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‘Winged Phrases’ from Soviet Cinema: The Use and Dynamics of High-Frequency Film Quotations in Modern Russian

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Abstract

The focus of this study is 'winged phrases' from Soviet cinema; that is, phrases from films, as they make their way into spoken and written Russian and thereby enter the collective consciousness. This research examines the contexts for, as well as how and why, popular winged phrases from Soviet films have been incorporated into contemporary Russian language practice.

Drawing on theoretical insights based on the concept of 'dialogism' (Bakhtin), the field of semiotics (Lotman, Clark), Propp's model of the fairy tale and Coulson's space structuring model, this study analyses four data sets to form a view on these matters: online communications within the *"Цитаты советского кино"* (*Quotations from Soviet cinema)* group on the *ВКонтакте* (*VKontakte)* social network; responses to an online questionnaire on the matter; posts on the *ЯПлакалъ* (*YaPlakal)* online discussion forum and article headings from the prominent Russian newspapers *"Комсомольская правда – Москва" (Komsomolskaya Pravda – Moskva / Komsomol's Truth – Moscow), "Известия" (Izvestiya / News)* and *"Литературная газета"* (*Literaturnaya gazeta* / *Literary Gazette*).

This data analysis provides the first detailed description of the use and dynamics of winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary spoken and written Russian. The study demonstrates that winged phrases from Soviet cinema appear to be taking on a role as a new folklore genre; new contexts of usage and transformation types of such phrases are evident. The study also demonstrates there is value in including winged phrases from Soviet films in the curriculum of Russian taught as a foreign language. Some directions for further research are offered in this respect.

Declaration

This is to certify that:

i. the thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD,
ii. due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other materials used,
iii. the thesis is fewer than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Context

The phenomenon of quoting from Soviet films in everyday spoken Russian has been a subject of discussion for linguists, teachers, culture and cinema experts since the 1990s (Dushenko 2002; Elistratov 2010; Grigorieva & Berezovskaia 2015; Karpechenkova 2012; Kozhevnikov 2001; Krupenko 2011; Kudriavtseva 2008; Rozhkova 2015; Sadullaeva 2012; Shulezhkova 2001; Titova 2010; Turkin 2015). Despite the fact that colloquial quoting from films on such a scale does not appear to exist in other languages (Elistratov 2010: 14; Kudriavtseva 2008: 25), it is only recently that researchers have begun to extend their focus on quotations from works of literature to quotations in film. Owing to the fact that quoting scenes from film can so readily connect our own lives in a verbal reality (Kozhevnikov 2001: 5), Soviet films are one of the most popular sources of quotations in contemporary Russian.

The role of Soviet film scripts in providing winged phrases in contemporary Russian speech deserves closer examination. There are a number of reasons for this. Cinematography held a high cultural status in the Soviet era as a meaningful art form (Agafonova 2005: 40); Soviet directors had a tendency to focus on the ordinary person (Agafonova 2005: 150) and on the speech mannerisms of each actor (Elistratov 2010: 15); many of these Soviet films were instantly popular and encouraged frequent repetition (Sadullaeva 2012: 168; Shulezhkova 2001: 147). In addition, we can sense in Soviet winged phrase use a contemporary nostalgia for the Soviet past (Gritsenko & Emier 2011: 464). All of these factors play their part. Today, words and phrases from popular films "буквально переполняют речь многих сотен тысяч носителей русского языка" ("literally overfill the speech of many hundreds of thousands of Russian speakers") (Elistratov 2010: 8).[1]

[1] This and all subsequent translated quotations in this research paper are the author's.

Quotations from films are often referred to by Russian linguists as *прецедентные тексты (precedent texts).* Such texts have the ability to transform themselves somewhat, yet remain recognizable to Russian speakers (Ezhkova 2010; Galieva & Zinnatova 2011; Gritsenko & Emier 2011). Both original and transformed winged phrases from Soviet films have entered not only into the spoken language, but can be found in media sources, in literary texts, in the speech of modern feature film characters, TV show presenters, in advertisements (Grigorieva & Berezovskaia 2015; Kozhevnikov 2001) as well as in social networking sites and online discussion forums (Krupenko 2011). Winged phrase usage in Internet communication as well as transformations of same remain an under-investigated field of study. Both original and transformed phrases provide particular subjects of interest for this research.

In this study, when viewed through the prism of the theories of Mikhail Bakhtin (1965, 1975, 1979a, 1979b, 1981, 1984, 1996, 2002), Yurii Lotman (1973a, 1973b, 1990, 1992, 2005) and Vladimir Propp (1968), winged phrases from Soviet films form part of an abiding Russian folkloric linguistic tradition. In addition, the humorous aspect of such phrases is analysed by using Seana Coulson's (2015) space structuring model. One of the key outcomes of this study is to propose that winged phrases from Soviet films have endured because they are playing an important role within a long-running continuum of Russian folkloric tradition, as identified by Propp and Lotman especially. The thesis uses different theoretical approaches and data sets to build analysis which expands on this concept and provides a basis for further productive research in the fields of dynamics of winged phrases from Soviet films, teaching such phrases to students learning Russian as a foreign language (RFL) as well as improved dictionary resources for winged phrases from Soviet films.

1.2 Definition of key terms

For the purpose of this study, quotations from films are defined as 'winged phrases'. The term 'winged words' was introduced by Homer in *The Iliad* (Shulezhkova 2001: 6) and today is used in the Russian language to describe "образные, меткие выражения, вошедшие в общее употребление" ("figurative, adroit expressions that have become generalised") (Ozhegov 2012: 259). Following Shulezhkova's (2001: 19) suggestion, quotations from cinema are

defined as ‘winged phrases’ which in structural terms are comprised of two or more words. This research is dedicated to what is essentially a Russian cultural phenomenon, and, therefore, it is aligned with other Russian cultural linguists who also use the term ‘winged phrases’ (Elistratov 2010; Kozhevnikov 2001; Shulezhkova 2001, 2003, 2011; Titova 2010).

1.3 Background to the study

The most significant research to date in the field of winged phrases from Soviet films was conducted by Kozhevnikov (2001, 2007) and Elistratov (1999, 2010) with research results published in the form of two dictionaries of winged phrases. A Masters thesis by Krupenko (2011) presented the usage of winged phrases from Soviet films in Internet communication. In addition, a PhD dissertation thesis by Karpechenkova (2012) was dedicated to the pedagogical applications of teaching winged phrases from national cinema to students learning RFL. Further elaboration on the study background will be provided in §2.3 of the literature review chapter.

While the research of winged phrases from Soviet cinema started in the 1990s (Elistratov 1999, Kozhevnikov 2001) and was approached from their usage in Russian Internet sites and teaching methods in RFL classroom, there is a lack of a single description of the current state of winged phrases. As a teacher of Russian, the author is particularly interested in this field of Russian language and culture, as it has always received a lively response from her students.

1.4 Research aims and design

The aim of this research is to analyse the use and dynamics of winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary spoken and written Russian. The study also aimed to develop a theoretical structure which might aid in understanding the significance of this prominent Russian cultural and linguistic phenomenon. Following this examination, a working taxonomy of possible reasons for quoting from Soviet film is established.

This study adopts a mixed-method approach to research in order to allow the examination of winged phrase usage across a wide range of data sources, which includes the *"Цитаты советского кино"* (*Quotations from Soviet cinema)* group on *ВКонтакте* (*VKontakte)* social network, responses to a questionnaire conducted on the phenomenon, posts on the *ЯПлакалъ* (*YaPlakal)* online discussion forum and a review of article headings from three prominent Russian newspapers: *"Комсомольская правда – Москва" (Komsomolskaya Pravda – Moskva / Komsomol's Truth – Moscow), "Известия" (Izvestiya / News)* and *"Литературная газета"* (*Literaturnaya gazeta* / *Literary Gazette*). The significance of the study lies in its analysis of different aspects of winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary spoken and written Russian language practice, transformations of such phrases, the wide geographic coverage of respondents and a particular focus on winged phrase usage in Internet communication. In addition, this is the first detailed description of the use and dynamics of winged phrases from Soviet films written in English.

1.5 Overview of the study

After the introduction, Chapter 2 of this study examines the literature concerning winged phrases from cinema and identifies gaps in the existing scholarship. It discusses problems with the definition and it focuses on Soviet film as the main source of winged phrases. The chapter includes an outline of existing dictionaries which include winged phrases from Soviet films and introduces the phenomenon of *фильм-цитатник (film-quotation).* It then provides an overview of the variety of mediums in which winged phrases from Soviet films exist in contemporary Russian and the ways in which winged phrase transformations can be analysed.

A theoretical framework for this study is also outlined, drawing on writings on dialogism by Mikhail Bakhtin (Bakhtin 1965, 1975, 1979a, 1979b, 1981, 1984, 1996), on Yurii Lotman's and Wilma Clark's studies into semiotics (Lotman 1973a, 1973b, 1990, 1992, 2005; Clark 2010), on Vladimir Propp's model of the fairy tale (1968) and on Seana Coulson's (2015) space structuring model in humour research in the field of cognitive linguistics. As already mentioned above, this theoretical framework yields some interesting insights around the role of winged phrases as part of a much longer-standing linguistic and folk tradition in Russian culture. Finally, research questions are formulated.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodology of this research. It presents the research methods, a description of the data sources and data gathering procedures as well as data management and analysis. Lastly, research ethics and reflections on the author's position in producing this research are presented.

Research findings are outlined in Chapters 4 – 8. Chapter 4 presents the use and dynamics of winged phrases from Soviet films in online communication within the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group on the social network service *ВКонтакте.* Chapters 5 and 6 present data collected *via* online questionnaire. In these chapters, contexts, patterns and reasons for winged phrase usage in daily life by native Russian speakers are examined. Chapter 7 reports on data collected on the *ЯПлакалъ* online forum. Chapter 8 presents the key findings obtained from headings of *"Комсомольская правда – Москва"*, *"Известия"* and *"Литературная газета"*.

The rationale for presenting the data chapters in this particular order draws upon the exploratory sequential mixed-methods research design selected for this study (Teddlie & Tashakkori 2011: 289). As such, data from each of the sources was collected and analysed in chronological order. As a result, each data collection and analysis stage emerged from the previous stage. Thus, winged phrases included into the online questionnaire were drawn from the list of the most popular phrases within the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group on the social network service *ВКонтакте.*

By the time the author had begun to collect and analyse data from the *ЯПлакалъ* online forum and from newspaper headings, she had already become familiar with the key themes in qualitative data from previous data sources. For this reason, the author was able to use the same codes and quantifying techniques used in analysing the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group data and the online questionnaire. These were supplemented with new themes as they emerged during the analysis.

Chapter 9 discusses the findings in relation to the study's research questions and notes issues emerging from the literature review. The concluding Chapter 10 outlines the potential theoretical, socio-historical and pedagogical implications of the study, followed by reflections on its methodological approach and areas for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature review

"Кинематограф говорит с нами, говорит многими голосами,
которые образуют сложнейшие контрапункты."
("Cinema speaks to us, it speaks with many voices and these in turn
form the most complex of counterpoints.") (Lotman 1973: 92)

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this research was to examine the use and dynamics of winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary Russian language. To carry out this examination, a critical review of current literature was completed. It reviewed relevant segments of the literature and attempted to point out important knowledge gaps.

This review of literature on winged phrases from Soviet films highlighted several areas worthy of consideration, which in turn became this chapter's organising structures. These include: 1) description of the terms 'winged words' and 'winged phrases' including problems with these definitions in existing literature; 2) background of the study; 3) various sources for winged words and phrases, with a particular focus on these sources as they relate to Soviet film; 4) comparative analysis of dictionaries which include 'winged phrases' from Soviet film; 5) illustration of the phenomenon of *фильм-цитатник (film-quotation)*; 6) overview of patterns of usage and variety of media with relation to winged phrases in contemporary Russian; 7) winged phrases from Soviet films in social networks and online discussion forums as a part of virtual discourse; 8) winged phrases from Soviet films used as or embedded into newspaper headings; 9) transformations of precedent texts, and 10) a theoretical overview of the study. The chapter culminates with the research questions that have emerged from the critical review of the literature in the field of winged phrases from Soviet films.

2.2 'Winged words' as a cultural-lexicographical term: descriptions and definitions

Authorship of the term *'winged words'* (*крылатые слова*) belongs to Homer, who first introduced it as an expressive, poetic figure in *The Iliad* (Shulezhkova 2001: 6), but in the field of cultural-lexicographical studies it has obtained a more specific meaning. 'Winged words' are defined in this context as "образные, меткие выражения, вошедшие в общее употребление" ("figurative, adroit expressions that have become generalised") (Ozhegov 2012: 259).

