune, which they heard from the boy the woman takes care of.]

“I remember that one. It was big just before the flu. He must have picked up the single down town.”

“SURE”.

“What was the guy’s name?”

“I can’t remember”. (“St”, p. 579)

Even if SURE in (32) were deleted it would not affect the informative aspect of the dialogue. So, the interjection here functions as a discourse marker. However, it does not involve change of turn or topic. It just serves as a signal of continuing attention, i.e. as a back channeling DM.

Some examples were impossible to qualify with certainty because the context was insufficient for a justified conclusion.

By way of concluding this subsection I can say that in a conversation SURE constitutes a speech act more often than serves as a discourse–marker. When used scenario–internally, the interjection usually belongs to the result component. In only one case, the CS of expressing gratitude, it belonged to the after component. Used in its secondary function, it constitutes a direct commissive or direct assertive speech act.
When SURE serves as a DM, it is used scenario internally. Unlike YEAH and OKAY, it is not used for summarization of situation. The interjection can be used to indicate receipt of information accompanied by topic– or and turn–change. It is also used for back channeling.

3.3.4 ALL RIGHT

3.3.4 (a) Scenario–internal use

Like all the phatic interjections studied so far, ALL RIGHT performed both functions. In the dialogues analyzed it was used scenario–internally in “order” CS with a direct directive or an assertive as a triggering remark.

(33) /ALL RIGHT in “order” CS with a direct directive as a triggering remark/

[Henry talks to himself, pretending he is visiting a psychoanalyst]

“Close your eyes, Henry”

“All RIGHT, doctor.” He closes his eyes. (“Dr”, p. 36)

As is in all the other cases of “order” CS and a direct directive SA as a triggering remark, the interjection is triggered by an utterance that belongs to the core component of the scenario. The triggering remark is in imperative mood. ALL RIGHT belongs to the result component and constitutes a direct.

(34) /ALL RIGHT in “order” CS with an assertive as a triggering remark/

[Two friends are planning their future actions]
“Henry, I want you to listen to me now.”

“ALL RIGHT”.

“Here the simplest, the safest thing we can do, you and I. (…)”

(“Dr”, p. 522)

In (34) the triggering remark belongs to the **before** component (“S wants H to do X”, in case of (34) X is to listen to S). It is an assertive SA in the function of indirect directive and virtually repeats the condition of the component word for word. ALL RIGHT belongs to the **result** component (“H is under obligation to do X”). The fact that Henry does not continue his turn and listens to what his friend has to say shows that the **after** component of the scenario was also fulfilled (“H does X”, in case of (34) listens to his friend).

In one more case the order was expressed not by a verbal phrase, but by an action. Below I repeat it as example (35).

(35) /**SA function of ALL RIGHT triggered by a non–verbal element/**

[A mute man wanted to make a woman read what he had written.]

Hands trembling, head pounding, Nick took his pad and pen out and scrawled a note in big jagged letters. He tore it off and held it out ...She battered it aside. He picked it up, grabbed the back of her neck and shoved the note into her face.

She screamed: “ALL RIGHT! I’ll read it! I’ll read your crappy note!”

(“St”, p. 277)

Though the triggering remark itself is absent in (35), ALL RIGHT still
belongs to the result component and constitutes a commissive speech act. Further evidence for this conclusion may be found in the continuation of the turn. The action to which the woman commits herself is made more and more explicit verbally. ("I'll read it! I'll read your crappy note!") I think, the situation is quite possible even if both interlocutors were in full possession of their organs of speech.

In one case the interjection was used in the “threat” CS (36):

(36) /ALL RIGHT in “threat” CS/

[An alien, Mr. Gray possessed the mind of a human being, Jonesy. Jonesy’s conscience managed to “hide” in some imaginary room, from where it can communicate with the alien. The alien wants to know how Jonesy got to that room. Jonesy is hungry and agrees to tell the alien what he knows if his body is fed.]

“Where is there? How can there be a there?”

“I don’t know,” Jonesy said truthfully. “How do I know you’ll feed me?”

“Because I have to”, Mr. Gray said. ... “But if you satisfy my curiosity, I’ll feed you the things you like. If you don’t –“

The smells from under the door (...) became the greenly assaultive odor of broccoli and brussels sprouts.

“ALL RIGHT”, Jonesy said. “I’ll say what I can, and you feed me pancakes and bacon at Dysart’s” (“Dr”, pp. 548-549)

I suggest the following model for “threat” CS (Model (7)).
Model 7. “Threat” CS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pressupositional branch</th>
<th>Motivational branch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S wants H to do X.</td>
<td>S’ s reasons for wanting H to do X.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H does not want to do X.</td>
<td>H’ s reasons for not wanting to do X.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y is undesirable for H.</td>
<td>H’ s reasons for considering Y undesirable.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**BEFORE**  
S states his ability to do Y to H if H does not do X.

**CORE**  
S informs H that if H does not do X S will do Y.

**RESULT**  
H believes that if H does not do X, S can Y.

**AFTER**  
H does X.

Other consequences

*Realization branch*

The example above is interesting because here the threat is not made (and thus All RIGHT is not triggered) by a verbal expression, i.e. a speech act. The **core** component (“S informs H that if H does not do X S will do Y”, in case of (36) Y is feeding H vegetables) is performed by an action (Mr. Gray makes Jonesy smell the vegetables). The **result** component, however, is expressed verbally by phatic interjection ALL RIGHT, which is used scenario–internally. ALL RIGHT in this case constitutes a comissive SA – Jonesy promises to give Mr. Gray the information desired.
3.3.4 (b) Scenario–external use

In all cases when ALL RIGHT performed the DM function it was used scenario–externally. The study has revealed that ALL RIGHT used as a DM may serve three distinct purposes. One of them is in Brinton’s terms, “to mark a boundary in discourse, that is to indicate a new topic, (...) or resumption of an earlier topic (after an interruption)” (Brinton, p.37). Consider example (37):

(37) /ALL RIGHT as a topic–change DM/

[Two friends decide what to do with an unknown parasite that they happened to catch in their toilet. Beave managed to sit on the lid of the lavatory pan to prevent it from getting out. Jonesy wants to duct–tape it there. Beave wants to flash it down the toilet.]

“There was a roll of duct tape somewhere in the shed –“

“Let’s just flush it down” (...) Jonesy shook his head “Why not?”

“Because I saw the whole it made getting out”, Jonesy said. “It’s too big”

“Fuck”. Beaver slammed the heel of his hand against his forehead. Jonesy nodded. “ALL RIGHT, Jonesy, get the tape”

(“Dr”, pp. 224-225)

I consider the CS here is that of persuasion. Below I repeat “persuasion” CS model.
Model 6. “Persuasion” CS.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Preliminary conditions} & \quad \text{Presuppositional branch} \quad \text{Motivational branch} \\
& \quad S \text{ holds some conviction X.} \quad S' \text{ s reasons for holding X.} \\
& \quad S' \text{ s reasons for wanting H to hold X.} \\
& \quad S \text{ wants H to hold X.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

BEFORE \quad S states X \\
CORE \quad S persuades H that X \\
RESULT \quad H holds X \\
AFTER \quad H acts basing on X \\

Other consequences

Realization branch

In case of (37) “conviction X” is the necessity to duct–tape the parasite in the lavatory pan. Jonesy’s utterance “It’s too big (to be flashed down)” belongs to the core component (“S persuades H that X”). I treat Beaver’s remark “Fuck” as belonging to the result component (“H holds X”), because Jonesy reacts to it with a non–verbal sign of agreement – a nod. Beaver’s further words “Jonesy, get the tape” belong to the after component (“H acts basing on X”). ALL RIGHT does not have a place within the scenario and its deletion will not affect the informative aspect of the dialogue. Here ALL RIGHT introduces a phrase that returns conversation to the interrupted topic – that
of the duct tape – thus serving as a topic–change discourse marker.

When no topic–change occurred, the interjection served “to aid the speaker in acquiring or relinquishing the floor.” (Brinton, p. 37). Turn to example (38) below:

(38) /ALL RIGHT as a turn–changing DM/

[Marty needs to get to a nuclear test site. Professor can assist him but is against doing so at first]

“You realize that what we’re going to do could be extremely dangerous.”

“Believe me, Professor, running around on a nuclear test site can’t be any more dangerous than what I’ve been doing”, Marty assured him thinking of that afternoon’s chase.

“ALL RIGHT, here’s what we’ll do: we’ll get an Army Surplus Truck ...”

(“BF”)

In (38) no change of topic occurs – the interlocutors continue to discuss getting to the nuclear test site. Professor used ALL RIGHT to indicate that he understood what Marty said and to acquire the floor.

Several times ALL RIGHT served as back–channeling discourse marker. This use does not involve either change of topic or turn change (see (39)):

(39) /ALL RIGHT as a back–channeling DM/

[An angry man gives vent to his anger shouting at a friend]

“I only care about one thing. ...I want to find your Typhoid Jonesy and stop him. All right? Fuck your precious tender
feelings, fuck how tired you are, and fuck you. I’m here.”

“All RIGHT”

“I don’t need lessons in morality from a guy, planning to blow his overeducated, self-indulgent brain out” (“Dr”, p. 696)

ALL RIGHT in this use does not introduce a new topic or gives an opportunity to acquire the floor. It serves as a signal of continuing attention. The S continues his turn and in case of deletion of the interjection the informative aspect of the dialogue would not be affected.

ALL RIGHT was also used to summarize the ongoing situation. I consider such use to be described by the second part of position (f) in Brinton’s classification: “f) “to mark “sequential dependence”, to constrain the relevance of one clause to the preceding clause” (Brinton p. 32) in its extended reading, when (f) is supposed to cover not only the preceding and following clause but to include preceding and following discourse. Consider example (40):

(40) /ALL RIGHT as a situation summarizing DM/

[The woman suggests a sexual intercourse to the man. He offered her the same a week ago but was refused. Now he is in love with another woman and does not need it any longer.]

“Whatever you want from me, you could have had it. You could have had it last week. I wanted you to have it.”

“That was too soon”, she whispered.

“And now it’s too late”, he said, hating the brutal sound of his voice. “What are you gonna do, huh?”
The remark preceding ALL RIGHT is a special question. The utterance containing ALL RIGHT however does not give any answer. Thus, the interjection could not have been triggered by it. It summarizes the whole situation — the woman saw that her attempts to seduce the man were unsuccessful.

I can say that ALL RIGHT is used more seldom than YEAH, SURE and OKAY. But, like the three phatic interjections analyzed above, this one performs its discourse–marker function when used scenario–externally and serves as a speech act when used scenario–internally. When used as a discourse marker, ALL RIGHT frequently signals receipt of information accompanied by turn– or topic–change. Less frequently it is used for back channeling and summarizing the situation.

### 3.3.5 UH-HUH

#### 3.3.5 (a) Scenario–internal use

The data on UH-HUH is the scarcest. As I have explained at the beginning of this Section, one of reasons for the rarity of the interjection might be the choice of data sources. The interjection performs both functions. In all SA cases it was used in the CS of inquiry, like in (41):

(41) /UH-HUH as an assertive SA/

[A telephone conversation between two friends. One of them has a visitor in his office.]
“If you think we ought to go to see Douglas, then probably we should. It’s been too long”.
“You appointment’s there, isn’t he?”
“UH-HUH”.
“Okay. I’ll look for you at ten on Saturday. Hei, maybe we’ll take the Scout. Give it a run”

(UH-HUH constitutes a direct assertive speech act and belongs to the result component of the inquiry scenario. The triggering remark is a yes/no question, or an indirect directive in Clark’s terms (Clark, 1996).)

8.5 (b) Scenario–external use

UH-HUH tends to be used in the primary function much more often. In all such dialogues it was used scenario–externally. In 3 cases the interjection is used as a back channeling signal. (See (42))

(42) /UH-HUH as a back–channeling DM/
[One interlocutor explains the other a cassette – tape recording.
Both are of the same social status]
“In case you wondered, the first voice is Sarah Jessica Parker, an actress. The second is Brad Pitt.”
“Who’s he?”
“An actor”
“UH-HUH”
“Each phrase is followed by another voice...”

(“Dr”, p. 293)
The CS of inquiry with the core component “Who is he?” was over with the result component “An actor.” The utterance “Each phrase is followed by another voice” started another CS. The phatic interjection UH-HUH does not have a place in the structure of any CS. Its deletion will not affect the informative aspect of the dialogue. On the other hand, its use does not introduce new topic or serve to acquire the floor. It only signals continuing attention, i.e. performs the function of a back channeling discourse marker.

Two uses of UH-HUH involved turn–change without change of topic (43)

(43) /UH-HUH as a turn–changing DM/

[Two military officials discuss the number of people they are detaining in a quarantine zone]

“How many are we holding now?”

“How many are we holding now?”

“About seventy. And twice that number on the way from Kineo(...)”

“Uh–huh. Plus I’m going to say fifty more from the north...”

(“Dr”, p. 449)

UH-HUH in (43) serves to indicate that the speaker has heard what his interlocutor said and helps to acquire the floor. The turn following the interjection concerns the same topic – the number of people in the quarantine zone.

In one example the turn–change was followed by topic–change (44).
(44) /UH-HUH as a topic–changing device/

[Two people communicate telepathically. One of them is repeating some children’s rhyme to prevent other people with the same ability from eavesdropping. The other one complains about it.]

“You are jamming me.”

“You can think of it that way. Or you can think of it as teaching you a technique you better learn if you’d like to keep our conversation a secret”

“UH-HUH. Henry, I want you to listen to me now.”

“All right.”

“Here’s the smallest, the safest thing we can do, you and I”

(“Dr”, p. 522)

Unlike (43), here UH-HUH is followed by a new topic – complain has changed to suggestion of future course of actions. Thus, the interjection is used to acknowledge information given by the interlocutor and to introduce new topic.

All the examples of UH-HUH were found in “Dream catcher” by Stephen King. One may speculate that this interjection is not as widespread in American English as the four viewed above. A possible objection that this interjection is so conversational that it is difficult to be inserted in a novel can be countered by the fact that it was not used in screenplays. At least in present–day American English UH-HUH does not seem to be widespread.

This subsection has showed that UH-HUH is only used as a speech act in the CS of inquiry, where it constitutes a direct assertive. As a discourse
marker the interjection is used for signaling receipt of information accompanied by turn– or topic–change and for back channeling.

3.4 Case study by the source

In Section 3.3 of the given research I have exemplified the two major functions YEAH, SURE, OKAY, ALL RIGHT and UH-HUH may perform in discourse and illustrated all the cases with examples from different sources. In this Section I will analyze each source as to the positions discussed above.

3.4 (a) “Dreamcatcher” by S. King

First I present data on the distribution of each interjection across the two functions in the novel.

Table 1. Distribution of the interjections between the DM and SA functions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>DM function</th>
<th>SA function</th>
<th>Unclear Use</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OKAY</td>
<td>15 (55.6%)</td>
<td>10 (37%)</td>
<td>1 (11.4%)</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAH</td>
<td>33 (45.2%)</td>
<td>41 (54.8%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SURE</td>
<td>3 (27.3%)</td>
<td>8 (72.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL RIGHT</td>
<td>9 (69.2%)</td>
<td>4 (30.8%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UH-HUH</td>
<td>5 (62.5%)</td>
<td>3 (37.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 demonstrates that in this source the secondary phatic interjection YEAH was used more often than any other of the interjections (73 times in total). UH-HUH was used least of all – eight times only. OKAY, ALL RIGHT and UH-HUH perform the primary function more often than
they do the secondary one (55.6%, 69.2% and 62.5% respectively vs. 37%, 30.8% and 37% respectively). YEAH and SURE were used in the SA function more often than in the DM function (54.8% and 72.7% respectively vs. 45.2% and 27.3% respectively). One use of OKAY was unclear as to which of the functions the interjection performs. Table 1 also shows that in the “Dreamcatcher” by S. King ALL RIGHT performed the DM function more often than any other phatic interjection (69.2% of uses) and SURE – the SA function (72.7% of uses).

To illustrate the “unclear use” case I suggest turning to example (45) below:

(45) /“Unclear use” of OKAY/

[Two men stay in a log–house during a snowstorm. While one of them was away, a stranger (Rick) came and told the other one (Jonesy) about himself. When the absent man returned, his friend has just cooked a meal for two]

“Bitch–in–buzzsaw!” he cried this time. “That’s fucking terrible! Sit down! Eat! You too, Jonesy!”

“Nah, “ Jonesy said. “You go on and eat that. You are the one who just came in out of the snow.”

“You sure?”

“I am. I’ll just scramble myself some eggs. Rick can catch you up on his story.”

“OKAY – “

[Rick started telling his story] (“St”, pp. 82-83)
The reason why the function of OKAY is unclear here is as follows. The S of the last remark might have continued his turn with something like “OKAY, so what’s happened” addressing Rick. In this case the interjection would function as a “turn–change” DM. If the turn had gone like “OKAY. Thanks” the interjection would constitute a commissive SA triggered by “You go on and eat it” by Jonesy (a direct directive SA). But Rick interrupted the S with his story. This absence of continuation of the turn does not allow to judge on the function of the interjection with certainty.

Table 2 gives data on the types of DM the interjections belonged in this novel.

Table 2. Distribution of the interjections across the DM types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of DM</th>
<th>Turn–change + info receipt</th>
<th>Topic–change + info receipt</th>
<th>Back channeling</th>
<th>Summary of situation</th>
<th>Unclear use</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SURE</td>
<td>1 (33.3%)</td>
<td>1 (33.3%)</td>
<td>1 (33.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OKAY</td>
<td>5 (33.3%)</td>
<td>9 (60%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (6.4%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL RIGHT</td>
<td>2 (22.2%)</td>
<td>6 (66.7%)</td>
<td>1 (11.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAH</td>
<td>28 (84.4%)</td>
<td>3 (9.4%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (6.2%)</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UH-HUH</td>
<td>2 (40%)</td>
<td>2 (40%)</td>
<td>1 (20%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we can see from Table 2, only OKAY was used to summarize situation in “Dreamcatcher”. On the other hand, this interjection along with YEAH was not used for purposes of back channeling. YEAH dominates over the other interjections in signaling change of turn (84.4%). SURE and UH-HUH signal turn–change and topic–change with equal frequency: 33.3% for SURE and 40% for UH-HUH. Use of OKAY and ALL RIGHT involved change of
topic more often than mere change of turn: 60% of uses vs. 33.3% for OKAY and 66.7% of uses vs. 22.2% for ALL RIGHT. In two uses of YEAH the context was insufficient to decide on the type of DM the interjection belonged to.

In Table 3 I present data on types of SA the interjections and triggering remarks may belong to.

Table 3. Distribution of the interjections and triggering remarks (Tr. remarks) across the SA types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>Assertive</th>
<th>Commissive</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SURE</td>
<td>6 (70.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (29.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OKAY</td>
<td>Y/N question</td>
<td>ind. directive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL RIGHT</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (75%)</td>
<td>1 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAH</td>
<td>35 (87.5%)</td>
<td>6 (12.5%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UH-HUH</td>
<td>3 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 demonstrates that in “Dreamcatcher” none of the five phatic interjections performed an indirect assertive SA. OKAY and ALL RIGHT were not used as direct assertives either. In contrast, SURE, YEAH and UH-HUH constituted direct assertives much more often than commissives (70.5%, 87.5% and 100% of uses respectively). For UH-HUH it was the only SA it could perform. ALL RIGHT constituted a direct commissive SA more often than an indirect one (75% vs. 25%), while OKAY displayed the
opposite behaviour: 40% as a direct commissive vs. 60% as an indirect one.

A direct assertive SA performed by a phatic interjection was predominantly triggered by a yes / no question (a directive SA according to Clark’s (1996) and Bach and Harnish’s (1979) classifications). The phenomenon was observed in 40 cases out of 44. (“...hey, is this Larry?” – “Yeah, it’s me.”) In the remaining 4 cases the triggering remark constituted an indirect directive expressed by a direct assertive. (“How far?” – “Half a mile. Maybe three-quarters.” – “And you are sure.” – “Yeah.”) The use of the interjections as direct commissive SAs was triggered by sentences in the imperative mood. Indirect directive triggering remarks constituted assertive SAs or yes / no questions that belonged to some components of the CS other than the core component. In one case the use of ALL RIGHT as a direct commissive was triggered by a non-verbal act of threat.

Table 4 shows the types of CSs that can host the interjections in SA function.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>YEAH (%)</th>
<th>SURE (%)</th>
<th>OKAY (%)</th>
<th>ALL RIGHT (%)</th>
<th>UH-HUH (%)</th>
<th>TOTAL (per CS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OFFER</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (29.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (25%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ORDER</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5 (50%)</td>
<td>2 (50%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INQUIRY</td>
<td>36 (90%)</td>
<td>6 (70.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REQUEST</td>
<td>3 (7.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERSUASION</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (30%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THREAT</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>1 (25%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTRADICTION</td>
<td>1 (2.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL (interjections)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4 shows that the SA use of UH-HUH, YEAH and SURE mostly involved inquiry CS (100%, 90% and 70.5% respectively). OKAY and ALL RIGHT were used in order CS in 50% of their total uses. SA use of OKAY allowed for the greatest number of CSs – 4 (order, request, persuasion and threat), while SA function of UH-HUH obligatory required the inquiry CS. Among the CSs, the most wide-spread was inquiry (45 cases, 3 interjections – YEAH, SURE and UH-HUH). The least wide-spread were the CSs of contradiction and persuasion. They hosted only one interjection each: YEAH for contradiction and OKAY for persuasion, with 1 and 3 uses respectively.

