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CONTENTS

Fee-Alexandra Haase: <i>Speech and its dimensions. A case of the emergence, tradition and continuity of the theory of rhetoric In the contemporary digital media landscape</i>	5
Oluwasola Emmanuel Ojo: <i>Metadiscourse markers in newspaper columns: A study of texts written by Nigerian columnists</i>	27
Stefan Bulatović: <i>The role of orthographic and phonetic distances in mutual intelligibility between Montenegrin and Bulgarian</i>	49
Violeta Vujković: <i>The Conceptual Metaphor WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL in Montenegrin wegpages</i>	67



**SPEECH AND ITS DIMENSIONS.
A CASE OF THE EMERGENCE, TRADITION AND CONTINUITY
OF THE THEORY OF RHETORIC IN THE CONTEMPORARY
DIGITAL MEDIA LANDSCAPE**

Abstract: *Less research today is interested in the contemporary place of speech as communicated contents in the contemporary media landscape, which is drastically different from historical stages of media use with speech as a phenomenon of orality or literality. Despite its foundation in rhetoric as associated theory and practice of oral speech, the theory of rhetoric has provided us since Greek antiquity with a stable and established approach for a theoretical reflection of media and speech. This article presents the main concepts of speech that are today used in different approaches to research. It describes the historical elements of rhetoric for a typological approach to speech in five dimensions (speech as the realization of language, as an utterance, as a discourse, as a genre of traditional rhetoric, and as mediated contents). Finally, it discusses and demonstrates how these dimensions are elements of the production process of persuasive rhetoric in the theory of rhetoric that is present in the current media landscape with oral communication, speech in mechanical media, legacy media, and new media.*

Key Words: *speech, rhetoric, theory, linguistics, legacy media, new media, orality/literality*

Introduction

Speech is a genuine human ability to communicate and the product of this communication process. After its emergence as a human feature, the use of speech was in the course of the development of humankind augmented by new communication media and employed in various communicative situations. Today speech as the exchange of words can be found in many technical devices, especially digital media. This situation challenges the question of the continuity of the theory of rhetoric that developed in ancient Greece for a theoretical approach to the contemporary media landscape. The aim of this article is to show how the concept of speech has a fundamental function for the description of the media landscape today. It uses the approach of the theory of rhetoric, which has the oldest tradition as an academic

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discipline that is interested in the form and functions of speech. The article applies this approach to the contemporary media landscape of the 21st century. The article presents a review of the approaches to speech in different traditions of research fields (part I.) and a conceptual description of the concept of speech in five dimensions (part II.). In the next part, the conceptual dimensions will be applied to the contemporary situation. The relation of these five dimensions of the concept of speech to the classical elements of speech production in the theory of rhetoric will be shown. Contemporary examples will be presented for the relevance of these classical elements of speech in a description of the functions of media and their elements in the contemporary media landscape (part III.).

Part I.

Approaches to Research on Speech

In this Part I., we introduce the perspectives on speech as a phenomenon of the world we experience as humans who are intellectually able to recognize and frame speech in the setting of other experiences. Research about speech actually starts at the point when humans developed a notion about it, named it as a means of distinction, and inquired into its features.

1. Speech and its Representation: Setting Up a Human Metadiscourse

Humans are able to reflect on what they are saying and can use words for making utterances. Unfortunately, due to the limits of our empirical knowledge of languages before the age of historical accounts, we cannot determine when in the past of humanity the abstract concept of speech actually became part of the vocabulary used. We have in the historical linguistic branch of language studies the approach of the reconstruction of words of hypothetical languages around the world. All hypothetical languages contain word stems with phonemes for the semantic representation of activities of speaking. Starostin's project *Tower of Babel* provides the documentation of such stems for the main language families. The distinction between language as a system and speech, which is usually attributed to the beginnings of linguistics and De Saussure's distinct terms of 'langue' and 'parole', can be found already in the ancient Egyptian language. Here the word 'md.t' means 'language', while for the uttered form of speech the word 'r3' is used (*Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache*. Vol. VI. 1971: 145). In the Akkadian language, this distinction is not so obvious, but many differentiations of what we call language varieties today existed. 'Lišānu' comprises as meanings 'tongue', 'language', and 'speech'. 'Lišānum' has the meanings 'tongue',

'language as instrument of prayer or malice', 'dialect', and 'pronunciation' in the Akkadian Dictionary of the Association Assyrophile de France (2019).

In Greek and Latin, the terms 'λόγος' and 'oratio' are the classical term for formal speech in rhetorical treatises since antiquity with an impact on the European languages in modernity that still employ them. Both terms are used for the description of a unit of speech that is composed according to the principles of rhetoric. Obviously, besides 'λόγος' and 'oratio' other terms existed during the classical age throughout history that were employed for speech as a spoken unit of linguistically meaningful contents of communication processes. In classical Greek, the word 'λαλιά' is used for speech uttered in an informal way. While the word was not employed in classical Greek sources of philosophers and rhetoricians, it was commonly used in the Late Hellenistic Age among the writers of the New Testament. The Latin word 'sermo' was listed for an informal vernacular speech in contrast to the formal 'oratio' in the Dictionary Entry Lookup Tool of Perseus Project (2019). As a condition of research, we have to face the condition of the relativity of the language we employ for the topic of our research and as terminology. The semantic borders for words that refer to the concept of speech are in different languages not identical. This difference occurs even among closely related languages. For example, in the English language, the word language, a word related to the Latin word *lingua* for 'language', and the word 'speech', which is related to a Germanic root, exist, while the German language only uses the word *Sprache* for both meanings. The metadiscourse about speech is conditionalized and framed by the conceptualization of speech in a particular language.

2. Speech and Linguistics: Disciplinary Framing of Words

Speech can be understood as a unit of linguistically constructed utterances with sounds. Holden (2004: 1316) mentions that skeletal studies allow for speech as "producing the sounds of words, or phonemes" the assumption that the human anatomy with a modern position of the larynx increases the range of sounds of humans: "By about 300,000 years ago, our ancestors had become more or less 'modern' anatomically, and they possessed a larynx located at the top of the trachea, lower than in other primates". Other approaches of linguistics like the Chomskian approach employ language as a purely theoretical concept open for speculative theories. So for Berwick, Bolhuis, Chomsky, and Tattersall, it is a 'misconception' that

"language is coextensive with speech and that the evolution of vocalization or auditory-vocal learning can therefore inform us about

the evolution of language. However, speech and speech perception, while functioning as possible external interfaces for the language system, are not identical to it. An alternative externalization of language is in the visual domain, as sign language" (2014: 1).

This approach takes into account what De Saussure distinguished as the difference of language as a system ('langue') and uttered speech ('parole') in his *Course in General Linguistics*, originally published as *Cours de Linguistique Générale* in the year 1916. De Saussure defines language ('langue') here as an 'object of linguistics' ('objet de la linguistique') in chapter III (1971: 23-24) and distinguishes in chapter IV *Linguistique de la Langue et Linguistique de la Parole* (1971: 36-40) these two areas of research.

Important for the research process about mediated forms of speech is the focus on the development of speech as an extending human faculty with connectivity to other cultural products of the humankind and a variety of representations. Bakhtin had a late, but important impact on the study of speech and its rhetorical tradition in the West after his works were translated into Western languages. Bakhtin's *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, first published in 1986 in English, was republished in 2008. Bakhtin here focuses on the literary impact of rhetoric and sees the tradition of the poetic literary tradition of the *Bildungsroman* in the cultural movement of the 'Second Sophistic', when the genre romance emerged based on rhetorical elements:

"The Greek romance rising out of the 'Second Sophistic' and nourished on rhetorical casuistry — creates basically a rhetorical, juridical concept of man. Here one already sees the image of a human being who is profoundly steeped in those judicial-rhetorical categories and concepts of guilt/innocence, judgment/vindication, accusation, crime, virtue, merits, and so forth, which have for so long hung suspended over the novel and dictated the presentation of the hero in the novel as accused or defended, transforming the novel into a kind of court of law for the hero" (1986: 12).

In *The Problem of Speech Genres*, Bakhtin (1986: 61) mentions that literary genres have not been studied "as specific types of utterances distinct from other types, but sharing with them a common verbal (language) nature. The general linguistic problem of the utterance and its types has hardly been considered at all. Rhetorical genres have been studied since antiquity (and not much has been added in subsequent epochs to classical theory." Bakhtin here suggests a difference between 'primary (simple) speech genres' and 'secondary (complex) speech genres' comprising novels, dramas, all kinds of scientific research, major genres of commentary and others, which "arise in more complex and

comparatively highly developed and organized cultural communication (primarily written) that is artistic, scientific, sociopolitical, and so on” (1986: 61). Bakhtin clearly distinguishes ‘rhetorical genres’, ‘literary genres’, and ‘speech genres’, which emerge in the process of ‘cultural communication’. The literary focus of Bakhtin’s works is obvious and deserves the place as a work of the history of literature with an approach to an extended conceptualization of literary works. We can consider Bakhtin’s work as an initial study of the transfer of the concept of speech to the medium of written linguistic representations.

While theoretical linguistics has established the terms and concepts for the description of any linguistic phenomenon, it is the particular area of text studies that seeks to expand the concept of the text to types and genres with a typological approach. In the article *Evolving Genres in Online Domains: The Hybrid Genre of the Participatory News*, Bruce provided an overview of approaches for the categorization of texts in terms of genres mentioning in his review of research the existence of “key difficulties in establishing systematic and comprehensive models that are able to account for all of the types of knowledge that writers and readers draw upon in order to identify and ratify a text as belonging to a particular genre category” (2011: 323). The conceptualization of speech as a text allows us to understand complex representations of speech across media and the classification of speech as a media text. Nevertheless, text is a holistic compositional concept for a binding structure, and not for the bound material. The concept can only in a typological approach of structures be used as a means for the description of overarching characteristic features of speech realized in its particular environment.

3. Speech and Discourse: Speech beyond Speaking

The concept of discourse is broad; in empirical research, as its simplest application, it relates to the study of speech in conversations among people as an event of communicative exchange. In the linguistic approach, the concept of discourse is limited to aspects of theoretical linguistics. In *Discourse Analysis: What Speakers Do in Conversation*, Tannen (2019) states:

“Discourse analysis is sometimes defined as the analysis of language ‘beyond the sentence’. This contrasts with types of analysis more typical of modern linguistics, which are chiefly concerned with the study of grammar: the study of smaller bits of language, such as sounds (phonetics and phonology), parts of words (morphology), meaning (semantics), and the order of words in sentences (syntax). Discourse analysts study larger chunks of language as they flow together.”

But in an overarching disciplinary approach, the concept of discourse refers to any speech in any mediated setting concerning a topic with the ‘universe of discourse’. It is the set of all virtual statements that can be made about a particular topic. Usó-Doménech, Nescolarde-Selva, and Gash in *Universe of Discourse and Existence* ask if a ‘universe of discourse’ as a notion is related to existence and concluded that “it is possible to deduce that formal existence is nothing other than belonging to the universe of discourse” and that “no universe of discourse is given in advance” and “any universe of discourse that satisfies the necessary conditions can be used” (2018: 1-19). Even in the theoretical approach, the concept of the ‘universe of discourse’ reflects what exists as an evidential reality for us. Linguistic utterances are one possible type of representation of a particular topic. Marcuse used the idea of the closing of the universe of discourse for the lack of shared communication in a society in the second chapter *The Closing of the Political Universe of One-Dimensional Man* (1964). The approach to speech as a realization of discourse is important since it allows researchers to study the structure of speech beyond the level of theoretical linguistics. Michel Foucault’s studies about the relation of discourse and power and Teun A. van Dijk’s works about media for the formation of discourse are dedicated to studying the discourse beyond speech as interpersonal communication. Discourse studies allow approaches in a variety of media and multimedia forms, which treat a common topic beyond the level of oral conversations.

4. Speech and rhetoric: normative rules of speaking. The case of genres of speech in ancient Greek and Roman rhetorical treatises

Classical rhetoric is as ‘rhetorica docens’ a set of normative instructions for the production of speeches, which are classified in the rhetorical theory as a genre (‘genus’). This classification consists of three types in accordance with the area of the discourse of society as an epideictic, juridical, or deliberative one. Aristotle in his *Rhetoric* (1.3.2.-3.) in the following text writes that the ‘three genres of speeches of the rhetoricians’ (‘τρία γένη τῶν λόγων τῶν ῥητορικῶν’) are called ‘γένος συμβουλευτικός’, ‘γένος δικανικός’, and ‘γένος ἐπιδεικτικός’:

[2] ἀνάγκη δὲ τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἢ θεωρὸν εἶναι ἢ κριτὴν, κριτὴν δὲ ἢ τῶν γεγενημένων ἢ τῶν μελλόντων. ἔστιν δ’ ὁ μὲν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων κρίνων ὁ ἐκκλησιαστής, ὁ δὲ περὶ τῶν γεγενημένων οἷον ὁ δικαστής, ὁ δὲ περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ὁ θεωρός, [3] ὥστ’ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἂν εἴη τρία γένη τῶν λόγων τῶν ῥητορικῶν, συμβουλευτικόν, δικανικόν, ἐπιδεικτικόν.
[2] Now the hearer must necessarily be either a mere spectator or a judge, and a judge either of things past or of things to come. For instance, a member of the general assembly is a judge of things to come;

the dicast, of things past; the mere spectator, of the ability of the speaker. [3] Therefore there are necessarily three kinds of rhetorical speeches, deliberative, forensic, and epideictic.

(Tr. Freese)

Cicero in his *Topica* (23.91.) and Quintilian in his *Institutio Oratoria* (3.4.) are the authorities of Roman rhetoric who translated these Greek terms for rhetorical speech into Latin as the 'genus deliberativum', the 'genus iudicale', and the 'genus laudativum'. In the post-classical age, this threefold typology of genres of rhetorical speech continued in the theory of rhetoric. In the digital online project *Silva Rhetoricae*, Burton distinguishes as 'branches of oratory' ('genera causarum') the 'judicial speech', the 'deliberative speech', and the 'epideictic speech' with reference to classical rhetorical treatises.

Throughout the past, the heritage of the discipline of rhetoric, the canonical three genres of speech (the political speech, the legal speech, and the public speech), was transmitted in the theory of rhetoric and can be even found in the contemporary handbook of rhetoric. The term 'speech genres' is today used even in the tradition of rhetorical studies. Basically, two directions exist for the approach to genres and their tradition in rhetoric. The first is the approach, which considers a continuation of rhetorical genres and their extensions as the aim of the research. An example is Pepe who in *Speech Genres in Contemporary Rhetorical Theory* discussed the contemporary applicability of the concept of 'speech genres' in the current theory of rhetoric (2013: 519-542). The other direction was taken by Tseronis and Forceville (2017) who edited *Multimodal Argumentation and Rhetoric in Media Genres*, a contemporary study of the rhetorical elements in what they call 'media genres'. Here the concept of the genre is extended as a new framework of rhetorical applications in communication processes beyond orality and the rhetorical elements in it are shown. The terms 'mixed genres' or 'hybrid genres' are often used as a classification for mediated forms of speech, which have both features of orality and direct speech and mediated communication in technical media. An example of a mixed approach is *Power, Persuasion and Manipulation in Specialised Genres: Providing Keys to the Rhetoric of Professional Communities*, edited by Breeze and published in 2017, a work that employs the term 'specialized genres' in order to describe non-traditional text types as rhetorical genres exceeding the limits of the traditional genres of rhetoric.

5. Speech and Media Studies: Extensions of the Transmission

In 1964 MacLuhan in *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, in the chapter *The Spoken Word. Flower of Evil?*, stated that new media extend the human senses and nerves to global communication. It is a humanistic approach that aimed at explaining media as means of the

extension of functions of the human body. In his late work *Laws of Media: The New Science*, McLuhan pointed out, with a reference to Shannon and Weaver's *Mathematical Theory of Communication* (1948), how the different media of oral speech and speech communicated operate with the example of the medium radio:

“In oral speech, the information source is the brain, the transmitter is the voice mechanism producing the varying sound pressure (the signal) which is transmitted through the air (the channel). In radio, the channel is simply space (or the aether, if any one still prefers that antiquated and misleading word), and the signal is the electromagnetic wave which is transmitted” (1989: 86).

The digitalization process has brought about the transformation of legacy media and new, exclusively digitally encoding media. *Genres on the Web. Computational Models and Empirical Studies* (2011) contains studies in computational models of genres in the digital area. Mehler, Santini, and Sharoff in *Riding the Rough Waves of Genre on the Web* described the state of empirical and computational research of what they called ‘webgenre’, while showing the interdisciplinarity of the concept genre, recent interpretations, and open issues that relate to the modeling of the concept of ‘webgenre’ in empirical and computational studies (2011: 3-33). Multimedia in the *Dictionary of Media and Communications* is defined as “multimedia computer system that allows the user to manipulate and use different types of media, such as text, sound, video, graphics, and animation” (2009: 203-204). Products of multimedia applications as contents with units of text (writing), images (still images and moving images), video and audio sequences, graphic elements, and interactive features are good examples for the variety of generic media types of the contemporary media landscape. The concept of ‘multimedia’ allows us to label the units of products in digital media, whereas multimedia phenomena existed in the time before the computer was used. Within the technical framework of a digital computer network, the concept of multimedia is also applicable for the products or digital contents that combines text, sound, video, graphics, and animation.