Although the term is not widely known in English, it is used in countries where German, Slavic and Scandinavian languages are spoken (Berkov & Berkova 2000: 3). Structurally, 'winged words' can take the form of a separate word, a phrase, or a simple or complex sentence (Azimov & Shchukin 2009: 117). Based on the wide variety of winged words structures which can be found in everyday speech, it seems logical to follow Shulezhkova's (2001: 19) suggestion of dividing winged words into two subclasses: *'крылатые слова' ('winged words'*, e.g. *Apollo*) and *'крылатые выражения'* (*'winged phrases'*, e.g. *American dream)* with the capacity of the 'winged phrase' ranging from a simple phrase to a complex sentence.

Attempts at identifying the place of winged phrases within a larger framework of vocabulary studies has resulted in disagreement between scholars. In an investigation of lexicogrammatical patterns, MacQueen (2012: 20) refers to Sinclair's (1991) *open choice* and *idiom principles* of language selection wherein the last principle "allows for the selection of two or more words which habitually co-occur and which amount to a single choice, despite being analyzable into parts". The *idiom principle* sees the entire phrase as a single choice, serving to unite winged phrases, proverbs, sayings, idioms, aphorisms and phraseological locutions. However, Karpechenkova's (2012: 16-27) research reveals a debate between Russian language scholars over winged phrases' relations to other set expressions.

Karpechenkova (2012: 17-19) observes two key approaches towards the capacity of winged phrases in existing scholarship: the first group of scholars classifies winged phrases as phraseological locutions (V. Arkhangel′skii, L. Roizenzon, O. Sal′nikova, N. Shanskii,

S. Shulezhkova, B. Shvartskopf), while the others identify a number of qualities unique to such phrases (A. Koshelev, A. Molotkov, M. Tagiev). One significant aspect of winged phrases is the fact they entered into the language from a specific written source, or from the speech of a particular person (Berkov & Berkova 2000: 4). More specifically, the term 'winged words' denotes short quotations from literary sources, vivid expressions, aphorisms that belong to historical figures, or names of mythological and literary characters which have attained resonance and entered into the spoken language – they were often key characteristics of the historical figures to whom they refer (Ashukin & Ashukina 1988: 4). Although Karpechenkova (2012: 19) relates winged phrases to aphorisms, she notes, by referring to Fedorenko (1985): "в отличие от афоризмов, крылатые слова и крылатые выражения не имеют завершённого умозаключения и ассоциируются с той ситуацией, в которой возникли, многозначны и нередко употребляются в переносном смысле" ("unlike aphorisms, winged words and winged phrases do not have a complete conclusion and are associated with the situation in which they arose, they have multiple meanings and are often used figuratively").

Berkov and Berkova (2000: 6) refer to fixity as one of the similarities between winged words and phraseological locutions, however, the linkage of winged words to their literary or concrete-historical source (Ashukin & Ashukina 1988: 5) and the possibility of their creative transformation – their permissibility of modification (Karpechenkova 2012: 18) – separates the term from other set expressions.

This peculiarity of winged phrases introduces the phenomenon known as heteroglossia. The 'heteroglossic' nature of language is described by Bakhtin (1981: 291): "language is heteroglot from top to bottom: it represents the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between different socio-ideological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools and so forth, all given a bodily form".

Amongst different sources of 'winged words', Shulezhkova (2001: 35-164) emphasises the following taxonomy: 1) folklore (*Иванушка-дурачок – Ivan-the-Fool)*; 2) Bible (*Ноев ковчег – Noah's Ark*); 3) ancient culture (*ящик Пандоры – Pandora's box*); 4) imaginative literature and journal writing (*вишнёвый сад – cherry orchard*); 5) fragments of speech by prominent historical figures (*экономика должна быть экономной – economy must be economical)*; 6)

art and opera in particular (*любви все возрасты покорны – to love all ages yield surrender)*; 7) lyrical sentimental songs (*Не искушай меня без нужды – O do not tempt me)*; 8) songs (*Пусть всегда будет солнце! – Let there always be sunshine!)*; 9) cinema and television (*осенний марафон – Autumn marathon).*

Based on calculations of various winged phrases in works by N. Ashukin and M. Ashukina, A. Babkin, O. Berkova, D. Filikova, S. Gavrin, N. Gorbachev, T. Guzhanova, I. Kharazin′skaia, V. Kolesov, S. Kovalenko, M. Mikhel′son, N. Nikolaiuk, V. Ovsiannikov, Z. Semenova, E. Solodukho, L. Stepanova, I. Uolsh and V. Berkov, S. Zaimovskii, the analysis of Shulezhkova (2001: 35-164) does not specify the total number of winged phrases in contemporary Russian. However, Shulezhkova does present some approximate quantitative estimates of the first eight groups listed above: for example, 170 winged phrases in total originated from Russian folk art; between 700 and 800 winged phrases are Biblical; 60% of all winged phrases in Russian arose from imaginative writing; 60% of winged phrases related to art derived from songs. However, this estimate is only partly provided for the last group of winged phrases with the category 'cinema and television', as Shulezhkova asserts that only 100 winged phrases from cinema are being widely used in modern Russian (2001: 148). An attempt to locate winged phrases from Soviet films amongst the corpus of all winged phrases in colloquial Russian will be presented later in this chapter, but this matter of taxonomy is certainly an area deserving of further analysis.

Although one of the main features of 'winged words' is their link to a single author or specific historical source, 'winged words' from films are considered to be a result of collective team work (Kozhevnikov 2001: 10; Kudriavtseva 2008: 25), which includes a scriptwriter – and in adaptations, also an author of a literary work – a film director, an actor, a character, created by the actor (Kozhevnikov 2001: 10) and, as argued by Kudriavtseva (2008: 25), the film's audience itself. The connection between 'winged words' used by a particular nation and the character of that nation, the culture of its people and history of the country has been stressed by some (Berkov and Berkova (2000: 3). In this way, the memory of the past is connected to the notion of the national identity: "ею [памятью] во многом питается сознание отдельно взятого человека, коллектива, общества" ("it [memory] feeds the senses of a particular person, community, society") (Gadzhiev 2011: 6).

Since the 1980s Russian linguists have engaged in debate over the terminology that might best be used to depict the meaning of 'winged words'. Suggested terms that refer to 'winged words' from cinema include *прецедентный текст (precedent text)* (Karaulov 1986) and *прецедентная фраза (precedent phrase)* (Kostomarov & Burvikova 1994), *лингвокультурема (linguocultureme)* (Vorobiov 1994), *логоэпистема (logoepisteme)* (Kostomarov & Burvikova 1996), *афоризм (aphorism)* (Titova 2010), *паремия (proverb)* (Khaniutin 1993), *крылатизм (krylatism)* (Shulezhkova 2001), *киноцитата (cinemaquotation)* (Kozhevnikov 2001, 2007; Sadullaeva 2012), *киноречение (cinemaexpression)* (Elistratov 1999, 2010).

Another term related to the concept of 'winged words' is 'memes' – such a term being widely used in cultural and social studies (Blackmore 1999; Heath, Bell & Sternberg 2001; Knobel & Lankshear 2007; Lynch 1996; Shifman n.d.; Wiggins & Bret Bowers 2015). The term was proposed in 1976 by the geneticist Richard Dawkins, who required "a name for the new replicator, a noun that conveys the idea of a unit of cultural transmission, or a unit of imitation" (Dawkins 2006: 192).

Dawkins wrote about memes in a rather negative tone, noting that they parasitise the brain: they were compared to a virus that affects the genetic mechanism of a host cell (Dawkins 2006: 192). Today, memes are described as "contagious patterns of 'cultural information' which are passed from mind to mind and directly generate and shape the mindsets and significant forms of behaviour and actions of a social group" (Knobel & Lankshear 2007: 199). Although three characteristics of successful memes, such as fidelity, fecundity and longevity (Dawkins 2006: 194) can be applied to 'winged words', this study considers meme rather too wide a term to be helpful for this particular linguistic study, as meme is assumed to include "popular tunes, catch-phrases, clothing fashions, architectural styles, ways of doing things, icons, jingles and the like" (Knobel & Lankshear 2007: 199).

While the debate on terminology remains unresolved, the terms *'крылатые слова' ('winged words')* (Ashukin & Ashukina 1988; Berkov, Mokienko & Shulezhkova 2000; Diadechko 2008; Shulezhkova 2011), *'крылатые фразы' ('winged phrases')* (Elistratov 2010; Kozhevnikov 2001) and *'крылатые выражения' ('winged phrases')* (Karpechenkova 2012;

Krupenko 2011; Shulezhkova 2001, 2003, 2011) have been most frequently employed in academic literature in relation to the set expressions described earlier. Moreover, observation of 'winged words' from Soviet cinema suggests that, structurally speaking, winged words almost never appear in the singular: they are most often incorporated into a phrase or a sentence; for this reason and for the purposes of this study it was considered appropriate to refer to such constructions as 'winged phrases'.

2.3 Background to the study: limitations of the previous research

As briefly mentioned in §1.3, there have been only a limited number of studies in the field of winged phrases from Soviet cinema (Elistratov 1999, 2010; Karpechenkova 2012; Kozhevnikov 2001, 2007; Krupenko 2011). This section of the chapter focuses on each of these studies in detail, in order to identify their limitations and gaps in knowledge in winged phrases from Soviet films, with the intention to formulate productive research questions for this study.

2.3.1 Kozhevnikov's dictionary of winged phrases from national cinema

Kozhevnikov's (2001) research, which resulted in a dictionary of 15,000 winged phrases from national cinema, involved numerous stages. The first stage sought to establish the phenomenon of using film quotations in speech. A list of 72,000 quotations was collated, based on their appearance in the speech of native Russian-speakers, in newspaper and magazine headings as well as in advertisements and contemporary Russian literature. At the same time, Kozhevnikov identified over 2,000 "обязательных для просмотра фильмов" ("must-see films"). These films were either already the most-quoted or they held potential to contain winged phrases. The key criteria for film selection included audience ratings and film genre. Thus, popular comedies, detective stories and children's films were prioritized. Works by specific directors, such as Aleksandrov, Gaidai, Daneliia, Riazanov as well as films in which the most popular comedy actors were involved also received special attention.

During the second stage of the study a survey was conducted at secondary schools, at universities and with university teaching staff. Although Kozhevnikov did not specify the number of participants, he provided a detailed description of the research steps involved. Those surveyed were tested on their ability to extract and recognise film quotations in different texts. In addition, the research participants were asked to do the following:

a) within 10-15 minutes to recall and write down the most frequently quoted to their opinion phrases from national cinema;
b) to do the same exercise, but within 2-3 days;
c) to test their acquaintances at home in a similar way;
d) while glancing through a distinguished fragment of a dictionary, to mark which words provide a stimulus for appearance of a certain quotation from a film;
e) while watching a Soviet or Russian film to identify "real" and "potential" quotations.

As a result, the lists of film quotations compiled during the first stage of the research was revisited, with new quotations added.

Finally, Kozhevnikov watched the films and recorded each cinema quotation noting its stylistic or phonetic peculiarity where film character intentionally corrupted language norms. This provided the 15,000 winged phrases from national cinema for the dictionary (Kozhevnikov 2001: 11-12).

Kozhevnikov's dictionary is considered to be one of the seminal works in the field of winged phrases from Soviet-Russian films (Karpechenkova 2012; Metelkina 2012; Rozhkova 2015; Sadullaeva 2012; Shulezhkova 2003). However, it was conducted in the late 1990s and therefore now appears somewhat dated, since respondents in this age bracket today may exhibit somewhat different lexico-grammatical as well as social behaviour and preferences. It might also be argued that the 15,000 winged phrases included into such a dictionary do not necessarily reflect entirely accurately the state of contemporary Russian, but merely reflect a corpus of winged phrases from national cinema at a given point in time. This in turn introduces the notion of the endurance or otherwise across generations of a given phrase as a dimension of study worthy of consideration. Sadullaeva (2012: 170) argues that the relative popularity of

many of the winged phrases from the newest films, such as popular serials of the 1990s, has proved ephemeral: they have become largely unknown and irrelevant only a few years after the dictionary's publication.