3.4 (b) “The Stand” by S. King

The next novel I analyze is “The Stand” by S. King. I follow the same order of presenting data.

Table 5. Distribution of the interjections between DM and SA functions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>DM function</th>
<th>SA function</th>
<th>Unclear Use</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OKAY</td>
<td>31 (57.4%)</td>
<td>21 (38.9%)</td>
<td>2 (3.7%)</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAH</td>
<td>47 (46.5%)</td>
<td>53 (52.5%)</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SURE</td>
<td>15 (23.1%)</td>
<td>50 (76.9%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL RIGHT</td>
<td>23 (60.5%)</td>
<td>15 (39.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can see from Table 5 that ALL RIGHT performed its DM function more often than the SA one (60.5%). OKAY was used as a DM in a slightly bigger number of cases than as a SA (52.5% of cases vs. 47.5%). SURE was mostly used as a SA (76.9%). YEAH fulfilled a SA function only slightly more often than it did the DM function (52.5% vs. 47.5%). The interjection that was used most of all was, like in the “Dreamcatcher”, is YEAH. UH-HUH was
not used at all. In two cases of OKAY and one of YEAH the context was insufficient to decide on one of the two functions with certainty.

Below I repeat the “unclear use” example of YEAH from page 70:

(25) /Ambiguous use of YEAH/

[A conversation between two lovers. The woman is pregnant. It is late at night. They are pushing their bicycles because they are tired of riding them “You okay, Fran? The baby bothering?” “No. I am just tired. It’s a quarter of one in the morning, or hadn’t you noticed?” “YEAH, it’s late”, Stu agreed and they pushed their bikes side by side in companionable silence. (“St”, p. 489)

On the one hand, YEAH may be used as an answer to the triggering question. Then, it is a scenario–internal use and YEAH constitutes a speech act. On the other hand, the interjection may just serve the purpose of taking the floor, and then it is used as a discourse maker. The ambiguity arises due to the absence of further conversation which might have made the situation clearer.

Table 6 illustrate the types of DM the five interjections belonged to in this source.

Table 6. Distribution of the interjections across the DM types.
Table 6 demonstrates that the only interjection that was not used for the purpose of back channeling was OKAY. On the other hand, this interjection, along with ALL RIGHT was used to summarize the situation (8.7% and 39.1% of uses respectively). SURE in most cases was used as a means to take the floor (80%). In more than half the cases YEAH was used for this purpose, too (55.3%). All the interjections share the ability to be used for turn–change and topic–change with considerable frequency. In contrast, the maximum frequency for the back channeling DM did not exceed 6.7% of cases (SURE).

I precede with data on the types of SA the interjections and triggering remarks may belong to.

Table 7. Distribution of the interjections and Tr. remarks across the SA types.
Table 7 shows that in “The Stand”, like in “Dreamcatcher”, there were no cases of indirect assertive SA performed by the interjections. In “The Stand”, again, YEAH was mostly used as a direct assertive (90.2%). As in Table 3, we can see in Table 7 that SURE performed the function of a direct assertive SA more often than any other (58%). There were no cases of ALL RIGHT constituting an assertive SA. The difference in distribution between direct (53.3% of uses) and indirect (46.7% of uses) commissives for this interjection is less than 10%. OKAY was used as a direct commissive SA in 57.1% of cases. The characteristics of triggering remarks described in Table 3 hold true for Table 7, too.

Table 8 displays data on the types of CSs that appeared in the novel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>YEAH (%)</th>
<th>SURE (%)</th>
<th>OKAY (%)</th>
<th>ALL RIGHT (%)</th>
<th>TOTAL (per CS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CS Type</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFFER</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4 (8%)</td>
<td>1 (4.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ORDER</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
<td>7 (14%)</td>
<td>14 (66.7%)</td>
<td>10 (66.7%)</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INQUIRY</td>
<td>47 (90.2%)</td>
<td>25 (50%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REQUEST</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
<td>10 (20%)</td>
<td>2 (9.5%)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERSUASION</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (9.5%)</td>
<td>2 (13.3%)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THREAT</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
<td>1 (4.7%)</td>
<td>1 (6.7%)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTRADICTION</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERMISSION</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (4.7%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROMISE</td>
<td>2 (3.8%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPEECH ETIQUETE</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (6%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (13.3%)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUGGESTION</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (13.3%)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can see that the data in Table 8 resembles those of Table 4. YEAH, like in “Dreamcatcher” was predominantly used in the inquiry CS (90.2%).
Distribution of SURE is also similar to that in Table 4 – in 50% of cases the interjection was used in the *inquiry* CS. OKAY and ALL RIGHT, again, were most often used in the *order* CS (66.7% for each interjection). As in “Dreamcatcher”, the most evoked scenario was that of *inquiry* – in this scenario the phatic interjections were used as SAs 72 times. *Order* CS hosted the interjections more often in “The Stand” than it did in “Dreamcatcher” – 32 times vs. 7. But in Table 4, as well as in Table 8, the *order* CS followed the *inquiry* CS in the general number of cases when the phatic interjections were used scenario–internally. The array of CSs that allow for the SA function of phatic interjections in “The Stand” is wider than in “Dreamcatcher”. The positions that differ Table 8 from Table 4 are the CSs of *permission, promise, speech etiquette* and *suggestion*.

**3.4 (c) “You have 7 days to live”, screenplay by D. Ahner**

The screenplay in question was much shorter than the above–mentioned novels. That may be one of the reasons why the there were only three interjections out of five there.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>DM function</th>
<th>SA function</th>
<th>Unclear Use</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OKAY</td>
<td>5 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAH</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SURE</td>
<td>1 (33.3%)</td>
<td>2 (66.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9 demonstrates that only three phatic interjections out of five were used in this source: OKAY, SURE and YEAH. There were no cases of ALL
RIGHT and UH-HUH. OKAY was only used in the primary function and YEAH was only used in the secondary function. As in Tables 1 and 5, for SURE the SA function dominated over the DM function (two third of the cases). The difference in general numbers of uses per each interjection between “You have 7 days to live” and the two sources analyzed above may be explained by the fact that the novels were several times bigger in volume than the screenplay.

The data on the DM function of the interjections in question in this source is given in Table 10.

Table 10. Distribution of the interjections across the DM types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of DM</th>
<th>Turn–change + info receipt</th>
<th>Topic–change + info receipt</th>
<th>Back channeling</th>
<th>Summary of situation</th>
<th>Unclear use</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interjection</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SURE</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OKAY</td>
<td>3 (60%)</td>
<td>1 (20%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1(20%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10 shows that in its only DM use SURE belonged to the turn–change type of DM. OKAY also was mostly used for this purpose (60%). However, unlike SURE, OKAY in “You have 7 days to live” was also used to summarize the situation and to change the topic (20% of uses per each function).

The analysis of the two interjections that performed the SA function in this screenplay gave the following results.

Table 11. Distribution of the interjections and Tr. remarks across the SA types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA type</th>
<th>Assertive</th>
<th>Commissive</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interjection</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SURE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OKAY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The data in Table 11 are consistent with those in Tables 3 and 7 in the absence of indirect assertive SAs. Besides, as Table 11 shows, there were no indirect commissive SAs, either. In Tables 3 and 7 YEAH performed the direct assertive SA more often than any other. In Table 11 the only SA YEAH performed is also a direct assertive. SURE distributed evenly between the direct assertive and direct commissive. In “You have 7 days to live” there were no cases when the SA was triggered by a non–verbal act. The characteristics of Tr. Remarks are equal to those in Tables 3 and 7.

Table 12 gives data on the types of CSs in which the interjections were used scenario–internally.

### Table 12. CSs Types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Indirect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SURE</td>
<td>1 (50%)</td>
<td>1 (50%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td>Y/N question</td>
<td>dir. directive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAH</td>
<td>3 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td>Y/N question</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12 demonstrates that the only two types of CS, which allowed for the SA function of the interjections in this source were those of inquiry and order. In consistence with Tables 4 and 8 where YEAH was predominantly used in the inquiry CS, in “You have 7 days to live” the only CS that hosted this phatic interjection was that of inquiry. SURE was distributed evenly
between the two CSs. As in the two sources analyzed above, the inquiry CS takes the leading position as to the number of cases when the phatic interjections were used scenario–internally.

3.4 (c) “Abyss”, screenplay by J. Cameron.

Here, too, I only encountered three phatic interjections. Instead of SURE, this screenplay had several examples of ALL RIGHT.

Table 13. Distribution of the interjections between DM and SA functions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>DM function</th>
<th>SA function</th>
<th>Unclear Use</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OKAY</td>
<td>13 (92.9%)</td>
<td>1 (7.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAH</td>
<td>7 (50%)</td>
<td>7 (50%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL RIGHT</td>
<td>2 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13 shows that the two interjections that were not used in this source were SURE and UH-HUH. ALL RIGHT was only used in the DM function. According to Tables 1 and 5 this interjection performed the DM function more often than the SA function in “Dreamcatcher” and “The Stand”, too. OKAY was used as a DM slightly more often than as a SA (51.1% vs. 48.9%), which is also consistent with the data of Tables 1, 5 and 9. YEAH displayed equal distribution between the two functions.

Like in the sources above, here the interjections also performed both the primary and the secondary functions. Table 14 presents data on the DM function.

Table 14. Distribution of the interjections across the DM types.
As well as in Table 10, in Table 14 we can see that OKAY was used to signal turn–change more often than for any other purposes (61.6% of uses), though it could also summarize the situation (23.1%) and facilitate change of topic (15.3%). In this source ALL RIGHT was only used as a device to acquire the floor (turn–change). YEAH was predominantly used to signal turn–change (85.7% of cases), too, though it could also summarize the situation (14.3%). The leading role of turn–changing device for YEAH in “Abyss” is consistent with data on “Dreamcatcher” and “The Stand”.

Table 15 shows the types of SA the interjections and the triggering remarks performed in this source.

Table 15. Distribution of the interjections and Tr. remarks across the SA types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA type</th>
<th>Assertive</th>
<th>Commissive</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interjection</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OKAY</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. Remark</td>
<td>Dir. directive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAH</td>
<td>7 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. Remark</td>
<td>Y/N question</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15 demonstrates that YEAH only performed direct assertive SA. The same fact is demonstrated for “You have 7 days to live” in Table 11. In its only SA use in “Abyss” OKAY constituted a direct commissive SA. As in all
the sources analyzed above, there were no cases when the interjections constituted an indirect assertive. Besides both Table 11 and in Table 15 illustrate that the interjections did not perform an indirect commissive SA. Moreover, in “Abyss” there were no cases when the scenario–internal use of the interjections was triggered by a non–verbal act. The characteristics of triggering remarks are the same as above.

The SAs mentioned above were used in the following CSs (Table 16).

Table 16. CS Types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>YEAH (%)</th>
<th>OKAY (%)</th>
<th>TOTAL (per CS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ORDER</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INQUIRY</td>
<td>7 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16 shows the two most typical CSs that can place YEAH and OKAY. The only use of OKAY occurred in the order CS, and all the seven cases of YEAH pertained to the inquiry CS


This novelization is much longer than the two screenplays analyzed above, thus I found four interjections out of five in it. All of them but SURE performed both functions (see Table 17).

Table 17. Distribution of the interjections between DM and SA functions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>DM function</th>
<th>SA function</th>
<th>Unclear Use</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
We can see that all the phatic interjections except UH-HUH appeared in “Back to The Future”. The data of Table 17 do not contradict data on the other sources. OKAY and ALL RIGHT were used primarily in the DM function (87.5% and 75% respectively). YEAH constituted a SA more often than it did a DM (63.6% vs. 36.4% of cases). SURE was only used in the SA function.

Table 18 displays data on the types of DMs the interjections belonged to in “Back to The Future”.

Table 18. Distribution of the interjections across the DM types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>Turn–change + info receipt</th>
<th>Topic–change + info receipt</th>
<th>Back channeling</th>
<th>Summary of situation</th>
<th>Unclear use</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OKAY</td>
<td>7 (87.5%)</td>
<td>1 (12.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAH</td>
<td>8 (36.4%)</td>
<td>14 (63.6%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SURE</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL RIGHT</td>
<td>3 (75%)</td>
<td>1 (25%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18 demonstrates that OKAY belonged to two types of DM in this source – turn–change (71.4%) and topic–change (28.6%), with the former function prevailing over the latter. YEAH was used for purposes of acquiring the floor (62.5% of cases) and summarizing the situation (37.5%). ALL RIGHT was only used to summarize the situation.

All the four interjections performed SA function in this source. The data on the types of SAs is given below.
Table 19. Distribution of the interjections and Tr. remarks across the SA types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA type</th>
<th>Assertive</th>
<th>Commissive</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SURE</td>
<td>4 (66.7%)</td>
<td>1 (16.7%)</td>
<td>1 (16.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td>Y/N question</td>
<td>ind. directive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OKAY</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ind. directive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL RIGHT</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td></td>
<td>dir. directive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAH</td>
<td>11 (78.6%)</td>
<td>3 (21.4%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td>Y/N question, commissive (2)</td>
<td>dir. directive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In consistence with the tables above, Table 19 shows that the phatic interjections do not perform an indirect assertive SA. The only SA type that OKAY constituted in this source was indirect commissive, and the only SA type of ALL RIGHT was direct commissive. Both SURE and YEAH were used as direct assertive SAs more often than as commissives (66.7% and 78.6% of cases respectively). The number of cases when SURE constituted a direct and indirect commissive SA was equal – 16.7%. YEAH was used as an indirect commissive in 21.4% of cases. Though in this source the scenario–internal use of interjections was not triggered by a non-verbal act, it is interesting to note that in two cases the direct assertive use of YEAH was triggered by a commissive speech act.

Table 20 represents the types of CSs that hosted the interjections in SA
function.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>YEAH (%)</th>
<th>SURE (%)</th>
<th>OKAY (%)</th>
<th>ALL RIGHT (%)</th>
<th>TOTAL (per CS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ORDER</td>
<td>2 (14.3%)</td>
<td>1 (16.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INQUIRY</td>
<td>9 (64.3%)</td>
<td>4 (66.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REQUEST</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (16.7%)</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUGGESTION</td>
<td>1 (7.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROMISE</td>
<td>2 (14.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As in all the sources analyzed above, in “Back to The Future” YEAH was most often used as a SA in the inquiry CS. The same CS most often allowed for the scenario–internal use of SURE, too, as it did in “The Stand” by S. King. The only uses of OKAY and ALL RIGHT occurred in the request CS.

By way of concluding this section I can say that the difference in the total number of phatic interjections observed between the two novels and the screenplays can be explained by the difference in the total number of pages – the novels are much bigger than the screenplays. Among the screenplays the shortest was “You have 7 days to live”, and it contained the smallest number of dialogues; thus, its total number of phatic interjections was the smallest, too.

The richest array of CSs was observed in the novels for the same reason. However, it is necessary to mention that in the screenplays no new types of
the CSs were used. It is important to point out that the types of CSs that allowed for the scenario–internal use of this or that interjection most often were the same in all the sources (e.g. *inquiry* for YEAH or *order* for OKAY). The types of SAs the interjections could constitute did not differ much from source to source, either (e.g. the interjections did not constitute an indirect assertive SA in any source, and in every source YEAH was predominantly used as a direct assertive SA).

The distribution of the interjections across the DM types was also very similar in almost all the sources. Thus, OKAY did not belong to the back channeling DMs in any of the sources, and SURE was not used to summarize a situation.

The abundance of common positions observed in the respective tables on different sources proves the objectivity of my analysis. This fact also justifies the choice of sources for the data to analyze. Common facts observed in works of different genres by different authors reflect linguistic regularities

### 3.5 Discussion

#### 3.5 (a) Distribution of phatic interjections between the two functions

I summarized the data concerning the distribution of the five phatic interjections between the two functions in all the five sources in Table 21 below.

Table 21 Distribution of the interjections between the two functions in the five sources
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phatic Interjection</th>
<th>SA function</th>
<th>DM function</th>
<th>Unclear use</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OKAY</td>
<td>33 (30.8%)</td>
<td>71 (66.4%)</td>
<td>3 (2.8%)</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAH</td>
<td>118 (55.1%)</td>
<td>95 (44.4%)</td>
<td>1 (0.5%)</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SURE</td>
<td>66 (77.6%)</td>
<td>19 (22.4%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL RIGHT</td>
<td>20 (35.1%)</td>
<td>37 (64.9%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UH-HUH</td>
<td>3 (38%)</td>
<td>5 (62%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The analysis of this table shows that primary interjection UH-HUH and secondary interjections ALL RIGHT and OKAY were used in their DM function more often than in the SA function – 62% vs. 38% for UH-HUH, 64.9% vs. 35.1% for ALL RIGHT, and 66.4% vs. 30.8% for OKAY. The frequency with which the three phatic interjections are used as discourse markers does not differ greatly – 62% of cases for UH-HUH and 64.9% of cases for ALL RIGHT and 66.4% of cases for OKAY. The percentage of cases where the interjections fulfill the speech act function is also very close – from 30.8% in case of OKAY and 38% in case of UH-HUH to 35% of cases for ALL RIGHT. The difference between the number of cases in which YEAH fulfills the discourse marker function and number of cases when it fulfills the speech act function is also unimpressive: 55.5% vs. 44.4%. Table 21 shows that only for SURE the cases when this interjection functions as a speech act (77.6%) overwhelm those when it functions as a discourse marker (22.4%). The total frequency of uses also gives interesting results. YEAH was used most often – 214 times. OKAY occurred almost half that often – 120 times. SURE and ALL RIGHT are not so widely used – only 85 and 57 times respectively. The frequency of UH-HUH (only 8 cases) might be explained by the choice of data sources.
3.5 (b) The DM function of phatic interjections

As I have demonstrated above when the five phatic interjections are used outside a CS they perform the discourse–marker function. Table 22 shows the types of discourse markers the interjections belong to when they are used scenario–externally.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse Marker Type</th>
<th>B C</th>
<th>Turn Change + Info R</th>
<th>Topic Change + Info R</th>
<th>Summary of Situation</th>
<th>Unclear Use</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OK</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32 (45.1%)</td>
<td>29 (40.8%)</td>
<td>7 (9.9%)</td>
<td>3 (4.2%)</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAH</td>
<td>3 (3.2%)</td>
<td>65 (68.4%)</td>
<td>21 (22.1%)</td>
<td>4 (4.2%)</td>
<td>2 (2.1%)</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SURE</td>
<td>2 (10.5%)</td>
<td>14 (68.4%)</td>
<td>3 (15.8%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL RIGHT</td>
<td>2 (5.5%)</td>
<td>11 (29.7%)</td>
<td>12 (32.4%)</td>
<td>12 (32.4%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UH-HUH</td>
<td>1 (20%)</td>
<td>2 (40%)</td>
<td>2 (40%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“BC” in Table 22 stands for “back channeling”. “Turn Change + Info R” stands for “turn–change + information receipt”. “Topic Change + Info R” stands for “topic–change + information receipt”. The figures without “%” mark represent the number of tokens I found in the five sources with the given interjection in the given function. The figures with “%” mark in brackets show in how many percent of the total discourse marker uses the given interjection belonged to the given type of discourse marker. Figure “0” in the table means that there were no examples of the interjection belonging to that type of discourse marker.

Table 22 shows that YEAH and ALL RIGHT are the most versatile among the interjections. They can belong to all the types of discourse
markers singled out in the analysis. However, YEAH is predominantly used for signaling receipt of information and turn–change (68.4% of uses). ALL RIGHT serves for signaling receipt of information accompanied by turn–or topic–change and summarizing the situation with almost the same frequency (32.4% of cases for the former two functions and 29.7% of cases for the latter). SURE is mostly used for the purpose of acquiring the floor (68.4 % of cases). However, unlike YEAH, SURE is not used for summarizing the situation at all. Distribution of OKAY shows that it is mostly used for signaling receipt of information and turn– or topic–change (45.1% and 40.8% of uses) respectively. The only function OKAY cannot perform when used as a discourse marker is back channeling. The data on UH-HUH is too scarce to present any defendable tendency, but Table 22 shows that, like SURE it is not used for summarizing the situation.

From Table 22 we can see that OKAY was not used for back–channeling purposes and SURE did not summarize a situation. I offer example (42′) where I changed back–channeling UH-HUH to OKAY:

(42′) /OKAY instead of back–channeling UH-HUH/

[One interlocutor explains the other a cassette – tape recording. Both are of the same social status]

“In case you wondered, the first voice is Sarah Jessica Parker, an actress. The second is Brad Pitt.”

“Who’s he?”