Part II. A model as a contribution to the theory of speech

After we have shown several ways how speech can be understood and conceptualized in Part I, we want to look now at a model for the explanation of the speech with a focus on the differences as specific functions of speech. The functions do not exclude each other but

exist besides each other. Therefore, we chose the conceptual term ‘dimensions’ in order to describe these functions of speech.

1. The model of the conceptual dimensions of the functions of speech

As for the theoretical background of studies of genres of speech, even for the theory of rhetoric, we must take into account more aspects than only the three genres of rhetorical speech, which are the traditional genres in rhetorical theory. We use an approach with multiple dimensions of ‘speech’. The dimensions that we introduce here are the following: (1) The dimension of speech refers to any realization of language as linguistic elements. (2) The dimension of spoken speech refers exclusively to the linguistic variety of oral communication. (3) The dimension of the discourse refers to any discourse topic across genres and text types. (4) The dimension of rhetorical speech comprises the doctrine and use of traditional rhetorical genres and rhetorical elements in text types. (5) The dimension of the mediated speech refers to the particular medium employed for the speech.

(1) Speech as a representation of language	Conceptual realization
(2) Speech as an utterance	Unique realization
(3) Speech as a discourse	Topic-determined realization
(4) Speech as a rhetorical genre	Rhetorical realization
(5) Speech in a mediated realization	Realization as mediated speech

Table 1. The Five Dimensions of Speech

The model of the conceptual dimensions of speech aims at breaking the concept of speech down to the simplest notions that have been formed about it by humans who are able to access it in a reflective and inquiring way of mental cognition. The model aims at explaining the phenomenon of multiple meanings attached to the concept from a functional perspective of its usage.

1. The Dimension of Speech as Representation	Realization of Language as a Linguistic Representation
2. The Dimension of Spoken Speech	Linguistic Variety of Oral Communication
3. The Dimension of the Discourse	Discourse Topics and their Invention across Genres and Text Types
4. The Dimension of Rhetorical Speech	Traditional Rhetorical Genres and Rhetorical Elements in Text Types
5. The Dimension of the Medium of Speech	Technical Realization of Speech in Media

Table 2. The Five Dimensions of Speech

The most general dimension is the one of speech as the representation of language as the realization (1). This is the overarching function for all other functions, which is based on the idea that an abstract concept like language has an application and realization, namely speech. As a realization of language, speech is the physical phenomenon of an utterance (2) that is realized in any linguistically constructed sequence of human vocal expressions. When speech as such concrete linguistic expressions of language shares a common topic, it can be classified as a discourse (3). The discourse exceeds the linguistic sequence of a single utterance of one speaker. The number of participants and statements made about the topic in a particular discourse can be theoretically unlimited. When particular rhetorical elements for the production of speech are used (for example the ‘steps of the production of speech’, ‘parts of the speech’, one of the three ‘genres’ of deliberative, juridical, or epideictic speech), or stylistic and argumentative principles) a rhetorical speech (4) in accordance with the classical definition of it is produced. The above-mentioned kinds of speeches are described by the default situation of communication by spoken language. *De facto*, we experience speech today in more than the actual default situation. We can produce and communicate speech in the media. Such mediated speech has increased in the history of human civilization due to the increasing amount of media. Any speech occurs in a specific environment of its mediated realization as a mediated speech (5), for example as a public speech in front of an audience, in a chat with a written conversation of a text messaging service, or in a talk show on TV.

2. The Model as Topological Network

The five dimensions of speech are spaces associated with categories, which can be applied as characteristic categories for the description of any speech. Let us take the example of a contemporary type of speech on the mass media. The live performance of an inauguration speech of a newly elected president of a country as an uttered speech of the person in front of an audience broadcasted on television (speech as utterance) has a clear mediated format of TV broadcasting (speech as mediated realization). It is a representation of the rhetorical speech genre of the ‘deliberative speech’ (speech as rhetorical genre) and a contribution to the political discourse of the country (besides other discourses) (speech as discourse) as an application of the abstract concept of the language as a concrete speech (representation of language).

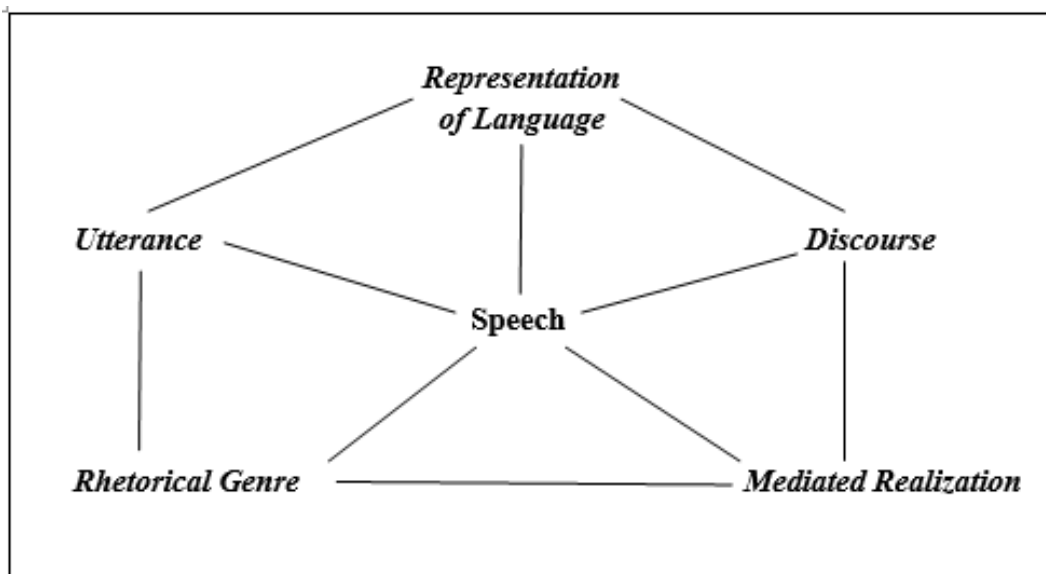


Table 3. Model of the Five Dimensions of Speech:
Categories for the Classification of Speech

The topological characteristics and conditions of oral speech vary and can be classified in three settings of (A) an unmediated environment as an oral ‘live’ presentation, (B) speech in legacy media, (C) and speech in new media:

Who	Speaker(s) Audience / Receiver(s)	Speaker(s) Audience / Receiver(s)	Speaker(s) Audience / Receiver(s)
What	Speech as an exchange of human bodies in a natural environment	Speech in a mediated environment	Speech in a digital mediated environment
Where When	In a complete 'time-space unit'	In a physical medium in a complete or discontinued 'time-space unit'	In a digitalized physical medium in a complete or discontinued 'time-space unit'
How	Direct Speech	In print or broadcasting media communicated speech	Digitally encoded speech in an environment of digital media
	Oral Speech in a Non-mediated Environment (A)	Speech in Mechanical Media and Legacy Media (B)	Speech in New Media (C)

Table 4. Topological Characteristics of Oral Speech, Speech in Legacy Media, and Speech in New Media

In the natural environment with a 'time-space unit' like in the kairos-situation with a speech given by a speaker to an audience in one place and time, the presentation of speech is live and direct. The communication takes directly place between the human entities involved in the performance. On the contrary, in mechanically mediated communication (e.g. handwritten letter) and speech of the legacy media (printed materials, radio, television, and film) the 'time-space unit' for the producer of the speech and the receiver of the speech does not exist any longer. In 'live' communication, for example, the broadcasting of a live event on television, the time unit is stable, while the place is not shared among the sender(s) and the receiving audience(s). Also for the speech of the new media, for example in the case of the streaming of a live event, this effect of the dislocation with a fragmented inconsistency of the place and a shared time exists.

Part III. The rhetorization of dimensions of speech in the theory of rhetoric

In this Part III. we will show how the dimensions of the concept of speech, which we introduced in the previous parts, correspond to categories of the theory of rhetoric. The theory of rhetoric is, in its broadest definition, the sum of all knowledge of about rhetoric that is developed by the rhetorica docens and is codified in rhetorical treatises, handbooks, and other scholarly works or artifices reflecting this knowledge about rhetoric. The categories of the system in the theory of rhetoric allow the implementation of the five dimensions of speech we introduced above into the theory of rhetoric.

1. The Rhetorization of Dimensions of Speech

The previously in Part II. introduced dimensions of speech that can be traced back to the system of the discipline rhetoric.

(1) Speech as a representation of language concerns the conceptual realization of an abstract concept. This area is in the theory of rhetoric known as the 'res'-'verba' relation. In his *Institutio Oratoria* (1.5.2.), the teacher of rhetoric of the late Roman Empire – Quintilian, quotes Horace's sentence 'Verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur' to refer to the practice of keeping things in mind in order to succeed with the words of one's speech:

[2] verba nunc generaliter accipi volo, nam duplex eorum intellectus est; alter, qui omnia per quae sermo nectitur significat, ut apud Horatium: "verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur".

[2] I must now be understood to use verbum in its most general sense. It has of course two meanings; the one covers all the parts of which language is composed, as in the line of Horace: Once supply the thought, And words will follow swift as soon as sought;

(Tr. Edgeworth Butler)

This relation of 'things' and 'words' was in the modern theory of rhetoric revived by Austin in his book *How To Do Things With Words* (1962) and recently discussed from various perspectives in a collection of articles with the title *Das Verhältnis von res und verba: Zu den Narrativen der Dinge*, edited by Wernli and Kling (2018). The systematic area of rhetoric for this dimension of speech is the 'invention'.

(2) Speech as an utterance refers to the unique realization of speech, an area, which is as speech production traditionally described in the treatises of the 'rhetorica utens'. The 'parts of the rhetorical speech' ('partes orationis') are the structural units of rhetorical speech production. In his discourse about elocution (*Institutio Oratoria* (8. Pr. 78)), Quintilian mentions the three functions of speech in rhetoric: The

‘teaching’ (*docere*), the ‘delighting’ (*delectare*), and the ‘moving’ (*movere*) of the speech. This distinction was used by Wagner in *Rhetorica Docens et Utens, Eloquentiae Candidatum Non minus Imbuens Praeceptis, Quam Exemplis Dirigens*, a manuscript produced at the monastery of the Tegernsee in 1734. In *Tra ‘Rhetorica Utens’ e ‘Rhetorica Docens’. Domande e Offerte in Alcuni Settori del Variegato Panorama Attuale*, Garavelli (2004: 5-18) applied the distinction to a postmodern environment. The systematic area of rhetoric for this dimension of speech is the ‘disposition’.

(3) Speech as a discourse and as a topic-related realization of speech can be traced to the areas of argumentation and topology and the invention of speech. In his *Topica*, Aristotle treated this part of rhetorical theory showing how the ‘places’ (*topoi*) can be used as the seats for the arguments. Cicero in his *De Inventione* (1.2.) uses the concept of the place (*locus*) when he describes the process of civilisation as the gathering of previously dispersed humans ‘with a certain method’ (*ratione quadam*) ‘in one place’ (*unum in locum*) and the beginning of a communicative situation with a ‘rhetorical speech’ (*oratio*): (“*Qui dispersos homines in agros et in tectis silvestribus abditos ratione quadam conpulit unum in locum et congregavit et eos in unam quamque rem inducens utilem atque honestam primo propter insolentiam reclamantes, deinde propter rationem atque orationem studiosius audientes ex feris et inmanibus mites reddidit et mansuetos*”). In this passage, Cicero describes how the humans have to adapt to the novelty with complaints (“*propter insolentiam reclamantes*”) in this process of being introduced to a ‘useful and honorable thing’ (*res utilis atque honesta*) (“*et eos in unam quamque rem inducens utilem atque honestam*”). We can interpret this process as the emergence of a discourse that is established by the powerful individual orator who speaks to the group of people. The form is an aspect of rhetorical production. Recently, Kirkbride (2013) edited a set of articles with the title *Geometries of Rhetoric*, concerning the relationship of geometric and literary figures in human cognition, figures as instruments of inquiry, and the environment of various historical and contemporary artifices. The systematic area of rhetoric for this dimension of speech as topic-related discourse is the ‘memory’.

(4) Speech as a rhetorical genre for the realization of rhetoric refers to the area of ‘*elocutio*’ and style. Since the antique theory of rhetoric recorded principles of rhetoric, ‘*elocution*’ (*elocutio*) is a production step of speech after the ‘*invention*’ and ‘*disposition*’ followed by the ‘*memory*’ and ‘*delivery*’. So, in his *Institutio Oratoria* (3.3.), Quintilian mentions as the steps for the production of a speech ‘*invention*’ (*inventio*), ‘*disposition*’ (*dispositio*), ‘*elocution*’ (*elocutio*),

'memory' ('memoria'), and 'pronunciation' or 'delivery' ('pronuntiatio' and 'actio'):

[3] omnis autem orandi ratio, ut plurimi maximique auctores tradiderunt, quinque partibus constat, inventione, dispositione, elocutione, memoria, pronuntiatione sive actione, utroque enim modo dicitur.

[3] The art of oratory, as taught by most authorities, and those the best, consists of five parts: invention, arrangement, expression, memory, and delivery or action (the two latter terms being used synonymously).

(Tr. Edgeworth Butler)

In contemporary rhetorical handbooks and contributions for the research of the theory of rhetoric, the traditional terms of the organization of the steps of the speech production are still employed. So, for example, in *Digital Rhetoric*, Eyman activated the canons of speech for a digital environment as 'invention', 'arrangement', 'style', 'delivery', and 'memory'. The systematic area of rhetoric for this dimension of speech is the 'style' (2015: 65).

(5) Speech as a mediated realization of speech with a reference to the traditional area of rhetoric is in the classical theory of rhetoric described as the 'kairos'-situation. The presentation of speech in the media in the theory of rhetoric was first described in oral speech but is not limited to this mediating scenario. In his *Institutio Oratoria* (2.20.1.), Quintilian discusses the place of rhetoric 'among the contemporary middle arts' ('ex mediis artibus'), which cannot be praised or scolded since they are purely 'useful' ('utiles'):

illa quaestio est maior, ex mediis artibus, quae neque laudari per se nec vituperari possunt, sed utiles aut secus secundum mores utentium fiunt, habenda sit rhetorice, an sit, ut compluribus etiam philosophorum placet, virtus.

More important is the question whether rhetoric is to be regarded as one of the indifferent arts, which in themselves deserve neither praise nor blame, but are useful or the reverse according to the character of the artist; or whether it should, as not a few even among philosophers hold, be considered as a virtue.

(Tr. Edgeworth Butler)

Quintilian here set the framework of rhetoric not only as a genuine art that produces artifices but also as a technical skill that has the function of a medium. In *Multimodal Argumentation and Rhetoric in Media Genres* (2017), edited by Tseronis and Forceville, the rhetoric of empirical multimodal 'media genres' was inquired for legacy media and

new media. The systematic area of rhetoric for this dimension of speech is the 'delivery'.

The dimensions of speech and their actualization in the system of the discipline rhetoric are described here:

1.	<i>Speech as the representation of language</i>	Conceptual realization	<i>Res-Verba</i> relation	' <i>Invention</i> '
2.	<i>Speech as an utterance</i>	Unique realization	Speech Production <i>Rhetorica Utens</i>	' <i>Disposition</i> '
3.	<i>Speech as a discourse</i>	Topic-determined realization	Argumentation and Topology	' <i>Memoria</i> '
4.	<i>Speech as a rhetorical genre</i>	Rhetorical realization	Style	' <i>Elocution</i> '
5.	<i>Speech in a mediated realization</i>	Realization as mediated speech	<i>Kairos</i> -situation	' <i>Delivery</i> '

Table 5. Dimensions of Speech in the System of the Discipline Rhetoric

The production stages of the speech can be associated with the conceptual areas of speech. (1) Speech as a representation of language can be structurally associated with the first production step of a speech, the 'invention'. (2) Speech as an utterance is the actual arrangement of the material of this invented materialization of language in speech as 'disposition', which is in the second step in the production process of rhetorical speech. (3) Speech as a discourse is a form of speech for information exchange, which refers to the fourth step in the production process of rhetorical speech, the 'memoria'. (4) Speech as a rhetorical genre is characterized by the stylistic form chosen, which is in the production steps of rhetorical speech the third step, the 'elocution'. (5) Speech in a mediated realization refers to the fifth step of the production of rhetorical speech, the 'delivery'.