2.3.2 Elistratov's dictionary of winged phrases from cinema and animation

Elistratov (2010) defined his attempt of lexicographical comprehension of winged phrases from Soviet film and animation as 'Кинемалогос' (Kinemalogos). Its aim was "попытаться нащупать связь кино с глубинными законами развития культуры, в данном случае – русского кино с русской культурой" ("to try to discover a connection between cinema and deep-laid derivative laws of culture development, in this case – the Russian cinema and Russian culture') (Elistratov 2010: 10).

Elistratov's qualitative research was commenced in the 1980s and was concluded in 1996. It involved around 80 respondents described by Elistratov as "активные кинолюбы" ("active cinema-lovers") of varied age and social status. The research tools included in-depth interview, a questionnaire and observation. The tasks involved listing the most-frequently-used film quotations, most-quoted films and most-expressive or humorous quotations with an explanation of the significance of such expressions. Those surveyed were given lists of 100-200 film quotations and asked to select winged phrases and to explain in which situations they would be employed. In addition, the respondents were asked to provide quotations associated to specific films. During the study the author watched films with his respondents and recorded their detailed comments (Elistratov 2010: 20-21). The research sample size appears not to have been large, but the researcher did not claim to present an exhaustive list of all winged phrases prominent in day-to-day Russian speech. The data collected was presented in the only existing dictionary entirely dedicated to winged phrases from national cinema, which provides annotations on each winged phrase.

In response to Elistratov's selection of respondents, Dushenko (2002: 120) questions whether the speech patterns of "active cinema-lovers" correspond to those of other language speakers. To support this point of view, Dushenko cites Khaniutin (1993) and states that for the group of respondents selected by Elistratov, the exchange of 'winged words' is rather a form of social

identification. In addition, Elistratov (2010: 19) stresses attention to the "temporal" existence of winged phrases, which refers to the same problem of outdated data as for Kozhevnikov's dictionary.

2.3.3 Theses by Krupenko and Karpechenkova

A Master's thesis by Krupenko (2011) presents a list of 423 winged phrases from Soviet films and comments on their appearance in the Russian Internet (RuNet). Online journal articles, blogs, forums and social network sites were included into the study. A classification of winged phrases based on their emotional connotation was outlined. However, there was no further analysis of how or why such phrases are being used in contemporary Russian Internet communication.

While Karpechenkova's research is the most recent, it is focused on a methodology for teaching winged phrases to non-Russian speakers. Stressing the importance of selecting the most frequently and widely-used winged phrases for presentation in RFL classroom, Karpechenkova selected only native speakers for participation in her study (Karpechenkova 2012: 53). In order to measure the extent of winged phrase usage, data analysis based itself on a questionnaire completed by 295 respondents with an age range from 18 to 65. Respondents possessed various educational backgrounds and social status. Despite such a highly-representative sample size and a strongly-argued selection of winged phrases for inclusion into the questionnaire – which itself was based on an analysis of 48 dictionaries – the research findings were limited to RFL classroom usage. As a result of these pedagogical aims, a number of frequently used winged phrases were eliminated from the study. Without doubt, the picture of winged phrases used in everyday spoken Russian loses its colour with such limitations applied, despite their understandable justifications.

With the exception of Krupenko (2011), none of the scholars mentioned above specified the geographical location of their respondents. It might be assumed that responses were collected amongst citizens of the Russian Federation and did not include Russian speakers from other former USSR republics or other countries around the world. Inclusion of the latter would seem to be a more representative sample, bearing in mind that the Soviet Union included 15 republics

before its collapse in 1991. In addition, research conducted to date in the field of winged phrases from Soviet film scripts as they relate to Internet communication requires more detailed attention.

2.3.4 Knowledge gaps

Despite recognition of the importance of winged phrases from Soviet film scripts in contemporary Russian and their appearance in academic dictionaries (Berkov, Mokienko & Shulezhkova 2000; Diadechko 2008; Dushenko 2003; Elistratov 2010; Kozhevnikov 2001; Shulezhkova 2003, 2011; Titova 2010), the last significant linguistic research in this field was carried out almost 20 years ago. It can be argued that Kozhevnikov's (2001) and Elistratov's (2010) studies are now somewhat dated – and that this area would benefit from further research. Additional limitations include Elistratov's (2010) relatively small sample size, – only 80 respondents – and Karpechenkova's (2012) focus on the methodology of teaching RFL. While Krupenko's (2011) thesis was focused on winged phrases from Soviet films included in headings, sub-headings and epigraphs of Internet publications, the study was limited to only 12 films.

To date, there has been no study that has synthesised data collected from questionnaire responses, online communication and newspaper headings. This represents a significant gap in knowledge of the contextual usage and manner in which winged phrases from Soviet films are being quoted today by Russian speakers.

As already alluded to above, too little attention has been paid to the problem of winged words and winged phrases from Soviet cinema and animation in studies of languages and culture outside Russian-speaking countries (Eistratov 2010: 8). Of particular concern are dictionaries of winged phrases from Soviet films translated into other languages. The only Russian-English dictionary of winged phrases known to the author – "*Русско-английский словарь крылатых слов" (Russko-angliiskii slovar' krylatykh slov)* – includes just one Soviet film title *"Джентльмены удачи" (Gentlemen of Fortune)* (Uolsh & Berkov 1984: 71).

Following analysis of the relevant literature in the field of quotations from cinema, it is also evident that there is no explanation in existing theory for why winged phrases from films created in a country and culture that no longer exists (i.e. the USSR) are incorporated to such an extent into contemporary Russian language practice.

In light of the abovementioned knowledge gaps, the importance and originality of this study lie in it constituting the first detailed description of the use and dynamics of winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary Russian which includes analysis of four different data sources, covers a wide geographical area, focuses on Internet communication and is conducted in English.

2.4 Soviet film script as source of winged phrases: dialogic and semiotic perspectives

The Soviet semiotician Yurii Lotman referred to culture as a text (Lotman 1992: 160) and, in particular, film is treated as text by both linguists and language instructors (Kudriavtseva 2002; Wood 1995). It follows that film scripts – along with film titles and names or lines from songs used in films – have provided a source of winged phrases to everyday Russian language in a similar way to other literary sources. Scholarship in this field has already pointed out that in linguistics, film texts are perceived as a special type of creolised texts and can be defined as a special form of secondary texts, formed on the basis of a diversity of interpretations (Grigorieva and Berezovskaia 2015: 296). Based on this characteristic, film texts are a regular source of supply of winged phrases.

This section of the chapter identifies key tendencies outlined in the existing literature of how and when Soviet film script supplies winged phrases into various verbal situations of contemporary Russian.

2.4.1 Director and actor contribution

From the 1920s, cinematography in the USSR obtained the status of a meaningful art form, despite strict thematic and ideological limitations (Agafonova 2005: 39-40). This brought to prominence the discoveries of young directors in the field of editing. In this respect, Elistratov (2010: 15) accords Russian-Soviet cinema the same status as Russian classical literature – considering film as a continuation of traditions of psychologism in Russian literature and of enhanced attention to the actor's dramatic identification.

Analysing different aspects of cinema language, Lotman (1973a: 46) stressed the importance of the human figure, placing it at the centre of the cinematographic 'words'. Kozhevnikov (2001: 9) argued that one of the main reasons for film dialogue becoming winged phrases is the actor's individuality and the nature of the finished character they present to the audience, with the charm and popularity of the actor playing an important role in the propensity of their lines to take root in the public consciousness. Thus, Beumers (2009: 94) claims that a cult film *"Чапаев" (Chapaev, Lenfilm, 1934)*, was the "most successful portrait of a military commander, largely thanks to Boris Babochkin, creating Chapaev as a man from the simple people". The popularity of *"Чапаев"* is reflected in contemporary Russian, as "quotations from the film are almost as frequent in everyday speech as the jokes about Chapaev" (Beumers 2009: 95).

Elistratov (2010: 15) continues this line of thought, reasoning that "в центре российско-советского кинематографа (русского "кинемакосмоса") находится прежде всего языковая личность актёра, "поданная" режиссёром" ("at the centre of Russian-Soviet cinematograph (Russian 'cinemaspace') is the verbal personality of the actor, 'presented' by the director"). Dushenko (2002: 121) divides Soviet cinematograph by periods, according to those directors whose films stood at the centre of Soviet-Russian pop culture, supplying winged phrases into the language. He lists such periods as *"коллективный Александров" (создатели александровских кинокомедий) ('Collective Aleksandrov' / creators of Aleksandrov's comedies)* – 1930-40s, *"коллективный Райкин" (А. Райкин плюс авторы его миниатюр) ('collective Raikin' / A. Raikin plus creators of his miniatures)* – 1940-60s and *"коллективный Гайдай" ('Collective Gaidai')* – from the mid-1960s to the end of the 1970s.

The directors Leonid Gaidai and El′dar Riazanov are considered "the two giants" of the 1950s and 1960s Soviet film comedy-making period (Graham 2016: 159). In the list of the seven most-quoted comedies sourced from the Internet by Kudriavtseva (2008: 25), four were directed by Gaidai and two by Riazanov.[2] Gaidai, in his comedies, along with his scriptwriters Moris Slobodskoi, Iakov Kostiukovskii and Vladlen Bakhnov, produced a dialogue, which is "pithy, aphoristic, or nonsensical, and, while superficially belonging to the diegetic narrative, also creates a perfect comic gag… or engages the viewer with a wink" (Prokhorova 2016: 523).

In addition to the historical period of the film's creation and that film's director, Grigorieva and Berezovskaia (2015: 296) discuss film genre in terms of an extra medium-source (within the sphere of cinema text), which can be seen to act as a further wellspring of winged phrases. The verbal personalities of Babochkin, Bronevoi, Leonov, Luspekaev and Ranevskaia are considered concentrators of cultural energy (Elistratov 2010: 17). It has been remarked that Ranevskaia added a winged phrase to Russian language with each of her screen appearances (Kozhevnikov 2001: 9).

2.4.2 Focus on the ordinary person

From the second half of the 1950s, after the death of Stalin, the language of cinema was reinvented with the director's focus on the ordinary person – their simple feelings and day to day lives (Agafonova 2005: 150). As Woll (2000: 12-13) puts it:

> New physical types made their way on the screen, and very gradually the preternaturally sharp outlines of character and characterisation typical of Stalinist cinema blurred and thickened into something closer to human beings, just as the irreproachably clear diction of actors slurred into something resembling normal speech.

[2] The list presented by Kudriavtseva is as follows: 1. *"Бриллиантовая рука" (The Diamond Arm, Mosfilm, 1968); 2. "Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!" (*Irony of Fate, or Have a Good Sauna!, Mosfilm, 1975*); 3. "Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика" (The Prisoner of the Caucasus or Shurik's New Adventures, Mosfilm, 1966); 4. "Москва слезам не верит" (Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears, Mosfilm, 1979); 5. "Операция "Ы" и другие приключения Шурика" (Operation "Y" and Shurik's Other Adventures, Mosfilm, 1965); 6. "Служебный роман" (Office Romance, Mosfilm, 1977); 7. "Иван Васильевич меняет профессию" (Ivan Vasilievich Changes Profession* or *Ivan Vasilievich: Back to the Future, Mosfilm, 1973).*

Such a shift shortened the distance between common verbal exchanges in real life and screen dialogue, thanks partly to the extra liberty given to directors. The comedy genre underwent a reinvention after Stalin's death and gained renewed importance in the formation of the post-Stalinist popular film spectator (Graham 2016: 158-159). In Riazanov's comedy *"Карнавальная ночь" (Carnival Night, Mosfilm, 1956)* the satirised villain is an "inflexible bureaucrat" Ogurtsov, "whose stubborn resistance to change and dislike of frivolity are obstacles to be overcome by the youthful, creative protagonists" (Graham 2016: 160). Gaidai's comedies also challenged and put to a newly comic use the elements of Soviet ideological narrative and its major device, the positive hero, as argued by Prokhorova (2016: 520).

2.4.3 Semiotic ambivalence of a Soviet comedy

Graham (2016: 163) notes "a semiotic ambivalence in early Soviet comedies,… that became increasingly incompatible with state cultural ideology" and "the tendency towards double meaning… as an essential, even definitive, characteristic of the comic". Thus, Prokhorova (2016: 524) argues that jokes in Gaidai's comedies "operate on the two planes". She refers to the winged phrase *"Будете у нас на Колыме – милости просим" ("You should come over and visit us in Kolyma")* from *"Бриллиантовая рука" (The Diamond Arm)*, and an answer by the smuggler Gesha *"Нет, уж лучше вы к нам" ("I'd rather you visit us here")*. The joke "simultaneously invokes the smuggler's true criminal identity and references to the most notorious part of Stalin's Gulag system" (Prokhorova 2016: 524).