“An actor”

“OKAY.”
There is no continuation of the turn after OKAY, and the dialogue sounds unnatural. All the DM types to which OKAY belonged either introduced the turn ("receipt of information + turn change" and "receipt of information + topic change"), or, at least, involved continuation of the turn ("summary of situation"). This interjection constituted a complete utterance by itself only in the scenario–internal use as a commissive SA. If the preceding remark in (42') were a directive (for example, a suggestion "Let’s consider Brad Pitt an actor"), OKAY would sound naturally. It is not the case, though. Thus, one expects continuation of the turn after OKAY, because it only can be used as a DM and as such, it usually introduces further information. The fact that the continuation never comes makes the dialogue unnatural.

Now let us consider SURE in situation–summarizing function. Below I suggest example (12'), in which OKAY was changed to SURE:

\[ (12')/SURE instead of OKAY in summarizing the situation/ \]

\[ [The captain of a submarine at the crew–meeting] \]

Demarco: “CINCLANTFLT’s gonna go apeshit. Two Russian attack subs, a Tango and a Victor, have been tracked within fifty miles of here... — and now we don’t know what the hell they are. SURE, I don’t have any choice. I’m confirming you to go to Phase Two.”

(“Abyss”)
interpreted in its primary meaning, SURE can hardly be treated as an interjection. It looks more like an adverb and the whole phrase can be reformulated as “I surely don’t have any choice – the only thing I can do is confirm you to go to Phase Two.”

3.5 (c) The SA function of phatic interjections

As I have shown above YEAH, SURE, OKAY, ALL RIGHT and UH-HUH function as SAs when they occupy a definite position within a CS.

Table (23) summarizes the findings on the interjections used as SA on the types of remarks that can trigger such use.

Table 23. Types of SA the interjections and tr. Remarks Belong to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA type Interjection</th>
<th>Assertive</th>
<th>Commissive</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SURE</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark Y/N question</td>
<td>40 (60.6%)</td>
<td>7 (10.6%)</td>
<td>19 (28.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OKAY</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark dir. directive</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17 (51.5%)</td>
<td>16 (48.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL RIGHT</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark dir. directive</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11 (55%)</td>
<td>9 (45%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAH</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>118</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark Y/N question, ind. directive (4 cases)</td>
<td>104 (88.1%)</td>
<td>4 (3.4%)</td>
<td>10 (8.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UH-HUH</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark Y/N question</td>
<td>3 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As one can see in the table, all the interjections used scenario–internally constitute assertive or direct or indirect commissive speech acts. The triggering remarks also do not display much variety: they can be either
directives\(^8\) (direct or indirect\(^9\)) or direct assertives.\(^{10}\) As I have mentioned above, by Clark’s classification yes/no questions are also a sub–class of indirect directive speech acts (Clark, 1996)).

### 3.5 (d) CS licensing the SA function of phatic interjections.

Identification of the type of CS is a complex process that involves analysis of both linguistic and extralinguistic factors. Extralinguistic factors include situation of communication, social statuses of communicants, their motives and intentions. Some of these factors are described in the preliminary conditions of the scenario. Linguistic factors concern different SA the communicants perform when involved in the scenario, especially the illocutionary force of these SAs. SAs performed in the core component are of major importance. However, SAs that belong to other components also play their role in process of CS type identifying, especially if the scenario is realized by an indirect SA. Further I will analyze frequency with which different types of CSs host interjections in the SA function. The following illustrates those types and method of their identification. It is necessary to mention that many of these types coincide with types of joint projects offered by H. Clark (1996, p.214), though he based his conclusion on the type of illocution alone.

My research has shown that the five phatic interjections under analysis

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\(^8\) Commissives serve to “commit a speaker to a future action” (Ibid, p. 134)

\(^9\) An indirect speech act is one in which S performs one illocutionary act but intends H to infer another illocution by applying metonymic operations to elements of a CS.

\(^{10}\) Assertive serves to “get the audience to form, or to attend to, the belief that the speaker is
may be used in their speech–act function in various types of CS. The complete list of the latter consists of “offer”, “order”, “suggestion”, “request”, “persuasion”, “permission”, “contradiction”, “threat”, “promise”, “inquiry” and “speech etiquette” CSs. Below I describe distinctive properties of each of them.

“Offer” CS can be illustrated by example (19) repeated below:

(19) /*Offer” CS/
[S (the person who uttered the question) offers that he checks whether a very old looking car works, because H (the person at whom the question was directed) cannot do it himself] “Want me to check?” “YEAH, I guess. Beggars can’t be choosers” [S checks the car]. (“St”, p. 776)

In the novel the dialogue took place in a situation when the two friends needed to get to their destination as soon as possible, but one of them could barely move. The other one, a very helpful person, could not drive, but he knew how to start the engine. These are the relevant extralinguistic parameters of the situation. The development of the situation demonstrates that the question was not asked with the sole purpose of getting information about H’s desires. Uttering the question the S intended to help. Huddleston and Pullum (2002) state that “(...) the intention of making a promise is committed to a certain belief” (Clark, p. 134).
sufficient for the utterance to be a promise” (Huddleston and Pullum, p. 860).

Clark (1996) stresses the importance of the H’s reaction for identifying the type of illocutionary act (pp. 137, 150). After giving the positive answer to S’s question, the hearer expressed willingness to use the car if it worked. Thus, he recognized the S’s utterance as an offer. All the above said allowed me to conclude that (19) is an “offer” CS.\(^\text{11}\)

For description of “order” CS turn to example (5)

(5) /"Order” CS/

[Flagg is a kind of dictator and Lloyd is his right hand.]

Flagg bent over the intercom again. ”Has Lloyd left yet?”

“No, I’m right here.”

“Hold off a bit on Diana’s cycle”, he said.

“OKAY”.

The intercom clicked off. (“St”, p. 653)

This CS contains the following extralinguistic parameters. The whole script here is that of interrogation. Flagg wanted to get some information a girl named Diana to betray her friends in exchange to setting her free. When she refused, he decided threaten her. Thus, he canceled his previous command to get her motorcycle ready to move. Flagg’s social status is obviously higher than that of Lloyd. On the linguistic side there is a direct directive speech act expressed by an utterance in the imperative mood, which constitutes a prototypical order. Thus, the whole CS in (5) is that of “order”.

\(^{11}\) Clark exemplifies “Offer type of illocution” with the same grammatical construction – a Y/N question: “Want a beer?” (Clark, p. 214)
The next CS under consideration is “suggestion”. For an illustration turn to example (46) below:

(46) /“Suggestion” CS/

[A man and a woman discuss searching another person’s house in hope to find his diary. The first remark in the dialogue belongs to the woman.]

“Do you think it’s still there?”

“Maybe. I think we’d better look and see.”

“Now?”

“Tomorrow. He’ll be out with the Burial Committee, and Nadine has been up at the powerstation afternoons”.

“ALL RIGHT”, she said. “Do you think I should tell Stu about this?”

“Why don’t we wait?”

(“St”, p. 566)

In (46) the man suggests that he and his interlocutor (a woman) search the house the next day. The social statuses of the communicants are equal, and neither of them is a professional in conducting a search, so the man has no right or reason to order anything to the woman. They both think it necessary to search the house and find the diary. It is an action they are going to perform together. Thus, the man says “I think we’d better look and see ...tomorrow” with the intention of suggesting to the woman a plan they will carry out together. (If it were an offer, the man’s intention would be to perform the action alone. Besides, this action should be something the
woman must find desirable for herself.) The illocutionary force of the central remark (the one quoted above) is not that of an order or offer, either. The speaker utters a deontic expression that is used to give “the speaker’s judgment as to the best course of action”. (Huddleston and Pullum, p. 196) Taking into consideration all the above said I maintain that the CS here is that of “suggestion”.

Another CS of a similar kind is that of “request”. Example (26) repeated below may be considered a prototypical “request” CS.

(26) */Request* CS/

[S wants to return a book to a lady, but she does not feel well, so he talks to her husband]

“Would you please give this to her for me? Tell her, I’d like to talk to her when she’s feeling better. And tell her I don’t want to run away anymore. She’ll understand what I mean.”

“SURE, I’ll tell her.”

First of all, the social statuses of the communicants in this situation are unequal. The person who wants to return a book cannot perform this action alone. He only can achieve his goal if the other person (the husband) cooperates and transfers the book to the lady. The husband does not benefit from helping the other person in some important way, i.e. he does not need to cooperate. If he does, he will do it as a favor for his interlocutor. Thus, in this situation the person who asked to give the book to the lady depends on the good will of his interlocutor and, consequently, is of a lower social status.
Further, the man knows that the husband can give the lady the book and the message and wants him to do so. He also wants his wish to be known to the husband and produces the utterance “Would you please give this (…)” with the intention of request. On the linguistic side of the CS the utterance quoted has the illocutionary force of a request – the S wants the H to perform some action to the benefit of H, but gives the latter “an option of not complying” (Ibid, 930). Besides, the first sentence in (6) contains both lexical and grammatical “illocutionary force identifying devices” (Clark, 137): “please” and the modal construction “would you + verb”. This combination of linguistic and extralinguistic parameters testifies that this CS represents a “request” type.

The next scenario that often hosts phatic interjections in the SA function is that of “permission”. It is illustrated by (47).

(47) /*Permission” CS/

[A young man takes care of a boy named Leo. He wants Leo to go to enter the house of his acquaintance but the boy is strictly opposed to the idea. The first remark in the conversation below belongs to the young man.]

“(…) But I wish you’d come in and have a Coke with us. And we could walk back together.”

“I’m not going into that house”, Leo hissed.

“OKAY. Go straight home”. (“St.”, p. 432)

The social status of the young man is undeniably higher than that of the boy.
The young man has realized the intensity of Leo’s unwillingness to enter the house. The man’s intention in uttering “Okay. Go straight home” was to allow the boy not to perform the undesired action previously requested of him. Huddleston and Pullum describe the illocutionary force of permission in the following way: “The action is something you want to do, but I have the authority to permit or prohibit it. Giving permission promotes compliance in the rather weak sense of not exercising power to stop it or, to put it more positively, removing potential obstacle” (Huddleston and Pullum, p. 931). In (47) the action “you want to do” is avoiding entering the house on the boy’s part. “Removing potential obstacle” is canceling the previous insistence that the boy goes to that person’s house. Thus, the SA that belongs to the core component of the scenario is that of permission and the whole scenario is “permission”.

From the examples above one can see that in the “offer” CS the S commits himself to doing something for the H’s benefit, while in the “suggestion” CS the S introduces a course of actions he and H may perform together. In the “order” CS the S wants and has the power to make H perform an action desirable for S, while in the “request” CS the S does not has such power and asks for a favor on H’s part. In “permission”, on the other hand the S allows the H to perform the action desirable for the latter.

To illustrate “persuasion” CS I suggest considering example (30) again:

(30) "Persuasion" CS

12 It is interesting to note that all the examples Huddleston and Pullum offer for “permission” are of the type given in (8). (Huddleston and Pullum, p.931)
[A man tries to cheer up his friend who worries about his wife]

“You miss Fran a lot, I guess.”

“YEAH. Miss her, worry about her. Worry about baby.”

“That’s nothing you can change, Stuart.”

“I know. But I worry.”

“SURE... Something funny happened last night, Stuart(...)”

(“St”, p. 723)

Stuart is away from his family and will not return home for a while because he and his friends have some important task to perform. He worries about his wife and her unborn child, but there is no way he can help them or even find out how they are doing. His friend feels sympathy to Stuart (the friend’s motif for starting the conversation) and tries to persuade him to calm down (the friend’s intention). They are both of the same social status. By uttering “That’s nothing you can change, Stuart” the S states his opinion (p) of the situation with the purpose of getting the H hold the same opinion. Thus, the aim of the S in uttering his remark is to persuade H that p and the whole scenario is that of “persuasion”. The fact that the SA itself is not felicitous (the H’s reply testifies that he has not calmed down) does not change the fact that the S tried to evoke the CS of “persuasion”.

The “contradiction” CS can be illustrated with (18) repeated below:

(18) /“Contradiction” CS/  

[Henry speaks of some disease called byrus to people infected by it. They try to deny they have it]
“I’ve got it,” Henry said. “Byrus...Some of you may have it. I think you do, Charles – “
“No!” Charles cried
“YEAH, you do,” Henry said. “Major league. So do you, Mond”.

(“Dr”, p. 510)

Actually, there is a sequence of scenarios in (9). The first one is that of “persuasion” with Henry’s utterance “I think you do, Charles – “belonging to the core component. In this case the S states his opinion with the purpose of making the H form the same opinion. Charles’s reply “No!” belongs simultaneously to two scenarios: the realization branch of the after component (the position “other consequences”) and the core component of the “contradiction” CS. Henry’s next remark “Yes, you do.” also belongs to two positions – the “other consequences” of the current “contradiction” scenario and the core component of the next “contradiction” scenario. The social statuses of the communicants are equal. Charles denies his having the illness because being infected in his situation means being executed – the illness is incurable and extremely contagious. For Henry, on the other hand, it is vital to contradict Charles’s claim that the latter and his friends are healthy, because making them realize they are infected and thus doomed is the only way to make them revolt against military authorities in charge of the quarantine zone. Thus, both Charles and Henry make their statements with the intention of saying the opposite to what the interlocutor has said. Though one utterance is a negation and the other one is an assertion, I think the illocutionary force in both cases is to contradict the previous
remark, rather than to merely assert or deny a proposition. Thus, the CS is that of “contradiction”.

The difference between “persuasion” and “contradiction” is rather subtle. The type of CS strongly depends on the motifs and intentions of the S. If the S aims at making H hold the same opinion as the S does, the CS is that of “persuasion”. If prime objective of the S is to express his or her disagreement with the interlocutor, the CS is that of “contradiction”.

Two more CSs that might look similar at the first sight are those of “threat” and “promise”. Example (36) repeated below illustrates both CSs.

(36) /Difference between “promise” and “threat” CSs/

[An alien, Mr. Gray possessed the mind of a human being, Jonesy. Jonesy’s conscience managed to “hide” in some imaginary room, from where it can communicate with the alien. The alien wants to know how Jonesy got to that room. Jonesy is hungry and agrees to tell the alien what he knows if his body is fed] “Where is there? How can there be a there?”

“I don’t know,” Jonesy said truthfully. “How do I know you’ll feed me?”

“Because I have to”, Mr. Gray said. ... “But if you satisfy my curiosity, I’ll feed you the things you like. If you don’t –“

The smells from under the door (...) became the greenly assaultive odor of broccoli and brussels sprouts.

“All RIGHT”, Jonesy said. “I’ll say what I can, and you feed me pancakes and bacon at Dysart’s” (“Dr”, pp. 548-549)
In (36) there is Mr. Grey’s turn that deserves special attention. It starts with the words “Because I have to!” The utterance following this one is a promise, and the next one is a threat. The motifs of Mr. Grey are the same: he wants Jonesy to perform some action. Mr. Grey controls Jonesy’s body and thus has power over Jonesy, i.e. possesses a higher social status. His intentions are also the same both when he pronounces the utterance “But if you satisfy my curiosity, I’ll feed you the things you like.” and when he makes Jonesy smell vegetables the latter detests. Mr. Grey wants to get Jonesy’s cooperation. But the illocutionary force of the first utterance is that of committing Mr. Grey to fulfilling an action desirable for his interlocutor. The second unfinished utterance “If you don’t – “ and the non-verbal act of making Jonesy smelling the unpleasant odors commits Mr. Grey to an action undesirable for his interlocutor.

Example (36) shows that the main condition that distinguishes between “promise” and “threat” CSs is desirability of the action, to which the S commits himself for the H. If the action in question is desirable, the CS is that of “promise”. If it is not, the CS is that of “threat”. Further distinction should be made between the “promise” and “offer” CSs. In case of “promise” the S knows for sure that the action he is going to perform is desirable for the H. In case of “offer” the S considers the action in question desirable for the H, but he is not sure if the H really finds this action desirable.\(^\text{13}\)

The CSs of “inquiry” and “speech etiquette” present no difficulty in

\(^{13}\) Clark (1996) describes the difference between the two illocutionary forces in the following way: “The point of a commissive is to commit a speaker to a future action. The prototype is the promise, as when George says to Jane “I’ll get you some coffee” (...) One subtype is the (...) offer, as when George says to Jane “Can I get you some coffee?”, committing himself to
identification. The S evokes the “inquiry” CS when he needs some verbal information from the H. The core component is an indirect directive SA expressed by an interrogative sentence.\footnote{My analysis has shown that only yes/no questions can trigger the SA function of phatic interjections.} Below I repeat “inquiry” CS from page 61

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(15)] /SA use of YEAH in a CS of “inquiry”/
\begin{quote}
[A man approached a woman at a dark alley and made a silly joke to her. He turned out to be her friend Larry]
“Listen, wise gut, this isn’t … hey, is this Larry?”
”YEAH, it’s me. Hi, Arlene.”
\end{quote}
\end{enumerate}

The “speech etiquette” CS is conditioned by social rules of interactions and the core component of the scenario is a formula of speech etiquette.\footnote{This scenario has various subtypes, such as “greeting”, “expressing gratitude” etc.} Below I repeat example (29) from pages 74-75 of this work:

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(29)] /SURE in \textit{speech etiquette} CS/
\begin{quote}
[A telephone conversation between two friends. The man asked the woman to check his drawer and tell him what she found there]
\end{quote}
\end{enumerate}
“(…)It’s a savings account book. There’s a balance of …wow! Just over thirteen thousand dollars. If you ask me go anywhere dutch, I’ll brain you.”

“You won’t have to”, he said, grinning. “Thanks, Arlene”

“SURE. I’ll put it in an envelope with your name on it (...)”

(“St”, p. 111)

I want to stress the fact that it is not always possible to draw a line between similar types of CS. In some cases it is possible, for example, to treat a CS as a “persuasion” under one interpretation and as an “information–exchange” under another.

Table (24) shows how often each of the five English phatic interjections occupied a position within the structure of CSs described above.

Table 24. CSs types that can host the interjections in English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>YEAH</th>
<th>SURE</th>
<th>OKAY</th>
<th>ALL RIGHT</th>
<th>UH-H</th>
<th>UH</th>
<th>TOTAL (by CS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Communication Scenario Type</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFFER</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6 (9.1%)</td>
<td>1 (2.8%)</td>
<td>1 (5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ORDER</td>
<td>3 (2.5%)</td>
<td>9 (13.6%)</td>
<td>19 (57.6%)</td>
<td>12 (60%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INQUIRY</td>
<td>102 (86.6%)</td>
<td>36 (54.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (100%)</td>
<td>141</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REQUEST</td>
<td>4 (3.4%)</td>
<td>11 (16.7%)</td>
<td>5 (15.2%)</td>
<td>2 (10%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERSUASION</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5 (15.2%)</td>
<td>2 (10%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERMISSION</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (2.8%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THREAT</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (1.6%)</td>
<td>2 (6.5%)</td>
<td>1 (5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROMISE</td>
<td>4 (3.4%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTRADICTION</td>
<td>2 (1.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP. ETIQUETTE</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (4.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUGGESTION</td>
<td>1 (0.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (10%)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNCLEAR TYPE</td>
<td>2 (1.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL (per interj.)</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>128</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 24 shows that all the interjections but UH-HUH can be used in the CSs of *order* and *request*. UH-HUH is only used in the *inquiry* CS. YEAH and SURE can be used scenario–internally in the *inquiry* CS, too, while ALL RIGHT and OKAY cannot. On the other hand, ALL RIGHT and OKAY can be found in the *persuasion* CS, but YEAH and SURE do not constitute a turn in this scenario. *Threat* CS can accommodate all the interjections but YEAH. The CSs of *permission*, *promise*, *contradiction* and *speech etiquette* give a position to only one phatic interjection each: *permission* – OKAY, *promise* and *contradiction* – YEAH, and *speech etiquette* – SURE.

Among the interjections YEAH is the most versatile one. It can participate in CSs of *offer*, *order*, *inquiry*, *suggestion*, *request*, *promise* and *contradiction*. However, this interjection is most often used in the *inquiry* CS – 86.6% of scenario–internal uses. SURE and OKAY can be used in six types of CSs: *offer*, *order*, *inquiry*, *threat*, *request* and *speech etiquette* for SURE, and *offer*, *order*, *request*, *threat*, *persuasion* and *permission* for OKAY. Like YEAH, SURE occurs in the *inquiry* CS more often than in any other type (54.5% of uses). OKAY was used scenario–internally in *order* CS with the highest frequency – 57.6%. ALL RIGHT is used in the CSs of *offer*, *request*, *suggestion*, *order*, *persuasion* and *threat* with the highest frequency for *order* (57.6% of cases, like OKAY).

Some of the types may look confusingly similar at the first glance. However, there is always some difference between the pairs that can be encoded within the structure of the scenario. For example, in the “*offer*” CS the S commits him/herself to doing something for the H’s benefit, while in the “*suggestion*” CS the S introduces a course of actions he and H may
perform together. The basic difference between “request” and “suggestion” scenarios lies in the beneficiary of the action. In case of “request” it is the S, while in case of “suggestion” the beneficiary is the H (the S just suggests the best course of actions for the H to achieve H’s goal). In the “order” CS the S wants and has the power to make H perform an action desirable for S, while in the “request” CS the S does not have such a power and asks for a favor on H’s part. In “permission”, on the other hand, the S allows the H to perform the action desirable for the latter.