2. Extensions of the theory of rhetoric to contemporary media

Speech in mediated environments can be distinguished into oral speech in a non-mediated environment (A), speech in legacy media (B), and speech in new media (C). In this section we look at these extensions of the previously described categories of the theory of rhetoric for the dimensions of speech to contemporary media, which fall into the categories A, B, or C. The five canons of rhetoric as the normative

production stages of rhetoric and their general functions can be used for the classification of contemporary speech:

(1) The production stage 'invention' of the speech	Function: Finding
(2) The production stage 'disposition' of the speech	Function: Ordering
(3) The production stage 'elocution' of the speech	Function: Forming
(4) The production stage 'memory' of the speech	Function: Recording
(5) The production stage 'delivery' of the speech	Function: Presentation

Table 6. The Five Canons of Rhetoric:
Production Stages and their Function

(1) Media, 'Invention' and Speech as a Representation of Language

We mentioned that speech as a representation of language concerns the conceptual realization of speech in a real environment. In the theory of rhetoric the 'res'-'verba' relation establishes the relation between the things and the words and the systematic area of the 'invention'. Any systematic means of symbolic communication, for example, speech and writing, but also other carriers of mediated elements of symbolic communication, can establish a relation between the 'things' of reality and 'words'. 'Things' and 'words' are in rhetorical theory considered to be the relation for persuasion. 'Words' are in the default 'kairos'-situation delivered to an audience in order to change 'things'. Media are a bridge crossing physical and temporal distances that did not exist in the unit of the 'kairos'-situation. Legacy media (print products, radio, TV, film) can entail speech with such a persuasive structure, but the unit of time and place does not exist any longer. A direct interaction does not take place any longer between the participating speakers. Mediated communication replaces direct interpersonal communication.

Contemporary media with digital encoding processes of information allow interaction between the communicators who operate in a framework of various degrees of the separation of time and location. In a computer, the technical elements, which refers to the area of the 'invention', are the components that allow the finding of information like the software of the operating system and the hardware components chassis, central processing unit (CPU, motherboard, monitor, keyboard, computer data storage/memory, graphics card, sound card, and speakers. Among the media of the contemporary media landscape, which support the 'invention', are media that particularly enable their users to access data and information. Examples for contemporary media, which cover the area the systematic area of the 'invention' are data storage-accessing means like protocols, search engines, and databases. These media are providers of the inventory of contents.

(2) Media, 'Disposition' and Speech as an Utterance

We associated speech as an utterance with the unique realization of speech as speech production, which in the theory of rhetoric is traditionally described as 'rhetorica utens', the application of rhetorical theory in contrast to 'rhetorica docens'. The 'parts of the rhetorical speech' ('partes orationis') are the structural units of a rhetorical speech. The 'disposition' is the step of the arrangement of the rhetorical speech. Normative rhetorical speech consists of structural units. Speech here is the medium. As contents in other media or as speech implemented into other media speech can be communicated. Legacy media allow the recording and transmission of speech as uttered symbolic communication as well as traditional rhetorical speeches.

Contemporary media with digital encoding can be the mediating means for the production, recording, and transmission of speech as an utterance and rhetorical speech. The 'disposition' refers as a structural category to contemporary media like emailing-systems, short-message systems, websites as contents-carriers, or any media that are able to represent speech as an utterance in the digitalized environment of contemporary computers. Technically, in a computer the arrangement of information, the software has the function to arrange the information ranging from software of operating system of the computer, to particular software types for the library, the data (e.g. the protocol), the interface of the computer and its particular applications for the users, which commonly fall in the areas of text production software ('office software'), software for graphic design, software for audio production, and software for video production, which allow the creation of multimedia products, but can be customized for the individual needs of the user. Among the media of the contemporary media landscape, which support the 'disposition', are the media that enable the action of the communicative exchange of data and information.

(3) Media, 'Memory' and Speech as a Discourse

The conceptualization of speech as a discourse and as the topic-determined realization of speech is in the theory of rhetoric associated with the areas of argumentation and topology and the systematic area of the 'memory'. As for symbolic communication systems like oral or written speech, they can be mediated in other media, while contributing to the same topic. The mediated speeches form the set of discourse units, each of them with a particular argumentative position, which contributes to the discourse. All contributions to the discourse can be understood as the topological structure of the particular discourse. Legacy media can contribute to the discourse about a particular topic. The sum of the contributions about a particular topic in legacy media, for

example, radio features, news reports, or newspaper articles and books, is the discourse about the topic. Its topological structure is expanded over several types of media.

In a computer, the storage devices are the processing elements like the central processing unit (CPU), the sound card, the CD-Rom drive, and the plug for the USB-flash that technically support the 'delivery'. In the contemporary media landscape, the media with the function of recording information like content systems refer to the function 'delivery'. Contemporary media with digital encoding allow an extension of a particular discourse in the area of digital media. The systematic area of the 'memory' as a category for speech is related to the contemporary medium of the internet and any device with the function to present speech in any formation that can contribute to a discourse. The network and hardware/software of a device enable this function.

(4) Media, 'Elocution' and Speech as a Rhetorical Genre

We mentioned that speech as a rhetorical genre for the realization of rhetoric refers to the area of 'elocution' and style in the theory of rhetoric. The style of the chosen wording of a speech can be presented in any mediated form. Legacy media can produce, record, and transmit speech as mediated contents with stylistic features. Contemporary media with digital encoding allow an extension of the production, recording, and transmission of speech in digitalized formats.

The 'elocution' is structurally present in the contemporary media, which are able to represent rhetorical speech or its features. Among them are any devices or programs for the recording of sound or writing. In a computer, the technical elements, which allow the production for contents as the application of the 'elocution', the input devices like the keyboard, mouse, and the interface displayed on the screen are associated with this function. As for the media in the contemporary landscape that support the 'elocution', they must have the feature of creating and designing text of writing or oral speech other any other carrying medium for the formation of text like text and graphic design programs, communication systems of emailing providers, providers of short message services, and social media. Any website has the potential to implement text as a formative element.

(5) Media, 'Delivery' and Speech as a Rhetorical Genre

Speech in a mediated realization of speech refers to the area of the theory of rhetoric describing the 'kairos'-situation. In media, which are not embedded into the default 'kairos'-situation with a unit of the time and place, the 'kairos'-situation does not exist. This situation is associated with the step of 'delivery' in the production process of a

rhetorical speech. Legacy media do not have the unit of time and location when communication via speech takes place.

Contemporary media with digital encoding also convey speech no longer in a unit like in the 'kairos'-situation, but allow an instant and timely exchange. Contemporary media associated with the step of 'delivery' are any media, which allow the speech to be displayed. Output devices like graphic and speaker units and the screen with the interface technically support the 'delivery'. Media that present complete media products for the consumption of the audience can be classified as media with the classical function of 'delivery'. Structurally, the interface of a device enables the use of this function.

Conclusion

The theory of rhetoric is not limited to a description of the function of speech in the particular 'rhetorical situation' of the system of rhetoric. Based on the traditional theory of rhetoric, we can describe the current contemporary states of speech in mediated environments that employ media. Direct communication exceeds the 'rhetorical situation' in these mediated environments. The current use of speech in media reflects the various aspects of the concept of speech that we described in the first part of the article as the five dimensions of speech. Nevertheless, the rhetorical quality of speech is a genuine feature of speech in any format of the representation of speech. New inventions and media that change the presentation of speech are an ongoing phenomenon. The future of new media is a coming challenge for the theory of rhetoric.

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METADISCOURSE MARKERS IN NEWSPAPER COLUMNS: A STUDY OF TEXTS WRITTEN BY NIGERIAN COLUMNISTS

Abstract: *A number of taxonomies have been proposed for metadiscourse analysis of texts, and within most of these taxonomies, metadiscourse markers have been organised under the functional headings of textual and interpersonal metadiscourse. However, there is the need to know if writers inadvertently place more emphasis on organising discourse or building writer-reader relationship. The aim of this study is to examine the use of textual and interpersonal metadiscourse categories and sub-categories by Nigerian columnists in their construction of arguments and attainment of persuasion. Ten columns were selected from five Nigerian newspapers and Dafouz-Milne's (2008) classification of metadiscourse categories was employed for the analysis. Findings reveal that Nigerian columnists employed both the textual and interpersonal metadiscourse markers, except reminders and announcements, in their texts. Also, it is established that interpersonal metadiscourse markers were more profusely used than the textual metadiscourse markers. This shows that, while there is a great discernible focus on discourse organisation, Nigerian columnists place more emphasis on establishing and maintaining rapport with their readers.*

Key Words: *textual metadiscourse, interpersonal metadiscourse, newspaper discourse, Nigerian columnists, persuasion*

Introduction

Most newspapers have dedicated pages known as opinion sections. Within these, one can find columns, political cartoons, letters to the editor, editorials, etc. (Bednarek and Caple, 2012). These texts focus on topics that are considered by the entire populace "to be of particular societal importance at the time of publication" (Le, 2004: 688). A column is a subgenre of persuasive text that has the sole purpose of persuading and convincing the readers to follow and agree with the writer's stance (van Dijk, 1988). A column can further be grouped into two: regular column and letter to the editor. Regular columns are written by columnists who are considered to be experts. These experts have dedicated pages where they express their viewpoints that are usually not the official viewpoints of the newspaper. Also, a columnist has a particular day of the week for his or her column to be published. As a result of this, it is common in Nigeria for one to see readers buying a particular newspaper on a particular day just because of their favourite

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columnist. Other features of regular columns are dedicated column name, name of the columnist (excluding professional title), e-mail address and mobile phone number. However for mobile phone number, it is common to see “SMS only”. This means the columnists can only be reached through the Short Message Service. The reason for this is probably to prevent them from being inundated with calls from readers, whether to criticise or commend them. On the other hand, letter to the editor is written by individuals to share their views on issues of national importance. While some newspapers tag the page as ‘letter to the editor’, others do not and just put it in the opinion pages. Only the name and location of writer are stated. For example, “Mr. XX writes from Ilorin”. The major difference between letter to the editor and regular column is that any writer can feature in the former while the reader knows the writer to feature on a particular day in the latter.

Columnists need to organise their ideas and arguments in such a way that the readers will be easily convinced to reason along with them. More importantly, a columnist needs to interact well with the readers and build a writer-reader relationship and emotional ties with them for persuasive goals to be attained (Sukma and Sujatna, 2014). Metadiscourse markers have been seen as linguistic tools that writers of persuasive texts employ to achieve the purposes of interacting and building relationship with their readers (Hyland and Tse, 2004; Dafouz Milne, 2008). As a linguistic field of enquiry, metadiscourse is used to investigate how texts are organised and produced in order to persuade and guide the readers through the texts. Hyland and Tse (2004: 156) posit that metadiscourse “seems to offer a motivated way of collecting under one heading, the range of devices writers use to explicitly organise their texts, engage readers, and signal their attitudes to both their materials and their audience”. In other words, metadiscourse is the general term that contains “cohesive and interpersonal features” that help the readers of a text to “connect, organise, and interpret material in a way preferred by the writer and with regard to the understandings and values of a particular discourse community” (Hyland and Tse, 2004: 157).

Some of the linguistic devices that serve as metadiscourse markers can also be found in other linguistic fields of enquiry. For example, Ojo (2013) explored the uses of hedges, conjunctions and exemplifiers in the inauguration speeches of President Barak Obama of United States of America and President Goodluck Jonathan of Nigeria. Also, hedges and certainty markers (boosters) have been researched extensively as modality in pragmatic studies. However, it has been posited that little is known about hedging concerning its use, frequency and distribution in different genres and disciplines (Hyland, 1998;

Farrokhi and Emami, 2008). This has led credence to the need to explore metadiscourse in different genres. However, within these genres, there is the need to know if writers use metadiscourse markers to focus more on organising discourse or building writer-reader relationship. Therefore, the aim of this study is to explore the use, frequency of occurrence and distribution of metadiscourse markers in opinion texts written by Nigerian columnists. The columnists are Niyi Akinnaso from *The Punch*, Oyinkan Medubi from *The Nation*, Luke Onyekakeyah from *The Guardian*, Yusuf Muhammed from *Daily Trust* and Funke Egbemode from *Sunday Sun*.

Literature Review

The concept of metadiscourse has developed significantly since when Zelling Harris first coined it in 1959 (Sukma and Sujatna, 2014). Many researchers have come up with different taxonomies of metadiscourse: Vande Kopple (1985), Crismore et al. (1993), Hyland (1998), Hyland and Tse (2004), Hyland (2005) and Dafouz-Milne (2008). Amiryousefi and Rasekh (2010: 161) argue that virtually all the taxonomies have followed Halliday's (1994) "tripartite conception of metafunctions which distinguishes between the ideational elements of a text, the ways we encode our experiences of the world and its textual and interpersonal functions". However, Hyland and Tse (2004) report that the concept of metadiscourse does not influence Halliday's thinking while metadiscourse researchers have not really subscribed to a functional grammar and Halliday's argument of the three metafunctions functioning simultaneously. Based on different taxonomies, researchers have been employing metadiscourse as a tool to investigate genre-based texts.

Vande Kopple's (1985) Metadiscourse Taxonomy

This categorisation is the first serious work on the organisation of metadiscourse markers. It consists of text connectives, code glosses, validity markers, narrators, illocution markers, attitude markers and commentaries, as seven metadiscourse markers that are grouped under textual and interpersonal categories. As cited in Hyland and Tse (2004: 162), Vande Kopple posited that textual metadiscourse "shows how we link and relate individual propositions so that they form a cohesive and coherent text and how individual elements of those propositions make sense in conjunction with other elements of the text". On the other hand, interpersonal metadiscourse "can help us express our personalities and our reactions to the propositional content of our texts and characterise the interaction we would like to have with our readers about that content". The categorisation, despite being the first systematic

organisation of metadiscourse, has been criticised for being vague and functionally overlapping. According to Hyland (2005: 32), “one obvious problem is the difficulty of distinguishing narrators and attributors, particularly in academic writing where citation is used to perform a variety of rhetorical functions”. Hyland is of the opinion that the functions are not performed in isolation. It is possible for a writer to select a citation in order to achieve several purposes at the same time. Therefore, “it is not entirely clear how far either the analyst or the reader can determine which function may be intended”.

Within the textual category, there are text connectives, code glosses, validity markers and narrators. Under the interpersonal category, there are illocution markers, attitude markers and commentaries. This is shown in the table below:

Category	Function
Textual metadiscourse	
Text connectives	Used to help show how parts of a text are connected to one another. Include sequencers (<i>first, next, in the second place</i>), reminders (<i>as I mentioned in chapter 2</i>), and topicalisers, which focus attention on the topic of a text segment (<i>with regard to, in connection with</i>).
Code glosses	Used to help readers to grasp the writer’s intended meaning: based on the writer’s assessment of the reader’s knowledge, these devices reward, explain, define, or clarify the sense of a usage.
Validity markers	Used to express the writer’s commitment to the probability of or truth of a statement. These include hedges (<i>perhaps, might, may</i>), emphatics (<i>clearly, undoubtedly</i>), and attributors which enhance a position by claiming the support of a credible other (<i>according to Einstein</i>).
Narrators	Used to inform readers of the sources of the information presented—who said or wrote something (<i>according to Smith, the Prime Minister announced that</i>).
Interpersonal metadiscourse	Function
Illocution markers	Used to make explicit the discourse acts the writer is performing at certain points (<i>to conclude, I hypothesise, to sum up, we predict</i>).
Attitude markers	Used to express the writer’s attitude to the propositional material he or she presents (<i>unfortunately, interestingly, I wish that, how awful that</i>).
Commentaries	Used to address readers directly, drawing them into an implicit dialogue by commenting on the reader’s probable mood or possible reaction to the text (<i>you will certainly agree that, you might want to read the third chapter first</i>).

Table 1: Vande Kopple’s Classification System for Metadiscourse

It should be noted that attempts have been made by subsequent researchers to refine this classification. Vande Kopple (1997) himself refined his taxonomy by relabeling validity markers as epistemological markers which also subsume evidentials and modality. Thus, irrespective of the criticism, Vande Kopple's classification should be acknowledged for developing a model for other researchers to follow.

Crismore et al.'s (1993) Metadiscourse Taxonomy

Crismore et al. analysed the US and Finnish students' use of metadiscourse in forty persuasive essays. They kept the two main categories of textual and interpersonal functions introduced by Vande Kopple (1985). However, they separated and reorganised the subcategories. As shown in the table below, the textual metadiscourse was divided into two categories of textual and interpretive markers:

Category: textual metadiscourse	Function	Examples
Textual markers		
Logical connectives	Show connection between ideas	<i>Therefore; so; in addition; and</i>
Sequencers	Indicate sequence/ordering of material	<i>First; next; finally; 1, 2, 3</i>
Reminders	Refer to earlier text material	<i>As we saw in chapter one</i>
Topicalisers	Indicate a shift in topic	<i>Well, now we discuss...</i>
Interpretive markers		
Code glosses	Explain text material	<i>For example; that is</i>
Illocution markers	Name the act performed	<i>To conclude; in sum; I predict</i>
Announcements	Announce upcoming material	<i>In the next section</i>
Interpersonal metadiscourse		
Hedges	Show uncertainty to the truth of assertion	<i>Might; possible; likely</i>
Certainty markers	Express full commitment to assertion	<i>Certainly; know; shows</i>
Attributers	Give source/support of information	<i>Smith claims that...</i>
Attitude markers	Display writer's affective values	<i>I hope/agree; surprisingly</i>
Commentary	Build relationship with reader	<i>You may not agree that</i>

Table 2. Metadiscourse Categorisation by Crismore et al.