The Soviet period of literary Russian language history has been described as "a period of development of the literary language of mass culture, the period of struggle between the norms of the elite and mass cultures" (Vykhodtseva 2015: 26). At the same time, Soviet cinema of the time is characterised by a high level of acting professionalism, in which scripted language met established linguistic rules and standards (Kol′ovska and Kul′gavchuk 2009: 110). Grigorieva and Berezovskaia (2015: 296) argue that winged phrases from Soviet film have an obligatory evaluative component and this can variously take the forms of self-evaluation, evaluation of the character by the author, evaluation of the character by another character or evaluation of the situation.

2.4.4 Soviet film and day-to-day speech patterns

Winged phrases from cinema occupy a discernible part of the modern Russian speaker's active vocabulary (Elistratov 2010; Karpechenkova 2012; Kudriavtseva 2008; Sadullaeva 2012; Shulezhkova 2001). Such phrases can be discovered in radio and TV advertisements (Bobrovskaia 2015: 43-44; Kozhevnikov 2001: 5), in newspaper and magazine headings, in the lyrics of popular songs, in lines of modern cinema characters and in television programs (Kozhevnikov 2001: 5).

Nevertheless, as Elistratov points out, "данный пласт нашей словесной культуры, к сожалению, ещё не стал объектом систематического описания" ("this layer of our verbal culture unfortunately has not become the subject of systematic description") (Elistratov 2010: 8). Traditionally, more attention in academic literature has been paid to quotations from works of literature than film – resulting in the rather disputable concept that winged words and winged phrases belong to literary circles (Shulezhkova 2001: 31). In the 20th and 21st centuries, as noted by Shulezhkova (2001: 164), "лидирующее положение среди источников крылатых выражений занимают синтетические виды и жанры искусства" ("the leading role amongst sources of winged phrases is occupied by synthetic types and genres of arts"). Film, it is argued, plays a major role in Soviet Union mass culture from the 1930s. The popularity of film-related winged phrases can be explained by Kozhevnikov's (2001: 5) observation of the quoting scenario: a film script aligns most closely with our day-to-day speech patterns and thereby is rendered more accessible.

This explanation is supported by research conducted by Elistratov (2010) and Karpechenkova (2012), which illustrates that high-frequency film quotations from Soviet films can be grouped according to the situation of verbal exchange. Examples of such usage in similar situations are as follows: 1) greetings *("Здравствуйте, я ваша тётя"* / *"Hello I Am Your Aunt!", "Какие люди – и без охраны" / "Look who is here!");* 2) characterisation or judgement (*"Какая гадость, какая гадость эта ваша заливная рыба!" / "How horrible, how horrible is this jellied fish of yours!", "Студентка, комсомолка, спортсменка, наконец, она просто красавица"* / "*A student, a Young Communist, an athlete, and last but not least, a beauty"); 3)* necessity of action ("*Надо, Федя, надо!" / "No, it's necessary, Fedia… It's necessary!");*

4) reproach *("Семён Семёныч!"/ "Semion Semionych!"); 5)* instruction or request (*"Не учи меня жить, лучше помоги материально" / "Stop teaching me how to live, help financially instead")* (Elistratov 2010; Karpechenkova 2012). Despite the importance of such groupings for teaching RFL, to date, only a limited number of day-to-day situations under which several winged phrases from different films can be grouped together are identified.

2.4.5 Viewer engagement with a film

Whilst Russian speakers might at times find themselves mimicking situations from cinema in their real lives, there can be a very specific psychological impact on the viewer which differentiates cinema from other arts – and which, it is argued here – can result in the viewer engaging more readily with a winged phrase. Feature films involve their viewers emotionally (Bragina 1980: 80); during a film screening the process of the onlooker's identification with the world on the screen takes place (Ignatiev 2012: 109). In addition, elements of the viewer's ego are perceptible in the demonstrated object (Kudriavtseva 2008: 21), which can be compared with gaining one's own experience (Ignatiev 2012: 110) while engaging with a film on an emotional level.

Elistratov (2010: 12) considers that from the 1930s every Soviet film was a combination of a fashion show, a demonstration of a perfect smile, hair style and behavioural patterns of the film star. As a result, in an era and prevailing culture which offered relatively few outlets for such indulgences, every new Soviet film was greeted by onlookers with much anticipation: it was viewed dozens of times, songs from such films were learned by heart and lines from films became winged phrases (Shulezhkova 2001: 147).

Modern Russian films, such as the serial *"Интерны" (Interns, 7art, 2010 – 2016)* – the primary aim of which is to serve the tastes of the mass public – are considered to be the main providers of winged phrases today (Matrusova 2013: 78). In spite of this, it is Soviet cinema which appears to have supplied the majority of film-related winged phrases to contemporary spoken Russian language. While Nakoriakova (2013: 46-47) lists post-Soviet films which are quoted most often: *"Бумер"(Bumer, СТВ, 2003), "Ширли-мырли"(Shirli-myrli, Mosfilm, 1995), "Особенности национальной охоты в осенний период" (Peculiarities of the*

National Hunt in Autumn, Lenfilm, 1995),"Брат 2" (Brother 2, СТВ, 2000), she points out aggression as one quality which unites quotations from the abovementioned films.

The importance of Soviet film quotations in colloquial Russian – especially relative to post-Soviet film offerings and their subsequent role in winged phrase creation – is supported by an Internet opinion poll conducted in 2003 by the newspaper *"Новые Известия" (Novye Izvestiya)* along with the mail service *mail.ru*. It involved almost 10,000 respondents (Bakanov 2005). Amongst the ten most popular quotations from films as voted for by the respondents, none had relevance to post-Soviet or foreign cinema. This is one explanation of the preponderance of winged phrases from Soviet cinema in modern Russian.

Krupenko (2011: 164) pointed out a tendency of Soviet films made close to the year 1970 to produce the highest number of winged phrases. When this observation is viewed in the context of winged phrases as a means of preserving and transmitting Russian culture (Elistratov 2010), other scholarship offers rich insights into why this period of Soviet cinema is significant: Fomin (2012: 20-21) asserts that the connection between the cinema and folk art culture is stronger than the connection between the cinema and literature. In particular, he highlights the influence of folk art culture on Soviet film-making of the 1970s – 1980s:

> Для кинопроцесса 70-80-х годов особенно характерным стало обращение в первую очередь к тем пластам народной художественной культуры, которые полнее всего концентрировали в себе основы народной философии, более непосредственно отражали широкий, универсально-целостный взгляд на мир.
>
> (The film-making process of the 70-80s was first of all characterised by appealing to those layers of folk art culture which most fully condensed the foundations of folk philosophy and which reflected more directly a broad, universally holistic view of the world).

According to Dushenko (2002: 121), the end of *кинемалогос* or the active process of transfer of winged phrases from film into colloquial Russian occurred in 1975. This statement is debatable, as observations of winged phrases from film dictionaries indicate that films created in the Soviet Union after 1975 supplied a large number of winged phrases. For example,

"Покровские ворота" (Pokrov Gates or *The Pokrovsky Gates*, *Mosfilm)*, a film made in 1982, has from 61 to 122 winged phrases according to various sources (Kinotsitatnik 2016; Kozhevnikov 2001: 680-682). Elistratov's statement (2010: 12) on this point seems very apposite: new films created from the 1990s "больше не цитируются народом" ("are not quoted by the nation any more"). For various reasons, these later films appear not to have produced such a strong body of winged phrases for daily life.

In stark contrast with today's wide choice of DVD-discs and Internet resources, just three TV channels in the 1970s and '80s provided a standard and identical bank of videotexts which influenced the tastes of Russian speakers who are now in their 30s to 50s (Sadullaeva 2012: 168). It is worth noting that this primacy of Soviet films in winged phrases creation may not be absolute, or static over time; there may be other factors at play. For example, it has been suggested that a certain amount of time must elapse in order for the film and its quotation to become a meaningful cultural reference (Kudriavtseva 2008: 26).

For now, though, this research attempts to take a further step forward in examining the influence of Soviet film on contemporary Russian. Accordingly, films made after the collapse of the USSR are not included in this study.

2.5 Lexicographical representation of winged phrases from cinema

For many years, the Russian lexicographical tradition displayed a tendency to focus on winged words and winged phrases not merely of Russian origin, but from a variety of internationally-recognised sources. This included famous quotations from Latin or Greek literature translated into Russian, as in one of the well-respected dictionaries of winged words by N. Ashukin and M. Ashukina (Ashukin & Ashukina 1988). Until the 1990s, winged phrases from cinema had not been included into such dictionaries. The first attempt to address the topic of grouping winged phrases from Soviet films was made in 1993 by Khaniutin in the journal *"Киноведческие записки" (Kinovedcheskie zapiski*) (Khaniutin 1993). One year later, in the dictionary by Belianin and Butenko (1994) *"Живая речь. Словарь разговорных выражений" (Zhivaia rech'. Slovar' razgovornykh vyrazhenii)* dedicated to spoken Russian, there were 112 winged phrases from Soviet films, which accounts for 6% of the dictionary

entries. Today the bulk of winged phrase dictionaries concern themselves with winged phrases from films as well as other sources, but there are also dictionaries that are solely collections of winged phrases from Soviet-Russian films. Although individual dictionaries use different criteria for selecting winged phrases from films, cross-checking and comparison between different dictionary publications allows us to identify several tendencies within the recent tradition of recording Soviet film quotations as dictionary entries.

"Большой словарь. Крылатые фразы отечественного кино" (Bol'shoi slovar'. Krylatye frazy otechestvennogo kino) by Kozhevnikov is one of the most comprehensive dictionaries dedicated to Soviet-Russian cinema to date (Kozhevnikov 2001, 2007). Yet despite its wide coverage of cinema quotations – 15,000 quotations from more than 1,300 films – the dictionary has received criticism due to a number of factors. In particular, Sadullaeva (2012: 171) refers to the absence of semantic or contextual comments on winged phrases. Similarly, in a more recent dictionary by Titova (2010) which has winged phrases from 77 Soviet films, each dictionary entry includes listings of winged phrases under the heading of a film name with no further comments.

A structurally-different dictionary, *"Словарь крылатых фраз российского кино" (Slovar' krylatykh fraz rossiiskogo kino)* was compiled by Elistratov (Elistratov 1999, 2010). The dictionary was dedicated exclusively to winged phrases from Soviet and Russian cinema. In the last edition of the dictionary, Elistratov analysed 209 feature films and animation, the absolute majority of which were produced during the Soviet era. A more comprehensive approach to each dictionary entry than that observed in Titova's dictionary is taken, as the compiler includes interpretation or description of the situation, whereby each winged phrase is used with reference to its source. The dictionary also includes comments which illustrate special aspects of winged phrase usage, such as, for example, special intonation or accent.

Berkov, Mokienko and Shulezhkova (2000), Shulezhkova (2003, 2011), Dushenko (2003) and Diadechko (2008) include winged phrases from Soviet-Russian and world cinema in their dictionaries, along with winged words and winged phrases from other sources. Dushenko's (2003) primary focus in *"Словарь современных цитат: 4750 цитат и выражений XX века, их источники, авторы, датировка"* (*Slovar' sovremennykh tsitat: 4750 tsitat i*

vyrazhenii XX veka, ikh istochniki, avtory, datirovka) is to establish the source and date of modern quotations. The compiler lists quotations under the name of their authors, with film quotations appearing under the name of the film's scriptwriter. Works by other authors mentioned above are especially noteworthy: each dictionary entry incudes semantic, stylistic and situational characteristics and is illustrated by examples of usage in various transformations.

The relatively recent dictionary *"Крылатые слова нашего времени: толковый словарь: более 1000 единиц"* (*Krylatye slova nashego vremeni: tolkovyi slovar': bolee 1000 edinits)* compiled by Diadechko (2008) is the most representative example of film-related winged phrases usage in contemporary Russian. The dictionary includes 310 winged phrases from Soviet films, which amounts to 31% of all dictionary entries. Amongst these winged phrases the compiler provides mainly parts of film dialogue, which differentiates the dictionary from works by Berkov, Mokienko and Shulezhkova. For instance, Shulezhkova's (2011) dictionary *""И жизнь, и слёзы, и любовь... " Происхождение, значение, судьба 1500 крылатых слов и выражений русского языка" ('I zhizn', i sliozy, i liubov'' Proiskhozhdenie, znachenie, sud'ba 1500 krylatych slov i vyrazhenii russkogo iazyka)* includes quite a high number of winged phrases from Soviet films – 166 in total, which is 11% of all winged phrases related to different sources listed in the dictionary – they mainly include film titles, names or lines from songs used in Soviet films. Berkov, Mokienko and Shulezhkova's (2000), *"Большой словарь крылатых слов русского языка: Около 4000 единиц"* (*Bol'shoi slovar' krylatykh slov russkogo iazyka: Okolo 4000 edinits),* includes the lowest number of winged phrases from Soviet films – equating to only 2.6% of all dictionary entries.