The difference between “persuasion” and “contradiction” is rather subtle. The type of CS strongly depends on the motifs and intentions of the S. If the S aims at making H hold the same opinion as the S does, the CS is that of “persuasion”. If the prime objective of the S is to express his or her disagreement with the interlocutor, the CS is that of “contradiction”.

The main condition that distinguishes between “promise” and “threat” CSs is desirability for the H of the action, to which the S commits himself. If the action in question is desirable, the CS is that of “promise”. If it is not, the CS is that of “threat”. Further distinction should be made between the “promise” and “offer” CSs. In case of “promise” the S knows for sure that the action he is going to perform is desirable for the H. In case of “offer” the S considers the action in question desirable for the H, but he is not sure if the H really finds this action desirable.

I found no conversations in which “information–transfer” CS hosted phatic interjections in English. But it was widely used in Russian and Japanese. Both “inquiry” and “information transfer” CSs deal with circulation of information. However, as one can see from Models 3 and 6,
there is considerable difference between the two – the person who controls the information. In case of “inquiry” it is the H, and in case of “information transfer” it is the S. This causes difference in the contents of each turn. The \textbf{core} component of “inquiry” is a directive SA (a question), and the \textbf{core} component of “info–transfer” is usually an assertive. The \textbf{result} component of a successful “inquiry” describes a verbal \textit{action} performed by the H as the result of S’s action, while the \textbf{result} of the “info–transfer” happens automatically if \textbf{core} is fulfilled. In other words, in the “inquiry” CS the S seeks some information and the H shares it with the S. In the “information–transfer” CS the S shares information with the H. All these differences are true for the three languages.

\textbf{3.6 Concluding remarks on the phatic interjections in English.}

In this section I analyzed the English phatic interjections YEAH, OK, SURE, UH-HUH and ALL RIGHT basing my research on data from novels and scripts. I illustrated scenario–internal and scenario–external uses of the interjections. In the first case the interjections contribute to transfer of meaningful information and constitute speech acts, while in the second case they are used for discourse organization purposes and constitute discourse markers.

In the data analyzed the distribution between the two functions was slightly different for each interjection. OKAY, ALL RIGHT and UH-HUH were used as discourse markers more often (66.4%, 64.9% and 62% of cases respectively) than YEAH and SURE (44.4% and 22.4% of cases respectively). SURE was used predominantly as a speech act (more than 75% of cases),
according to my data.

I have also identified functions which the five interjections performed when they were used as discourse markers. YEAH and ALL RIGHT turned out to be the most versatile, serving as back–channeling markers, topic– and turn–changers and summarizers of the situation. UH-HUH and SURE did not perform the function of summarizing the situation while OKAY is not used for pure back–channeling.

The analysis of the interjections as speech acts showed that YEAH and SURE were the most versatile ones. They constituted commissive speech acts and assertive speech acts. OKAY and ALL RIGHT constituted commissives, while UH-HUH could only constitute an assertive speech act. According to my data, to allow for the interjection to occupy the place within the CS, the triggering remark must belong to one of the following types: directive (direct or indirect, including yes/no questions) or assertive.

The research has also shown that OKAY was used in the vastest range of CSs: “order”, “persuasion”, “offer”, “threat”, “permission” and “request”. I found no examples of YEAH in the “persuasion”, “permission”, “threat” and “speech etiquette” scenarios. SURE was not used in the “persuasion”, “permission”, “promise” and “contradiction” scenarios. ALL RIGHT was only met in “order”, “threat” and “offer” scenarios. UH-HUH was unique in this respect because it is only used in “inquiry” scenario.

The claim by Panther and Thornburg (1998) that the interpretation of indirect speech acts depends on metonymic distance between the elements of CS has proved valid for indirect speech acts performed by phatic interjections. In cases when the scenario–internal use of the interjection was
triggered by a speech act, the triggering remark belonged to a component close to the core component of the scenario. In almost all the cases the interjections themselves belonged to the result component.

The mechanism that allows the interjections to perform an indirect SA is the same for all the interjections in question. It is the metonymic transfer between some element of a CS, which is close to the core one, and the core component itself.

Chapter 4. Analysis of phatic interjections in the Russian language

4.1 Introduction.

The analysis of Russian interjections is limited to four interjections: NU, DA, HOROSHO and AGA (with its phonetic equivalent UGU). I chose DA and HOROSHO because they are noted as Russian equivalents of YEAH (DA) and ALL RIGHT and OKAY (HOROSHO) in many dictionaries (see, for example, TORD, p. p. 624 and 1020). AGA is considered to be very similar to UH-HUH and some uses of NU in Russian are translated into English with YEAH (TORD, p. 282). It is needless to say that the class of phatic interjections in the Russian language is not limited to these four ones. I chose them because they are offered as the Russian equivalents to the English interjections analyzed.

I hypothesize that Russian interjections follow the same principles of use that the English interjections do. Namely, I suggest that when the four interjections are used a CS, they serve as DMs. When, on the other hand, they occupy a definite position within a CS, they constitute SAs.
I conduct the analysis of Russian interjections according to the principles developed for the analysis of English interjections. First, I define which of the interjections are primary and which are secondary. Further, I illustrate the positions the interjections may occupy with respect to a CS. Finally, I describe the types of DMs and SAs the interjections may belong to.

The data for analysis are taken from two novels and three screenplays. The novels are “Hamster in an owl cage” by Ruban N. J. and “Electronic – a boy from a suit – case” by Velistov E. The screenplays are “Wonderings of the soul” by Harin U., “Moscow does not believe tears” by Chernih V. and “The ninth company” by Korotkov U. The choice of sources was defined by factors, which I explained in Sections 1 and 3 of the given manuscript. The limitations, imposed on the data by the nature of the sources which I described in Section 3 hold true for the Russian language as well. Additional research of spontaneously occurring conversations is one of the topics of my future research.

4.2. Semantic types of interjections.

Among the Russian interjections under analysis HOROSHO and DA are secondary interjections and NU and AGA are the primary ones.

“The Comprehensive dictionary of Russian Language” gives the following definition of HOROSHO:


I only collected examples where HOROSHO was undoubtedly an interjection and not a possible ellipsis of a sentence.
the feeling of pleasure and content experienced by someone (...)” (p.1182)

It is clear from the quotation above that HOROSHO is an adverb, and its ability to be used non-elliptically as a one-word utterance makes it a secondary interjection.

DA is defined by the same dictionary in the following way:

“DA, an interjection 1. positive Used to express agreement or confirmation; 2. interrogative Used in the meaning of really?, or in disjunctive questions; 3. parenthesis Used when the speaker wants to change the topic or recollects something.

DA, a conjunction 1. connective Used to connect sentences 2. disjunctive Used to express contrast, has the meaning equal to that of but, however.” (Ibid, p. 200)

“The Etymological Dictionary of The Russian Language” (1986) tells us that the conjunction and the interjection forms of DA developed from the same Old Church Slavonic form. (Vol. I, p. 480) Thus, we can see that DA belongs to two word classes, namely the interjection and the conjunction. It makes DA a secondary interjection.

Unlike HOROSHO and DA, NU belongs to only one word class (see the quotation below). It makes NU a primary interjection in Ameka’s terms.

“NU, interjection 1. Expresses incitement to an action; 2. Expresses surprise, indignation, irony, etc.; 3. interrogative With questioning
intonation expresses doubt, surprise, mistrust (often preceded by DA); 4.
emphatic Serves to emphasize significance of an utterance, emphasizes the
meaning of this or that word.” (Ibid, p. 538)

AGA, like NU, belongs to only one word-class and thus constitutes a
primary interjection.

“AGA, *interjection, colloquial* 1. An exclamation that expresses a
conjecture, joy, surprise, triumph, Schadenfreude etc; 2. Expresses
agreement or confirmation.” (Ibid, p.4)

Figure 4. Primary and secondary interjections in Russian.

![Diagram of primary and secondary interjections](image)

4.3 Place of the interjections with respect to a CS

Exactly like in English, Russian interjections under analysis may be used
either within or outside a CS. The first case is illustrated by example (48)
below:

(48) /SA use of phatic interjections in Russian/

[Sergeant Digalo trains soldiers who are to fight in Chechen. He
tries to provoke them to fight him]
Here I am! Fight me, blue berets! – He took a fighting stance in the circle, kicked back trying to hit them with his foot, dashed here and there. The guys only parted looking at him silently. – NU! – Digalo screamed desperately. – Is here at least one man, or are you all a bunch of morons?

Vot on ya! Vperyod, desantura! –, He took a fighting stance in the circle, kicked back trying to hit them with his foot, dashed here and there. The guys only parted looking at him silently.

NU!–desperately screamed Digalo – Yest tut hot odin muzhik, ili vse

NU! – desperately screamed Digalo.– Is here at least one man, or all

chmiri pozorniye?..

morons shameful?

(“9”)

In (48) there is a sequence of order scenarios. The sergeant gave his soldiers an order to fight him. The order was ignored and the sergeant repeated it after trying to provoke them to fight. Consider Model 5 below:

Model 5 “Order” CS

Presuppositional branch  Motivational branch

Preliminary  Action X is desirable for S.  S’s reasons for desiring X.

Conditions  H can do X.  S wants H to do X
S has authority to make H perform X.

**BEFORE**  
S expresses his/her desire that H does X.

**CORE**  
S puts H under obligation to perform X.

**RESULT**  
H is under the obligation to perform X

**AFTER**  
H performs X

Other consequences

*Realization branch*

The utterance “Fight me, blue berets!” by Digalo belongs to the **core** component of the scenario (“S puts H under obligation to perform X”, in this case – Digalo puts the soldiers under obligation to fight him). The scenario is realized via a direct directive speech act. The soldiers disobeyed the order. The sergeant provoked them with kicks (non–verbal actions), but they did not react as he had hoped they would. I argue that by uttering “NU!” Digalo challenged his soldiers again. Thus, NU in (48) constitutes a direct directive speech act, which can be spelled out as “fight me!” The interjection here occupies the **core** component of the scenario.

Example (49) illustrates scenario–external use of the same interjection:

(49) /DM use of phatic interjections in Russian/  

[A boy is speaking with his father about usefulness of robots]  
So, he [the boy] went on for a while about duties a one can delegate to a robot when his father suddenly interrupted him:  

NU, enough chatting!
– *NU, hvatit fantazirovat!*

NU, enough daydream! (“Electronic”)

I suggest that the CSs here are those of “information transfer” and “order”.

Model 6. “Information transfer” CS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presuppositional branch</th>
<th>Motivational branch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Preliminary</strong></td>
<td><strong>Motivational branch</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conditions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information X exists</td>
<td>S wants H to know X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S knows X</td>
<td>S’s motifs for wanting H to know X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BEFORE</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S expresses his desire to inform H of X.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CORE</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S informs H of X.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RESULT</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H knows X.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AFTER</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H reacts to X / Acts basing on X.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other consequences</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Realization branch*

The boy’s utterances about duties that may be delegated to the robots belong to the **before** component of the scenario. The utterance by the boy’s father (“(...)enough chatting!”) belongs to the “Other consequences” of the **realization branch** of the “persuasion” CS and simultaneously to the **before** component of “order” CS – “S wants H to perform X”, in case of (49) – to stop
chatting (see Model 5 above). NU in this case does not occupy any place in
the structure of the scenario. The interjection serves to help S to take the
floor, i.e. it constitutes a turn–change discourse marker.

4.4 The DM and SA functions of Russian interjections.

4.4 (a) The DM function.

It is necessary to note that I found that two of the phatic interjections
under consideration, namely NU and DA, used in the expressive
function. The facts that they were used as expressive interjections only 12.2% and
18.9% of times respectively and in all these cases were a part of an emphatic
construction allow me to suggest that these are cases when phatic
interjections are used to express emotional attitude of the speaker to the
ongoing discourse and not expressive interjections properly. Such use may
be illustrated with example (50):

(50) /Expressive DM performed by NU/

[Speaking to his father, a boy enumerates things that a robot may
do]
– It would go to the baker’s, wash the dishes, and cook dinner. I
would have a wonderful friend!
— NU what a friendship! – said his father. – To wash dishes...

Tom will go to the baker’s, wash dishes, cook dinner. Will be
menya takoy drug!
me such friend!
– *NU i druzhaba! – said his father. – Mit posudu...*
– NU and friendship! -- said his father. – Wash dishes... (“El”)

“NU i …” in (50) serves to express father’s indignation. The expression is a possible way to emphasize the utterance (see entry 2 in the definition). In this use it is not separated from the whole utterance with a comma, as is the case in discourse – organizing use of the interjection.

The spectrum of DM types to which the four phatic interjections under consideration may belong to is rather wide. As the phatic interjections in English, they can be used to signal receipt of information and turn- or topic-change, or to summarize a situation. However, there are some types of DMs to which only Russian phatic interjections belong. One of them is “filler” (or “insort” (Biber et al, 1999)).

According to Brinton (1996), DMs may “serve as a filler or delaying tactic used to sustain discourse or hold the floor” (1996, p.37). I found no examples of phatic interjections fulfilling this particular function in English. In Russian, this type may be illustrated by (51) and (51a):

(51) /DA as a filler/

[A conversation between a person who is looking for a movie “Trench-coat” and a person who has a video–cassette of that movie]
– And how did you know that I have “Trench–coat”? – his intonation was very strange, maybe bewildered.
-- DA, actually, I didn’t know. I'm just looking for a cassette, and
Gennadiy advised me to turn to you.

-- M-DA. NU, I see. Well, come to my place (...)

-- A kak vi uznali, chto u menya “Shinel” yest? –

And how you know that at me “Trench-coat” exist? –

his intonation was very strange, maybe bewildered.

DA ya, sobstvenno, i ne znal. Prosto ishchu kassetu, a

DA I actually and not know. Just look for cassette, and

Gennadiy posovetoval k vam obratitsya.

Gennadiy advised to you turn.

(51a) -- M-DA. NU, ya ponyal. Ladno, priyezzhayte (...)  

M-DA. NU, I understood. Well, come. (“Hamster”)

Both DA by the person who is looking for the cassette and M-DA by the person who has it are used to gain time while thinking what to say or how to react. The S in (50) was asked a question. He is expected to answer it, so he does not need to employ any strategies to gain the floor. His turn contains the answer to the question, so he does not need to use any DM to connect his utterance to the previous discourse or to signal change in the topic. Moreover, he uses “actually”, right after DA. “Actually” in this case is also a filler, because it does not contain any necessary meaningful information. The S in (51a) also uses M-DA to think how to react to the request to lend the cassette to a stranger.

Another type of DMs that was not among the types of phatic interjections in English is what I call “discourse initiator”. It falls under the entry (a) of Brinton’s typology: “(a) [pragmatic markers may be used] to initiate
discourse, including claiming attention of the hearer, and to close discourse;” (1996, p. 37). Example (52) below illustrates this use:

(52) /DA as a discourse initiating DM/

[After taking an interview with the director of a factory the cameraman (Rachkov) went out of the director’s office into the reception area]

Cameraman’s assistants were rolling cables and taking the camera to the cargo lift.

Rachkov lingered in the reception area.

“DA, - he said as if he had just thought about it. – The show may be put on air in the last moment, and we won’t be able to call your factory. So, just in case, give me the home phone–number of your director, I'll call her”

-- Da, - he said as if he had just thought about it. – Peredachu v

Show to

*efir mogut postavit v posledniy moment, i mi ne smozhem

air may put in last moment, and we not able(FUT)

pozvonit vam na rabotu, na vsyakiy sluchay dayte mne

call you to work to some case give me

domashniy telefon directora, ya yey pozvonyu.

home phone director’s, I her call. (“Moskow”)

In (52) the cameraman was expected to leave the reception area, but
instead he addressed a secretary. He wanted to initiate the discourse, and to do it smoothly, he used the discourse initiator DA. The development of the conversation showed that he got the phone–number. If, on the hand, he used a conative interjection EY, he would sound rude and most definitely would not achieve his communicative aim.

The last type of DM that seems to be specific to the Russian phatic interjections is “clause connector”. This function was described by Brinton (1996) in entry (f): “(...) to constrain the relevance of one clause to the preceding clause (...)” (1996, p. 37). AGA in (53) illustrates this type of DMs:

(53) /AGA as a clause–connecting DM/

[A man (Sergey) asks a woman (Zinulya) to help a newcomer to pack his parachute]:

-- Oh, Zinul, you are right! Will you please be so kind as to help him, won’t you? Because I haven’t packed mine yet…· Sergey’s voice became absolutely syrupy.

-- AGA, when there is a hint of trouble you immediately go “Zinul!” Lazy you!

-- Oh, Zinul, ti   prava! (...) Pomogi yemu, bud   laskova, a? A Oh, Zinul, you right Help him, be(Imp) kind, but? But to ya svoj yeshcho ne ulozhil… · Sergey’s voice became absolutely syropy

then I mine yet not packed

-- AGA, kak chto,   tak srazu :   “Zinul!” Lodir...

AGA, how something, so immediately ‘Zinul!’ Lazy you…(“Hamster”)
The woman in (53) is expected to make a turn to answer the request of the man, thus she does not need to use a “turn–change” DM. However, she does not say directly if she would fulfill the man’s request or not. On the other hand, one cannot say she changed the topic of the conversation. So, AGA in (53) is used to show that “when there is a hint of trouble” clause is connected to the previous discourse – the request. Unlike this “clause–connectors”, DMs signaling summary of situation serve to indicate a connection between bigger units – pieces of discourse rather than clauses.

4.4 (b) The SA function.

The analysis of the SA function of phatic interjections in Russian brought about an interesting fact. I found dialogues where NU served as a direct directive SA even when it was not used as a question. As I have written above, under many classifications yes/no questions are treated as direct directive SAs (see, for example Clark, 1996). Thus, when a question consists of a phatic interjection only, the interjection may be considered as a direct directive. It can trigger either an asservive SA (“I’ll be here by five. Okay?” – “No problem. Take your time”), or a commissive (“Please, sit here and don’t go anywhere. Okay?” – “I will”).

Unlike such cases, NU served as a direct directive SA when used by itself in an affirmative form. In these cases it usually followed an explicitly pronounced command, but sometimes it was used without a preceding directive, especially when the situation obviously showed that the CS was that of “order”. Look at example 48 on pages 136-137. NU in (48) follows an explicit order and constitutes the core component of the scenario.
In all the other cases, phatic interjections in Russian displayed behavior similar to that of English phatic interjections: they constituted either direct assertives, or direct or indirect commissives. Example (54) below illustrates the direct assertive use of DA:

(54) /DA as the direct assertive SA/

[A dialogue between a girl and the man her mother loves]

-- Are you going to marry her? - asked Alexandra.

-- DA.

-- And she? Is she going to marry you?

-- Vi sobirayetes na ney zhenitsya? – asked Alexandra.

You going to on her marry?

-- DA.

-- I ona tozhe?

-- And she too? (“Moscow”)

DA in (54) is an affirmative answer to a direct yes/no question. It constitutes the result component of an “inquiry” CS. Being the only word in the man’s utterances, DA serves as the only means to transmit information the girl demands. The deletion of the interjection in this dialogue would create the impression that the girl suffered communicative failure – her question would be left unanswered.

The next SA the interjections performed when used within a CS was the direct commissive speech act. It can be illustrated by the use of HOROSHO
in a “promise” CS (example (55)) below.

(55) /HOROSHO as a direct commissive SA/

[A conversation between a boy and a robot (Electronic)]

-- Ice-cream is much tastier than electric current! I can swallow four strawberry ones at a time! – I swallowed, too. Things...

When I was doing some conjuring tricks, – explained Electronic.

– Tricks? That’s great! You must show me some later! – HOROSHO. I will.

-- Morozhenoye kuda vkusneye electricheskogo toka! Ya mogu

-- Ice-cream much tastier electric current! I can

klubnichnogo srazu chetire shtuki proglotit.

strawberry (ADJ.) at once four servings swallow.

-- Ya tozhe glottal. Predmeti... Kogda pokazival fokusi.

-- I too swallowed. Things. When showed conjuring tricks.

-- Fokusi? Zdorovo! Obyazatelnno mne pokazhesh!

Tricks? Great! Obligatory me show (Fut.)

-- HOROSHO. Pokazhu.

-- Show (Fut.) (Electronic)

The boy treats the robot as a friend, so their social statuses are equal. Electronic wants to amuse the boy (S's motif) by doing some conjuring tricks (S's intention). By saying “HOROSHO” the robot places itself under the obligation to perform action X (in case of (55) – to do the tricks). HOROSHO in this case constitutes the core component of the scenario [S places
him/herself under obligation to perform X]. Even without the continuation of the turn – “I’ll show”- HOROSHO can only be interpreted as a promise. Thus, it is a direct commissive SA.

The last SA type the phatic interjections may belong to is an indirect commissive. This use is illustrated with example (56) below:

(56) /AGA as an indirect commissive SA/

[A schoolboy tries to make his friend, Russula (nickname), tell a robot that the latter is free to have a life of its own. They perceive the robot boy as a living being, a friend of theirs.]