This division of textual metadiscourse into two subcategories in the classification has been criticised for not having sufficient justification (Hyland, 2005; Latawiec, 2012). The categorisation also considered the

intertextual function of illocution markers rather than having an interpersonal function, as presented in Vande Kopple's taxonomy. Despite the attempt to improve on Vande Kopple's taxonomy, some apparent abnormalities still persist. It is not clear why Crismore et al. put reminders under textual markers and announcements under interpretive markers, which is a different subcategory. Another problem is Crismore et al.'s assertion that subordinators are meant for grammaticality and not for metadiscoursal function. Coordinating conjunctions and conjunctive adverbs are seen as metadiscourse but not subordinating conjunctions. They argue that the omission of the coordinating conjunction and or the conjunctive adverb therefore does not mean one cannot have a well-formed independent clause (Hyland, 2005). Thus, metadiscourse items are seen as "the product of choice rather than syntactic necessity" (p. 34). However, it should be noted that the foundation of metadiscourse is that writers can be innovative in their writings as they are being conscious of the choices they make in their writings. Therefore, grammatical choices can also function as metadiscourse and "create well-formed sentences" (Hyland 2005: 34).

Subsequently, other metadiscourse taxonomies such as Hyland's (2005) and Dafouz-Milne's (2008) were developed. Of these taxonomies, only Dafouz-Milne's taxonomy was developed purposely to analyse opinion columns. Therefore, Dafouz-Milne's classification of metadiscourse is employed as the framework of this study. For example, Crismore et al.'s (1993) classification was employed by Marandi (2003) to analyse Persian and English Master's theses while Hyland and Tse's (2004) taxonomy was used by Zarei and Mansoori (2007) to analyse English and Persian research articles. However, Dafouz-Milne came up with her taxonomy in her analysis of British and Spanish opinion columns. Hence, it can be said that the taxonomy is suitable for this study. Also, the introduction of subcategories in this classification makes it distinct from other taxonomies. These subcategories help in the simplification and in the explanation of the macro-categories.

Theoretical Framework

Dafouz-Milne (2008) used the framework of metadiscourse taxonomies introduced by Vande Kopple (1985) and Crismore et al. (1993), where metadiscourse resources are organised under the functional headings of textual and interpersonal metadiscourse. She also aligned her study with Hyland's (2005) principle that metadiscourse categories are all interpersonal. As shown in the tables below, she however continued with the duality of textual and interpersonal functions found in previous studies:

Macro-category	Subcategory	Examples
Logical Markers Express semantic relationships between discourse stretches	Additive	<i>and; furthermore; in addition; moreover...</i>
	Adversative	<i>or; however; but...</i>
	Consecutive	<i>so (as a result); therefore; as a consequence...</i>
	Conclusive	<i>finally; in any case...</i>
Sequencers Mark particular positions in a series		<i>First; second; on the one hand; on the other...</i>
Reminders Refer back to previous sections in the text		<i>Let us return to; as was mentioned before...</i>
Topicalisers Indicate topic shifts		<i>In political terms; in the case of the NHS...</i>
Code glosses Explain, rephrase or exemplify textual material	Parentheses	<i>When (as with the Tories now)...</i>
	Punctuation devices	<i>Tax evasion: it is deplored in others but not in oneself.</i>
	Reformulators	<i>In other words; that is; to put it simply...</i>
	Exemplifiers	<i>For example; for instance...</i>
Illocutionary markers Explicitly name the act the writer performs		<i>I propose; I hope to persuade...</i>
Announcements Refer forwards to future sections in the text		<i>There are many good reasons; as we'll see later...</i>

Table 3: Dafouz-Milne's Textual Metadiscourse markers

Macro-category	Subcategory	Examples
Hedges Express partial commitment to the truth-value of the text	Epistemic verbs	<i>May; might; it must be two o'clock</i>
	Probability adverbs epistemic expressions	<i>probably; perhaps; maybe It is likely</i>
Certainty markers Express total commitment to the truth-value of the text		<i>Undoubtedly; clearly; certainly</i>
Attributors Refer to the source of information		<i>'x' claims that...; As the Prime Minister remarked</i>
Attitude markers Express writer's affective values towards text and readers	Deontic verbs	<i>Have to; we must understand; needs to Unfortunately;</i>
	Attitudinal adverbs	<i>remarkably; pathetically</i>
	Attitudinal adjectives	<i>It is absurd; it is surprising</i>
	Cognitive verbs	<i>I feel; I think; I believe</i>
Commentaries Help to establish reader- writer rapport through text	Rhetorical questions	<i>What is the future of Europe, integration or disintegration?</i>
	Direct address to reader	<i>You must understand, dear reader</i>
	Inclusive expressions	<i>We all believe; let us summarise</i>
	Personalisations	<i>What the polls are telling me</i>
	Asides	<i>I do not want Diana (ironically for a Spencer) was not of the establishment</i>

Table 4. Dafouz-Milne's Interpersonal Metadiscourse Markers

Textual metadiscourse has seven major categories: logical markers, sequencers, reminders, topicalisers, code glosses, illocutionary markers and announcements. Two of them, logical markers and code glosses then have subcategories. On the other hand, interpersonal metadiscourse is classified into five major categories of hedges, certainty markers, attributors, attitude markers and commentaries. Three of them, hedges, attitude markers and commentaries are further divided

into subcategories. It is the introduction of these subcategories that differentiates this taxonomy from that of Crismore et.al (1993).

Dafouz-Milne employed her metadiscourse model to contrast texts written by British and Spanish columnists. She explored the metadiscourse markers employed in 40 opinion columns from English and Spanish newspapers. 20 opinion columns were taken each from *The Times* (British) and *El Pais* (Spanish). The aim of the study was to identify the metadiscourse markers that are used in newspaper discourse (opinion columns), as well as finding the markers that are used more for persuasive purposes.

Dafouz-Milne's findings reveal that metadiscourse markers are crucial in the construction of persuasion in opinion columns and that there are cross-cultural variations in the employment of metadiscourse. Spanish writers prefer additive markers while English writers prefer adversative ones. She is of the opinion that the reason for that is the fact that in Spanish, argumentation is usually contracted through the addition of "positive warrants to the thesis statement, always moving in the same direction" (Dafouz-Milne 2008:105). On the other hand, the English arguments are considered to follow a "dialectical approach" that looks at the pros and cons of an argument, thus, the use of adversative markers.

The study concludes that there are similarities and differences in the use of metadiscourse markers in Spanish and English opinion columns. It claims that the similarities can be attributed to the fact that opinion columns (newspaper-genre) have their characteristics and conventions across languages that are beyond national culture. On the other hand, Dafouz-Milne is of the opinion that the differences identified suggest that "there is some room for internal variation across languages in the construction of opinion columns" (110).

Methodology

The data for this study were ten opinion columns from five Nigerian daily newspapers: *The Punch* (texts 1 and 2), *The Nation* (texts 3 and 4), *The Guardian* (texts 5 and 6), *Daily Trust* (texts 7 and 8) and *Sunday Sun* (texts 9 and 10). Two columns written by each of the five columnists mentioned above in the introduction section were selected from each newspaper in January, 2018. The topics that were discussed by the columnists were farmer-herder conflict (ranching, cattle colony, restructuring, economy and governance) and family issues. The opinion columns selected were based on the aforementioned two areas, as Dafouz-Milne (2008) is of the opinion that there is the need to control the topic variable. When the topics are not controlled, the type,

frequency of occurrence and distribution of metadiscourse markers used in the texts may be affected.

This study focused on the use of textual and interpersonal metadiscourse markers as classified by Dafouz-Milne (2008) in the data. All the macro categories and subcategories are employed for the analysis. The identification, categorisation and analysis of the metadiscoursal words and expressions were manually done. This is because many metadiscourse markers are multi-functional and thus, automatic searches for them through the use of software may not reflect their other functions. As such, one would still need to carry out the analysis manually to ensure its validity (Dafouz-Milne, 2008). The metadiscourse markers in each text were then investigated for their frequency of occurrence and results were presented in statistical forms.

Therefore, this study will help in identifying the metadiscourse markers that are used, and predominantly occur in Nigerian newspaper opinion columns.

Data Analysis

This section presents the analysis of the macro-categories and their sub-categories as metadiscourse markers in the data.

Textual Metadiscourse Analysis

Logical markers: These have the function of expressing semantic and structural relationships within discourse stretches. As a macro-category, these markers have additive, adversative, consecutive and conclusive as sub-categories. The following are examples of logical markers in the data: *and, either...or, furthermore, moreover, similarly, in addition, yet, but, however, or, so, besides, in sum, not only... but also, my take, therefore*, etc. They are used in the following examples:

1. *Text 2: Similarly (additive), cattle are the mainstay of the economy of Uruguay in South America, where cows outnumbered people by 4 to 1. Yet (adversative), cows do not destroy crops or block traffic on the roadways, because every cow farmer in the country operates within a gated ranch.*

2. *Text 4: Cows are amoral; therefore (consecutive), other people's farms, crops, land, etc. are supposed to be off limits to other people's cows.*

3. *Text 7: My take (conclusive) is that if you give them the chance, they would do more than play politics.*

It is noticed that there are instances where “but” is not used together with “also” in the correlative conjunction “not only...but also”. This is because the second conjunct’s value, “but also” can also be “but” or “also” alone, as shown in the following examples:

It appears it is not only motorists that are stopping now; Nigeria is also stopping... for cows (Text 4).

And yet the same Sambisa forest has miraculously grown not only with new shrubs ..., it has also grown with new Shekau insurgents (Text 8).

Sequencers: This is a macro-category that has the function of marking a particular position in a series. Sequencers help the columnists to indicate the particular issue being discussed and to arrange issues sequentially. Examples of sequencers in the data are: *there is first, first, second, on the one hand, on the other hand, to start with, the other, etc.* They are used in the following examples:

4. Text 1: Second, Trump is either totally oblivious to, or gloats over, the history of slavery, which brought millions of Africans into the United States as involuntary minorities.

5. Text 3: There is first, the unfortunate Benue State Massacre; that is very sad indeed.

In example 5, the writer uses “there is first” to indicate the first topic to be discussed in the text, as the writer has stated in the preceding paragraph that there are so many topics to be discussed. As opposed to the use of “first”, it seems “there is first” is more interactive. It engages the readers more than “first”.

Reminders: The use of these metadiscourse markers helps a writer to make reference or refer to a previous section or statement in the text. In the ten columns analysed as the data, the columnists did not employ the use of reminders in their texts.

Topicalisers: These help the writer to indicate topic shifts within a text. In some cases, more than one topic can be discussed within a text or a text can have sub-topics. It is the use of topicalisers that will show that another topic or sub-topic is being discussed. They are used in the data in the following examples:

6. Text 6: On the restructuring issue, for instance, now the APC appear to have made a sharp volte-face against its perceived

earlier obdurate stand by reeling out what sounded like what Nigerians want.

7. Text 8: Corruption fight, as has become evident, has been lurching forward and backwards, making only steady gains here and there while corruption itself seems to be waxing stronger.

Topicalisers are usually sparsely used in opinion columns. This is because columnists normally have one topic and, occasionally, few subtopics to discuss. In text 6, the columnist discusses restructuring and the planned establishment of cattle colonies as two contending issues confronting the government of All Progressive Congress (APC) in Nigeria. In example 6, “on the restructuring issues” is used to indicate that the discussion has shifted from cattle colonies to restructuring. Also in example 7, “corruption fight” is used by the columnist to indicate topic shift from insecurity that is discussed in the preceding paragraph.

Code Glosses: As a macro-category, code glosses help writers to explain, exemplify, rephrase or expand the point raised in their texts. Within this macro-category, there are parentheses, punctuation devices, reformulators and exemplifiers as sub-categories. Their uses in the data are exemplified below:

8. Text 3: Since my English is not very good (not being a native speaker and all), I could only understand that the president said something to the effect that there was no call to go restructuring the country (parenthesis).

9. Text 5: Ignoring ranching, (punctuation device) which is the globally accepted modern method of cattle farming and instead presenting cattle colony suggests something is fishy.

10. Text 8: Whichever way the re-ordering of the sequence of elections goes, the 2019 polls, give and take, will not go beyond April next year; meaning that (reformulator) effectively, Nigerians have just one year to return to the polls to elect and re-elect their leaders.

11. Text 5: Whereas, a ranch is an area of land with facilities and structures set up for raising grazing livestock such as (exemplifier) cattle, for meat or wool, cattle colony is totally different both in terms of purpose and structure.

It is noticed that Dafouz-Milne's (2008) taxonomy does not encapsulate the use of pull quote. A pull quote, also known as a lift-out, is a quotation or excerpt that has been "pulled" from an article to entice readers or to highlight a key topic. Sometimes, pull quotes are italicised. In columns, pull quote can be placed under the topic or inserted within two columns of a text. As a pull quote is used to emphasise textual materials, it should be a subcategory under code glosses.

Illocutionary Markers: These explicitly name the act the writer performs. Examples of illocutionary markers in the data are: *I pray, I must confess, I wish, I'd focus on*, etc. They are used in the following examples:

12. *Text 3: After looking at mine, I would want to wish you and myself more hard work, greater achievements, funnier PU, and better luck this year.*

13. *Text 9: The jobless wife, the wife without an income is the one I'd rather focus on.*

As the examples have shown, illocutionary markers are always preceded by the first person singular pronoun "I" as the writer usually names the act he or she is performing.

Announcements: These have the function of helping writers of opinion texts to refer forward to future sections in the text. In the data analysed, the columnists did not employ the use of announcements as metadiscourse makers.

Interpersonal Metadiscourse Analysis

Hedges: The use of hedges as metadiscourse markers helps writers not to be totally committed to the truth-value of their texts. In other words, they help writers to be cautious in making remarks. Hedges have three sub-categories: epistemic verbs, probability adverbs and epistemic expressions. The following are the hedges in the data: *may, may be* (epistemic verbs); *perhaps, nearly, hardly, maybe* (probability adverbs) and *the president seemed, I have heard, I doubt, it appears* (epistemic expressions). They are used in the data in the following examples:

14. *Text 7: For now, President Buhari may (epistemic verb) not have had the Nigerian equivalent of President Donald Trump's fire and fury to contend with...*

15. Text 6: *Perhaps (probability adverb), one way out is for the APC-led Federal Government to back down on its proposed cattle colony and instead allow states to take charge of land resources as appropriate.*

16. Text 4: *I have also heard it said (epistemic expression) that the Fulani herdsmen are actually the 'cow carers' for other wealthy cow owners such as presidents, emirs, governors, politicians, etc. who are the real owners of the cows.*

Certainty Markers: These are the opposite of hedges. They are used to express total commitment to the truth-value of the text. In other words, writers use certainty markers to tell readers that they are sure of their propositions which they consider irrefutable. Examples of certainty markers in the data are: *strongly believe, so clear, certainly, definitely, it is very clear, there is no doubt*, etc. They are used in the following examples:

17. Text 2: *I strongly believe that the Minister of Agriculture can get us there.*

18. Text 7: *There is no doubt that the herdsmen phenomenon predated the Buhari regime.*

Certainty markers are used by the columnists to present facts and opinions in assured expressions. The reason for this is that, "readers expected to find the writer's opinion overtly stated" (Dafouz-Milne, 2008:108).

Attributors: These metadiscourse markers are used to make reference to the source of information. While they perform the function of attributing a proposition to a particular source, they also help in validating propositions in the texts. The following are examples of attributors in the data: *the Inspector General of Police, Ibrahim Idris, said so; the minister of agriculture, Audu Ogbeh confirmed it; the president said; like everyone has been saying; Nigerians are saying; reports indicate*; etc. They are used in the examples below:

19. Text 2: *Reflecting on the contrast in his experiences as a military dictator and a democratically elected president, Buhari confessed: "this is why I am not in a hurry virtually to do anything. I will sit and reflect and continue with my clear conscience."*

20. Text 10: *Did you read Asiwaju's unhappy wife in a recent interview; "I was hurt by what they did to my husband after campaign. We were running three campaigns in my house and for him to be trashed like that..."*

As references can be made to specific and known sources, they can also be made to non-specific sources. For example:

(i) *Like everyone has been saying, the federal government's silence on the murderous activities of the herdsmen all over the country is indeed baffling...*

(ii) *Many have said it is because the president is himself a Fulani man and so he finds it difficult to call his own people to order.*

When this happens, the claims cannot be pinpointed to a particular source and the columnist cannot be held responsible for the claims made as well.

Attitude Markers: These markers have deontic verbs, attitudinal adverbs, attitudinal adjectives and cognitive verbs as sub-categories. Their function is to express writer's affective values towards the contents of the text and the reader. Examples of attitude markers in the data are: *have to, need to* and *must* (deontic verbs); *honestly, fortunately, unfortunately* and *woefully* (attitudinal adverbs); *surprising, baffling* and *bad* (attitudinal adjectives) and *believe, know, hope, think* and *wonder* (cognitive verbs). They are used in the following examples:

21. Text 6: *Whatever needs to (deontic verb) be done should be done urgently without delay.*

22. Text 7: *Unfortunately, (attitudinal adverbs) government left the two sides to their own respective devices.*

23. Text 10: *That 73 people were buried in one day and the President opted not to go to Makurdi but Nasarawa where the casualty figure was lower in humans than cows is bad, very bad (attitudinal adjective).*

24. Text 1: *I know (cognitive verb) that Buhari means well for this country and its people, regardless of region, ethnicity or religion.*

Commentaries: These are used by writers to establish and maintain reader-writer rapport in their texts. In other words, they are

used by writers to interact with their readers. There are five sub-categories of commentaries: rhetorical questions, direct address to reader, inclusive expressions, personalisations and asides. They are used in the data in the following examples:

25. Text 5: *Could the minister now see that the cattle colony is a place for slaughtering the animals and not for grazing? (rhetorical question).*

26. Text 10: *APC, if you (direct address to reader) ask me, is losing grip on reality.*

27. Text 8: *We have been told, and we (inclusive expression) celebrated prematurely, that Sambisa forest, the fortress of the Boko Haram insurgents, had been levelled down.*

28. Text 3: *There is nothing wrong with me going around with all of my thirty-two (sorry, I think it's remaining twenty-nine and a half or so now....) (aside)*

In the data, the second person pronouns “you” and “your” are used to express direct address to reader. However, it is observed that there are instances of subject-less sentences being used to address reader. For examples: *pray that the state care* (text 3) and *hold that thought* (text 9). In the two examples, the readers are being addressed by the columnists without a definite addressee but “you” can be added as the subject. Thus, we can have, “you should pray that the state care” and “you should hold that thought”.