Shulezhkova's (2003) dictionary of winged phrases related to art *"Словарь крылатых выражений из области искусства: Более 1000 крылатых выражений"* (*Slovar' krylatykh vyrazhenii iz oblasti iskusstva: Bolee 1000 krylatykh vyrazhenii)* appears to be particularly relevant to the previously discussed proposition of the importance of Soviet films and their influence on contemporary Russian. This thesis is supported by a detailed analysis of each dictionary entry that was undertaken as a part of this study which showed that 24% of all dictionary entries (240 winged phrases out of 1000) were sourced from Soviet cinema. In comparison, foreign films and films made in Russia after the collapse of the USSR account for

a very small number of dictionary entries – 3.5% (35 winged phrases) and less than 1% (3 winged phrases) of all dictionary entries accordingly.

It is important to recognise the different methods of data collection amongst the authors of the aforementioned dictionaries, which condition the different numbers of winged phrases in each dictionary and in their different sources within one film. With reference to winged phrases from cinema, Shulezhkova's dictionaries (2003, 2011) and the dictionary by Berkov, Mokienko and Shulezhkova (2000) mainly include Soviet film titles and names or lines from songs used in films. There are also cases of 'winged words' which structurally include one component, for example, *Деточкин (Detochkin)*, which are outside the area of this research. This nature of film-related winged phrases by Shulezhkova can be explained by Dushenko's (2002: 118) observation of Shulezhkova's earlier works, which showed the same tendency: Shulezhkova's main source was the press, and playing with well-known names is a widely-used tool used by journalists.

In contrast, Elistratov (2010: 21) used a method of survey amongst 80 cinema-lovers of different age and social status. Therefore, only winged phrases which exist in spoken Russian were considered. Kozhevnikov's (2001, 2007) dictionaries, the result of numerous data collection stages, captured both winged phrases from printed materials – such as newspapers, advertisements, modern Russian literature – and winged phrases from Russian spoken language of the late 1990s (Kozhevnikov 2001: 11-12). While the data collection methods in Titova's (2010) dictionary are unclear, it bears comparison to numerous Internet sites dedicated to winged phrases from cinema.

It is worth mentioning an Internet source of winged phrases from Soviet cinema within *"Лингвострановедческий словарь Россия"* (*Country-knowledge Dictionary Russia)* available on the Pushkin State Russian Language Institute website. The dictionary is aimed at RFL students and has explanations of the contextual usage for some of the winged phrases. However, none of the 24 Soviet film entries in the dictionary has more than four winged phrases listed. This appears to be a low figure for films like *"Бриллиантовая рука"*, which has 206 winged phrases listed in Kozhevnikov's (2001: 507-510) dictionary.

Table 2.1 below presents the number of winged phrases from dictionaries dedicated purely to winged phrases from Soviet-Russian films by Kozhevnikov (2001) and Titova (2010). Five websites dedicated to winged phrases from cinema are also included into the comparison, which is shown based on three films that supplied the biggest number of winged phrases to Russian according to Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary: *"Джентльмены удачи" (Gentlemen of Fortune, Mosfilm, 1971), "Бриллиантовая рука"* and *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию".*

Table 2.1 The comparison of the number of winged phrases across Kozhevnikov's/Titova's dictionaries and five websites dedicated to winged phrases from cinema

FILM	NUMBER OF WINGED PHRASES						
	Kozhevnikov	Titova	www.vot-status.jimdo.com	www.vothouse.ru	www.kquote.ru	www.podskazok.net	www.adme.ru
Джентльмены удачи	255	150	27	58	116	1	1
Бриллиантовая рука	206	141	39	67	80	24	2
Иван Васильевич меняет профессию	162	139	27	67	120	11	9

The value of Internet sites listing winged phrases from film for academic research and analysis is questionable: Elistratov (2010: 4) argues that amongst the weaknesses of Internet dictionaries are the absence of any interpretation of winged phrases, inaccuracy in their presentation and a subjective approach to selection. However, Sadullaeva (2012: 172) finds that Internet resources dedicated to film quotations include more information than Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary. Following Elistratov's note on the inaccuracy of winged phrases' presentation in the Internet, it is worth pointing out that the graphical presentation of winged phrases varies in dictionaries discussed earlier in this chapter and, therefore, one stable reference point is required.

While Sadullaeva's argument is not supported by statistical analysis on the number of quotations presented in Table 2.1 above, there is an area of Internet presence of winged phrases from Soviet films that has not received attention in academic literature and, therefore, this might be viewed as a gap in existing scholarship.

In recent years there has been an increase in the number of groups with members united by an interest in winged phrases – a phenomenon which can be encountered in various social networking sites and online discussion forums. Such usage of winged phrases is discussed further in §2.8 of this literature review chapter. For now, it is important to note that very little of the Internet data from the abovementioned sites and forums were considered by scholars. It is not included in research methods aimed at winged phrases' appearance in dictionaries. In addition, there is a further transposition step involved in producing a written version of speech, as occurs in most online communication. All of the above factors represent another significant gap in knowledge.

Recent academic debates in the field of winged phrases from cinema suggest a need for different approaches to the content and structure of such dictionaries. One of the suggestions relates to the order of winged phrases under each film entry. Rozhkova (2015: 228) points out that winged phrases should be listed not in the alphabetical order, but in the same order in which they appear in the actual film, which will give an opportunity to observe the inside connections between winged phrases in film space. Sadullaeva (2012: 171) argues that one or two impetus words are sufficient for recognition and usage of a winged phrase in speech. With that in mind she suggests an Internet dictionary that might provide the entire film quotation searched by one word. In this way modern technology can solve many linguistic problems by putting the winged phrase into an online matrix database with different search fields.

Clearly, it is helpful for any studies in the area of winged phrases from Soviet films to include and compare all dictionaries with entries related to winged phrases from cinema published to date. For now, questions about the content and structure of a comprehensive dictionary of winged phrases from Soviet films remain open.

2.6 The phenomenon of *фильм-цитатник (film-quotation)*

Elistratov (2010: 14-15) argues for the unique Russian cultural predilection for frequent quoting of Russian and Soviet films in comparison to other national cultures: it is asserted that such a scale of quoting does not exist in any other language. As noted by Grishina (2006: 123), "everyday spoken conversations abound with quotations from films". This relatively widespread phenomenon of film lines becoming winged phrases has brought a specific term to Russian linguistics dedicated to most quoted films: *фильм-цитатник (film-quotation).* Although there is no definition of such a term in academic literature, it is widely used to refer to films which have provided large volumes of popular winged phrases into colloquial Russian.

Kozhevnikov (2001: 9) lists 17 film-quotations in the preface to his dictionary of winged phrases from cinema while Kudriavtseva (2008: 25) identified seven films that supplied the biggest quantity of winged phrases into Russian (see footnote 2 in §2.4.1). There are various factors that contribute to the process of film becoming film-quotation, a summary of which is presented below.

In addition to the actor's individuality discussed earlier (see §2.4.1), there are other factors which appear to contribute to film lines becoming winged phrases. Film is often better known than even the most well-read novel, which means that quoting film gives the interlocutor more chances to be understood (Kudriavtseva 2008: 25). Another important influence conditioning the entry of a winged phrase into common speech is "общая адресация и литературная подоснова фильма" ("a film made for the general public and representative of a literary tradition") (Kozhevnikov 2001: 9).

The propensity of cinematic scripts to transform themselves into winged phrases is also influenced by the extent to which the author tends towards an aphoristic nature in his or her characters' speech as a primary means, with the intention of memorising the film (Kozhevnikov 2001: 9; Kudriavtseva 2008: 27). According to Kostomarov and Burvikova (1994: 74), the relative positioning of lines in the script – the heading or title of the film, the text position at the start or at the end – is a conditioning factor for these lines becoming a precedent text or

winged phrase. In addition, Kozhevnikov (2001: 9) adds the notion of repetition of a phrase as a further facilitator of winged phrases from cinema. Both points are important from the perspective of a linguistic analysis of winged phrases from Soviet films.

Kudriavtseva (2008: 27) lists numerous cinematic and scenic speech techniques that contribute to script lines becoming a winged phrase. Kozhevnikov (2001: 10) notes the impact of intonation not used in common speech: a special or rare pitch of the voice of the actor; the remarkable (and therefore memorable) nature of the situation in which the line is pronounced. All of these factors increase the chances of elements of film scripts making the journey through to becoming winged phrases in the public consciousness. Gestural language is also considered to be an important non-verbal component of expression in cinema (Ignatiev 2012: 110). Sadullaeva (2012: 174-175) argues that not only a specific film gesture, but an expression that does not appear to be a word also belongs to the class of cinema quotations. As an example of this phenomenon, Gorbunkov's non-verbal behaviour in *"Бриллиантовая рука"* is often reproduced by Russian speakers in situations similar to the ones in the film.

Film genre plays an important role determining whether the lines remain known and reproduced. As pointed out by both Kudriavtseva (2008) and Sadullaeva (2012), comedy (Kudriavtseva 2008: 2; Sadullaeva 2012: 168), action films, detective films (Kudriavtseva 2008: 27) and children's films (Sadullaeva 2012: 168) are the most quoted in contemporary Russian. The topic of comedy and laughter received particular attention amongst the scholars in the field of Soviet cinema. While placing emphasis on the role of the comedy in the cultural processes of the Thaw, Graham (2016) distinguishes Soviet comedy subgenres: 'eccentric comedies', which were directed in the 1960s and 1970s by Leonid Gaidai, 'musical comedies' such as *"Карнавальная ночь"* and *"Свадьба в Малиновке"(Wedding in Malinovka, Lenfilm, 1967)*, 'heroic comedies', such as *"Гусарская баллада" (Hussar Ballad, Mosfilm, 1962).*

External factors – the length of time a film appears in release and the frequency of its repeats on television – are raised as factors influencing film lines becoming winged phrases (Kozhevnikov 2001: 10). As a matter of tradition, Soviet films such as El′dar Riazanov's *"Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!" (The Irony of Fate, or Have a Good Sauna!)* are always shown on national Russian television prior to New Year every December. Nakoriakova

(2013: 46) points out that there are a number of high-frequency winged phrases which remain popular despite the length of time that have passed since the creation of the said films. *"Какая гадость, какая гадость эта ваша заливная рыба!"* ("*How horrible, how horrible is this jellied fish of yours!")* from the above-mentioned Riazanov's film is one famous example.

Despite a number of factors influencing film lines, film titles and lines from songs or titles of songs in a Soviet film becoming winged phrases, there are different views on criteria shaping this process and the length of time involved for a film quotation becoming a winged phrase. Thus, a market invitation by *Трус (Coward)* to purchase artwork in *"Операция "Ы" и другие приключения Шурика"* appears in different variations in modern dictionaries. Kozhevnikov (2001: 485) lists the whole monologue, which in film consists of five sentences: *"Граждане новосёлы, внедряйте культурку! Вешайте коврики на сухую штукатурку! Никакого модернизма, никакого абстракционизма! Сохраняет стены от сырости, вас от ревматизма. Налетай, торопись, покупай живопись!" ("You just moved in? Culture calls! Hang smart rugs on freshly painted walls! No modernism, no abstractionism! Protect your walls from mildew, and yourself from rheumatism! Hurry! Be smart! Buy fine art!").* Elistratov's (2010: 167) dictionary of winged phrases from Russian cinema has a shorter variant of this winged phrase: "*Налетай, торопись, покупай живопись!".* In addition, there is a comment on its contextual usage: "призыв что-либо делать быстрей, торопиться, не упускать шанс" ("a call to do something faster, to hurry, not to lose the chance"). Such discrepancy in different approaches towards understanding what part of the film script becomes a winged phrase is certainly an area for further investigation.