-- But you decided that Electronik now may has his own life. I think you should talk to him.

-- AGA! – said Russula and dashed to the door.

-- No ti reshil, chto teper Electronik budet samim soboy.

But you decided that now Electronik will be him himself.

Po-moyemu, tebe nado s nim pogоворit.

In my viewpoint you need with him to talk.

-- AGA! – said Russula and dashed to the door. (“Electronik”)

The SA use of the interjection is triggered by an assertive “I think you should talk to him”. The CS here is that of “advice”. The boy nicknamed Russula had hard time trying to decide how to behave with his robotic friend/servant. At last he took a decision and told his friend about it. However, when it came to the actual talk with the robot, Russula started hesitating. Both Russula and his friend are schoolboys of the same social
status. The friend wants to help Russula and says what he thinks the latter should do. However, the triggering remark does not belong to the core component – “Talk to the robot”. It, rather, refers to the after component – [H performs X], in case of (56), Russula talks to the robot. Thus, the triggering remark is an indirect directive SA. AGA might be interpreted as mere agreement “Yes, I should talk to the robot”, but in this case it does not demand any immediate action – the talk could happen any time in the future. However, Russula “dashes to the door”, and further development of the situation shows that he talks to the robot immediately. Thus, AGA is not an assertive, but a commissive speech act, which belongs to the result component of the scenario [H is under obligation to do X], in case of (56) – to talk to the robot. Having admitted this obligation, the boy fulfilled it immediately.

4.5 Case study by the source

4.5 (a) “Hamster in an owl cage” by Ruban N. J.

First I present data on the distribution of each interjection across the two functions in the novel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>DM function</th>
<th>SA function</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>92 (86.8%)</td>
<td>14 (13.2%)</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>24 (92.3%)</td>
<td>2 (7.7%)</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGA</td>
<td>9 (47.4%)</td>
<td>10 (52.6%)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOROSHO</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table demonstrates the following points: (i) In this novel the primary
interjection NU was used with the highest frequency (106 times) and the secondary interjection HOROSHO – with the least frequency – once only; (ii) The DM function of NU and DA prevails considerably over their SA function (86.8 % and 92.3% respectively over 13.3% and 7.7% respectively); (iii) AGA was used as a DM almost as often as a SA (47.4% versus 52.6%); (iv) The only case of HOROSHO constituted a SA.

Table 26 gives information on the type of the DM the interjections belonged to.

Table 26 Distribution of the interjections across the DM types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>NU</th>
<th>DA</th>
<th>AGA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type of DM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn-change + info receipt</td>
<td>8 (8.7%)</td>
<td>2 (12.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic-change + info receipt</td>
<td>15 (16.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary of situation</td>
<td>13 (14.4%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8 (88.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause connector</td>
<td>17 (18.7%)</td>
<td>3 (18.4%)</td>
<td>1 (11.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discourse initiator</td>
<td>7 (6.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filler</td>
<td>17 (18.7%)</td>
<td>14 (48.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expressive</td>
<td>15 (16.5%)</td>
<td>5 (20.8%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows that NU was used as a clause connector and a filler with the same frequency – 18.7% of times. A little less often (16.5% of tokens) it was used as a means of topic-change with simultaneous acknowledgement of the information just heard. In 14.4% of cases the interjection was used to summarize the ongoing situation. The phatic interjection NU was used in the expressive function in 16.5% of cases. DA was used as a filler more often as any other DM – 48.3% of times. The interjection served for purposes of clause-connection in 18.4% of cases. 20.8% of tokens fulfilled the expressive
function. Among the DM functions of AGA, summarizing of ongoing situation overwhelmed the other one – connecting clauses – drastically: 88.9% of uses vs. 11.1%. HOROSHO was not used as a DM in this novel at all.

The information on types of SAs that the four phatic interjections can perform is given in Table 27 below.

Table 27. Distribution of the interjections and Tr. remarks across the SA types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA type</th>
<th>Assertive</th>
<th>Commissive</th>
<th>Dir.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interjection</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>5 (35.7%)</td>
<td>2 (14.2%)</td>
<td>1 (7.2%)</td>
<td>6 (42.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td>Y/N question</td>
<td>Dir. directive</td>
<td>Ind. directive</td>
<td>Itself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>2 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td>Y/N question, assert.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGA</td>
<td>10 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td>Y/N question, assertive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOROSHO</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dir. directive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As one can conclude from Table 27, the most versatile in this novel was NU. I found tokens of all the four possible SAs: direct and indirect commissives, as well as direct assertives and directives. DA and AGA were only used as assertive SAs, while HOROSHO – as a direct comissive.

The types of CSs that host the SA function of the interjections are presented in Table 28 below.
Table 28. CS types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>NU (%)</th>
<th>DA (%)</th>
<th>AGA (%)</th>
<th>HOROSHO (%)</th>
<th>TOTAL (per CS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ORDER</td>
<td>8 (57.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INQUIRY</td>
<td>6 (42.9%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERSUASION</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INFO TRANSFER</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (20%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROMISE</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTRADICTION</td>
<td>0 2 (100%)</td>
<td>4 (40%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL (interjections)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 28 above demonstrates that AGA was used in the widest range of scenarios: “order”, “inquiry”, “persuasion”, “information–transfer”, “promise” and “contradiction”, though most often it occurred in “contradiction” and “information–transfer” (20 and 40 per cent of cases respectively). Two most limited in their distribution were HOROSHO (the SA function of which was only hosted by “order” CS) and “DA”. I found the only token of the latter in “contradiction” scenario. NU belonged to the result component of “order” CS in 57.1% of its uses and to the same component of “inquiry” CS in the rest 42.9% of dialogues. “Order”, “inquiry” and “contradiction” CSs were the most frequently used ones in this source. It is interesting to note that though the prototypical use of DA and AGA is to express agreement (or change of topic – for DA), in this source they were frequently hosted by “contradiction”.

4.5 (b) “Electronic – a boy from a suit-case” by Velistov E.

As one can judge from Table 5 below, the general number of interjections used in this novel is much less than that in the previous one. Only HOROSHO was used far more frequently.
Table 29. Distribution of the interjections between DM and SA functions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>DM function</th>
<th>SA function</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>11 (84.6%)</td>
<td>2 (15.4%)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>4 (80%)</td>
<td>2 (20%)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGA</td>
<td>2 (66.7%)</td>
<td>1 (33.3%)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOROSHO</td>
<td>1 (12.5%)</td>
<td>7 (87.5%)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can see that in this novel, again, the DM function of NU and DA prevails over the SA one. Unlike the first source, in “Electronik” AGA was used in the DM function a little more often than in the SA function. HOROSHO, again, constituted a SA much more often than a DM.

The data on types of DM the interjections may belong to when used in the DM function is presented in Table 30 below.

Table 30. Distribution of the interjections across the DM types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of DM</th>
<th>NU</th>
<th>DA</th>
<th>AGA</th>
<th>HOROSHO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turn–change + info receipt</td>
<td>6 (54.5%)</td>
<td>1 (25%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary of situation</td>
<td>2 (18.2%)</td>
<td>2 (50%)</td>
<td>2 (100%)</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expressive</td>
<td>3 (27.3%)</td>
<td>1 (25%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 30 shows a much less variety of DM types the four phatic interjections belonged to. However, as in the first source analyzed, NU shows the most versatile behavior – it may constitute all the three types of DMs met in the novel: turn–change accompanied by acknowledgement of information received, summarizing the situation and a means to express emotional attitude to the ongoing discourse. Another difference with “Hamster” is the
fact that in “Electronic” DA was not only used for purposes of taking floor or expressing the S’s mental state, but also to summarize the ongoing situation. AGA and HOROSHO only occurred in the last function mentioned.

Table 31 presents types of SAs the four interjections constituted in the dialogues of this novel and types of SAs to which remarks that triggered scenario–internal use of interjections belonged.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA type Interjection</th>
<th>Assertive Direct</th>
<th>Commissive Direct</th>
<th>Directive Indirect</th>
<th>Directive Direct</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (100%)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>2 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td>assertive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGA</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ind. direct.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOROSHO</td>
<td>4 (57.2%)</td>
<td>2 (28.6%)</td>
<td>1 (14.2%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td>assertive</td>
<td>Dir. directive</td>
<td>ind. directive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As for the SA types, only HOROSHO belonged to assertive and commissive. On the other hand, direct directive was the only SA type, performed by NU. DA was only used as a direct assertive, while AGA – as an indirect commissive SA.

The types of CS in “Electronik” are very similar to those in “Hamster” (refer to Table 32 below).

Table 32. CS types.
We can see that the leading position in frequency with which the scenario was employed is, again, held by the “order” CS. All the other scenarios were only used once. NU and AGA were only hosted by the “order” CS, while DA – by the “inquiry”. HOROSHO displayed the most versatile behavior. The only CS it did not occur in was the “inquiry”.

4.5 (c) “The ninth company” by Korotkov U.

The next work under consideration is the script of a very famous movie that won several awards at the Russian movie festival. General data on the interjections in this script is given in Table 33 below.

Table 33. Distribution of the interjections between DM and SA functions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>DM function</th>
<th>SA function</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>29 (58%)</td>
<td>21 (42%)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>32 (88.9%)</td>
<td>4 (11.1%)</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGA</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (100%)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can see from the table that HOROSHO was not used in the dialogues at all. The number of DA tokens is the biggest one so far, while the number of NU tokens is a little fewer than in the first source under consideration. NU
and DA, again, performed the DM function more often than the SA function, while the only uses of AGA were as SAs.

The DM types to which the interjections belonged in this script are given in Table 34.

Table 34. Distribution of the interjections across the DM types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>NU</th>
<th>DA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type of DM</strong></td>
<td><strong>NU</strong></td>
<td><strong>DA</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn-change + info receipt</td>
<td>11 (37.9%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic-change + info receipt</td>
<td>4 (13.9%)</td>
<td>18 (56.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary of situation</td>
<td>9 (31%)</td>
<td>5 (15.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause connector</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (3.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filler</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (9.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expressive</td>
<td>5 (17.2%)</td>
<td>5 (15.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 34 demonstrates that most of NU uses (almost 40%) served the purpose of turn–taking with simultaneous acknowledgement of information received. In addition it introduced a summary of the ongoing situation in 31% of cases. The expressive use of the interjection amounted to a little more than 17% of all tokens. DA displayed similar behavior, with 56.3% of cases for the turn–taking and information receipt and more than 15% of cases for summarizing the ongoing situation. The interjection was used in the expressive function in 15.6% of cases.

Besides NU and DA, the speech act function in this source was also
performed by AGA. The results are presented in Table 35 below:

Table 35 Distribution of the interjections and Tr. remarks across the SA types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA type</th>
<th>Assertive</th>
<th>Directive</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interjection</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>1 (4.8%)</td>
<td>20 (95.2%)</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td>Y/N question</td>
<td>Itself</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>4 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td>Y/N question,</td>
<td>Assertive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGA</td>
<td>3 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td>Y/N question,</td>
<td>assertive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can see that in the “The ninth company” the three phatic interjections were only used as direct SAs. NU primarily constituted a directive SA, while all the uses of DA and AGA were as directive SAs.

The CS that were employed in this script are enlisted in Table 36.

Table 36. CS Types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>NU (%)</th>
<th>DA (%)</th>
<th>AGA (%)</th>
<th>TOTAL (per CS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CS Type</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ORDER</td>
<td>14 (66.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INQUIRY</td>
<td>7 (33.3%)</td>
<td>2 (50%)</td>
<td>1 (33.3%)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTRADICTION</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (50%)</td>
<td>2 (66.7%)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL (interjections)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 36 shows that in most cases NU occupied the core component of the “order” CS, while AGA – the result component of the “contradiction” CS. DA was distributed evenly between the “inquiry” and the “contradiction” CSs. “Order” CS was the most frequent one, closely followed by the “inquiry”.

4.5 (d) “Wonderings of Soul” by Harin U.

“Wondering of soul” is the next movie script that served as the data source for my research. General data on the interjections occurring in this script is given in Table 37.

Table 37. Distribution of the interjections between DM and SA functions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>DM function</th>
<th>SA function</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>9 (90%)</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>14 (63.6%)</td>
<td>8 (36.4%)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can see that the only two interjections used by the characters of the script were NU and DA. The DM function of both prevailed over the SA one (90% of cases for NU and 62.6% for DA).

Table 38 shows the types of DMs the two interjections belonged to.

Table 38. Distribution of the interjections across the DM types.
From Table 38 we can conclude that NU was used to connect clauses and to initiate discourse with the same frequency – 33.3% of cases, while DA served as a device to take the floor in more than a half of its uses.

Table 39 below gives information on the types of SAs to which the interjections and their triggering remarks belong in this source.

Table 39. Distribution of the interjections and Tr. remarks across the SA types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA type</th>
<th>Assertive</th>
<th>Commissive</th>
<th>Directive</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interjection</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Assertive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>7 (87.5%)</td>
<td>1(12.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td>Y/N question</td>
<td>Dir. directive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like in the previous script, in “Wondering of the soul” the interjections were only used as direct SAs. In its only SA use NU constituted a direct directive, while DA was used as a direct assertive in 87.5% of cases.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>NU (%)</th>
<th>DA (%)</th>
<th>TOTAL (per CS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ORDER</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
<td>1 (12.5%)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INQUIRY</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6 (75%)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERSUASION</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (12.5%)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL (interjections)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Being a direct directive SA, NU, not surprisingly, belonged to the **result** component of the “order” CS. DA displayed a more versatile behaviour, occupying the **result** component of the “inquiry” (75% of tokens), “order” and “persuasion” CS (12.5% of tokens each).

**4.5 (e) “Moscow does not believe tears” by Chernih V.**

The last work under analysis was a two–series movie script “Moscow does not believe tears”. I found no tokens of AGA here. The information of the other phatic interjections is given in Table 41 below.

Table 41. Distribution of the interjections between DM and SA functions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>DM function</th>
<th>SA function</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>41 (91.1%)</td>
<td>4 (8.9%)</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>16 (59.3%)</td>
<td>11 (40.7%)</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOROSHO</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like in all other sources, in this script the DM function of NU and DA prevailed over the SA (91.1 and 59.3 per cent of cases respectively). HOROSHO, again, displayed the opposite tendency. In “Moscow...” the only use of the interjection was as a SA.

Table 42 below shows the types of DMs to which the interjections belonged.
Table 42. Distribution of the interjections across the DM types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>NU</th>
<th>DA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type of DM</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn–change + info receipt</td>
<td>21 (51.2%)</td>
<td>8 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic–change + info receipt</td>
<td>6 (14.6%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause connector</td>
<td>1 (2.5%)</td>
<td>2 (12.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discourse initiator</td>
<td>5 (12.2%)</td>
<td>1 (6.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filler</td>
<td>5 (12.2%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expressive</td>
<td>3 (7.3%)</td>
<td>5 (31.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>41</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can see from Table 42 that NU was used for purposes of taking floor in more than a half of the cases. The next most frequent type of DM it belonged to was topic–changer. The interjection served as a filler and discourse initiator with the same frequency of 12.2%. The turn–taking function of DA also amounted to 50%. However, the next one was the expressive use (31.3% of uses).

Table 43 below shows the types of SAs which the three interjections and their triggering remarks constituted in this script.

Table 43. Distribution of the interjections and Tr. remarks across the SA types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA type</th>
<th>Assertive</th>
<th>Commissive</th>
<th>Directive</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interjection</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>2 (50%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (50%)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td>assertive</td>
<td>自身</td>
<td>Itself</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>10 (90.9%)</td>
<td>1 (9.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td>Y/N question, assertive</td>
<td>dir. directive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOROSHO</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td>dir. directive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 42 shows that in half per cent of cases NU was used as a direct directive SA, and in the other half – as a direct assertive. The latter SA was also characteristic of the scenario–internal use of DA (90.9% of uses). The only token of HOROSHO constituted a direct commissive SA.

Table 44 shows the CSs employed in this source.

Table 44. CS Types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>NU (%)</th>
<th>DA (%)</th>
<th>HOROSHO (%)</th>
<th>TOTAL (per CS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ORDER</td>
<td>2 (50%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INQUIRY</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10 (90.9%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTRADICTION</td>
<td>2 (50%)</td>
<td>1 (9.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL (interjections)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NU was distributed evenly between the “order” and the “contradiction” CSs, while most uses of DA occurred in the “inquiry” CS. HOROSHO was only used scenario–internally in the “order” CS. The most frequently evoked was the “inquiry” scenario.

4.6 Discussion

General results of analysis are presented in the four tables below. Table 45 shows the frequency with which all the four interjections under consideration performed each of the two functions.

Table 45. Distribution of the interjections between DM and SA functions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>DM function</th>
<th>SA function</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>182 (81.3%)</td>
<td>42 (18.7%)</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>90 (76.9%)</td>
<td>27 (23.1%)</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGA</td>
<td>11 (44%)</td>
<td>14 (56%)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We can see that in my data NU and DA were primarily used in the primary function (81.7% of cases and 76.9% of cases respectively). HOROSHO primarily constituted SAs (90% of uses), while AGA was used scenario–internally only slightly more often than externally (56% of tokens vs. 44%). NU was most frequently used among the interjections – 224 times. DA was used almost half that often – 117 times. AGA and HOROSHO were much more scarce – 25 and 10 uses respectively. The data concerning the later two interjections may be influenced by the type of sources (novels and movie scripts rather than conversations). Corpus studies, which are one of tasks for future research, might bring somewhat different results.

Table 46 offers information on the types of DMs Russian phatic interjections can constitute in discourse.

Table 46. Distribution of the interjections across the DM types in Russian.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>NU</th>
<th>DA</th>
<th>AGA</th>
<th>HOROSHO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type of DM</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn–change + info receipt</td>
<td>47 (25.8%)</td>
<td>19 (21.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic–change + info receipt</td>
<td>26 (14.3%)</td>
<td>18 (20%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary of situation</td>
<td>24 (13.9%)</td>
<td>8 (8.9%)</td>
<td>10 (90.9%)</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause connector</td>
<td>21 (11.5%)</td>
<td>7 (7.8%)</td>
<td>1 (9.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discourse initiator</td>
<td>15 (7.6%)</td>
<td>1 (1.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filler</td>
<td>22 (12.1%)</td>
<td>18 (20%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expressive</td>
<td>27 (14.8%)</td>
<td>19 (21.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>182</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 46 shows that the most versatile among the Russian phatic interjections were NU and DA – they belonged to all the types of DMs the
analysis has identified. In more than quarter of its uses NU served the purpose of taking the floor with simultaneous acknowledgement of received information. It was used to signal change of topic almost half that often (in 14.3% of cases). The expressive function of this phatic interjection amounted to 14.8% of cases. 21.1% of DA tokens were used to take the floor or to express the S's emotional state. In 20% of its uses the interjection served as a filler or a signal of topic–change. AGA and HOROSHO used scenario–externally mainly served to introduce summary of the ongoing situation.

The data on SA types to which the interjections and their triggering remarks belonged is given in Table 47.

Table 47. Distribution of the interjections and Tr. remarks across the SA types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA type</th>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>Assertive</th>
<th>Commissive</th>
<th>Directive</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>Y/N question., assertive</td>
<td>9 (21.4%)</td>
<td>2 (4.8%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>31 (73.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dir. directive</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>Y/N question</td>
<td>25 (92.3%)</td>
<td>2 (7.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dir. directive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGA</td>
<td>Y/N question, assertive</td>
<td>13 (92.9%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (7.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ind. directive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOROSHO</td>
<td>Y/N question, assertive</td>
<td>4 (44.4%)</td>
<td>4 (44.4%)</td>
<td>1 (11.2%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indir. directive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can see from Table 46 that NU was most often used as a direct directive SA (almost 74% of cases). It is the only phatic interjection in Russian that can belong to this type of SA. DA and AGA constituted an assertive SA with the same frequency – 92.9% of uses. HOROSHO was used as an assertive as often as a direct commissive – 44.4% of cases.
The types of CSs which allowed for the scenario–internal use of interjections are enlisted in Table 48.