For inclusive expressions, pronouns such as us, our and we are used. But there is an instance where “you and I” is used as an inclusive expression: “Already, there are so many topics asking you and I to knock heads together on this column”. This expression is used by the columnist to engage readers in the topic(s) of discussion and to tell them that “they are together”. Therefore, a kind of camaraderie feeling is built.

Discussion

The analysis of the data that constitute this study further corroborates the fact that metadiscourse markers are essential in the construction and attainment of persuasion in opinion columns. However, while the analysis reveals that both the textual and interpersonal metadiscourse markers were employed in the data, some were more favoured than others in their usages. As Dafouz-Milne (2008: 96) argues, “to succeed, writers need to create a credible textual persona

or ethos and develop an appropriate attitude towards their readers and the claims they present". Therefore, propositional materials need to be presented by the columnists in a way their readers will find most convincing.

Concerning textual metadiscourse markers, out of 297 textual metadiscourse markers in the data, there are 213 (71.7%) logical markers. Within this category, there are 127 (42.7%) additives, 67 (22.55%) adversatives, 16 (5.38%) consecutives, and 3 (1.01%) conclusives. The implication of this is that the use of additives is favoured in the analysed newspaper opinion columns to build arguments in order to achieve persuasive purposes. Through this, positive propositions are added to the topic sentence. Also, adversatives are equally used in constructing arguments to present both the merits and the demerits of an argument. This is the reconstruction of an argument based on the "pros and cons of an opinion" (Dafouz-Milne, 2008:106). Lastly, the negligible use of conclusives indicates that their use is not favoured at this level as opinion writers are expected to conclude their argument without necessarily stating the obvious.

The analysis of textual metadiscourse markers is shown in the table below:

Macro-category	Subcategory	Number of markers
Logical Markers	Additive	127 (42.76%)
	Adversative	67 (22.55%)
	Consecutive	16 (5.38%)
	Conclusive	3 (1.01 %)
	(total)	213 (71.7%)
Sequencers		14 (4.71%)
Reminders		-
Topicalisers		12 (4.04%)
Code glosses	Parentheses	3 (1.01%)
	Punctuation devices	32 (10.77%)
	Reformulators	3 (1.01%)
	Exemplifiers	9 (3.03%)
	(total)	47 (15.82%)
Illocutionary Markers		11 (3.7%)
Announcements		-

Table 5: Frequency of occurrence of textual metadiscourse categories and sub-categories

Code glosses had the highest number of markers after logical markers. Out of the four sub-categories of code glosses, punctuation devices had the highest frequency of occurrence in the data. This means that the columnists favour the use of punctuation devices such as commas, hyphens and colons to explain, rephrase and exemplify their

arguments. The sparsely use of other subcategories might be due to the need to economise words as there are limited and restricted spaces for opinion columns.

The frequency of occurrence of sequencers, topicalisers and illocutionary markers is low. Regarding sequencers and topicalisers, the reason for this might not be unconnected with the fact that most of the analysed opinion columns do not have subtopics apart from the main topic introduced in the heading. The heading usually introduces the main topic and there is no need to overtly topicalise within the text. This relatively affects the use of sequencers as the columnists prefer the use of additives and adversatives to add to and balance arguments. Regarding the use of illocutionary markers, it is found that the acts being performed by the columnists are not usually stated. The reason for this is that the acts are inherent in the texts and readers can easily see and understand them.

Lastly, reminders and announcements were not used in the data. What this suggests is that they are not favoured to be used in opinion columns. As Dafouz-Milne (2008: 107) states, the interpretation is that their “prospective and retrospective functions... are not necessary in such a short-length genre”.

Within the interpersonal metadiscourse markers, as shown in table 6 below, the most frequent markers were commentaries.

Macro-category	Sub-category	Number of Markers
Hedges	Epistemic Verbs	10 (2.3 %)
	Probability Adverbs	5 (1.1%)
	Epistemic Expressions	21 (4.7%)
	(total)	36 (8.1%)
Certainty Markers		16 (3.6%)
Attributors		31 (7%)
Attitudes Markers		50 (11.3%)
	Deontic Verbs	5 (1.1%)
	Attitudinal Adverbs	11 (2.5%)
	Attitudinal Adjectives	9 (2%)
	Cognitive Verbs	25 (5.6%)
Commentaries	Rhetorical Questions	66 (14.9%)
	Direct Address to Reader	44 (9.9%)
	Inclusive Expressions	68 (15.3%)
	Personalisations	130 (29.3%)
	Asides	3 (0.7%)
	(total)	311 (70%)

Table 6: Frequency of occurrence of interpersonal metadiscourse categories and sub-categories

They were used 311 times (70%) out of the entire 444 interpersonal markers in the data. The implication of this is that the columnists are highly committed to the establishment of a writer-reader relationship in their texts. Within its four subcategories, personalisations and inclusive expressions have the highest frequency of occurrence. Although the high presence of personalisations in a text can portray the writer as being subjective (Noorian and Biria, 2010), readers still expect the presence of columnists in their texts and this helps in the building of interaction. The profuse use of inclusive expressions helps in establishing solidarity between the columnists and their readers. Through this, the columnists are telling the readers, usually the “ordinary” citizens of the country, that they are fighting for their cause. In other words, they are telling them that “what concerns you also concerns us” and “we are together in this situation”.

Also the high frequency of occurrence of rhetorical question and direct address to readers shows their importance in achieving persuasion. Both strategies are used to manipulate the readers to follow the writer’s line of arguments. Rhetorical questions are used to spell out questions meant for the readers to answer and direct address to reader is used to call out readers in an argument. The implication of this is that both strategies are used to sway the reader’s belief opinion and conviction to be in line with that of the columnist.

Lastly when it comes to commentaries, asides have the least frequency of occurrence. This means that they are not favoured in the analysed newspaper opinion columns. While English and Spanish columnists encourage the use of asides (Dafouz-Milne, 2008), they are not by Indonesian columnists (Sukma and Sujatna, 2014). A possible explanation for this may be linked to cultural differences among language communities which a contrastive study may be able to account for.

Attitude markers also have a high frequency of occurrence in the data. This supports the findings of Dafouz-Milne (2008) that the expression of feelings by opinion columnists is an important persuasive tool. Opinion column writers need to make their personal feelings known in their texts as the readers want to know their feelings towards the topics of discussion.

Hedges have the third highest frequency of occurrence. Columnists should not throw caution to the winds in presenting their arguments. It is unsurprising that attributors and certainty markers appear next in the frequency of occurrence. The claims of columnists need to be well attributed. As such the statements cannot be linked to the columnists. This is another covert way of hedging that helps opinion writers not to commit themselves to some statements in their texts. Also,

the use of attributors and certainty markers also help in persuading readers. A columnist will earn the trust of his or her reader when the claims in his text are referenced and the columnist also shows total commitment to his or her claims through the use of certainty markers. Therefore, it is crucial in persuasive texts for writers to strike a balance in the use of hedges, attributors and certainty markers.

Conclusion

This paper has focused on the presence and use of metadiscourse markers in opinion texts written by Nigerian columnists. The study reveals that the columnists employ both the textual and interpersonal metadiscourse markers in their texts. Only reminders and announcements, two categories under textual metadiscourse markers are not employed in the data. However, the metadiscourse taxonomy employed in this study should be modified for further studies. Pull quote should be added as a sub-category of code glosses under textual metadiscourse while specific sources and non-specific sources should be included as sub-categories of attributors under interpersonal metadiscourse.

The implication of the employment of metadiscourse markers by the columnists is summarised by Hyland & Tse (2004), who conclude that “writing effectively means anticipating the needs of readers, both to follow an exposition and to participate in a dialogue and occasionally, devices are used to perform both functions at once” (p.157). Therefore, the columnists can be said to write effectively as their employment of metadiscourse markers shows that they are conscious of their readers’ needs.

Concerning the differences, it is found out that there is a significant difference in the use of textual and interpersonal metadiscourse markers. The total number of interpersonal markers is 444 (59.92%), while that of textual markers is 297(40.08%), of the total 741 metadiscourse markers employed by the columnists. This possibly implies that the columnists value their interaction and relationship building with their readers.

Lastly, there are limitations to this study. First of all, the study is not a contrastive analysis. The use of metadiscourse markers can be contrasted in different genres and subgenres such as columns, editorials and news items. Its use can also be explored cross-culturally in order to discover possible cultural differences. Another limitation is in the area of extra-textual considerations. The level of education, years of experience as writers and the gender of the columnists are not considered in the analysis. All these can play a significant role in the use of metadiscourse markers by columnists. Therefore, cross-cultural

studies and studies that focus on extra-textual factors can be a valuable extension to this investigation.

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THE ROLE OF ORTHOGRAPHIC AND PHONETIC DISTANCES IN MUTUAL INTELLIGIBILITY BETWEEN MONTENEGRIN AND BULGARIAN

Abstract: *It is generally believed that speakers of closely related languages are able to understand each other to some degree without resorting to a lingua franca as a communicative mode. The extent to which languages are mutually intelligible depends on a variety of linguistic and extralinguistic factors, including the genetic proximity of the language varieties concerned. This study looks at mutual intelligibility between two closely related Slavic languages, namely Montenegrin and Bulgarian, and examines the role of orthographic and phonetic distances in the process of word recognition. In a small-scale word translation experiment, native speakers of Montenegrin and Bulgarian were tested on their ability to decode the meaning of 98 written and spoken nouns in the related language without prior instruction. The results reveal a strong correlation between orthographic/phonetic distances and correctly recognized words, which suggests that linguistic distances may act as relatively significant predictors of intelligibility between the two languages in question.*

Key Words: *intelligibility, closely related language, orthographic distance, phonetic distance, neighbourhood density*

Introduction

Languages sharing a close genetic relationship are considered to be mutually intelligible to a lesser or greater extent. Yet, the degree of mutual intelligibility of closely related language varieties is contingent on a number of linguistic factors, including the lexicon, phonetics/phonology and morphosyntax, as well as on extralinguistic determinants such as language attitudes, amount of contact and orthography (Gooskens, 2018). As previous research on mutual intelligibility of closely related languages has shown, the closer languages are in terms of linguistic distances, the greater the chance that speakers of those languages will be able to understand each other and engage in a successful interaction. Such a form of multilingual constellation, in which interlocutors speak their own native L1s when communicating with each other, is known as receptive multilingualism (ten Thije & Zeevaert, 2007). This mode of intercultural communication

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is well established in the Scandinavian language area (see van Bezooijen and Gooskens, 2007; Schüppert, 2011), but it is less clear whether it is also possible to interact in this fashion in other European regions, including in Southeast Europe.

This study aims to look at the mutual intelligibility of two closely related Slavic languages – Montenegrin and Bulgarian, and explore the relative contribution of orthographic and phonetic distances to how well their native speakers can potentially understand each other. By testing the intelligibility of isolated words at the written and spoken levels, the paper will attempt to provide empirical evidence as to whether intelligibility of these two languages can be predicted by linguistic distances between words of the same historical origin. Results of the written intelligibility test will be compared to those obtained in the spoken intelligibility task, which will then be correlated with orthographic and phonetic distances.

2. Background

Mutual intelligibility of closely related languages is a relatively recent field of linguistic study, which can be traced back to Haugen's (1966) seminal work on what he labelled semi-communication. In this type of multilingual communication, speakers interact with each other using their native languages, though mutual understanding is often incomplete and fraught with problems. Semi-communication has recently come to be referred to as receptive multilingualism (ten Thije & Zeevaert, 2007), by which both hearer and speaker perspectives are given importance. To what extent closely related languages are mutually intelligible and whether such a form of interaction is possible in practice has been investigated by numerous studies, some of which will be referenced in this paper.

From the very beginning, researchers working on intelligibility between Indo-European languages largely focused on the Scandinavian language area (e.g. Zeevaert, 2004; Gooskens, 2006, 2007; van Bezooijen & Gooskens, 2007; Beijering et al., 2008, Schüppert, 2011, Schüppert et al., 2015), as speakers of Danish, Norwegian and Swedish have communicated with each other using their own L1s for centuries. The level of intelligibility of other closely related Germanic languages such as Dutch, German and Afrikaans has also attracted some scholarly attention (e.g. van Bezooijen & Gooskens, 2007). More recently, intelligibility studies have been carried out in the Slavic, Germanic and Romance language areas as part of the Micrela project at the University of Groningen (for an overview of results, see Gooskens & van Heuven, 2017).

On the whole, various linguistic and extra-linguistic factors have been shown to affect mutual intelligibility, including linguistic distances, which is of particular relevance for this paper. Examining the role of linguistic distances in the mutual intelligibility among spoken Danish, Swedish and Norwegian, Gooskens (2007) found that phonetic distances play a crucial role in the comprehension between speakers of these three languages, while lexical distances, which were measured as the percentage of non-cognates, do not appear to play a significant role in the intelligibility between these three languages. Along those lines, Beijering et al. (2008) reported a strong correlation between phonetic distances and intelligibility by testing the intelligibility of 17 Scandinavian language varieties for Danish speakers, while lexical distances were found to have less effect on mutual understanding. In a research project that is of particular relevance for the present study, Kürschner et al. (2008) tested the intelligibility of 384 isolated Swedish words and correlated the scores with different linguistic factors. Their findings point to a strong negative correlation between phonetic distances and intelligibility, while a number of other linguistic factors such as word length, neighbourhood density, orthography and word frequency also had some bearing on intelligibility scores.

As regards intelligibility within the Slavic language area, some research has recently been carried out in this regard. Golubović (2016) examined cross-language intelligibility between Slavic languages spoken in the European Union, namely Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, Polish, Slovak and Slovene, resulting in 30 language combinations. This study was carried out within a large-scale web-based project named Micrela², which explored the degree of mutual intelligibility of 16 closely related languages within the Germanic, Slavic and Romance language groups in Europe. The intelligibility between these languages was measured using a word translation task, a cloze test and a picture-to-text matching task. She reported a high level of mutual intelligibility between Czech and Slovak (92.7% and 95.0% respectively), which is in line with some previous studies (Nábělková, 2007), as well as for Croatian and Slovene (43.7% and 79.4%). Of particular interest to the present study, Golubović (2016) found a relatively high degree of intelligibility of Croatian and Bulgarian, which will be discussed further below in more detail.

To the best of my knowledge, mutual intelligibility between Montenegrin and Bulgarian has not been tested so far. These two languages belong to the South Slavic language group and form part of the Slavic dialect continuum, a language area stretching from the Black Sea

² <http://www.micrela.nl/>

to the Eastern Alps (Ivić, 2001). Montenegrin is one of four languages that emerged from the former Serbo-Croatian, which used to be the official language in the former Yugoslavia until its dissolution in the early 1990s (Greenberg, 2004). Following the break-up, all countries that were once part of Yugoslavia named their official languages after their respective nations (Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian). Montenegro did the same in 2007 after it had voted independence, declaring Montenegrin as its official language (Glušica, 2011). All the above-mentioned languages share the same linguistic system and are mutually intelligible to a very high degree, which is why many linguists (e.g. Kordić, 2010) consider them as the standard varieties of the pluricentric Serbo-Croatian language.³ In line with the view maintained by Trudgill (1992), languages are as much political and cultural constructs as they are linguistic concepts, which is why Montenegrin will be regarded here as a separate language despite the fact that it shares the same structural properties with other descendants of Serbo-Croatian.

3.1. Research questions

As stated above, the present paper will look at the role of orthographic and phonetic distances in mutual intelligibility between spoken and written Montenegrin and Bulgarian. Specifically, the following research questions will be addressed:

1. To what extent are Montenegrin and Bulgarian mutually intelligible at the written and spoken word level?

³ Despite being mutually intelligible to a very high degree, the successor languages to Serbo-Croatian are now codified separately in each of the four independent countries (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro and Serbia). The recognition of their mutual intelligibility was further reinforced by the Declaration on the Common Language (2017), stating that people in the four ex-Yugoslav countries speak a common pluricentric language and underlying that the use of different names for the four standard varieties – Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin and Serbian – does not imply that those are different languages. The Declaration was initiated by a group of prominent linguists, intellectuals and civil society activists from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro and Serbia and has since received significant attention from both scholars and the general public, but also from politicians. While acknowledging the right of speakers to refer to the language as they wish, the Declaration maintains that the four languages together form a pluricentric language in the same way as English, German, Arabic, French, Spanish, Portuguese and many others. For more discussion on the sociolinguistic situation in the former Yugoslavia, see Greenberg, 2004 and Bugarski, 2018).