There is a connection between the type of film character and the character's lines becoming winged phrases in the existing literature. Kozhevnikov (2001: 9) states that lines which belong to villain-like characters became winged phrases more often. The method of identification of Russian folkloric character types was suggested by Vladimir Propp in 1928 in his landmark work *"Морфология волшебной сказки"* (*Morphology of the Folktale).* Propp identifies a hero, a villain, a helper and a princess in Russian fairy tales. Using Propp's method, cinema experts compare Soviet film characters to Proppian folkloric types (Fedorov 2009). What is more, the folk and fairy tale motives in each Soviet film could provide a solid foundation for their popularity: Fedorov (2009: 103) suggests that for the success of works of mass culture

their creators need to consider folkloric types of aesthetic perception. As Plamadiala (1985: 17) argues:

> Именно наличием генетической связи между фольклором и кинематографом можно объяснить особую популярность последнего в народе.
>
> (It is the presence of a genetic link between folklore and cinema that can explain the particular popularity of the latter among the people).

While adaptation plays an important role in the history of Soviet cinema, the process of winged phrases entering into spoken Russian through adaptation can vary. Today the marriage of film and literature is perceived to be equal (Elistratov 2010: 6-7), with film often acting as a primary source of winged phrases and its literary source as a secondary one (Kozhevnikov 2001: 8). Therefore, film acts not only as a powerful vehicle for preserving quoted winged phrases from literature. Films can also become an interpreter of the original phrase, and, most interestingly, an additional source of winged phrases altogether.

Kozhevnikov (2001: 8) points out that often, winged phrases which are associated in the mind of a Russian speaker with a specific literary adaptation in fact have no connection to their original literary source. One of the most quoted adaptations *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию"*, based on Bulgakov's play *"Иван Васильевич" (Ivan Vasilievich),* "пришёл в народ именно через кино" ("came to its popularity in the public consciousness largely through the cinema") (Elistratov 2010: 7). In this way, contemporary 'readings' of *"Иван Васильевич"* are based on an appreciation of Bulgakov's text through Gaidai's adaptation. Bulgakov's text appears to be a linguistic object that exists to a considerable degree in the 'winged phrases' format in today's Russian mind. Many popular lines have no connection to Bulgakov's play at all and were created by Gaidai (Kabiak 2016b: 81).

Although winged phrases from adaptations present vast research material, this study will follow Elistratov's (2010) method of Soviet film selection and their presence in his *"Словарь крылатых фраз российского кино"*. Only films which became widely quoted – giving credits to its adaptation and not the original literary source – were included in this research.

Such a list includes *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию", "Свадьба в Малиновке", "Место встречи изменить нельзя" (The Meeting Place Must Not Be Changed, Odessa Studio for GTR, 1979)* and some others.

It should be noted that although the aforementioned points are important in the scholarship of winged phrases from cinema (insofar as they have reference to the cinematic features of film quotations), the principal focus of this research lies in the linguo-cultural aspect of winged phrase usage in contemporary Russian.

2.7 Winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary Russian

This section of the literature review focuses on the patterns of usage and on the variety of mediums in which winged phrases from Soviet films are being used in contemporary Russian.

2.7.1 Winged phrases from Soviet films: patterns of usage

Studies examining winged phrase usage in modern spoken Russian constitute a growing body of research. Many of the scholars focus on situational usage of winged phrases and on the common factors influencing film quoting. This section of the chapter presents a summary of different views on the spoken usage of winged phrases.

Berkov and Berkova (2000) argue that the question of frequency of use of a quotation is rather difficult to answer. At times a lexicographer uses a criterion mainly of his or her own subjective feeling of a quotation usage and a fact of the usage of the quotation by other authors; however, human memory and taste are very selective and different people remember various texts with a different degree of completeness (Berkov and Berkova 2000: 7). As noted by Grigorieva and Berezovskaia (2015: 296), winged phrases display characteristics of a steady system of knowledge and representation, as well as associations, which can be used in communication for evaluation of an event, quality, action, or situation.

In his study of language games in contemporary Russian, Boris Norman notes “a tendency to use ready-made phrases”, “especially in the spheres of mass culture and mass information”. As he puts it:

> Texts increasingly follow standard patterns, with cliché, paraphrase, reminiscence, allusion and hidden or open quotations becoming more and more important. This is not only a consequence of the so-called 'period of stagnation' or evidence of mental laziness, but also, in so far as such ready-made phrases tend to be re-vitalised in new contexts, an example of verbal creativity and language games (Norman 1999: 107-108).

The semantics of a winged phrase can be defined by both the communicative situation in the film script and by the situation in which the phrase is used (Grigorieva & Berezovskaia 2015: 296; Kozhevnikov 2001: 5; Kudriavtseva 2008: 21). The winged phrase’s level of public popularity also plays an important role (Grigorieva & Berezovskaia 2015: 296). Kozhevnikov (2001: 5) lists three types of impetus for the subsequent appearance of winged phrases in daily speech: objective, subjective and associative, the latter being notable as the most common for winged phrases usage. Ezhkova (2010: 21) and Kozhevnikov (2001: 5) explain associative usage thus: the situation of a daily conversation or one phrase (or a word) pronounced by one of the speakers is deemed relevant to a situation or phrase from a film. In this way, the phrases from film become a catalyst for describing and understanding an emotion or situation experienced in daily life (Kozhevnikov 2001: 6).

Other examples of winged phrases usage in contemporary Russian include bringing liveliness to speech and movement of the speech into a jocular tone while the usage of quotations being a kind of verbal game (Berkov and Berkova 2000: 10). Such a verbal game with the usage of winged phrases from Soviet films is described by Kozhevnikov (2001: 6), as he puts it:

> Один из говорящих произносит какую-либо фразу из популярного фильма, обрывая её и явно ожидая, а точнее – провоцируя собеседника на продолжение, и в результате – завязывается целый диалог, целиком состоящий из цитат.

(One of the speakers pronounces a phrase from a popular film, cutting it short and clearly awaiting, being more exact – provoking the interlocutor to continue, and as a result, a whole dialogue starts, which entirely consists from quotations).

Norman (1999) notes that "language games have a long tradition in folklore and in literature, particularly in Russia". He argues that "the conditions that make language games possible are inherent in the very nature of language as a semiotic system". Norman provides a detailed classification of verbal games in contemporary Russian according to both the rationale behind them and the linguistic criteria. Amongst such types are the deliberate confusion or identification of language with reality, the opposite tendency when the total dissociation of language from the word of objects takes place, violation of the conventional correspondence between the aspects of the verbal sign (Norman 1999: 102-104).

A particular interest of this study lies in the following types of verbal games for which Norman (1999: 104-107) includes examples in a form of winged phrases from Soviet films:

1) artificial blurring of grammatical boundaries, the expansion of grammatical categories and the creation of occasional grammatical forms, in particular, the practice of producing occasional forms with the 'wrong' gender *("Чей туфля? – Моё" / "Whosee shoee? – Minee");*

2) deviations from the norm in the area of syntax *("Женщина симпатичная, но активная" / "A pleasant woman, but an activist"*).

In addition, Norman's (1999) classification includes other types of language games characterised by breaking up and contaminating existing set expressions and deliberately leaving vacant syntactic positions that should normally be filled (Norman 1999: 104-105), which in this study are referred to as transformations; this is further discussed in §2.10 of this chapter.

A number of linguists agree that quoting film in the process of speech allows interlocutors to 'ease' a given situation, to relax, to avoid the question, to change the topic of conversation, to entertain the interlocutor, to show one's own erudition, and/or to support self-identification (Kudriavtseva 2008: 23) or fill an uncomfortable pause in the conversation (Kozhevnikov 2001: 6). Kozhevnikov (2001: 6) notes the case of "упреждающее цитирование" ('forwarding quoting') which takes place during the second and subsequent viewings of a film in a circle of family or friends. In this case, the winged phrase is being pronounced by one of the viewers before it is heard from the film actor.

There is a large group of well-known humorous quotations which are used to add a jocular tone to speech, as noted by Berkov and Berkova (2000: 12). Berkov and Berkova suggest that at times a comical effect is evoked by contradiction between the literary, high style of the quotation and the triviality of situation in which it has been used. However, the largest group of such humorous quotations consists of those which were taken from humorous texts (Berkov and Berkova 2000: 12-13). Norman (2006: 98) stresses the fact of phonetical corruption of the norms (e.g. *"дитям – мороженое" / "the ice-cream is for the brats")* and suggests an explanation of this event as replication of speech peculiarities of a specific character when quoting this character.

Lastly, winged phrases usage can occur within a group of people who have known each other for a long time as a form of coded recognition: the winged phrase is used to retell anecdotes both well-known and well-received within this group. The main aim of deploying winged phrases in such situations is to imbue a sense of shared nostalgia: the wish to appeal collectively to the time when that winged phrase was heard for the first time (Kozhevnikov 2001: 6).

Kudriavtseva (2008: 26) suggests dividing all winged phrases from films in spoken Russian into two large groupings: 1) *интраситуативные (intrasituative)* and 2) *интерситуативные (intersituative)*. The first group of winged phrases does not require deep cultural involvement from the speaker. The contextual knowledge of the film from which the winged phrase is sourced is considered sufficient. For example: *"Поскользнулся, упал... очнулся – гипс!" ("I slipped, fell down… woke up already in a cast!")* from *"Бриллиантовая рука"* (Kudriavtseva 2008: 26). This situation in which the film's main character Gorbunkov found himself can be

projected to any physical injury of the Russian speaker who does not want to go into the details of the accident with their interlocutors, but rather seeks to make light of the matter.

The second group of winged phrases is closely connected to the history and culture, shared by native Russian language speakers. It requires a level of knowledge which is beyond the contextual borders of the quoted film. For example, the apartment complex manager Varvara Pliushch judges Gorbunkov from *"Бриллиантовая рука"* when he returns home from a bakery on a taxi: *"Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят!" ("Our tenants don't go to the baker's in a taxi!").* Rozhkova (2015) lists a number of uniquely specific of Soviet culture elements, which allude to this winged phrase. Amongst them are an opposition 'ours – not ours' or the Soviet versus western lifestyle and suspicion towards someone who has been abroad. The winged phrase also has a negative attitude towards wealth, because for the Soviet citizen a trip by taxi was an unnecessary luxury (Rozhkova 2015: 231). According to Kudriavtseva (2008: 26), the implication of Varvara Pliushch's words is that in Soviet times not everyone had money to hire a taxi, and if anyone suddenly became financially secure that meant he was a spy. A negative connotation has remained in Elistratov's (2010: 170) dictionary when he commented on the winged phrase as "шутливо-неодобрительно о ком-либо, кто живёт на широкую ногу, тратит много денег" ("jocular-disapproving of someone who lives in great style, spends a lot of money").

Elistratov (2010: 19) places emphasis on different historical cut-offs of cinema folklore, drawing a line between the aesthetical world view frameworks of different generations. This seeks to explain the varieties of verbal behaviour in different generations when quoting winged phrases from Soviet films. Kudriavtseva's (2008: 25-26) research provides examples for such an assumption in a form of demographic and social variables: films such as *"Чапаев"* and *"Александр Невский" (Alexander Nevsky, Mosfilm, 1938)* are today quoted by those who are over 70 years of age. Those who are in their 60s are more likely to quote *"Подкидыш" (The Foundling, Mosfilm, 1939)* and *"Весна" (The Spring, Mosfilm, 1947)*, those in their 40s and 50-s quote films *"Москва слезам не верит" (Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears), "Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!", "Бриллиантовая рука"*. The generation of the start of the 1980s prefers *"АССА" (ASSA, Mosfilm, 1988), "Курьер" (The Messenger, Mosfilm, 1985), "Брат" (Brother, СТВ, 1997), "Особенности национальной охоты в осенний период", "Особенности национальной рыбалки" (Peculiarities of National Fishing, СТВ, 1998).*

As Kudriavtseva (2008: 25) points out, research in the field of comparing patterns of usage of winged phrases from films in Russia and the United States has indicated that both countries tend to quote films made no later than the 1990s. Most of the quotations are context-based rather than general philosophical aphorisms. However, the percentage of winged phrases usage in spoken English in the United States was much lower than in Russia, at less than 4%. This has been explained by the fact that winged phrases from films in the United States are mainly quoted in the mass media rather than in day-to-day spoken language.