Table 48. CS types in Russian.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>NU (%)</th>
<th>DA (%)</th>
<th>AGA (%)</th>
<th>HOROSHO (%)</th>
<th>TOTAL (per CS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ORDER</td>
<td>27 (64.3%)</td>
<td>2 (7.8%)</td>
<td>2 (12.5%)</td>
<td>5 (55.6%)</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INQUIRY</td>
<td>19 (69.3%)</td>
<td>2 (12.5%)</td>
<td>1 (6.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERSUASION</td>
<td>1 (3.9%)</td>
<td>2 (12.5%)</td>
<td>1 (6.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INFO TRANSFER</td>
<td>2 (12.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (6.3%)</td>
<td>1 (11.1%)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROMISE</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (11.1%)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUGGESTION</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (11.1%)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTRADICTION</td>
<td>2 (4.7%)</td>
<td>5 (19.2%)</td>
<td>6 (37.5%)</td>
<td>1 (11.1%)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL (interjections)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 48 shows that NU was most often used in the “order” or “inquiry” CS, while DA – in the “inquiry” and “contradiction”. AGA displayed even distribution between “order”, “inquiry” and “info–transfer” CS, but its most frequent occurrence in the “contradiction” CS. HOROSHO occupied the result component of the “order” CS in more than half of its uses, but was not used in the “inquiry” and “persuasion” CSs. The most frequently evoked were “order” and “inquiry” scenarios, and “contradiction” placed interjections within its structure somewhat less frequently.
Chapter 5. Analysis of phatic interjections in the Japanese language

5.1. Introduction

In the Japanese language, like in Russian, I analyzed four phatic interjections: UN, EE, HAI, WAKATTA. However, as is the case with the English and Russian languages, the class of Japanese phatic interjections is not limited to these four ones. I chose these particular interjections because in many English – Japanese dictionaries UN is offered as the Japanese equivalent of English YEAH and ALL RIGHT, EE and HAI – as equivalents of YEAH, WAKATTA – as the Japanese equivalents of OKAY (see, for example, CASIO electronic dictionary: Genius 3 English – Japanese Dictionary, or Kenkyusha’s English – Japanese dictionary p. 2459 for YEAH). Moreover, as in the analysis of Russian phatic interjections, three of the Japanese interjections are primary (UN, EE, HAI) and one is secondary (WAKATTA). UN, EE and HAI belong to only one grammatical category –
that of interjections – and can constitute non–elliptical utterances by themselves.

WAKATTA is a past form of the verb WAKARU and is used as an interjection only under specific conditions. It is necessary to note that I only collected examples of WAKATTA, leaving other possible forms of this verb (such as wakatteimasu, wakarimasita) outside the scope of the research. There were two reasons for such restriction of data on WAKATTA. First, the bilingual dictionaries mentioned above explicitly state that the equivalent expression for OKAY or YEAH, for example, is WAKATTA and not the other forms of the verb. Second, wakarimasita may be considered a polite version of WAKATTA, and the object of the given research is colloquial, rather than polite, expressions (e.g. YEAH rather than yes). Further, the form wakatteimasu bears not only a politeness marker –masu, but also a specific aspect marker –teiru, which makes distinguishing between the interjectional and elliptical uses of the word even more difficult. These reasons considered, I restricted my present research to the WAKATTA form.

My hypothesis that phatic interjections can serve both the phatic and the informative function of speech holds true for the Japanese language, as well as for English and Russian. The analysis has shown that Japanese phatic interjections UN, EE, HAI, and WAKATTA are used for the purpose of discourse organization as well as for transmitting information. Though Japanese, unlike the two languages I analyzed above, is not an Indo–European language, its phatic interjections still perform both discourse–marker and speech–act functions. This can be explained by the fact that the two functions mentioned constitute a property of human
communication in general, rather than a specific language property.

The data were collected from two novels and three scripts, like the data on English and Russian interjections. I consider the homogeneity of data sources among the languages to contribute to the validity of my research. However, the limitations that such sources impose on data are apparent in the Japanese language, too. For example, contrary to my intuitions, the number of back-channeling tokens in dialogues was surprisingly small.

5.2 Case study by the source

5.2. (a) 赤川次郎 「女学生」

The first data source on the behaviour of phatic interjections in the Japanese language was a novel by Akagava Jiro “Schoolgirls” (the translation of the title is mine). The interjection that occurred most of the times (48 tokens) was UN. The next frequent one was EE (38 tokens), and the one that was used least was WAKATTA (17 tokens). Look to Table 49.

Table 49. Distribution of the interjections between DM and SA functions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERJECTION</th>
<th>DM function</th>
<th>SA function</th>
<th>Unclear case</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>18 (37.5%)</td>
<td>28 (58.3%)</td>
<td>2 (4.2%)</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EE</td>
<td>10 (26.3%)</td>
<td>28 (73.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAI</td>
<td>13 (61.9%)</td>
<td>8 (38.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAKATTA</td>
<td>8 (47.1%)</td>
<td>8 (47.1%)</td>
<td>1 (5.8%)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In two uses of UN and in one use of WAKATTA I could not define the function with certainty because the dialogue was conducted on the phone and the author gave remarks of one participant only (example (57) below):

(57) /Unclear cases of WAKATTA and UN/

[An orchestra director speaking on the phone]

「――分かった。――うん、今から戻る」指揮者は、電話器を戻した。

(p. 10)

As we can see from the table above, only HAI was used as a DM more often than as a SA (61.9% of cases vs. 38.1%). UN performed the SA function in 58.3 per cent of uses, while WAKATTA showed equal distribution between the two functions. The SA function of EE prevailed over the DM one – 73.7% per cent of tokens constituted SAs.

Table 50 below presents data on the types of DMs to which the four interjections belonged in the novel.

Table 50. Distribution of the interjections across the DM types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>UN</th>
<th>EE</th>
<th>HAI</th>
<th>WAKATTA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BC</td>
<td>4 (22.1%)</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>5 (38.5%)</td>
<td>1 (12.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI</td>
<td>1 (5.6%)</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>5 (38.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn Ch+ Info R</td>
<td>11 (61.1%)</td>
<td>8 (80%)</td>
<td>3 (23%)</td>
<td>2 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>1 (5.6%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filler</td>
<td>1 (5.6%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (12.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The analysis has shown that UN and EE most often served for purposes of taking floor with simultaneous acknowledgement of the information received (61.1% of cases and 89% of cases respectively). They were never, or very seldom, used as fillers or summarizers of the ongoing situation. HAI served for the purposes of back–channeling and initiating discourse with the same frequency (38.5% of uses), while WAKATTA in half of all its uses summarized the ongoing situation.

### Table 51 Distribution of the interjections and Tr. remarks across the SA types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA type Interjection</th>
<th>Assertive</th>
<th>Commissive</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UN</strong></td>
<td>23 (82.1%)</td>
<td>3 (10.7%)</td>
<td>2 (7.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trig. remark</strong></td>
<td>24 (85.7%)</td>
<td>4 (14.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HAI</strong></td>
<td>5 (62.5%)</td>
<td>3 (37.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trig. remark</strong></td>
<td>3 (35.7%)</td>
<td>2 (28.6%)</td>
<td>3 (35.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WAKATTA</strong></td>
<td>3 (35.7%)</td>
<td>2 (28.6%)</td>
<td>3 (35.7%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table 51 we can see that all the primary interjections performed the direct assertive SA function in more than half of their uses – from 85.7% of cases for EE to 62.5% of cases for HAI. Only the secondary interjection WAKATTA showed equal distribution between the direct assertive and indirect commissive SAs – 35.7% of cases.

Table 52 below displays the CS types that hosted the interjections in the
Considering the data on SA types above, it is not surprising that the “inquiry” CS was evoked in half or more cases when UN, EE and HAI fulfilled the SA function. It is interesting to note, however, that WAKATTA was used as a direct assertive in the “information – exchange” scenario only. The commissive SA use of this interjection mainly occurred in the “order” and “request” CS (25% of tokens each).

### 5.2(b) 赤川次郎 「ふたり」

The next work that served as a source of data was a novel by the same author – Akagawa Jiro, “The two” (the translation of the Japanese title is mine). Table 53 below shows the frequency with which the interjections under analysis performed each of the functions in this novel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection Type</th>
<th>UN</th>
<th>EE</th>
<th>HAI</th>
<th>WAKATTA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suggestion</td>
<td>2 (7.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inquiry</td>
<td>23 (82.1%)</td>
<td>23 (82.1%)</td>
<td>4 (50%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promise</td>
<td>2 (7.1%)</td>
<td>2 (7.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order</td>
<td>1 (3.7%)</td>
<td>2 (7.1%)</td>
<td>1 (12.5%)</td>
<td>2 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Info – exchange</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (3.7%)</td>
<td>1 (12.5%)</td>
<td>3 (37.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threat</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (12.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Request</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (25%)</td>
<td>2 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We can see that EE and HAI performed the two functions with absolutely equal frequency – 50% of tokens were used as DMs and 50% of tokens – as SAs. The scenario–internal use of UN was only slightly more frequent than the scenario–external – the difference does not exceed 10%. WAKATTA was the only interjection that served as a SA much more often than as a DM – 71.4% vs. 28.6% of cases respectively.

Table 54 gives information on the DM types to which the interjections belonged when they were used scenario–internally.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>Type of DM</th>
<th>UN</th>
<th>EE</th>
<th>HAI</th>
<th>WAKATTA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BC</td>
<td>23 (56.1%)</td>
<td>3 (60%)</td>
<td>6 (40%)</td>
<td>1 (16.7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn ch+info r</td>
<td>16 (39.1%)</td>
<td>2 (40%)</td>
<td>1 (6.7%)</td>
<td>1 (16.7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic ch+info r</td>
<td>1 (2.4%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (6.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filler</td>
<td>1 (2.4%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6 (40%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (6.7%)</td>
<td>4 (66.6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 54 shows that UN and EE were used as back–channeling DMs in more than half of their uses. The most frequent DM types of HAI were back–channeling and discourse–initiating. WAKATTA was used to summarize the ongoing situation in 66.6% of cases.

Table 55 presents information on SA types to which the interjections belonged when they occurred inside a CS.

We can see that UN and EE, again, constituted a direct assertive in more than half of cases. The SA that triggered the scenario–internal use of these interjections was, in most cases, a yes/no question. 60% of HAI tokens performed a direct directive SA, while tokens of WAKATTA were found in all the three SA types: direct assertive and direct and indirect commissive.

The semantic types CS, which hosted the SA function of the interjections, are presented in Table 56.

### Table 55. Distribution of the interjections and Tr. remarks across the SA types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA type</th>
<th>Assertive</th>
<th>Commissive</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interjection</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>34 (55.7%)</td>
<td>20 (32.8%)</td>
<td>7 (11.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trig. remark</td>
<td>Y/N, assert. 7</td>
<td>dir. directive</td>
<td>assert. 1, Y/N 4?, 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EE</td>
<td>3 (80%)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trig. remark</td>
<td>Y/N</td>
<td>assert. 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAI</td>
<td>5 (33.3%)</td>
<td>9 (60%)</td>
<td>1 (6.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trig. remark</td>
<td>Y/N, assert. 2</td>
<td>dir. directive</td>
<td>assert. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAKATTA</td>
<td>6 (40%)</td>
<td>4 (26.7%)</td>
<td>5 (33.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trig. remark</td>
<td>assertive</td>
<td>dir. directive</td>
<td>assert.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 56. CS types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>Suggestion</th>
<th>Inquiry</th>
<th>Order</th>
<th>Info – exchange</th>
<th>Sp. Etiquette</th>
<th>Persuasion</th>
<th>Offer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CS Type</td>
<td>UN</td>
<td>EE</td>
<td>HAI</td>
<td>WAKATTA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suggestion</td>
<td>5 (8.2%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (6.7%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inquiry</td>
<td>27 (44.3%)</td>
<td>3 (60%)</td>
<td>4 (26.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order</td>
<td>11 (18%)</td>
<td>1 (20%)</td>
<td>5 (33.3%)</td>
<td>4 (26.7%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Info – exchange</td>
<td>4 (6.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (6.8%)</td>
<td>6 (40%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. Etiquette</td>
<td>1 (0.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persuasion</td>
<td>2 (3.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offer</td>
<td>4 (6.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (6.8%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The range of scenarios that allowed for a phatic interjection within their structure is wider in this novel than in the previous one. Still, for UN and EE the “inquiry” CS was the most frequently evoked one (44.3% and 60% of times). HAI was used in the “inquiry” and “order” CS with a similar frequency of 26.7% and 33.3% respectively. Like in the previous source, in “The Two” WAKATTA was used in the “information–exchange” CS more often than in any other.

5.2 (c) 『人生のターミナル』

The next three sources of data are scripts of comics. Though they are not movie–scripts, as were the sources in English and Russian, these works have the same form: they consist of scripts of dialogues that form a complete literary work with a clear–cut plot. The first one is “Life Terminal” (the translation of the title is mine). The script is taken from an internet homepage. The address is given in footnote 14 on page 170 of the manuscript. Table 57 below gives data on the frequency with which the interjections performed the DM and SA functions in this work.

Table 57. Distribution of the interjections between DM and SA functions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>DM</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>Unclear</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>16 (59.3%)</td>
<td>10 (37%)</td>
<td>1 (3.7%)</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19 http://everyfortune.web.fc2.com/text/jinseiterminal/other1_1kami.html
From Table 57 we can see that only UN and HAI performed the DM function slightly more often than the SA one. EE was used as a SA a little more than as a DM, while WAKATTA constituted a SA in 80% of its uses.

Table 58 shows the frequency with which the interjections belonged to this or that DM type:

From the table we can see that UN was most often used for the purposes of taking the floor with simultaneous signaling receipt of preceding information. Exactly half the tokens of EE were used for the same purpose, while the other half served as fillers. HAI was used to initiate the discourse in almost 50% of its uses. The only token of WAKATTA used scenario–externally signaled summarizing of the ongoing situation.

In Table 59 I offer information on the types of SAs which the
interjections in question constituted when used scenario–internally in this work. Below each interjection I list types of SAs that served as triggering remarks for the interjection.

Table 59. Distribution of the interjections and Tr. remarks across the SA types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA type</th>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>Assertive</th>
<th>Commissive</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UN</td>
<td>10 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EE</td>
<td>6 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HAI</td>
<td>7 (87.5%)</td>
<td>1 (12.5%)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WAKATTA</td>
<td>4 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 59 shows that in “Life Terminal” the interjections were only used as direct SAs. Moreover, except for the single token of HAI, the all interjections constituted direct assertives. Table 59 on the next page lists the semantic types of CSs that hosted the SA function of phatic interjections.

Table 60. CS types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>UN (90%)</th>
<th>EE (81.7%)</th>
<th>HAI (85%)</th>
<th>WAKATTA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inquiry</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Info – exchange</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>1 (18.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Request</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (15%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In consistence with the analysis of previous sources, WAKATTA was only used in the “information–exchange” CS. All the other interjections were predominantly used within the “inquiry” CS.
The next work that served as a source of data was another script of a comic strip by Aizaki Manju. I translated the title as “The World of Light and Darkness”. Table 61 below shows how often the interjections in this work in question performed each of the discourse functions.

Table 61. Distribution of the interjections between DM and SA functions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th><strong>DM</strong></th>
<th><strong>SA</strong></th>
<th><strong>TOTAL</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>6 (37.5%)</td>
<td>10 (62.5%)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EE</td>
<td>2 (40%)</td>
<td>3 (60%)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAI</td>
<td>8 (38.1%)</td>
<td>13 (61.9%)</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAKATTA</td>
<td>3 (42.9%)</td>
<td>4 (57.1%)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the table we can see that, unlike the sources analyzed above, for all the four interjections the SA function prevailed over the DM function. Besides, this script gave the fewest number of EE tokens so far – only seven.

Table 62 shows the types of DMs the interjections under analysis constituted when they were used scenario-externally.

Table 62. Distribution of the interjections across the DM types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection Type of DM</th>
<th>UN</th>
<th>EE</th>
<th>HAI</th>
<th>WAKATTA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BC</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (50%)</td>
<td>4 (50%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Turn Ch+Info R</em></td>
<td>4 (66.6%)</td>
<td>1 (50%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Topic Ch+Info R</em></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (37.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Table 63 below presents SA types to which the interjections and their triggering remarks belonged in “The World of Light and Darkness”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA type</th>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>Assertive</th>
<th>Commissive</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td></td>
<td>8 (80%)</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trig. remark</td>
<td>Y/N</td>
<td>dir. directive</td>
<td>Y/N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EE</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trig. remark</td>
<td>Y/N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAI</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 (76.9%)</td>
<td>2 (15.4%)</td>
<td>1 (7.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trig. remark</td>
<td>Y/N, assert. 2</td>
<td>dir. directive</td>
<td>Y/N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAKATTA</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (50%)</td>
<td>2 (50%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trig. remark</td>
<td>assertive</td>
<td>dir. directive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can see that only WAKATTA displayed equal distribution between the direct assertive and direct commissive SAs. For all the other phatic interjections the direct assertive use dominated over any other. Table 64 below gives the semantic types of CSs that allowed the interjections within their structure.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>UN</th>
<th>EE</th>
<th>HAI</th>
<th>WAKATTA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suggestion</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inquiry</td>
<td>8 (80%)</td>
<td>3 (100%)</td>
<td>7 (53.8%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (7.7%)</td>
<td>2 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Info – exchange</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (23.1%)</td>
<td>2 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advice</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (7.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Request</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (7.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again, I found no tokens of WAKATTA in the “inquiry” CS. Tokens of this interjection were evenly distributed between the “information–exchange” and “order” CSs. All the other interjections, as in all the sources analyzed above, were mainly used within the “inquiry” CS.

5. 2 (e) 『穴に集まれば』

The last work which served as a source of data for my research was “If You Get around a Pit” (the translation is mine). It is a play for high–school theatrical societies. The internet address is given in footnote 16 at the bottom of this page. Table 65 shows the distribution of the four interjections between the two functions.

Table 65. Distribution of the interjections between DM and SA functions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>DM</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>7 (58.3%)</td>
<td>5 (41.7%)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EE</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAI</td>
<td>2 (25%)</td>
<td>6 (75%)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAKATTA</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4 (100%)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 65 shows that UN was used as a DM in more than half of cases. The

21 http://members.jcom.home.ne.jp/n-katoh/daihondata/ana.htm
only token of EE also occurred outside the scenario evoked. HAI, on the other hand, performed the SA function three times as often as the DM function. Besides, all the tokens of WAKATTA were also used within the scenarios evoked.

Table 66 below shows the types of DMs to which UN, EE and HAI belonged in this play.

Table 66. Distribution of the interjections across the DM types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>UN</th>
<th>EE</th>
<th>HAI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>DM type</strong></td>
<td><strong>UN</strong></td>
<td><strong>EE</strong></td>
<td><strong>HAI</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BC</td>
<td>1 (14.2%)</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
<td>1 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn Ch+ Info R</td>
<td>3 (42.9%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>3 (42.9%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can see that tokens of UN were evenly distributed between the “turn–changing” and “situation summarizing” DMs, with only one case of back–channeling. HAI showed equal distribution between the “back–channeling” and “summarizing the situation”, while the only use of EE was for the purpose of back–channeling.

Table 67 gives information on the SA types, to which the interjections in question and their triggering remarks belonged.

Table 67. Distribution of the interjections and Tr. remarks across SA types.
Just like the interjections in “Life Terminal”, the interjections in the play constituted direct SAs only. From the table we can see that the three interjections used scenario–internally, only WAKATTA performed the direct commissive speech act more often than the direct assertive. UN and HAI displayed the opposite tendency. Table 68 below shows the semantic types of CSs that hosted the SA function of the interjections.

Table 68. CS types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>CS Type</th>
<th>UN 100%</th>
<th>HAI 85%</th>
<th>WAKATTA 25%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inquiry</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Order</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Info – exchange</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Threat</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Request</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (14%)</td>
<td>1 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 68 shows that the most interesting data was on WAKATTA. This interjection was used in the widest range of scenarios: “order”, “information–exchange”, “threat” and “request”. All the tokens of UN and 85.7% of HAI tokens were used in the “inquiry” scenario.

5.3 Discussion
5.3 (a) Distribution between the two functions

The analysis has brought some interesting results. My observations of naturally occurring conversations in Japanese led me to believe that the interjections UN and EE are used as discourse markers much more often than as speech acts, while HAI and WAKATTA display the opposite tendency. Refer to Table 69. It shows that the distribution of UN between the two functions is almost the same (with less than 10% difference), while EE, contrary to expectations, was used in the speech–act function almost twice as often as in the discourse–marker function. HAI, also quite surprisingly, serves as a discourse marker as often as it does as a speech act (the difference in 1% is negligible). Only WAKATTA behaved as I have expected basing on observations of spontaneously occurring discourse – it was used as a speech act much more often than as a discourse marker (64.8% vs. 33.3% of cases respectively).

Table 69. Distribution of the interjections between the DM and the SA functions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERJECTION</th>
<th>DM function</th>
<th>SA function</th>
<th>Unclear case</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>88 (42.9%)</td>
<td>114 (55.6%)</td>
<td>3 (1.5%)</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EE</td>
<td>22 (33.3%)</td>
<td>42 (63.5%)</td>
<td>1 (3.1%)</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAI</td>
<td>49 (49%)</td>
<td>50 (50%)</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAKATTA</td>
<td>18 (33.3%)</td>
<td>35 (64.8%)</td>
<td>1 (1.9%)</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The difference between my intuitions and the results displayed by Table 69 may originate from the source of data. Though the novels, and especially scripts, reflect the real language situation, some reactions that come naturally and unconsciously (and use of back–channeling phatic interjections is one of such reactions) may be omitted by the authors. In my
future research I will turn to transcripts of natural conversations to find out if there is any significant difference between the number of back–channeling tokens in the two types of sources.

The results concerning the types of DMs and SAs the interjections can constitute are quite predictable. Further, novels and scripts, i.e. literal sources containing conversations, display the typical, easily recognizable and uncontroversial usages of linguistic elements, so that the dialogues in the literary works do not sound unnatural. Thus, the information in the Tables can be considered reliable.