2. What is the relative contribution of orthographic and phonetic distances to mutual intelligibility between Montenegrin and Bulgarian?

3.2. Method and procedure

Mutual intelligibility between closely related languages can be tested at the word, sentence or text level and using a variety of methods, such as comprehension questions, translation tasks and reactions times, to name a few (for an overview of different methods and approaches, see Gooskens, 2013). This paper will employ a word translation task to test intelligibility between Montenegrin and Bulgarian, relying on the implicit assumption that word recognition plays a key role in text and speech comprehension. Given that the aim of the study is to investigate the contribution of linguistic distances to mutual intelligibility between these two languages, the word translation task is expected to reduce the effect of other factors on intelligibility scores to a minimum. As Gooskens (2013) suggests, factors such as context or word position in a sentence may bear upon intelligibility and consequently obscure the contribution of linguistic distances to word recognition.

The present experiment replicates the word translation task that was previously used by Golubović (2016), who tested how well Croatian speakers understand randomly chosen 25 out of the 100 most frequent Bulgarian nouns and vice versa. In the written word translation task, Golubović found an intelligibility level of 64.07% for Croatian speakers decoding Bulgarian written words, while Bulgarian speakers correctly identified 64.55% of Croatian words, which indicates that the intelligibility of written language forms is symmetric. Similar results were obtained for in the spoken word translation task, with Croatian speakers performing slightly better when confronted with Bulgarian words (67.35%) than vice versa (64.22%).

The present experiment tests the intelligibility of 98 most frequent singular nouns from the British National Corpus, which were translated into the two languages for the purposes of testing. This approach was adopted so as to ensure that no language was given a special status in terms of word choice and word frequency. The first 50 stimuli were used to test mutual intelligibility at the written word level, whereas the remaining 48 nouns⁴ from the above-mentioned frequency list were employed with a view to assessing the intelligibility of spoken

⁴ The initial plan was to test the intelligibility of 50 words in the spoken test as well. However, two words (one in each language group) failed to be retrieved from the compressed folder, which is why those pairs were excluded from the experiment given that additional recording could not be arranged in a timely manner.

word forms. Two different sets of words were used for practical reasons, as some of the participants took part in both written and spoken part. This approach was chosen in order to prevent a priming effect in the subjects who took part in the written test, as otherwise they would have been presented with the same words in the spoken intelligibility test.

The written task involved a total of 20 participants (10 in each language group), while 16 subjects took part in the spoken comprehension test (8 in each group). The majority of participants were recruited online via social media or by email, while several subjects were tested on the spot. All the participants were aged between 20 and 44 and either studied for or had a university degree in various subject areas. In addition, participation in the experiment was on a voluntary basis, so no financial compensation was provided for taking part in the test.

In both tasks, the participants were asked to provide a translation equivalent in L1s based on the words they read or heard. As regards the written experiment, the target words were presented in the Cyrillic script in both languages in order to control for the effect of orthography on word recognition by Bulgarian subjects, considering that Cyrillic is the only official script in Bulgaria. Montenegrin, on the other hand, is a biscriptal language, whereby Latin and Cyrillic enjoy an equal status, which is why the choice of a script is completely arbitrary. The subjects were asked to translate the given words without the help of the Internet, dictionaries or other tools.

The stimuli that were recorded for the spoken word recognition task were read out by a Montenegrin and a Bulgarian speaker respectively. The Montenegrin words were read out by a radio presenter from Montenegro, whereas the Bulgarian audio files were made by a standard speaker of Bulgarian within the above-mentioned Micrela project. All the recorded stimuli were set at approximately 70 db, so that none of the groups would get an advantage by way of volume intensity. Since the subjects lived at different locations, the monitoring of the spoken word recognition task could not be arranged for practical and financial reasons. Instead, the files were emailed to the subjects in a compressed folder along with an answer sheet and detailed instructions about the task. The participants were allowed to play each sound file twice and were required to provide their answer within ten seconds. Upon completion of the test, the subjects sent their answer sheets back and provided basic information about education, age, language background and optional feedback about the test.

While selecting participants, the most important criterion alongside level of education and age was that none of the participants had been exposed to the test language to a considerable extent. An additional requirement on the Montenegrin subjects was that they had

received no formal instruction in Russian, given that Bulgarian and Russian share several cognates that appear in the word list, which could have given an initial advantage to Montenegrin volunteers speaking Russian. Thus, for example, the Bulgarian word *prichina*, meaning 'reason', is identical in spelling with the Russian word *prichina*, whereas the Montenegrin word for 'reason' is *razlog*. Another motivation for adopting such a criterion in selecting participants was the fact that Bulgarian and Russian share several orthographic symbols which do not exist in Montenegrin, such as й, щ, ю, я and ъ. This requirement is another variation on the word translation task employed by Golubović (2016), who tested the intelligibility of Bulgarian written words only if a participant could read Cyrillic, which is not used in any of the official Slavic languages in the EU save for Bulgarian. As she admits, this might have introduced bias to her results, as those participants who could read Cyrillic may have been able to do so because they had learned a Cyrillic-based Slavic language such as Russian, for which it is necessary to be familiar with the Cyrillic script.

3.3. Intelligibility scores and linguistic distances

As pointed out in the research questions, the main goal of the study was to look at mutual intelligibility of Montenegrin and Bulgarian and examine the relationship between orthographic and phonetic distances and intelligibility scores. In both parts of the experiment, intelligibility was expressed as the percentage of correctly translated words. Answers were checked manually in consultation with a Montenegrin and Bulgarian native speaker respectively and each correct response was given one point. In case of polysemous words, such as the Bulgarian word *m"zh* (which could be translated as either husband or man), all possible translations were accepted.

Orthographic and phonetic distances were calculated by means of the Levenshtein algorithm, which measures the minimum cost of operations needed to change one word into another through insertion, deletion and substitution of characters or phonemes (Heeringa, 2004). Both types of linguistic distances were expressed as percentages on a scale from 0 to 100, whereby a zero was assigned to two Montenegrin and Bulgarian words that are identical in writing or pronunciation. For instance, the distance between the Bulgarian word *r"ka* (arm) and Montenegrin *ruka* amounts to 25%, as the two 4-letter words differ in one character – the symbol representing the mid back unrounded vowel in Bulgarian ([ɤ], transliterated as ["]) is substituted by the letter [u] in Montenegrin. The cost of operations (i.e. 1) was divided by the number of alignments (4), so the distance equalled to $1/4 = 0.25$ or 25 percent (see Figure 1). Distances were only calculated for cognates, as words

which do not share the same historical origin are as a rule unintelligible without previous instruction. For this reason, the correlation analysis only looked at the relationship between intelligibility and linguistic distances among cognate words.

	1	2	3	4
Montenegrin	r	U	K	a
Bulgarian	r	"	K	a
	0	1	0	0
1/4 = 25% difference				

Figure 1 – Illustration of the Levenshtein algorithm

Furthermore, linguistic distances were measured in two directions – from Montenegrin to Bulgarian and vice versa, particularly because some of the stimuli might have a close synonym for the corresponding word in the participants' native language, by which linguistic distance is significantly reduced. Thus, for instance, the Bulgarian word *rabotja* (work) corresponds to the Montenegrin non-cognate *posao*. However, the Montenegrin participants could easily deduce the meaning of this word because of the existence of the cognate synonym *rabota* in Montenegrin. Consequently, the orthographic distance for this particular pair was calculated from Bulgarian to Montenegrin only, as Bulgarian participants were only presented with the non-cognate word (*posao*). Likewise, the Montenegrin word *pogled* (view) was correctly decoded by all Bulgarian subjects, given that the same word exists in the Bulgarian language. In this case, the distance from Montenegrin to Bulgarian equalled 0. By contrast, the Bulgarian test word *gledka* is quite distant from the Montenegrin *pogled*, which is why the distance from Bulgarian to Montenegrin with respect to this particular word was 66, as there is no synonym in Montenegrin resembling the Bulgarian counterpart.

4.1. Results and discussion: written intelligibility test

At face value, the degree of mutual intelligibility between Montenegrin and Bulgarian was found to be relatively high for both written and spoken language. With regard to written word comprehension, the mean percentage of correctly translated words among the Montenegrin subjects was 74.2% (SD = 4.56), which is slightly better than the average score achieved by the Bulgarian participants (M = 70%, SD = 5.49). The difference between the two groups was only significant at $t(18) = 1.86, p = 0.08$ (two-tailed), which might suggest that

a larger testing population is needed in order to ascertain whether this minor asymmetry is indeed present when it comes to written word recognition. These intelligibility scores are significantly higher than the ones reported by Golubović (2016) for the Croatian-Bulgarian pair (see above).

Having taken a closer look at the answers, it was evident that both groups had difficulties with translating non-cognates, which confirms the hypothesis that historically unrelated words are generally unintelligible without prior contact or instruction. Even when non-cognates were translated correctly, those were isolated cases and the correct answers might have come as a result of the subjects' previous exposure to the test language or recognition of a loanword from a language they are familiar with (see Gooskens, 2018). Moreover, false friends in both languages proved to be particularly misleading, as such words usually yielded wrong translations. For instance, the Bulgarian word *chast* (part) was incorrectly translated by the Montenegrin participants as *čast*, meaning 'honour', instead of *dio*, which is not cognate with the Bulgarian word for 'part'. Furthermore, problems were also caused by words that do share the same origin, but whose meanings shifted throughout history so that now they refer to different concepts. To illustrate, the Montenegrin word *riječ* (word) was wrongly translated by the Bulgarian participants as *rech*, meaning 'speech' in modern Bulgarian, while the correct term for this word would actually be the non-cognate *duma*.

4.1.1. Orthographic distances and intelligibility

As pointed out above, one of the research questions in the present study was to determine whether intelligibility can be predicted by orthographic distances. Since it is only reasonable to measure orthographic distances between cognates, words which do not share the same etymology and false friends were excluded from this part of the study. In particular, the correlation analysis looked at the relationship between orthographic distances for each word and the percentage of correctly translated words by each group. Because neither of the datasets demonstrated a normal distribution (Shapiro-Wilk test, $p < 0.001$), association between the two variables was assessed using Spearman's rho – the non-parametric alternative to Pearson's correlation coefficient.

The statistical analysis of the intelligibility between Bulgarian to Montenegrin speakers revealed a significant negative relationship between orthographic distances and correctly translated nouns ($\rho = -.62$, $p < 0.001$, two-tailed). In other words, the closer words are in terms of orthography, the higher intelligibility.

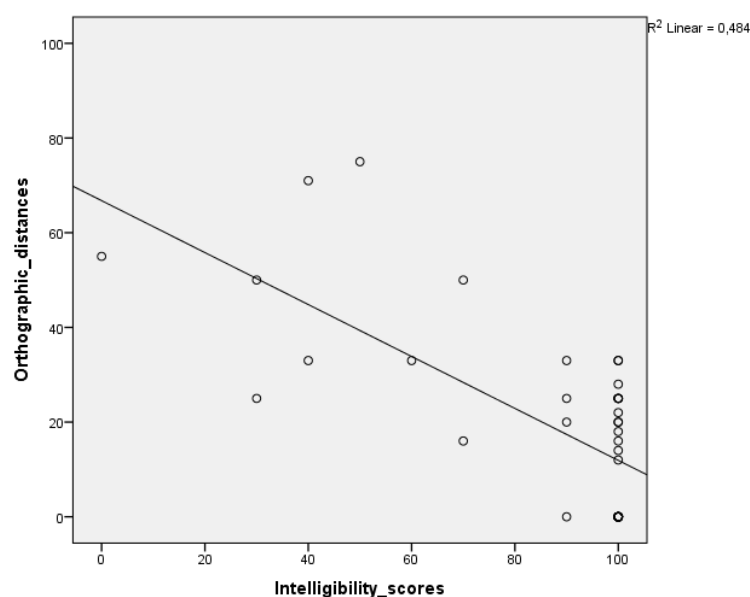


Figure 2 – Scatterplot showing the (negative) correlation between orthographic distances and the percentage of correctly translated words by the Montenegrin participants

Upon a closer look at the examples, it was noticed that Bulgarian words containing orthographic symbols which do not exist in Montenegrin caused some problems for the Montenegrin participants, especially when found in shorter words. By way of illustration, the Bulgarian stimuli word *нощ* (transliteration *nosht*) meaning ‘night’ was frequently translated as *nož* (knife) instead of *noć*, which could be attributed to the unfamiliarity of Montenegrin speakers with the letter *щ*, as well as to the high orthographic neighbourhood density of the target word. A word’s (orthographic) neighbourhood density refers to the number of words that can be generated by substituting a single letter in a target word (see Coltheart et al, 1977). Shorter words are generally known to have more neighbours (i.e. competitors) than longer words and thus are more difficult to recognize. In the case cited above, the target Montenegrin word *noć* has at least 4 competitors which differ from it by just one letter (*nož* (knife), *nos* (nose), *noj* (ostrich), *moć* (power)), which made it likely to be confused with some of those words. The association between orthographic distances and the intelligibility of Montenegrin words for Bulgarian speakers was even higher ($\rho = -.75$, $p < .001$, two-tailed). This indicates that Bulgarian speakers also rely on orthography to a great extent when decoding the meaning of Montenegrin words.

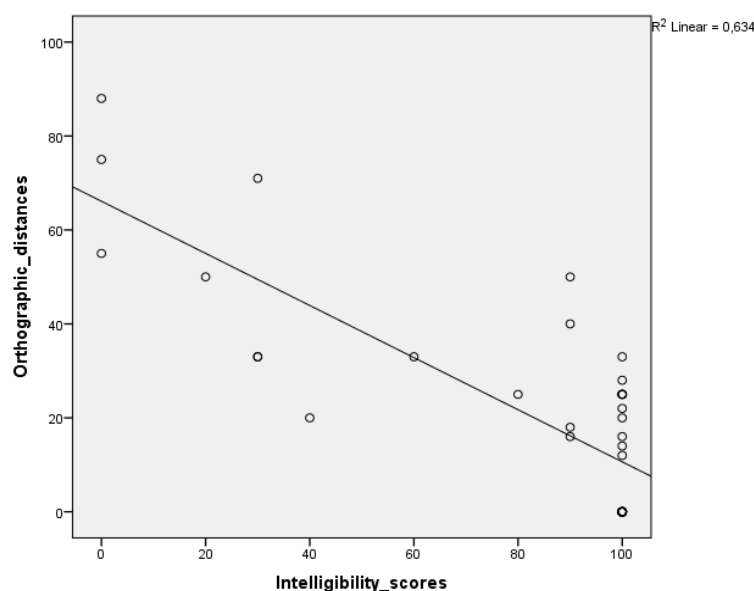


Figure 3 – Scatterplot showing the (negative) correlation between orthographic distances and the percentage of correctly translated Montenegrin words by the Bulgarian participants

Just like in the Montenegrin group, the Bulgarian participants experienced difficulties when trying to recognize shorter words because of the effect of their orthographic neighbourhood density. Thus, for instance, the word *dijete* meaning child was often confused with the word *dieta* (diet), while the appropriate Bulgarian term is *dete*. Also, similarly to the problem experienced by Montenegrin participants, the word *noć* (night) was frequently mistranslated as *nozh* (knife), which can also be accounted for by the high neighbourhood density of the target word *nosht* and the absence of the letter *ć* from the Bulgarian spelling system.

4.2. Results and discussion: spoken intelligibility test

Mutual intelligibility between spoken Montenegrin and Bulgarian was tested based on a list of 48 singular nouns. As in the written task, word recognition at the spoken level was found to be relatively high in both groups. The Montenegrin volunteers on average translated 76 percent of the Bulgarian test nouns correctly (SD=2.6), whereas the Bulgarian participants got as much as 80 percent of the answers right (SD=3.2). However, unlike the written intelligibility test, the difference between the two groups was significant ($t(14) = 3.09$, $p < 0.05$ (two-tailed)). Yet, more speakers would need to be tested in order to obtain a clearer picture about a potential discrepancy between the two groups, especially when with respect to written and spoken word intelligibility. Again, these spoken intelligibility scores are significantly

higher than those reported by Golubović (2016) for Croatian and Bulgarian (see above).

Similarly to the written test, non-cognate words were mostly unintelligible to the participants in both groups. In contrast to the written part, the spoken test contained few false friends (if any), so this phenomenon did not cause particular difficulties. The only exception might be the Bulgarian word *pazar*, which stands for 'market' or 'bazaar' and originally entered many of the Balkan languages via Turkish from Persian (*bāzār*). Due to its polysemous nature, this noun frequently came to be understood as takings, turnover or trade (*pazar*) and not as market, bazaar (*pijaca*), although in the past the word *pazar* was used in the sense of 'market' or 'square' in Montenegrin as well. However, the latter meaning has now become almost completely lost and thus the present-day speaker is unlikely to associate *pazar* with such archaic usage. Keeping this in mind, the word pair *pazar-pijaca* was excluded from the correlation analysis.