A number of scholars have noted a correlation in social variables (including gender and profession) of Russian speakers and the films they quote (Kudriavtseva 2008: 28; Elistratov 2010: 20), which is an area worth of further investigation. In addition, Elistratov (2010: 4-5) proposes that the start of the 21st century is characterised by an increased interest in old-time quotations, including cinema quotations, arguing that by this point extremely popular films from the past had come to be considered far more important:

> Последние годы – годы бума ретроцитации, в том числе и киноцитации. Как это ни парадоксально, *"Служебный роман", "С лёгким паром", "Место встречи изменить нельзя"* и тому подобные культовые фильмы прошлого стали, если можно так выразиться, ещё более культовыми.
>
> (Recent years are the years of increased demand on retro citation, which includes cinema citation. Surprisingly, *Office Romance, Have a Good Sauna, The Meeting Place Must Not Be Changed* and suchlike iconic films of the past became, if I may say so, even more iconic).

Elistratov's statement, added to the fact that insufficient research has been conducted in the field of Soviet cinematic winged phrases and their usage in contemporary Russian – itself a field which is considered to be another gap in knowledge – have guided the direction of this study.

2.7.2 Media in which winged phrases from Soviet films are used

As briefly mentioned earlier in this chapter, pathways for winged phrases from Soviet films can include media sources, which include newspapers, literary texts, speech of modern film characters, TV show presenters, advertising and Internet-communication.

The broadest range of media of winged phrases usage is presented in Diadechko's (2008) dictionary *"Крылатые слова нашего времени: толковый словарь: более 1000 единиц"*:

1) media texts and caricatures – e.g. the winged phrase "*Гюльчатай! Открой личико" ("Giul'chatai! Show your face")* from *"Белое солнце пустыни" (The White Sun of the Desert, Mosfilm, Lenfilm, 1970)* (Diadechko 2008: 160);

2) literary texts – e.g. the winged phrase *"Будет тебе и там и ванна, будет и кофе, будет и какаво с чаем" ("You'll get your bath all right there, and coffee, too. Even some cocoa with tea!")* from *"Бриллиантовая рука"* as a part of a dialogue in Dashkova's detective story *"Место под солнцем" (A Place Under the Sun)* (Diadechko 2008: 68);

3) speech of TV show presenters – e.g. the winged phrase *"Коротенько, минут на сорок" ("A short speech, 40 minutes or so")* from *"Карнавальная ночь"* which appeared in the popular TV show *"Голубой огонёк" (The Blue Light)* (Diadechko 2008: 327)*;*

4) lines from modern pop songs – e.g. the winged phrase "*Восток – дело тонкое" ("The Orient is a tricky business")* from *"Белое солнце пустыни"* (Diadechko 2008: 116);

5) TV advertisements – e.g. the winged phrase *"Налетай, торопись, покупай живопись!"* from *"Операция "Ы" и другие приключения Шурика"* (Diadechko 2008: 419);

6) shows by *КВН (Club of the Funny and Inventive)* – e.g. the winged phrase *"– Жить, как говорится, хорошо! – А хорошо жить – ещё лучше!" ("– To live, so*

to say, is good! – But to live well is even better!") from *"Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика"* (Diadechko 2008: 237).

Amongst many examples of how winged phrases from Soviet films are being used in modern cinema dialogue, Kozhevnikov (2001: 5) lists serials such as *"Улицы разбитых фонарей" (Streets of Broken Lights, 1997 – 1999)* and *"Ускоренная помощь" (Emergency Ambulance, 1991 – 2001).*

The focus of this study is winged phrases from Soviet cinema in contemporary Russian. In particular, great interest in this field lies in the areas of Internet-communication and in the winged phrases from Soviet films embedded into newspaper headlines; these applications are discussed in the following sections of this chapter.

2.8 Winged phrases from Soviet films in social networks and online discussion forums

While research conducted on the use of winged phrases from Soviet films in online communication is for now limited to Krupenko's (2011) Master's thesis, such phrases are rapidly gaining popularity in social networks and online discussion forums. For this reason, it is appropriate to address the problem of the interrelation of spoken and written Russian in Internet-communication. The discourse of social network groups and online discussion forums is discussed based on the existing literature in this field.

2.8.1 Communication in RuNet: a linguistic perspective

The topic of RuNet – the Russian language segment of the Internet (Schmidt & Teubener 2006: 14) as a source of linguistic analysis is relatively new. As a result, there is no single opinion on the description of RuNet language. Moroslin, Mamontov and Gritsenko (2017: 337) apply discourse theory in order to identify the particularities of text functioning in the Internet. They emphasise computer discourse as a separate specific form of discourse where online communication is defined as any communication within computer networks which uses special

type of signals – electronic signals of communication (Moroslin, Mamontov & Gritsenko, 2017: 339).

Amongst various approaches by linguists, Kytina (2017: 267) outlines hybrid, mixed types of oral and written communication of RuNet. Karpova (2010: 71) states that the speech of Internet in Russian is "письменная разговорная речь" ("written spoken speech"). Marchenko (2013: 9) argues that the language of social networks communication poses a new variation of written speech – "спонтанная письменная речь" ("spontaneous written speech"), while Krotova and Permiakova (2017: 243) refer to Internet-communication language as "письменная разговорная спонтанная речь" ("written spoken spontaneous speech").

The approach adopted in the current research project to the language of RuNet is determined by the Internet-using situation, which for the purposes of this study is communication in a social network service and in an online discussion forum. Therefore, according to Ivanova (2011: 2), the language of online discussion forums can be considered the most distant from written forms of speech. Marchenko (2013: 10) argues that there is a tendency towards "актуализация устного общения" ("actualisation of oral intercourse") in social networks communication; modern Russian phraseology has recently obtained a new term – "поболтать ВКонтакте" ("to have a chat in VKontakte"). Such reference to online dialogue stresses the spoken aspect of the language of social networks communication. Similarly, a number of linguists consider the language of Internet communication as oral speech (Kytina 2017: 264; Markovich 2017: 303) focusing on its spontaneity despite its written reproduction.

Tsariova and Chernova (2017: 484-485) argue that online social chat correspondence is produced in spoken Russian. This line of thought is supported by growing interest in academic literature in the problem of obeying language norms in Internet-communication (Kakorina 2010; Kuznetsova 2009; Markovich 2017; Moroslin, Mamontov & Gritsenko 2017; Voznesenskaia & Popova 2009), which is conditioned by the influence of oral speech. Features of spoken language in Internet-communication have been identified at the phonetic level (Moroslin, Mamontov & Gritsenko 2017: 342) as well as on the syntactic and lexical levels (Kuznetsova 2009: 50).

This thesis involves research into online communication concerning the *"Цитаты советского кино" (Quotations from Soviet Cinema)* group on the social network service *ВКонтакте (VKontakte)* as well as on the *ЯПлакалъ (YaPlakal)* online discussion forum. In defining the term "социальная сеть" ('social network'), Zheltukhina and Pavlov (2016: 90) are followed, who describe it as: "социальная и технологическая структура интерактивных единичных и групповых коммуникантов на Интернет-платформе, вебсайте или сервисе, в режиме онлайн" ("a social and technological structure of interactive single and group communicants on an Internet platform, website or service in online mode"). Regarding the terms 'communication within social network group' and 'communication in online discussion forum' Crystal's (2001: 129) definition of a 'chat group' is adopted; therefore, we will refer to it as "world-wide multi-participant electronic discourse, whether real-time or not". Taking into account arguments in favour of spoken aspects of communication in social networking services and online discussion forums, for the purpose of this research the language of such communication is referred to as 'spoken written language'.

2.8.2 Virtual discourse in social networking sites and online discussion forums

Recent studies have identified leisure discourse as the main type of RuNet discourse (Karpova 2010: 70). In social networks, Karpova (2010: 75) emphasises online written communication as a core aspect of leisure discourse; it is followed by self-presentation and a hobby. Virtual communication is informal (Altukhova 2012: 7), it also fosters creativity amongst interlocutors (Karpova 2010: 71). In addition, the virtual community can be characterised by a positive, friendly atmosphere where communicative activity is encouraged (Karpova 2010: 73). Fayard and DeSanctis (2010: 383-385) highlight a sense of "we-ness" of online forums, which involves the development of a collective identity and shared culture produced through the enactment of the language games.

Language plays an important role in constructing online identity. Delahunty (2012: 409) notes that "identity is constructed, maintained, understood, negotiated and interpreted through language". As has been argued by Karpova (2010: 71) and Gritsenko and Emier (2011: 472), linguistic abilities are thought to be the main qualities of virtual personality.

In understanding of 'virtual personality', Gorny's (2009: 175) description is partly followed: "a fictitious personality, established by a person or group of people which creates semiotic artefacts and/or which is described 'from without' (virtual character, virtual persona)". While the description 'fictitious' is applicable to online discussion forums, it can be omitted in describing a virtual personality in a social network environment due to the fact that the majority of communicants are registered under their real names and have a profile photo. It should be noted that similarly to one-to-one interaction, in a social network environment and in an online discussion forum each user enters a conversation on behalf of themselves, and not on behalf of a group. Virtual personality is also not a virtual character described by someone else: the main interest of this research is in the verbal behaviour of a real person in a virtual reality. Therefore, the general definition of a virtual personality in this study is as follows: "a personality, established by a person in a virtual reality, which creates semiotic artefacts".

In describing communication in a social network group, it seems logical to adopt some of the characteristics of Internet discussion forums outlined in the scholarly literature. According to Crystal (200: 134), they are designed to provoke and accept short messages: "chat groups are unlikely to be a domain where lengthy monologues or balanced dialogues – speeches, lectures, commercial presentations, formal debates, and suchlike – are found". Following Moroslin, Mamontov and Gritsenko's (2017: 341) classification of messages within the written polylogue that takes place on Internet discussion forums, (wall posts and user comments within a social network group) can be referred to as two different types of messages: 1) messages that open a communicative episode and 'turn' the polylogue into the direction that is intended by the text's author; 2) messages that continue the communicative episode, which are reactions to previous messages. Crystal (2001: 129) notes that people engage in online conversation either synchronously, in real time, or asynchronously, in postponed time. However, the main difference between communication on online discussion forums and in social network groups is that social network service group members use their real names. From a linguistic point of view, this is important, as the verbal strategies adopted by an anonymous Internet user are different from those typically employed by a communicant who can be identified, as their freedom of expression may be more limited. This brings communication in a social network group closer to face-to-face interaction.

The postponed mode of communication distinguishes online discourse from face-to-face communication. As Crystal (2001: 135) puts it:

> Each contributor leaves a linguistic 'footprint', in that what is said has a permanent pragmatic effect. In face-to-face communication, pragmatic effects are typically more immediate and direct.

Crystal (2001: 136) also notes that virtual interaction does not have communicative consequence – "there is no guarantee that a sender E, responding to message A, has read any of messages B, C, D which may have been sent to the group in the interim".

There are other differences that apply to virtual discourse when comparing it to face-to-face interaction. Vorontsova (2017: 169) refers to comments on a single message as a 'polylogue' act of communication. She argues that its main difference from a real public polylogue is that here each response-statement does not necessarily assume an answer. Comments may not be connected between each interlocutor, they may be united only by the topic of a message. However, in the majority, a block of comments on a message is a meaningful polylogue, where active verbal interaction is present.

Approval or a judgement of a verbal act in communication in a social network group is also different from face-to-face communication. Kytina (2017: 264-265) argues that in the communicative Internet-field it is not necessary to express your feelings or complex emotional reactions in a rhetorically compound way: leaving a picture, symbolic phrase or a 'like' is enough. Wall posts or user comments which have received recognition from other social network users might receive a 'like' or can be 'reposted', which means "posted again on an internet chat board" (Collins English Dictionary 2019). Virtual reality may encourage a person to be free from psychological complexes which exist in real life (Karpova 2010: 71). It seems obvious that pressing a 'like' or a 'repost' button is a more time-saving and easy way to express an agreement with someone's opinion.

In addition, Lugovskaia (2017: 300) points out that amongst various ways of transforming oral speech into Internet communication – including short clips, emoji, 'smiles' and other pictorial representations – extracts from films and animation are also gaining popularity. Such video patterns function like precedent texts: they have a theme, and a concrete type of reaction is expected. Lugovskaia (2017) compares them to a spoken response: 'Remember how it was in that film?' and notes the difference between such phrases in oral and written languages: in written language phrase selection is not spontaneous but conscious.

It is important to address the question of short clips with winged phrases from Soviet films in online communication in this research. A video clip is not a verbal act of a social network user, it is a pre-reordered response pronounced by an actor selected by a virtual personality for the purpose of communication to other social network users. However, study of video clips does not result in addressing the research questions of this study. Therefore, short video clips from Soviet films posted by social network group members as part of their comments will not be included into this research.