5.3 (b) The DM function of phatic interjections in Japanese

Table 70 below shows how often each of the interjections constituted this of that type of DM in all the five sources.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection DM type</th>
<th>UN</th>
<th>EE</th>
<th>HAI</th>
<th>WAKATTA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BC</td>
<td>31 (35.2%)</td>
<td>6 (27.2%)</td>
<td>16 (32.7%)</td>
<td>2 (11.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI</td>
<td>1 (1.2%)</td>
<td>1 (4.6%)</td>
<td>16 (32.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic Ch+ Info R</td>
<td>1 (1.2%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4 (7.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn Ch+ Info R</td>
<td>46 (52.2%)</td>
<td>13 (59%)</td>
<td>8 (16.3%)</td>
<td>3 (16.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>6 (6.8%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5 (10.2%)</td>
<td>12 (66.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filler</td>
<td>3 (3.4%)</td>
<td>2 (9.2%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (5.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table 70 we saw that UN and HAI were used most often – 205 and 100 times in all the five sources respectively. The frequency of EE and WAKATTA was almost equal – 66 and 54 tokens respectively. As a DM, UN was used as a device to signal receipt of information and, simultaneously, to
take the floor in half the cases (52.2%). The second frequent function it
performed as a DM was back–channeling (35.2% of cases). The use of UN as
a turn–changing device can be illustrated by example (58):

(58) /UN as a turn–taking DM/

[Two acquaintances after a small quarrel]

C: さっきはちょっと言い過ぎた。…ちょっとだけ、あんたの気持ち
わかかったかも。
D: 憂鬱よね。お互い。
C うん。重い。なんかすごく気が重い。…どうしよう。 『穴』

In (58) there is no change of topic. D offers an explanation of the reason why
the quarrel has taken place and C accepts that explanation and develops
this topic. UN is used to both explicate the acceptance of D’s explanation
and introduce the utterance in which C gives additional proof to that
explanation.

(59) /UN as a back–channeling DM/

[A conversation between two schoolgirls]

「あの男、前の女の子を殺したのは、自分じゃないっていってるみたい
ね。でも、あの日に、あの辺を回ってたんだって」
「うん」
「友紀、どう思う？竹谷先生は——」
「私にも分からない」 『女学生』, p. 247

In example (59) the girl named Yuki does not offer her comment on the
situation until explicitly asked. Her UN serves only to show her continuing attention to what her classmate is saying.

EE in most of its uses belonged to the same two types of DMs. It was used for the purposes of taking the floor along with signaling receipt of information in 59% of cases. This use is illustrated with example (60):

(60) /EE as a turn–changing DM/

[A girl in a counseling service speaks to a woman who has trouble with her child]

「ここより親子問題を専門的に扱ってるし、相談員のセンサーも超いいヒトばっかりなんだ。あゆも前、親とのことでお世話になったし」

《ええ、どういうこと？ 親とのこと？ お世話になった？ 貴方、一体…》

『人生』

Here EE helps the woman to take the floor smoothly without changing the topic. Among other linguists, Schiffrin (2001) stresses the fact that DMs are multifunctional. This allows for interpretation of EE here as also expressing surprise. In this case, the interjection combines the phatic and the expressive functions.

Example (61) below shows EE in the back–channeling function.

(61) /EE as a back–channeling DM/

[One person explains the other one differences in their printouts of Internet advertisements]

C: 同じでしょ。これ同じ掲示板だよ。掲示板のタイトル一緒だもん。
A： …エエ。
B： でもね。私のプリントしたところは…（自分のプリントを読む）
「…恋の悩みが一発解消！ 失恋しちゃったそこのあなた。この洞窟に思い出の品を捨てたら気分一新。すぐに新しい恋が芽生えるはず。さっ、ぐずぐずしないで。彼との思い出を即封印。いい恋して、いい女になろう！」ってな感じなわけ。
A： …でも、どうして…。

Here EE serves to show that A is listening attentively, but does not have anything to say as yet. After A’s remark B continues her turn until A interrupts her with an unfinished question, expressing her puzzlement.

HAI also fulfilled the function of back–channeling quite frequently – in 32.7% of its uses. In example (62) below the author explicitly states that the interjection bears no other meaning than showing that Ryo has heard what he was told but is not going to do anything about it or offer any comment on what he was told. (The author’s comment is underlined by me)

(62) /HAI as a back–channeling DM/

[A conversation between a sister and a brother]
「全く、柳はどうしていつもああいう言い方するんだよ」
「あ～はいはい」
「幾ら何でも『あたしの』は無いだろう？」
「あ～はいはい」
「兄貴を物扱いしないで欲しいな」
「あ～はいはい」
当然、何を言っても返ってくるのは空返事。 『天地』

The next function which HAI performed with the same frequency was
initiating the discourse. The first function that “pragmatic particles” may perform in discourse in the taxonomy developed by Brinton (1996) was “to initiate discourse, including claiming attention of the hearer, and to close discourse” (p. 37). In the Japanese language, this function is best illustrated by telephone conversations. Consider example (63) below:

(63) /HAI as a discourse–initiating DM/

（電話がなった）
「はい。もしもし」

HAI alone in the remark above would be sufficient to signal that the person is listening and invites his interlocutor to make his or her turn. When no answer came, the speaker offers MOSHI-MOSHI to urge the interlocutor to stay his or her business. The full period mark between the two utterances signals a short pause. In my opinion, it is another proof of the fact, that in this situation HAI alone would be enough to initiate the discourse, and MOSHI-MOSHI was used as an additional stimulus for the interlocutor.

Unlike the previous three interjections, WAKATTA was primarily used for summarizing the ongoing situation. This function may be illustrated by example (64) below:

(64) /WAKATTA as a situation–summarizing DM/

[A club member explained to the president of the club why she cannot take part in “Culture Festival”. Below is the remark, which the president uttered in reaction to the explanation]
The first utterance by the girl shows that she fully understands what she was told. Then she repeated what she was told and informs her interlocutor that she would consult other club members on the question. WAKATTA here serves to sum up the old information and introduce the utterance that suggests how the ongoing situation would develop, rather than signal whether the S understands what she was told or not. Thus, the interjection here serves as DM here, and not as an assertive SA.

The difference between summarizing a situation and turn–changing device may be illustrated by example (65) below:

(65) /WAKATTA as a turn–changing DM/

[The first speaker is a taxi driver who was going home and at first did not want to let the second speaker, a young boy, into the car.]

「連れでもいるのかい？」

「いや、俺一人さ」と、若者が首を振る。

「分かった。乗りな」

（『女学生』, pp. 167–168）

In the dialogue preceding the example noted the driver tried every excuse he could to refuse the young man. And he even explicitly said he was going home. However, the young man was persistent in expressing his desire to get a ride, *but he did not explain why it was so important for him.* Thus,
unlike the club member in (64), the young man in (65) offered the driver no situation to summarize with WAKATTA. Moreover, the young man had explicitly stated his wish to get on the taxi from the very beginning, so we do not have grounds to conclude, that the driver had arrived to the conclusion that the young man wants a ride after analyzing the ongoing situation. The taxi driver uses the interjection in (65) with the only purpose to take the floor and introduce his decision to let the guy in the car.

5.3 (c) The SA function of phatic interjections in Japanese

Like in the English and the Russian languages, phatic interjections in the Japanese language may serve as SAs. Surprisingly, according to my data, the types of SAs the interjections can constitute when serving as information–transmitting devices are the same in all the three languages. Those are direct assertives and direct or indirect commissives (Table 71 below).

Table 71. Distribution of the interjections and Tr. Remarks across the SA types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA type</th>
<th>Assertive</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interjection</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>80 (70.2%)</td>
<td>24 (20.1%)</td>
<td>10 (9.7%)</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trig. remark</td>
<td>Y/N, assert. 8</td>
<td>dir. directive</td>
<td>Y/N 6, assert.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EE</td>
<td>37 (88.1%)</td>
<td>4 (9.2%)</td>
<td>1 (2.7%)</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trig. remark</td>
<td>Y/N, assert. 2</td>
<td>dir. directive</td>
<td>assert.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAI</td>
<td>32 (64%)</td>
<td>16 (32%)</td>
<td>2 (4%)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trig. remark</td>
<td>Y/N, assert. 5</td>
<td>dir. directive</td>
<td>assert. 1, Y/N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAKATTA</td>
<td>16 (45.7%)</td>
<td>11 (31.4%)</td>
<td>8 (22.9%)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trig. remark</td>
<td>assertive 16</td>
<td>dir. directive</td>
<td>assert. 7, Y/N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can see that in the majority of cases the interjections constituted the
direct assertive speech act – with EE in the leading position of 88.1% of all uses, closely followed by UN – 70.2% of cases, HAI taking the intermediate position of 64% of cases and WAKATTA closing the ranking with 45.7% of uses. Thus, the results allow me to suppose that all the Japanese phatic interjections tend to constitute a direct assertive speech act more often than any other one. The direct commissive SA use did not exceed 32% of cases. This highest frequency was displayed by HAI, and the lowest frequency did not even reach 10% (EE). The cases, where the four phatic interjections served as indirect speech acts were even fewer. EE and HAI belonged to this type of SA with negligible frequency of 2.7 and 4 per cent, and the highest frequency, displayed by WAKATTA, did not exceed 30% of cases.

The direct assertive SA use can be illustrated with example (66) below:

(66) /HAI as a direct assertive SA in the “inquiry” CS/

[A young man (the 1st S) speaks to a young woman]

「料理は自分でするの？」

「はい。連れはすごい……ええ、ちょっと料理が苦手なんで」 『天地』

The woman was asked a direct yes/no question and supplied the information required by uttering HAI. The continuation of the turn gives additional information on the reasons why she cooks herself. Even if the continuation of the turn were deleted, the phatic interjection itself is sufficient to make the answer complete.

As I have mentioned above, the notion of CS is applicable to conversations in all the three languages. In case of (66), the CS is that of
“inquiry”. Below I repeat Model 4, which I developed for this semantic type of CS.

Model 4. “Inquiry” CS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preliminary conditions</th>
<th>Presuppositional branch</th>
<th>Motivational branch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Information X exists</td>
<td>S's reasons for wanting to know X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H knows X</td>
<td>S wants to know X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H can share X with S</td>
<td>S wants H to share X with S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**BEFORE**
- S expresses his desire that H gives X to S

**CORE**
- S asks H a question concerning X

**RESULT**
- H answers the question concerning X

**AFTER**
- S knows X
- Other consequences

**Realization branch**

The man’s question “Do you cook yourself?” belongs to the core component of the scenario – [S asks H a question concerning X]. The woman’s answer HAI constitutes the result component – [H answers the question concerning X].
The interjection occupies a definite position within a CS, and its deletion would seriously affect the informative aspect of the dialogue. HAI in (66) constitutes a speech act. Further, the fact that it is positive answer to a yes/no question in the “inquiry” CS allows me to identify this SA as a direct assertive.

Another CS that allows for the direct assertive SA use of the interjections is the “information–transfer” CS. It can be illustrated by example (67) below:

(67) /EE as a direct assertive SA in “information – transfer” CS/

[A teenage volunteer of a counseling service speaks to a boy of about his age who turned for advice. They discuss a young woman with whom the boy had some problems. The 1st S is the boy]

「女王様って言うよりは……ええと、むしろ……」

「魔女」

「……ええ」

『人生』

The CS in (67) is “information–transfer”. The Model below suggests the structure of the scenario.

Model 8. “Information – transfer” CS.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Presuppositional branch} & \text{Motivational branch} \\
\text{Preliminary} & \text{Information X exists} & \text{S wants H to know X} \\
\text{conditions} & & \\
\end{array}
\]
**S knows X**  
**S's motifs for wanting H to know X**

| BEFORE | S expresses his desire to inform H of X. |
| CORE   | S informs H of X.                        |
| RESULT | H knows X.                               |
| AFTER  | H reacts to X / Acts basing on X.        |

**Other consequences**

*Realization branch*

The volunteer offers his definition of the young woman with whom the boy had problem [information X]. The triggering remark “A witch.” belongs to the **core** component [S informs H of X]. “EE” constitutes the **result** component [H knows X] and represents an assertive SA. It can be spelled out as “Now I know how to call her”. The fact that the boy does not object to that definition and the following dialogue in which he refers to the woman as the witch shows that he agrees with the definition.

Other types of SAs the Japanese phatic interjections constituted in the examples analyzed were either direct or indirect commissives. This SA type can be illustrated with HAI in example (68). The interjection is used in the “order” CS.

(68) /HAI as a direct commissive SA/  

[The manager of an orchestra explains the director's situation to a persistent fan who wants to talk to the director.]  

「先生・・・。でも、早くお帰りにならないと——。あなたも、分かってあげて。先生の娘さんが、今日亡くなったのよ。だから、急いで
お帰りにならないと——」
「いいんだよ。先に出ていってくれ」と、指揮者は言った。
「はい・・・」マネージャーは気がかりな様子で、表に出て行った。
(『女学生』, pp. 254-255)

There are several factors that allow me to claim that the scenario is that of “order”. First, the director is an elderly person who is much older than the manager, who is very young. Secondly, the position of an orchestra director is much higher than that of a manager. The above said give grounds to conclude that the social status of the man is higher than that of the girl. Further, in their preceding interaction, he had several times told her to go home using grammatical construction that express much more politeness. Thus, both the social statuses of the communicants and the grammatical form of the triggering remark point to the fact that the CS here is that of “order”. Refer to Model 5 below.

Model 5. “Order” CS

Presuppositional branch Motivational branch

Preliminary conditions

BEFORE S expresses his/her desire that H does X

CORE S puts H under obligation to perform X.

RESULT H is under the obligation to perform X

AFTER H performs X
Other consequences

Realization branch

The triggering remark is a direct directive. It belongs to the core component [S puts H under obligation to perform X]. In case of (68) S is the director and he puts H (the manager) under obligation to go out first (perform X). HAI constitutes the result component [H is under the obligation to perform X]. It can be spelled out as “I will go out first” and constitutes a direct commissive SA. The S of HAI commits herself to going out (and, as the development of the situation shows, does it – the after component [H performs X]).

The last SA type the Japanese interjections performed in the data under analysis was the indirect commissive SA. WAKATTA was used in this function in more than 20 per cent of cases, while the usage of UN, EE and HAI did not exceed 10%. Example (69) below illustrates the indirect commissive SA performed by WAKATTA:

(69) /WAKATTA as an indirect commissive SA/

[A conversation between mother and daughter. The 1st S is the mother]

「後で何か持ってきてあげようか？」

「紅茶。—少し遅目でいいよ」

「分かったわ」 (『ふたり』, pp. 56-57)

The CS in this dialogue is that of offer. The core component – [S commits
him/herself to performing X] – is absent. Instead, the CS is evoked by referring to the after component – [S performs X], in case of (69) – the mother refers to her action of bringing something to her daughter. The daughter specifies what that something should be and when the action should be performed. The mother’s answer “WAKATTA + clause–final particle” constitutes a direct assertive SA, functioning as an indirect commissive. Though the direct meaning of the utterance may be spelled out like “I understand that you want some tea later” (an assertion), basing on the previous conversation, it should be interpreted like “I will bring you some tea later” (commission to a future action).

As for the SA function of the interjections, I have described some CS types that can allocate the interjections a position within their structure. The CSs mentioned so far are “inquiry”, “information – transmission”, “order” and “suggestion”. Table 72 below gives data on all the semantic types of CS that hosted the SA function of interjections in the all the sources of data.

5.3 (d) CSs in the Japanese language

In part 5.3 (c) I exemplified an analysis of CSs, which can host phatic interjections. Table 72 below illustrates frequency with which the phatic interjections were used in this or that scenario.

Table 72. CS types in Japanese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection CS Type</th>
<th>UN</th>
<th>EE</th>
<th>HAI</th>
<th>WAKATTA</th>
<th>TOTAL (per CS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suggestion</td>
<td>8 (7.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (2.9%)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the table one can see that the “inquiry” SC was evoked most of the times – 134. This CS was the one that hosted most of SA uses of UN (63.1%), EE (80.9%) and HAI (56%). “Order” CS was employed 32 times and “information–transfer” – 28 times. In total, “information–transfer” and “inquiry” CSs, i.e. scenarios that trigger the assertive SA use of interjections occurred 162 times. This fact allows me to conclude that most frequently Japanese phatic interjections are used as SAs to give a positive answer to yes/no questions or to express agreement with the preceding remark.
Chapter 6 Contrastive analysis of phatic interjections in the English, Russian and Japanese languages.

6.1 General observations

My research led me to several conclusions.

First, the semantic and functional classification of interjections suggested by Ameka (1992) is applicable to all the three languages in question. On the semantic aspect, English interjection UH-HUH, Russian interjections NU and AGA and Japanese interjections UN, EE and HAI are primary. SURE, ALL RIGHT, YEAH and OKAY in English, HOROSHO and DA in Russian and WAKATTA in Japanese are secondary interjections. On the functional aspect, they all belong to the class of phatic interjections because their main function is to take part in organization of discourse.
Second, though the three languages under consideration are of different language families, and the Japanese language is not even an Indo–European language, discourse functions of English, Russian and Japanese phatic interjections are the same. They can serve either as discourse–organizing devices, i.e. perform the DM function, or as means of information transfer, i.e. perform the SA function.

Further, all the three languages share the condition defining which function every given interjection performs in every given case. It is the place the interjection occupies with respect to the communication scenario. If the interjection is used outside the scenario employed, it constitutes a DM. If, on the other hand, the interjection occupies some position within the structure of the scenario, it constitutes a SA.

Below I repeat Figure 3 from page 21 describing the functions of phatic interjections. My analysis suggests that it is applicable for phatic interjections in the Russian and Japanese languages as well.
Figure 3. Discourse functions of phatic interjections

Table 73 below shows the distribution of all the interjections under analysis between the two functions in the literary sources considered. It is necessary to note that analysis of conversation corpus data may bring slightly different results.

Table 73. Distribution of the interjections between the two functions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>DM function</th>
<th>SA function</th>
<th>Unclear use</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OKAY</td>
<td>71 (66.4%)</td>
<td>33 (30.8%)</td>
<td>3 (2.8%)</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAH</td>
<td>95 (44.4%)</td>
<td>118 (55.1%)</td>
<td>1 (0.5%)</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SURE</td>
<td>19 (22.4%)</td>
<td>66 (77.6%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL RIGHT</td>
<td>37 (64.9%)</td>
<td>20 (35.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UH-HUH</td>
<td>5 (62%)</td>
<td>3 (38%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOROSHO</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>9 (90%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>90 (76.9%)</td>
<td>27 (23.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGA</td>
<td>11 (44%)</td>
<td>14 (56%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>182 (81.3%)</td>
<td>42 (18.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAKATTA</td>
<td>18 (33.3%)</td>
<td>35 (64.8%)</td>
<td>1 (1.9%)</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAI</td>
<td>49 (49%)</td>
<td>50 (50%)</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EE</td>
<td>22 (33.3%)</td>
<td>42 (63.5%)</td>
<td>1 (3.1%)</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>88 (42.9%)</td>
<td>114 (55.6%)</td>
<td>3 (1.5%)</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mere comparison of frequency gives interesting results. From Table 73 we can see that among English interjections the most frequently used one was YEAH – 214 tokens, while its closest Russian and Japanese equivalents were only used approximately half that often – 117 tokens of DA and 100 tokens of HAI. The most frequent among Russian interjections was NU – 224 uses, and among Japanese ones – UN – 205 uses. On the other hand, their English counterpart UH-HUH occurred 8 times only. The Russian interjection HOROSHO displayed the closest to UH-HUH frequency – 10 tokens in five sources, while in the Japanese language the scarcest usage was displayed by WAKATTA and amounted to 54 tokens.

Most bilingual dictionaries agree that DA is the Russian equivalent of YEAH, and HAI and EE – the Japanese ones. Besides, some Japanese–Russian dictionaries give DA, AGA, HOROSHO as Russian counterparts of UN (Fujinuma, p.98) and DA, AGA – as equivalent to EE (Ibid, p.102). Furthermore, HAI is translated into Russian as DA, HOROSHO or NU (Ibid, p.863). Further, HAI and EE are offered as Japanese counterparts of DA (p. 343). Moreover, AGA is considered to be very similar to UH-HUH and some uses of NU in Russian are translated into English with YEAH (TORD, p. 282). Basing on dictionary definitions, one would expect these interjections to be very similar in their discourse functions.

In the dialogues under analysis YEAH performed the secondary function only slightly more often than the primary one (55.1% vs. 44.4% of cases respectively). Only UN (55.6%vs. 42.9%) and HAI (50% vs. 49%) in the
Japanese language and AGA (56% vs. 44%) in Russian displayed a similar distribution. Thus, though dictionaries suggest DA as a Russian counterpart of YEAH, my analysis has shown that the discourse functions of AGA are much closer to YEAH than those of DA. Further, besides HAI, I found that UN may also be considered as a Japanese counterpart of YEAH. From these observations one can conclude that the Russian counterpart of HAI (and UN) is AGA, rather than DA (as dictionaries suggest).