One of the reasons why Bulgarians scored slightly better than Montenegrins on the spoken intelligibility test might be the fact that recognition of some Montenegrin words was facilitated by the existence of phonetically very close words in Bulgarian, while their Bulgarian counterparts used in the test either had obsolete cognates in Montenegrin or were phonetically more distant from Montenegrin words. To illustrate this, the Montenegrin word *djevojka* (girl) was correctly decoded by all the Bulgarian participants, given that an almost phonetically identical cognate synonym exists in Bulgarian (*devoika*), aside from the more frequent term *momiche*. On the other hand, none of the Montenegrin subjects were able to recognize the Bulgarian stimuli *momiche*, as its cognate counterpart *moma* is only found in traditional Montenegrin and Serbian lyric poetry and is almost never used in contemporary Montenegrin.⁵ Interestingly enough, the Montenegrin participants unsuccessfully combined information from their L1 lexicon with the stimulus word *momiche*, which led them to confuse the item with the word 'momče' (lad) due to negative transfer. By the same token, in the example cited earlier, all the Bulgarian participants correctly recognized the word *pogled* (view) since the same noun is used in Bulgarian, whereas the Montenegrin participants faced difficulties when presented with the phonetically distant word *gledka* (view), which no one got right.

⁵ Since the word *momiche* only had an obsolete cognate synonym in Montenegrin, this noun was treated as a non-cognate and hence was excluded from the correlation analysis.

Another problem that might have impeded recognition of some of the Bulgarian words on the part of Montenegrin speakers was potentially created by phonemes that do not exist in Montenegrin, such as the mid-back unrounded vowel, as well as by the prosodic properties of the stimuli words. This was especially the case with shorter stimuli and those with a high phonetic neighbourhood density (Luce & Pisoni, 1998). For instance, the Bulgarian word *s"vet*, meaning 'advice' or 'council', was often mistranslated as *svijet* (meaning 'world'), which could be put down to the speakers failure to identify the first vowel (/"/ or the IPA symbol /ɤ/). Another reason for the confusion might be attributed to the fact that the participants wrongly associated the stimuli word with the ekavian⁶ version of the Montenegrin word *svijet* – i.e. *svet*, which is phonetically similar to the Bulgarian *s"vet*. Additionally, the position of the stress in this word is also likely to have contributed to negative transfer. By contrast, the word *savjet* ('advice' or 'council') was mostly translated correctly by the Bulgarian participants, as the open central unrounded vowel /a:/ appeared to have facilitated recognition.

4.2.1. Phonetic distances

As mentioned above, phonetic distances were measured using the Levenshtein algorithm. All the words were transcribed using SAMPA (Wells, 1997) in consultation with native speakers of Montenegrin and Bulgarian respectively. Apart from the insertion, deletion and substitution of phonemes, which were all given 1 point, stress position was also taken into account while calculating distances and was assigned half a point, as this prosodic feature is also considered to have some bearing on the intelligibility of words.

Just like in the written intelligibility test, the Spearman rho correlation coefficient was used in order to examine the relationship between mutual intelligibility and phonetic distances between Montenegrin and Bulgarian words in the light of non-parametric datasets. As regards the recognition of Bulgarian words by Montenegrin participants, there is a rather strong negative correlation between these two variables ($\rho = -.59$, $p < .001$). In simple terms, the less phonetic distance, the higher intelligibility.

⁶ Ekavian dialects are mainly spoken to the east of the Serbo-Croatian language area, predominantly in Serbia.

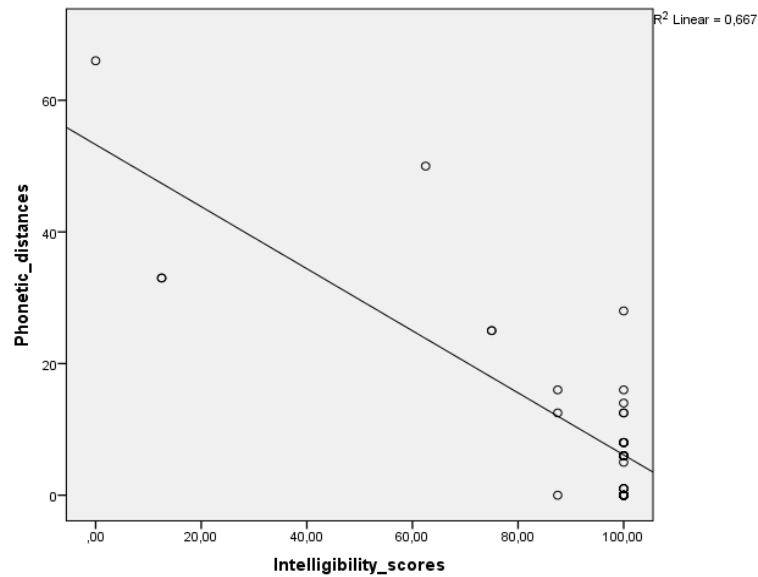


Figure 4 – Scatterplot showing the (negative) correlation between phonetic distances and the percentage of correctly translated Bulgarian words by the Montenegrin participants

The statistical analysis confirms that phonetic distances can predict to a great extent whether a Bulgarian word will be intelligible to Montenegrin speakers. Yet, in some cases, intelligibility could not be accounted for by the mere distance, particularly when it comes to shorter words that have a high phonetic neighbourhood density. For example, the Bulgarian stimuli word *syd* (court) was in most instances translated as *sat* (meaning ‘clock’, ‘hour’ or ‘watch’) instead of *sud*, even though the phonetic distance between the pair is 33 out of 100.

The relationship between phonetic distances and intelligibility of Montenegrin words for Bulgarian speakers seems to be rather moderate, but the association is still significant ($\rho = -.45$, $p < .01$).

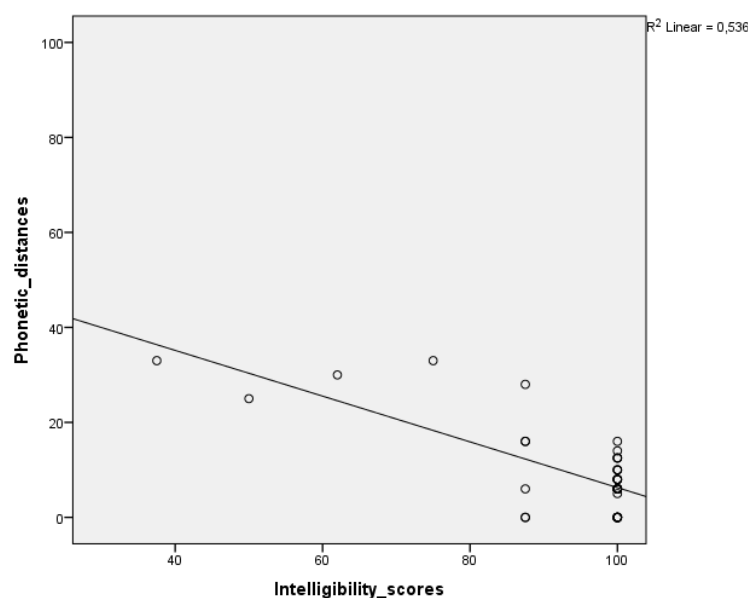


Figure 5 –Scatterplot showing the (negative) correlation between phonetic distances and the percentage of correctly translated Montenegrin words by THE Bulgarian participants

This somewhat weaker correlation might be due to the fact that some of the more distant Montenegrin words did not pose as much difficulty to the Bulgarian participants as distant Bulgarian counterparts did to the Montenegrin subjects, one of the factors being word length. Such is the case with the Montenegrin word *savjet*, which was translated correctly by 75 percent of the Bulgarian participants, in spite of the distance of 33. This speaks in favour of the hypothesis that longer words are better recognized than shorter ones, as the number of neighbours competing with the target word decreases with word length, which enhances intelligibility.

5. Conclusion

This paper reported on the results of a small-scale experiment on mutual intelligibility between Montenegrin and Bulgarian and examined the contribution of linguistic distances to the intelligibility between the two languages. Intelligibility was tested at the word level and empirical evidence was obtained for both the written and spoken language. With respect to the first research question, it can be concluded that mutual intelligibility between the two South Slavic languages in question is quite high in both written and spoken form. The level of mutual intelligibility was found to be higher than that of Croatian and Bulgarian reported by Golubović (2016), which might be explained by the fact that Montenegrin and Bulgarian are slightly closer to one another on the South Slavic dialect continuum than it is the case with

Croatian and Bulgarian. An interesting asymmetry arose when written and spoken tests were compared, as the Montenegrin group performed more successfully on the written part, whereas Bulgarians scored better on the spoken task. This discrepancy could be partly explained by the availability of synonyms in the participants' L1s that could be retrieved in trying to decode word meanings. Still, a larger sample size would be necessary to corroborate these findings.

As regards orthographic and phonetic distances, these were found to be moderate to strong predictors of mutual intelligibility between Montenegrin and Bulgarian. The association between linguistic distances and word recognition appears to be clearer at the written level, though this could have been affected by the different sets of words used in the two experiments. In terms of orthography, the unfamiliarity of speakers with some spelling symbols may have hindered word intelligibility, particularly in respect of shorter words and those having a high neighbourhood density. By the same token, the recognition of spoken words could also have been influenced by word length and a high neighbourhood density, but also by vowel quality, prosodic properties and unfamiliarity of speakers with certain phonemes, especially when confronted with shorter words.

To conclude, Montenegrin and Bulgarian appear to be intelligible to a high degree at the word level in both written and spoken form and the relative contribution of orthographic and phonetic distances seems to be relatively important. Yet, despite its limitations in terms of population size and methodology, this research has given rise to a number of questions in need of further investigation, including potential intelligibility asymmetries and the role of cognate synonyms in mutual understanding. Also, future research on this topic should aim to look at how other factors such as lexical distances might predict intelligibility between these two languages, preferably at the sentence or text level.

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THE CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR *WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL* IN MONTENEGRIN WEBPAGES

Abstract: *Animals are both a common and convenient source of conceptualising and constructing metaphors related to humankind in general, and, consequently, women in particular. Thus, women's behaviour and characteristics are often described by using the words and phrases which are used to describe animals (Kövecses, 2010). This paper investigates the three most commonly used realizations of the conceptual metaphor WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL in the Montenegrin webpages (the .me domain). The paper also deals with the context in which these metaphors typically occur, as well as with the ideological values they convey, which are both positive and negative in terms of presenting women's behaviour and beauty.*

Key Words: *conceptual metaphor, animal metaphor, women, animals, Montenegrin internet discourse*

1. Introduction

This piece of research rests on the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, as established by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). The authors state that metaphor is deeply embedded in our way of conceptualising the world, and that metaphors are realized in speech through various linguistic expressions reflecting these conceptualizations.

The conceptual metaphor is a mental mechanism that helps us understand and organize reality. Abstract, complex and foreign concepts are simplified and reduced to familiar experiences through conceptual metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Sometimes, even domains that seem to be simple and straightforward can also be conceptualized through other domains.

When it comes to animal metaphors, Kövecses (2002) points out that they can be put as follows: PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR. He also argues that this type of metaphors is used in numerous languages to describe people and their behaviour. Thus, when exploring the linguistic expressions that are the embodiments of this metaphor, we address a very important topic and

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come to insights that concern not only language, but also human thinking.

Women can be conceptualised in many ways (Perović, 2017), e.g. as food (cookie, honey, sugar), plants (rose, flower), animals (pussy, chicken, fish), means of transport (plane, ferrari), etc. This paper deals with the three most common realizations of the conceptual metaphor WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL in the Montenegrin webpages, i.e. the webpages having the .me domain.

In the first part of the paper, we will provide the theoretical background on which the present paper relies. We will introduce the Conceptual Metaphor Theory in detail and briefly outline the study of the conceptual metaphor WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL across languages. After the methodological part, we will introduce our analysis and draw the corresponding conclusions.

2. Theoretical Framework

As previously mentioned, the theoretical framework on which the present study relies is derived from the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, developed by Lakoff and Johnson in their well-known book *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). The mechanism of the conceptual metaphor is based on understanding the structure of one conceptual domain in terms of another one. The source domain is the domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions, and the target domain is the one that we try to understand. Source domains are usually: parts of human body, plants, animals, food, drink, games, sports, money, machines and tools, forces – entities that we are familiar with and that are concrete. Typical target domains include: emotions, society, politics, time, religion, life, human relationships (love, friendship, marriage), moral categories (honesty, courage, honour), and other abstract concepts (Kövecses, 2002; Klikovac, 2004).

Various things, concepts, ideas and situations are subject to metaphorical conceptualisation. For example, life is often regarded as a journey and we can often hear people say (He is at the crossroads of life; He left this world; She is on the right path, etc). These are just some of the many realizations of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980).

In their book, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) point out that our conceptual system is fundamentally metaphorical. To illustrate this, they use the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR with the following linguistic realizations: Your claims are unbeatable; He attacked every weak point of my argument; His words hurt me, etc.

The concepts of women and men are also frequently metaphorized. Perović (2017) cites the following metaphorical

conceptualisations of women in Montenegrin: WOMAN IS A PLANT (*ona cvjeta* (translation: *she blooms*)), WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL (*ona je lavica* (trans. *she is a lioness*)), WOMAN IS A PLANT (*ona je ruža* (trans. *she is a rose*)), WOMAN IS A SUBSTANCE (*ona je otrov* (trans. *she is poison*)), etc.

Our paper is concerned with the conceptual metaphor WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL and its realizations in the Montenegrin webpages. Our study, conducted following the methodology provided after the literature review below, showed that the three most common animal metaphors used to conceptualize women in the Montenegrin webpages were ŽENA JE MAČKA (WOMAN IS A CAT), ŽENA JE RIBA (WOMAN IS FISH) and ŽENA JE LAVICA (WOMAN IS A LIONESSE). These metaphors were used to represent both positive and negative characteristics of women's behaviour and physical appearance.

3. Metaphorical conceptualisation of women across cultures

Some aspects of the conceptual metaphor WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL have been the subject of interest of several authors when it comes to the English language; despite this interest, a systematic overview of this metaphor has not been provided in the literature, to our best knowledge.

On the other hand, very few studies of conceptual metaphor in general have been conducted in Montenegro. To our best knowledge, only two of these deal with the metaphors depicting women – one conducted by Bratić and Vuković Stamatović (2017), who dealt with the metaphor WOMAN AS A CAR in Bosnian/Croatian/Montenegrin/Serbian, and another, more general one, carried out by Perović (2017), who touched on how women are represented as animals in Montenegro, although not much attention was devoted to this issue, bearing in mind the more general goals of her study. Perović (2017) noticed that people often conceptualise women as small or big animals. For example, realizations of the conceptual metaphor WOMAN IS A SMALL ANIMAL include *pile* (*chick*) and *mače* (*kitten*), whereas the realizations of the metaphor WOMAN IS A BIG ANIMAL would be *krava* (*cow*), *lavica* (*lioness*), etc.

Silaški (2011) cited the following animals used within the conceptual metaphor WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL to depict women in the Serbian language: *mačka* (*cat*), *guska* (*goose*), *patka* (*duck*), *lavica* (*lioness*), etc. As was the case with Perović (2017), the data for this piece of research were also collected via a questionnaire.

In the study presented here, we depart from a premise that employing a corpus-based approach would enable a more comprehensive and detailed analysis, as we will deal with the linguistic realizations of the metaphors in authentic texts.

Rešetar and Radić (2003) also conducted a study in which they pointed out that animal names were more commonly used as a means of insult in the conceptualisation of women in the Serbian language. To purport their conclusion, they discussed the following metaphors: WOMAN IS A EWE, WOMAN IS A COW, WOMAN IS A SOW, etc. The authors also dealt with the ideological aspects of such metaphorizations.

Milić (2013) categorised animals used to conceptualise a woman and stated that those were usually domestic animals, cattle or poultry. The most common animal metaphors in his study were found to be WOMAN IS A CROW and WOMAN IS A HEN.

Silaški and Kilyeni (2015) dealt with a contrastive cognitive-linguistic analysis of the metaphor WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL in Serbian and Romanian. They came to the conclusion that similar expressions were used in both these cultures to express positive or negative characteristics of women. For example, the lioness was chosen by the male respondents in both the cultures as a domain that they use to refer to a strong, ambitious, persistent, confident and self-sacrificing woman.

Hines (1999) identified the conceptual metaphor WOMAN IS A PREDATORY ANIMAL in English, which was realised through the submetaphors such as WOMAN IS A LIONESSE and WOMAN IS A COUGAR.

Rodriguez (2009) also dealt with the study of animal metaphors in English. In her research, she pointed out that, by the use of animal metaphors, women were usually presented as small and helpless animals, whose main purpose was to provide entertainment and food. She also pointed out that animal metaphors were almost always used to express people's negative characteristics. She cited the metaphor WOMAN IS A CAT as an example, and pointed out that in English CAT stands for a malicious woman or a prostitute.

Kövecses (2006) assumes that the conceptualisation of a WOMAN AS A BIRD is probably universal and that this metaphor is most likely based on the perceived similarity between these feathered animals and the female genital organs (*hair, softness, fluffiness*).

To summarize, different authors have addressed some aspects of this topic. Our goal here is to deal with the three most common realizations of the conceptual metaphor WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL in the Montenegrin webpages by using a corpus approach as opposed to almost all of the studies reported above, as well as to critically analyse the obtained results.