SURE, HOROSHO, EE and WAKATTA displayed the tendency to scenario–internal use rather than scenario–external (77.6%, 90%, 63.4% and 64.8% of scenario–internal position respectively). It is interesting to note that three out of four interjections in the group are secondary. We can see that, with respect to their discourse functions, the Russian equivalent of EE is HOROSHO, rather than DA. In English, only SURE demonstrates distribution, close to that of EE and WAKATTA.

Frequency, with which DA performs its discourse functions, is close to those of English interjections OKAY, ALL RIGHT. They were used outside a CS in 76.9%, 66.4%, and 64.9 per cent of cases respectively. They, too, are all secondary interjections.

6.2 DM function of phatic interjections in the three languages.

In this section I compare the sets of DMs types the interjections may constitute in each language and identify types common to the three languages. Further, I examine whether the interjections of the three main groups described above perform the same DM functions with comparatively similar frequency. Last, I re–group the interjections, so that it is clear which
interjections most often constitute a particular DM type in the three languages.

Tables 22, 46, and 70 repeated below offer information of the types of DMs the interjections in question may constitute in each language when used scenario–externally.

**Table 22. DM types in English**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>OK</th>
<th>YEAH</th>
<th>SURE</th>
<th>ALL RIGHT</th>
<th>UH-HUH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BC</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (3.2%)</td>
<td>2 (10.5%)</td>
<td>2 (5.5%)</td>
<td>1 (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic Ch+ Info R</td>
<td>29 (40.8%)</td>
<td>21 (22.1%)</td>
<td>3 (15.8%)</td>
<td>12 (32.4%)</td>
<td>2 (40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn Ch+ Info R</td>
<td>32 (45.1%)</td>
<td>65 (68.4%)</td>
<td>14 (68.4%)</td>
<td>11 (29.7%)</td>
<td>2 (40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>7 (9.9%)</td>
<td>4 (4.2%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12 (32.4%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclear use</td>
<td>3 (4.2%)</td>
<td>2 (2.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 46. DM types in Russian**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>NU</th>
<th>DA</th>
<th>AGA</th>
<th>HOROSHO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type of DM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic–Ch + Info R</td>
<td>26 (14.3%)</td>
<td>18 (20%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn–Ch + Info R</td>
<td>47 (25.8%)</td>
<td>19 (21.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>24 (13.9%)</td>
<td>8 (8.9%)</td>
<td>10 (90.9%)</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause connector</td>
<td>21 (11.5%)</td>
<td>7 (7.8%)</td>
<td>1 (9.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI</td>
<td>15 (7.6%)</td>
<td>1 (1.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filler</td>
<td>22 (12.1%)</td>
<td>18 (20%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expressive</td>
<td>27 (14.8%)</td>
<td>19 (21.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 70. DM types in Japanese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>UN</th>
<th>EE</th>
<th>HAI</th>
<th>WAKATTA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BC</td>
<td>31 (35.2%)</td>
<td>6 (27.2%)</td>
<td>16 (32.7%)</td>
<td>2 (11.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI</td>
<td>1 (1.2%)</td>
<td>1 (4.6%)</td>
<td>16 (32.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic Ch+ Info R</td>
<td>1 (1.2%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4 (7.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn Ch+ Info R</td>
<td>46 (52.2%)</td>
<td>13 (59%)</td>
<td>8 (16.3%)</td>
<td>3 (16.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>6 (6.8%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5 (10.2%)</td>
<td>12 (66.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filler</td>
<td>3 (3.4%)</td>
<td>2 (9.2%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (5.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the tables above which we can see that the Russian language offered the widest range of DM types to which the interjections under analysis belonged. The DM types to which phatic interjections in the other languages did not belong were expressive DMs and clause–connecting DMs. It is interesting to note that in Russian I found both clause–connecting DMs that serve “to mark “sequential dependence”, to constrain the relevance of one clause to the preceding clause by making explicit the conversational implicatures relating the two clauses” (Brinton, 1996, p.37), and situation–summarizing DMs, show the relevance of the succeeding discourse to the preceding discourse (extension of the function mentioned above). The maximum expressive DM frequency was 21.1% of tokens, and in all the cases the interjections were a part of an emphatic construction. Thus I treat these cases as phatic interjections used to express emotional attitude of the speaker to the ongoing discourse and not expressive interjections properly. I found no tokens of back–channeling in its pure form in the Russian language.

Though my data the Japanese phatic interjections did not perform
expressive and clause–connecting functions when used scenario–externally, they initiated the discourse (DI label in the tables) or helped the speaker to keep the floor (Filler label in the tables). The set of DM types which English phatic interjections constituted was the most restricted one.

From the tables above we can see that the DM types common for phatic interjections in all the three languages were (i) **topic change + information receipt**, (ii) **turn change + information receipt**, (iii) **summarizing the situation**.

The next stage of my analysis in this section was considering whether there are any similarities or differences in the types of DMs which are characteristic of the groups of interjections identified in the previous section. From Table 22 we can see that **YEAH** served the purpose of **acquiring the floor** in more than 68% of its uses. Among the Russian and Japanese interjections that have a similar distribution pattern (almost equal distribution between the SA and DM functions) only **UN** and **EE** approach this frequency (52.2% and 59% of cases). **HAI** was primarily used as a **back–channeling and discourse–initiating marker** (32.7% of tokens per each type), while the Russian AGA summarized the ongoing situation in 90% of its uses. On the other hand, neither of the English or Japanese interjections performed this function even approximately that often.

**SURE** served as a turn–changing DM with the same frequency as **YEAH** (in this function they may be considered interchangeable) – 68.4% of cases. **WAKATTA** (which belongs to the same distribution group – interjections that perform the SA function more often than the DM one) was used in this function only 16.7% of times, while the only DM type **HOROSHO**
constituted in the texts analyzed was summarizer of the ongoing situation. WAKATTA, on the other hand, performed the same summarizing function in almost 67% of uses.

English OKAY, ALL RIGHT and Russian DA constituted the third group – interjections that were primarily used as DMs. OKAY served as a topic-change DM almost as often as a turn-change one (40.8% and 45.1%). ALL RIGHT approached this frequency only in the topic-change function (32.4% of cases). The other type of DM this interjection belonged to with the same frequency was summarizing the ongoing situation. DA performed this function in 20% of its uses.

As for the DM type, the back-channeling one was rather frequent in the uses of English UH-HUH and Japanese EE, HAI and UN (20%, 27.2%, 32.7% and 35.2% of uses respectively). DMs signaling topic-change were not characteristic of the Japanese and Russian languages. Turn-change was signaled by UN, EE, YEAH and SURE in more than 50%. Summary of the ongoing situation was introduced by Russian HOROSHO and AGA in 100% and 90%. Japanese WAKATTA performed this function in more than 66% of cases. Discourse initiating DMs were rather scarce among the Russian phatic interjection and were absolutely absent from the types possible for the phatic interjections in question in the English language. Only Japanese HAI was used in this function in more than 32% of times.

6.3 SA function of the interjections

Table 74 shows the types of SAs the interjections in the three languages constituted when used scenario-internally.
First I investigate behavior of the groups of interjections defined in Section 1 of the present chapter. YEAH, UN, HAI and AGA showed approximately equal distribution between the DM and the SA functions and, at first approximation, may be considered as discourse equivalents in the languages. The analysis of SAs these interjections constituted shows that YEAH served as a direct assertive SA in 88.1% of its uses. Japanese UN and HAI displayed a similar tendency. They performed the same function in 70.2% and 64% of cases respectively. Russian AGA was used as a direct assertive even more often – almost 93% of times. Other SA types YEAH, UN and HAI belonged to in the sources analyzed were direct and indirect commissives. As for AGA, I only found tokens of the indirect commissive SAs. Further, for all the interjections of this group the commissive SA use is rather sporadic – for YEAH and AGA it does not exceed 10%, while for UN and HAI the maximum frequency was 32% of cases.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>Assertive</th>
<th>Commissive</th>
<th>Directive</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SURE</td>
<td>40 (60.6%)</td>
<td>7 (10.6%)</td>
<td>19 (28.8%)</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td>Y/N question</td>
<td>dir. directive</td>
<td>Ind. directive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OKAY</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17 (51.5%)</td>
<td>16 (48.5%)</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td>dir. directive</td>
<td>Ind. directive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL RIGHT</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11 (55%)</td>
<td>9 (45%)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td>dir. directive, non-verbal act (1)</td>
<td>ind. directive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAH</td>
<td>104 (88.1%)</td>
<td>4 (3.4%)</td>
<td>10 (8.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td>Y/N question, ind. directive (4 cases)</td>
<td>dir. directive</td>
<td>Ind. directive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UH-HUH</td>
<td>3 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. remark</td>
<td>Y/N question</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>9 (21.4%)</td>
<td>2 (4.8%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>31 (73.8%) 42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The next group identified in part 1 of this chapter consisted of the interjections which scenario–internal use prevails over the scenario–external. In the SA use SURE, WAKATTA, EE and HOROSHO also behave quite alike. SURE, EE and WAKATTA constitute direct assertive SA more often than any other (60%, 88.1% and 45.7% of tokens respectively), while HOROSHO displays even distribution between the direct assertive and direct commissive SAs (44.4% of uses per each SA type). WAKATTA, too, was used as a direct commissive more often than as the indirect one (31.4% vs. 22.9% of cases). SURE, on the other hand, constituted the indirect commissive SA more than twice as often as the direct – 28.8% vs. 10.6% of tokens.

Interjections of the third group, however, behave quite differently in the different languages. I found no tokens of ALL RIGHT and OKAY that performed the assertive SA function. They both showed almost equal
distribution between the direct and indirect commissive SAs. Thus, in English, these two interjections might be considered interchangeable when used within a CS. Most uses of DA, on the other hand, constituted a direct assertive. Thus, despite a similar distribution between the discourse functions, this interjection cannot be treated as a Russian equivalent of the English interjections with the same distribution. In this respect DA is closer to the interjections of the first group (YEAH, UN, HAI and AGA).

The research of SA types in the three languages gives a rather limited set, which consists of direct assertives, direct and indirect commissives and direct directives. In the dialogues analyzed the interjections under consideration performed the *direct assertive* SA more often than any of the other. It dominates among the SA types of English SURE, YEAH and UH-HUH, and is also characteristic of Russian *DA* and *AGA* and of all the *phatic interjections in question in Japanese*. Only OKAY and ALL RIGHT in English constituted the direct commissives SA in more than half of their uses. In the Russian language only HOROSHO approaches this frequency (44.4% of cases). In the Japanese language HAI and WAKATTA were used as direct commissives in more than one third of their scenario–internal uses. The indirect commissive SA was rather rare among the SA types performed by the phatic interjections. It occurred rather frequently in the scenario–internal use of OKAY and ALL RIGHT (48.5% and 45% of cases respectively). Among the Russian phatic interjections HOROSHO displayed the highest frequency – in 11.2% of its uses it constituted the indirect commissive SA. WAKATTA was used in this function in 22.9% of cases. The direct directive SA was a unique one. In all the texts under analysis it was only performed
by the Russian phatic interjection NU. But for this interjection, the direct
directive was the leading among the SA types – it occurred 73.8% of times.

6.4 CS types that allow for the scenario–internal use of interjections.

As I have mentioned in section 1 of this chapter, CS constitute units of
human communication in English, Russian and Japanese. Semantic types of
scenarios are very much alike in the three languages. I specifically studied
CSs that can host phatic interjections in the speech act function. I found
that the scenarios of “order”, “suggestion”, “request”, “persuasion”,
“contradiction”, “promise”, and “inquiry” can do that in the three languages.
Language specific were the CSs of “offer”, “permission”, “threat” and “speech
etiquette”, which only allowed for the phatic interjections within their
structure in the English and the Japanese languages, while
“information–transfer” did the same in Japanese and Russian. Further, the
“warning” CS hosted phatic interjections in the Japanese language only.
However, all these semantic types of scenarios are present in all the
languages.

Table 75 below presents information on semantic types of CSs that allow
phatic interjections within their structure.

Table 75.1 Semantic types of CSs in English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection CS Type</th>
<th>YEAH</th>
<th>SURE</th>
<th>OKAY</th>
<th>ALL RIGHT</th>
<th>UH-HUH</th>
<th>TOTAL (per CS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OFFER</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6 (9.1%)</td>
<td>1 (2.8%)</td>
<td>1 (5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ORDER</td>
<td>3 (2.5%)</td>
<td>9 (13.6%)</td>
<td>19 (57.6%)</td>
<td>12 (60%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INQUIRY</td>
<td>102 (86.6%)</td>
<td>36 (54.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (100%)</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REQUEST</td>
<td>4 (3.4%)</td>
<td>11 (16.7%)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2 (10%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 75.2 Semantic types of CSs in Russian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>NU (per CS)</th>
<th>DA (per CS)</th>
<th>AGA (per CS)</th>
<th>HOROSHO (per CS)</th>
<th>TOTAL (per CS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ORDER</td>
<td>27 (64.3%)</td>
<td>2 (7.8%)</td>
<td>2 (12.5%)</td>
<td>5 (55.6%)</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INQUIRY</td>
<td>13 (31%)</td>
<td>19 (69.3%)</td>
<td>2 (12.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERSUASION</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (3.9%)</td>
<td>1 (6.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INFO TRANSFER</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (12.5%)</td>
<td>1 (11.1%)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROMISE</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (6.3%)</td>
<td>1 (11.1%)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUGGESTION</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (10%)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTRADICTION</td>
<td>2 (4.7%)</td>
<td>5 (19.2%)</td>
<td>6 (37.5%)</td>
<td>1 (11.1%)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL (interjs.)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 75.3 Semantic types of CSs in Japanese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>UN (per CS)</th>
<th>EE (per CS)</th>
<th>HAI (per CS)</th>
<th>WAKATTA (per CS)</th>
<th>TOTAL (per CS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suggestion</td>
<td>8 (7.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (2.9%)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inquiry</td>
<td>72 (63.1%)</td>
<td>34 (80.9%)</td>
<td>28 (56%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order</td>
<td>12 (10.5%)</td>
<td>3 (7.1%)</td>
<td>7 (14%)</td>
<td>9 (25.7%)</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Info – transfer</td>
<td>5 (4.4%)</td>
<td>2 (4.8%)</td>
<td>5 (10%)</td>
<td>16 (45.7%)</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp. etiquette</td>
<td>1 (0.9%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Persuasion</td>
<td>Advice</td>
<td>Permission</td>
<td>Threat</td>
<td>Promise</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2 (1.8%)</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 (0.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
<td>1 (2.9%)</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 (1.8%)</td>
<td>2 (4.8%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 (1.8%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td></td>
<td>6 (5.3%)</td>
<td>1 (2.4%)</td>
<td>7 (14%)</td>
<td>6 (17.1%)</td>
<td>6 (17.1%)</td>
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</table>
The analysis of CS types shows that among the interjections identified in the first group YEAH was mostly used in the “inquiry” CS. UN and HAI also occurred in this type of CS in more than half of cases. AGA, on the other hand, tended to perform the SA function in the “contradiction” CS more often than in any other. It also showed even distribution between the “inquiry”, “information–transfer” and “order” CSs (12.5% of uses per each). OKAY and ALL RIGHT were most often used scenario–internally within the “order” CS, while DA of the same group – in “inquiry”. The results concerning the third group do not show much similarity, either. Only SURE and EE were used in the “inquiry” CS more often than in any other. WAKATTA performed the SA function in “information–transfer” in more than half of its uses, while HOROSHO – in “order”.

In general, YEAH, SURE, UH-HUH in English, DA in Russian and UN, EE, HAI in Japanese showed a strong tendency to perform the SA function within the “inquiry” CS. OKAY, ALL RIGHT and HOROSHO belonged to the result component of the “order” CS in more than half of cases, while NU – to the core component of the same scenario. AGA was used in the “contradiction” CS more often than in any other, while WAKATTA showed preference for the “information–transfer” CS.
As for the frequency of CSs, we can see from the tables that “inquiry” was the most frequent in English and Japanese. The second frequent one in these two languages was the “order” CS, which was also dominating in Russian (with “inquiry” – the second frequent).

Chapter 7. Conclusion

In this Doctoral thesis I conducted a contrastive research of discourse functions of some phatic interjections in the English, Russian and Japanese languages. Although the question of discourse functions performed by interjections was frequently addressed in the English linguistics and received some attention in the Japanese and Russian linguistics, as to my knowledge, there were no contrastive studies between the three languages.

I analyzed English phatic interjections YEAH, SURE, OKAY, ALL RIGHT and UH-HUH; Russian phatic interjections DA, AGA, NU and HOROSHO and Japanese phatic interjections UN, EE, HAI and WAKATTA. Most bilingual dictionaries offer these words as complete or partial equivalents. However, my observations of spontaneous conversations between native speakers of these languages showed that very often inadequate use of the interjections led to communicative failures. I
considered that the main reason of these failures was the fact that only some of uses of the interjections were identical, while others were quite different. Unawareness of this fact leads to misunderstanding.

In this research I analyzed discourse functions of the interjections and compared them across the three languages. I found that in a conversation the interjections may serve as either discourse–organizing or information–transmitting devices. In the first case they constitute discourse markers and in the second – speech acts. The condition distinguishing between the functions of the interjections in English, Russian and Japanese is associated with the place of the interjections with respect to the communication scenario. If they are used outside a scenario, they fulfill the DM function. If they occupy some position within the structure of the scenario evoked, they fulfill the SA function.

I compared the distribution of the interjections between the two functions in literary sources in the three languages. Though corpus studies of spontaneously occurring conversations might bring somewhat different results, in the data under analysis YEAH, UN, HAI and AGA showed almost equal frequency of fulfilling the DM and SA functions. OKAY, ALL RIGHT and DA constituted the DMs more often than SAs, while SURE, HOROSHO, EE and WAKATTA showed the opposite tendency.

Further I compared the types of DMs the interjections can constitute when used scenario–externally. I found that YEAH, SURE, UN and EE were very often used as turn–taking devices that simultaneously signal receipt of information. HOROSHO, AGA and WAKATTA served the purpose of summarizing the ongoing situation more often than any other. UH·HUH,
EE, HAI and UN were also frequent in back–channeling.

The analysis of SA function brought a little more homogeneous results. I found that all the interjections of the first group tended to perform direct assertive SAs. This SA type was also characteristic of the interjections of the second group. Moreover, though the commissive SA was rather rare in the scenario–internal use, HOROSHO and WAKATTA constituted the direct commissive SA quite often, while SURE – the indirect commissive. It is interesting to note that these three interjections belong to the class of secondary interjections. Further, I found that in all the three languages the interjections were able to perform the indirect SAs due to metonymic links between the components.

According to my data the direct assertive SA appears to be the most common type for the SAs performed by phatic interjections. YEAH, SURE, UH-HUH, DA, AGA, UN, EE and HAI constituted a direct assertive in more than half of their uses. The direct and indirect commissive SAs were characteristic of OKAY, ALL RIGHT, HOROSHO, HAI and WAKATTA. The direct directive SA performed by a phatic interjection was only performed by the Russian interjection NU. The results my research led me to suggestion that *bilingual dictionaries define the cross–language equivalents basing on the SA discourse function of phatic interjections.*

The analysis of semantic types of CSs showed that most often the interjections were used in the “inquiry” and “order” CS. The first type often allocated its **result** component to YEAH, SURE, UH-HUH, DA, UN, EE and HAI, while the second – to OKAY, ALL RIGHT and HOROSHO. The **core** component of “order” CS was only occupied by NU.
The results of this study suggest that bilingual dictionaries offer counterparts of interjections basing on the SA function of the units in question. When, on the other hand, the interjections are used as DMs, the cross-language pairs should be somewhat different. The choice of the pairs should be based on careful analysis of DM types the interjections constitute in each language. The words that constitute a pair should belong to the same types of DMs with a comparatively similar frequency.

During the research I encountered some problems which only received preliminary considerations in this paper. The first question to be addressed in further studies is the semantic type of interjections like English YEAH and Russian DA. In present day English YEAH is used as both an interjection and a noun, Russian DA – as an interjection and a conjunction. This gives me grounds to attribute them to secondary interjections. However, there is some diachronic evidence that both the noun use of YEAH and the conjunction use of DA developed from the respective interjections. Thus, the problem of semantic classification of such interjections needs further consideration and scientific justification.

Secondly, the structure of a CS needs further formalization. Such extralinguistic factors like situation of communication (official vs. non–official), social statuses of communicants, established cultural patterns of communicants’ behavior etc. influence the conversation, but are left outside the structure of a scenario. Further research should concern ways of coding such information.

In this paper, I posed a hypothesis and verified it on reliable data taken from literary sources. Though literary works served as data sources for some
linguists studying DMs and interjections, for additional proof it is necessary study real–life conversations of native speakers.

It is hoped that the present work has outlined an approach that allows one to analyze discourse functions of interjections with a high degree of certainty. In my future research I intend to enlarge the scope of phatic interjections in each language and examine whether the CS approach facilitates the study of discourse functions of other functional classes of interjections.

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Amsterdam/Philadelphia


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