4. Methodology

The conceptual metaphors analysed in this paper were gathered from various Montenegrin webpages (the *.me* web-domain). At the very beginning of this study, we used the source domain vocabulary

extraction method. Metaphorical expressions always contain lexical units from their source domain, so it is reasonable to begin research by selecting a potential source domain (Stefanowitsch and Gries, 2006). For the purpose of this piece of research, these were animal names, as well as verbs which are related to animal behavior. Here we applied the Metaphorical Pattern Analysis (MPA), established by Anatol Stefanowitsch (2006). When searching for the realizations of the animal metaphor WOMAN IS A CAT, we searched through various Montenegrin webpages using the search criteria such as "woman * a real cat", "look at * pussycat", "she * kitten" and similar expressions. In the same way, the search was conducted for the other two realizations of the general metaphor WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL in the corpus of the Montenegrin webpages.

We then applied the method of identifying conceptual metaphors. For the purpose of this study, we used the procedure for identifying metaphorical language in the real discourse – the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) (Pragglejaz Group, 2007). The aim of this procedure is to determine whether the use of the lexical units in a particular context can be described as metaphorical or not (Steen, 2002). First, we read the excerpts obtained by using the Metaphorical Pattern Analysis method (MPA), in order to gain a general understanding of the meaning. Then, we identified the lexical units, as well as determined the contextual meanings for each of them. After that, for each lexical unit, we determined whether they conveyed a meaning in other contexts that differed from the one in our corpus. During the process of identifying conceptual metaphors, we identified various realizations of the animal metaphors used to conceptualise a woman.

After identifying and extracting the conceptual metaphor realizations from the corpus, we proceeded to the analysis of the data. We analyzed the three animal metaphors that were most commonly used in the Montenegrin webpages. Those were the following metaphors: WOMAN IS A CAT, WOMAN IS FISH and WOMAN IS A LIONESS.

5. Results and discussion

While searching through different Montenegrin webpages, we came across numerous realizations of the animal metaphor WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL. Some of them were used to express the positive characteristics of women's behavior and beauty, and some to highlight the negative ones.

The animal metaphor that is most commonly used in the Montenegrin webpages is the metaphor ŽENA JE MAČKA (WOMAN IS A CAT) – we came across 21 realizations of this metaphor in the said

corpus. On various Montenegrin webpages, we found metaphorical realizations comparing women to cats. Here, we will present some of them:

1) "Maite Peroni je **prava mačka**." (Prva.me)
["Maite Peroni is **a real kitty**."]

2) "Mnogo si seksi, lepa, zgodna, Hrvatska objašnjava. Sve žene iz Hrvatske su **opasne mačke** i to mi se jako sviđa.", rekla je Jelena."
(Grand. online)
["You are very sexy, beautiful and pretty, Croatia explains everything. All women from Croatia are **dangerous cats** and I really like that, said Jelena."]

3) "**Kakva mačka**: Ova lepotica teši Del Potra posle poraza od Đokovića!" (Naslovi.net)
["**What a kitty**: This beauty comforts Del Potro after his defeat from Đoković!"]

4) "Vidi **mačkice**", pogledom mu pokažem na separe preko puta nas. (Wattpad.com)
["Look at that **kitten**, ' my look directs him to the booth across our own."]

According to the results obtained, we can conclude that the users of the Montenegrin webpages use various realizations of the conceptual metaphor WOMAN IS A CAT in order to present the positive characteristics of female beauty, especially those concerning female physical appearance. Using these metaphorical expressions, speakers want to emphasize how beautiful, attractive and seductive the woman described is. Based on these excerpts, we can conclude that the users posting on Montenegrin webpages used the metaphor WOMAN IS A CAT in a positive context, in order to emphasize the beauty and attractiveness of women.

Our study also reveals that in most cases men use realizations of the conceptual metaphor WOMAN IS A CAT when addressing women directly. In four out of five examples where direct addressing is present, the users of the metaphor are men.

In order to find as many realizations as possible, we included verbs which describe cats' behaviour in our search criteria. The search results showed that the users of Montenegrin webpages often describe female behaviour using verbs which are used to describe cats' behaviour. The following excerpt supports this:

5) "... tada **sikčem, grebem, grizem, branim**. Približim se i **zapredem** samo osobama od povjerenja, od ostalih se manim i zatvorim se u svoje psihološke kartonske kutije iz kojih ne izađem toliko često, a kamoli da provirim kroz koju rupicu. Ne znam je li to zbog toga što sam im zgodna, zbog toga što **pomazim** i nakon toga lagano **ogrebem**, što **ugrizem** druge umjesto svoj jezik kad nije vrijeme za reći određene stvari." (Blog. dnevnik)

["... then I **hiss, scratch, bite, defend** myself. I approach and **purr** only before the people I trust, I shy away from the others, and close myself into my psychological cardboard boxes from which I don't get out as often, let alone peek through the holes. I do not know if it is because they find me pretty, or because I **cuddle** first and afterwards gently **scratch**, that I **bite** others instead of hold my tongue when it is not time to say certain things."]

Excerpt 5 points to the conclusion that women sometimes compare themselves to cats and that they use verbs that are characteristic of cats' behavior to describe themselves and their actions. In this example, those are the following verbs: 'hiss', 'scratch', 'bite', 'purr', and 'cuddle'. The first three verbs are used to describe cats' behaviour when in danger, when defending their territory or prey. Montenegrins sometimes describe angry or moody women, or those under threat, in these terms (*hissing, scratching, biting*). Thus, Montenegrins use the conceptual metaphor WOMAN IS A CAT when they want to refer to a strong woman who is ready to do anything to protect herself and her own.

Based on the aforementioned realizations, we can infer that, in the Montenegrin culture, women are often conceptualised via the animal metaphor WOMAN IS A CAT. The users of the Montenegrin webpages do not use this conceptual metaphor to convey ideological values that are negative for representing female behaviour, but to depict a pretty, attractive and seductive woman, or a woman who is strong, combative and self-confident.

The animal metaphor which was also very frequent in the Montenegrin internet webpages is the metaphor ŽENA JE RIBA (WOMAN IS FISH). The search conducted applying the said criteria resulted in 18 realizations of this metaphor. In everyday speech, we can often hear people using *riba* (*fish*) to address a girl or a woman. Borivoj and Nataša Gerzić (2002) point out that the discourse in which this metaphor is used is androcentric and that it is produced by two cognitive-linguistic mechanisms: "By metaphorical transmission, the fish becomes a mark for the female genital organ through the seme of humidity and the fish's mouth (the female genital organ is fish) and then,

by metonymy, it becomes the name for the female person (the woman is the female genital organ)" (Gerzić and Gerzić, 2002).

On various Montenegrin webpages we came across the following realizations of the said metaphor:

6) "Muškarci su srećni samo ako im je žena **dobra riba**. Ljepota je muškarcima presudna za uspješan brak, pokazala su najnovija američka istraživanja. Muževi koji pored sebe imaju privlačne supruge imaju duže i srećnije brakove, a što je najvažnije, to zadovoljstvo ne nestaje sa godinama prenosi CDM." (Kodex.me)
 ["Men are happy only if their wife is **good fish**. Beauty is crucial to a successful marriage for men, according to the latest American research. Husbands who have attractive wives next to them have longer and happier marriages, and most importantly, that satisfaction does not disappear with age, CDM reports."]

7) "Ana Nikolić, koja će se uskoro poroditi, ovako se šali na sopstveni račun! "Svesna sam toga da više nisam **dobra riba**. U trudnoći se telo promeni, ali mi lice nekako izgleda lepše, kažu da trudnice zrače unutrašnjom lepotom," rekla je ona." (Mondo.me)
 ["Ana Nikolić, who is about to give birth, is joking like this at her own expense! "I am aware that I am no longer **good fish**. In pregnancy, the body changes, but my face somehow looks more beautiful now, they say that pregnant women radiate inner beauty," she said."]

The conceptual metaphor WOMAN IS FISH carries a positive evaluation of women's appearance. The phrase *ona je riba* (*she is fish*) has the meaning: *she is a beautiful woman*. This can be seen from the following excerpts:

8) "Pojavila se kao buca na audiciji ZG, a danas je **najbolja riba** na estradi: Ne možete ni da pretpostavite koja pjevačica je u pitanju! Danas je jedna od najuspješnijih poznatih ličnosti, svi govore da je "**mega dobra riba**", u pitanju je Milica Pavlović koja se s godinama prilično promijenila i postigla veliki uspjeh na javnoj sceni." (Staging.montenegroclick.me)
 ["She appeared as a pudge at the ZG audition, and today she is the **best fish** in show business: You can't even guess which singer is at stake! Today, she is one of the most successful celebrities, everyone says she is '**mega good fish**', it is Milica Pavlović who has changed quite a bit over the years and achieved great success on the public stage."]

9) "Pokušala sam da ti nađem neku manu, pa sam razmišljala kako si sad tako prelijepa, ali da ćeš možda ružno da ostariš i da nećeš biti **dobra riba**." (Sarajevograd.me)

["I tried to find you some flaw, so I was thinking if you were so beautiful now, maybe you would not be such **good fish** when you get old."]

Our study reveals that *riba* (fish) is used to characterise a woman with a beautiful body, who typically shows it off using attractive, sexy clothes. This is corroborated by the words and phrases which co-occur in the above-mentioned excerpts: attractive (1), more beautiful, beauty (2) and beautiful (4). All these words serve to better illustrate the appearance of a woman. This metaphor emphasizes the physical appearance of a woman but backgrounds her other characteristics.

We also came across excerpts in which women use *riba* ('fish') to refer to themselves:

10) "Šta da radim, kad sam **dobra riba**. Kortni Stoden uživa da počasti svoje fanove fotografijama na Twitteru." (Mondo.me)

["What Can I Do When I'm **Good Fish**. Courtney Stoden enjoys treating her fans with photos on Twitter."]

11. "Seka Sablić: Željela sam da igram zavodnice, ali nisam bila **dobra riba**. Nikad nijesam dobila ulogu zavodnice. Sad kad pogledam svoje stare snimke i slike, pomislim – Bože, što sam bila **dobra riba**." (Cdm.me)

["Seka Sablić: I wanted to play the role of a seductress, but I wasn't **good fish**. I never got the role of a seductress. Now, when I look at my old shots and pictures, I think – God, I was **good fish**."]

Although the literature argues that the metaphor WOMAN IS FISH is used to refer to a woman in a negative way, our study pointed to the conclusion that *riba* (fish), used for referring to a woman, is used to metaphorically represent an attractive woman, a woman who is perceived as desirable.

However, we also came across a different view of what *riba* (fish) means:

12. "Biti **dobra riba** ne znači imati određene dimenzije tijela. Naprotiv, znači voljeti sebe, uživati u sebi, biti sebi lijepa bez obzira na proporcije." (Chiwelook.me)

[“Being **good fish** does not mean having certain body dimensions. On the contrary, it means loving yourself, enjoying yourself, being beautiful regardless of the proportions.”]

13. “**Dobra riba** nije tek bilo koja lepa devojka, ima lepih žena koje su veći deo svog života provele sakrivene i neprimetne. **Dobra riba** je uvek bila i ostala ona za kojom većina muškaraca žudi. **Dobra riba** je uvek zgodna ali ne sećaš se da li ima plave oči, zelene ili crne. Kada ona uđe u sobu svi je osete, atmosfera sobe se promeni, svi se naglo osete uzbuđeno i muškarci i žene.”

(Gradimozivot.wordpress.com)

[“**Good fish** is not just any pretty girl, there are many beautiful women who have spent most of their lives hidden and unnoticed. **Good fish** has always been and remained the one most men crave. **Good fish** is always pretty, but you don't remember if her eyes are blue, green or black. When she enters the room, everyone feels her, the atmosphere in the room changes, everyone suddenly feels excited, both men and women.”]

From the two excerpts above, we can conclude that their authors were women. According to them, in addition to her breathtaking physical appearance, *riba* (fish) refers to a woman which must be self-confident. She is a woman whom men crave, shrouded in mystery, not easily conquered.

We noticed that various realizations of the metaphor WOMAN IS FISH are often used to conceptualise famous women. Those women are thought to have perfectly shaped bodies, representing the ideal of feminine beauty.

Based on the realizations presented above, we can deduce that the users of the Montenegrin webpages often use the metaphor WOMAN IS FISH to conceptualize women. This metaphor foregrounds the physical appearance of a woman, while leaving all her other characteristics backgrounded.

The third conceptual metaphor that was fairly frequent in the Montenegrin webpages was the metaphor WOMAN IS A LIONESSE. We found 14 realizations of this metaphor, which we will present and interpret below. Particular attention will be paid to the context in which certain metaphorical realizations are used.

The excerpts found point to the conclusion that Montenegrins posting in local webpages often use the metaphor WOMAN IS A LIONESSE to depict single mothers who are trying hard to provide their children with a carefree childhood. The excerpts are presented below:

14) "**MAJKA LAVICA, ČERKE ŠAMPIONKE**: Prvo mjesto u Istanbulu za Podgoričanke sa Daunovim sindromom." (Pvinformer.me)
["**Mother lioness**, daughters champions: First place in Istanbul for the girls with the Down syndrome from Podgorica."]

15) "**ŽENA LAVICA**: Dragica OBUČARSKIM ČEKIĆEM podigla troje djece!" (Volimpodgoricu.me)
["**Woman Lioness**: Dragica Raised Three Children thanks to a Shoe Hammer!"]

We also came across several realizations describing brave women and women who have a difficult life but never give up and fight until the end, as *prave lavice* (*real lionesses*). There were five such realizations, and some of them are presented below:

16) "**PREŽIVELA SAM SVE**, jer sam **LAVICA**, ali **PRESKUPO** me koštala **LJUBAV** sa tobom... „ (Facebook.com)
["I survived everything because I'm a **LIONESS**, but **LOVE** with you cost me too much... „]

17) "**Borit ću se kao lavica** protiv svijeta koji me želi kontrolirati, ali ću te i voljeti. Kada se svijet okrene protiv mene, ja ću uzvratiti. Ja ću se boriti i šakama i riječima i mišićima i srcem." (Pozitivanstav.com)
["**I will fight like a lioness** against the world that wants to control me, but I will also love you. When the world turns against me, I will reciprocate. I will fight with my fists and words and my muscles and my heart."]

The excerpts point to the conclusion that the users posting on Montenegrin webpages use different realizations of the metaphor WOMAN IS A LIONESS when they want to refer to a woman who is strong, independent, fearless and who overcomes every problem in life. The phrase *žena lavica* (*a woman lioness*) was used to emphasize the sacrifice, renunciation and perseverance of single mothers, mothers who try hard to give their children a carefree childhood, women who had many difficulties in life but never gave up. Thus, this metaphor was used to describe a strong woman and the positive characteristics she possesses.

Our research reveals that women sometimes use *lavica* (*lioness*) when describing themselves. We came across two examples of this type. Realizations of the metaphor WOMAN IS A LIONESS are also used to describe celebrities. Four realizations of this type were found.

Realizations of were also used to describe women who are not celebrities but ordinary women who became popular due to their life force and struggle for their family. We came across eight realizations of this type. The following expressions were dominant in those realizations:

18) "**Boriću se kao lavica.**" (Pozitivanstav.com)
["I'll fight like a lioness."]

19) "**Bila je lavica do kraja.**" (Wwww.rtvbn.com)
["She was a **lioness** to the end."]

20) "**Kada diraju njenu djecu postaje prava lavica.**" (Pinkm.me)
["When they touch her children, she becomes a **real lioness.**"]

21) "**Sa nevjerovatnom posvećenošću, hrabrošću i optimizmom korača kroz život – kao prava lavica.**" (Kalia.co.me)
["She walks through life with incredible dedication, courage and optimism – like a **real lioness.**"]

All of these lexical words used in the realizations of the basic metaphor WOMAN IS A LIONESSE serve to demonstrate how courageous and sacrificial the women in question are. *Žena lavica* (*woman lioness*) was presented as a true fighter who was not "pampered" by life, but who, despite all misfortunes, never gave up and continued fighting through life with optimism and courage.

7. Conclusion

This study revealed that the conceptual metaphors WOMAN IS A CAT, WOMAN IS FISH and WOMAN IS A LIONESSE are most commonly used by the users posting on the Montenegrin webpages, when they refer to women as animals. These metaphors were used in order to convey ideological values which are both positive and negative for the representation of women's behaviour and beauty.

The conceptual metaphor WOMAN IS A CAT was used to depict a pretty, attractive and seductive woman, or a woman who is strong, combative and self-confident. Users posting on Montenegrin webpages use different realizations of the conceptual metafor WOMAN IS FISH to represent an attractive woman, a woman who is perceived as desirable. Our study revealed that this metaphor foregrounds the physical appearance of a woman, while leaving all her other characteristics backgrounded. Finally, the conceptual metaphor WOMAN IS A LIONESSE was used to refer to a woman who is strong, independent, fearless and

who overcomes every problem in life. In our study, we came across different realizations of this metaphor which were used to describe both celebrities and ordinary women who became popular due to their life sacrifice and struggle for their family.

We hope that with this study we contributed to the research of the conceptual metaphor in the Montenegrin language, in particular, and to the studies on the conceptualization of women across cultures, in general.

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