2.8.3 Soviet precedent texts in online communication

Gritsenko and Emier (2011: 463-464) consider to what extent the post-Soviet generation aged 18 – 30 feels nostalgic for Soviet times by analysing Soviet precedent texts in Internet discussion forums and blogs. They argue that Soviet precedent texts, including winged phrases from Soviet films, are specifically deployed in Internet-communication for such reasons as confirming previously expressed thoughts, promoting one's own cultural credibility (hereafter, 'self-presentation'), as well as becoming an independent object of the communicant's reflection. Self-presentation in Internet communication was suggested as the main driver for using Soviet precedent texts, as recognition of the communicant by others takes place only on linguistic grounds. As a result, the virtual personality can use precedent texts and winged phrases from film, television and poetic genres to demonstrate his or her wit and erudition (Gritsenko & Emier 2011: 472). This brings Internet communication into line with spoken language, although it can be suggested that more sophisticated linguistic input is required in the virtual world.

A variety of topics influences the usage of precedent texts by virtual interlocutors: when online forum members are not limited by one specific topic, interlocutors use precedent texts from their active vocabulary (Gritsenko & Emier 2011: 464).

It is important to note that scholarship in the area of Russian precedent texts in Internet-communication is limited to the writings of Gritsenko (2009, 2013), Gritsenko and Emier (2011), Krupenko (2011), Evenko, Kliukina and Shipovskaia (2014). These researchers, with the exception of Krupenko (2011), mainly focused on precedent texts from various sources. Only a very small number of winged phrases from Soviet films was considered in these efforts. This indicates a need for closer examination of winged phrases from Soviet films in RuNet. Therefore, the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group on the social network *ВКонтакте* and *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum was identified as a productive data source for this research. Description of both sources and steps in data collection receive detailed attention in the methodology and research design chapter of this thesis.

2.9 Winged phrases from Soviet films used as or embedded into newspaper headings

Modern newspapers include elements of spoken, vernacular language and even slang and are characterised by the high level of relaxedness of presentation, as noted by Zemskaia (2014: 717). Therefore, this layer or written Russian cannot be ignored in the field of winged phrases from Soviet films. While the timeframe open to this research permitted for a brief analysis of winged phrases from Soviet films from this additional media angle, it only allowed for a focus on newspaper headlines rather than winged phrase identification within whole articles.

There were other reasons than time constraints alone which determined the decision to focus on newspaper headings as a source of winged phrases: Zemskaia (2014: 726) argues that one of the striking elements of the newspaper is its headings. Thus, heading occupies a strong position within a newspaper; many readers do not read all of the articles, but instead look through the headings. The highly informative value of the heading is highlighted, as the heading includes not a nominative or other case of the noun but the whole sentence (Zemskaia 2014: 721). Such quality applies to winged phrases, which often include verbs in wide variety

of forms, e.g. *"Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят"*, *"Ой, тёпленькая пошла!" ("Oh, it's getting warmer!")*, *"Налетай, торопись, покупай живопись!"*.

Galieva and Zinnatova (2011: 239) argue that one of the most difficult tasks for the journalist is to make a newspaper heading easy for perception, informative and intriguing at the same time, and precedent texts are a solution. They note that there is a tendency in substitution of one word in a precedent text used as a newspaper headline while creating a heading in the recent years. Galieva and Zinnatova (2011: 239) also note the increase of intertextuality or the usage of other texts within one text as a new sociocultural phenomenon within the contemporary Russian discourse, particularly in the discourse of newspapers. Zemskaia (2014: 725) argues that one of the typical ways for implementing poetic function into language is inclusion into the newspaper text some other text as a pure text (quotation) and as transformed text (quasi-quotation).

As Berkov and Berkova (2000: 8) suggest, members of a particular language society perceive quotations in newspaper headings as known, in the majority of the cases the reader knows the source of the quotation. However, they argue that the corpus of quotations used by a specific "языковой коллектив" ('linguistic collective') is constantly changing (Berkov and Berkova 2000: 7) and suggest that with reference to a large number of 'winged words' widely used in speech, Russian speakers "отчётливо ощущают, что это выражение – цитата, но источника не помнят или не знают" ("distinctly feel that the phrase is a quotation, but they do not remember or do not know it's source") (Berkov and Berkova 2000: 6).

Yurii Lotman (1992: 155) highlights the process of switching between different systems of semiotic awareness of the text as he writes about the inclusion of one text within the other text:

> "Текст в тексте" – это специфическое риторическое построение, при котором различие в закодированности разных частей текста делается выявленным фактором авторского построения и читательского восприятия текста. Переключение из одной системы семиотического осознания текста в другую на каком-то внутреннем структурном рубеже составляет в этом случае основу генерирования смысла. Такое построение, прежде всего, обостряет момент игры в тексте: с позиции другого способа кодирования, текст

приобретает черты повышенной условности, подчёркивается его игровой характер: иронический, пародийный, театрализованный смысл и т.д..

('Text within a text' is a peculiar rhetorical construction, in which the difference in coding of various parts of the text becomes an uncovered factor of the author's construction and the reader's perception of the text. Switching from one system of semiotic awareness of the text into another at some kind of inner structural border constitutes in this case the foundation of generating meaning. Such construction first and foremost sharpens the moment of game in the text: from the perspective of another way of coding, the text obtains characteristics of increased conditionality, its playful nature is highlighted, such as ironic, parodic, theatrical meaning etc.).

Zemskaia (2014: 726) suggests that precedent texts included into headlines describe the mentality and the level of a journalist, as well as the mindset and a communicative competency of the reader. The presence of 'other words' adds a sharp expression to the modern discourse, as a result of exploring quotations the discourse obtains dialogism; however, if the reader is not familiar with the quotation, there will be no dialogue with the author as the reader doesn't see 'text within a text' and feels rather lost and annoyed as argued by Zemskaia (2014: 715). Such process is described by Bakhtin as a failure of the "living utterance, having taken meaning and shape at a particular historical moment in a socially specific environment" to "become an active participant in social dialogue" (Bakhtin 1981: 276).

While both abovementioned notions of dialogism and semiotics shape a theoretical basis of this study (see §2.11.1 & §2.11.2), the next section of this literature review highlights the importance of transformations of winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary Russian.

2.10 Transformation of winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary Russian

As indicated earlier, well-known winged phrases from cinema occupy a noteworthy part of a modern journalist's lexicon. While listing winged phrases from cinema as one of the sources of precedent texts for journalists, Galieva and Zinnatova (2011: 239) identified two groups of precedent texts actively used in journalistic writing:

1) *национально-прецедентные (national-precedent)* – texts known to any average representative of one or another national-linguistic-cultural society;

2) *универсально-прецедентные (universal-precedent)* – texts which are known to any average modern person and as a result are included into the 'universal' cognitive space.

Such a level of recognition gives well-known winged phrases from cinema an opportunity for transformation, which arguably takes place not only in media sources, but in contemporary spoken Russian as well.

Galieva and Zinnatova (2011: 240) argue that transformation of precedent texts in modern newspaper headings adds expression to the writing. Thus, as noted by Zemskaia (2014: 728), transformed quotations in newspaper headlines are used more often. Gritsenko and Emier (2011: 464) observe the presence of transformed Soviet precedent texts from various sources in Internet online discussion forums and blogs. Some of the precedent texts undergo two or three transformations and the fact that the winged phrase can undergo multiple transformations illustrates the stability of the transformed winged phrase, as argued by Ezhkova (2010: 22-25).

This phenomenon represents an interesting topic in the field of linguistic analysis in itself. Various relations between initial and transformed meanings of precedent texts across media have been identified: synonymous, paronymous and – most often – antonymous (Galieva & Zinnatova 2011: 240). Gritsenko and Emier (2011: 474) add the process of hidden dialogue between a Soviet winged phrase and its transformed version when a comparative aspect is highlighted.

A summary of various types of precedent text transformations follows. This offers an analytical structure for considering winged phrases from Soviet film scripts. It is important to note that more than one transformation method can take place in the original text change (Galieva & Zinnatova 2011: 240):

1) замещение (substitution) (Ezhkova 2010: 23) or the method of replacement of components (Petukhova & Simulina 2015: 213). A variation of this type is a change of word order within one precedent text (Galieva & Zinnatova 2011: 240); in Internet discussion forums components of a precedent text are replaced by antonyms (Gritsenko & Emier 2011: 474);

2) *усечение (reduction)* (Ezhkova 2010: 23; Galieva and Zinnatova 2011: 240);

3) *добавление компонента или расширение (addition)* (Ezhkova 2010: 23; Galieva & Zinnatova 2011: 240; Petukhova & Simulina 2015: 2014);

4) *контаминация (blend)* (Ezhkova 2010: 23; Petukhova & Simulina 2015: 2014);

5) *перемещение (hyperthesis)* of a precedent text components (Ezhkova 2010: 24);

6) *изменение интонационной оформленности (change of intonational contour)* (Ezhkova 2010: 23; Petukhova & Simulina 2015: 214);

7) *реминисцентная трансформация (reminiscential transformation)* (Ezhkova 2010: 24);

8) *искажение грамматической формы компонентов (change of grammatical form of the components)* (Petukhova & Simulina 2015: 214);

9) *заменение ожидаемой концовки другими словами (replacement of the expected ending by other words)* (Petukhova & Simulina 2015: 214);

10) *каламбур (wordplay)* (Petukhova & Simulina 2015: 214).

Some of the linguistic processes described above that take place within set expressions resemble what Norman (1999: 104-106) refers to as verbal games. His classification includes the following:

1) deliberately breaking the rules of collocation: breaking up and contaminating existing set expressions, creating new ones, combining contrasting stylistic elements in a single context;

2) deviations from the norm in the area of syntax, in particular, deliberately leaving vacant syntactic positions that should normally be filled, unconventional or 'incorrect' filling of a syntactic position, expanding the lexical resources for describing causal relations.

Current literature related to precedent text transformations does not provide examples of winged phrases from Soviet films and therefore appears to be a distinct field for further research. The process of winged phrase transformation and recognition of such phrases by native speakers presents a potential approach to an analysis of winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary Russian. The topic of winged phrases' transformation addresses a second research question raised in this literature review chapter: how are winged phrases from Soviet films incorporated into contemporary Russian language practice? In order to address this question, patterns in winged phrases' transformations warrant investigation.

2.11 Theoretical overview of the study

The theoretical framework for this research has evolved from a number of different fields of inquiry that include Mikhail Bakhtin's writings on dialogism, heteroglossia and carnival (Bakhtin 1965, 1975, 1979a, 1979b, 1981, 1984, 1996). Theories that emerge from Bakhtin's dialogism, such as Dimock's (1997) theory of resonance, may also be applied, as well as studies into semiotics (Lotman 1973a, 1973b, 1990, 1992, 2005; Clark 2010) and of Russian fairy tales (Propp 1968). Writings on cognitive linguistics (e.g. Brône, Feyaerts, & Veale 2015; Dynel 2018) and, in particular, Seana Coulson's (2015) space structuring model in humour research could add further theoretical dimensions to the current study. To date, there has been no detailed investigation into the winged phrases from Soviet films drawing on any of the abovementioned fields of inquiry. Therefore, this study adds richer depictions to the phenomenon of winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary Russian.

The next three sections of this literature review identify strengths of each of the abovementioned theories and deficiencies they can fill in this particular study.

2.11.1 Bakhtin's concepts of dialogism, heteroglossia and carnival

Bakhtin's concept of *диалогизм (dialogism)* offers a socio-historical theory of discourse whereby language production and understanding is conceived as a dialogic and socially situated activity (Thompson 2015: 4). Bakhtin (1996: 325) notes dialogic relations which exist between any texts in speech:

> Диалогические отношения – это (смысловые) отношения между всякими высказываниями в речевом общении. Любые два высказывания, если мы сопоставим их в смысловой плоскости (не как вещи и не как лингвистические примеры), окажутся в диалогическом отношении.
>
> (Dialogic relations are (semantic) relations between any utterances in verbal communication. Any two utterances, if we compare them on the level of notion (not as objects and not as linguistic examples), are found in dialogic relations).

Bakhtin (1979a: 240) stresses connection between language and life: "язык входит в жизнь через конкретные высказывания (реализующие его), через конкретные же высказывания и жизнь входит в язык" ("the language enters life through concrete utterances (which put it into action), but through the concrete utterances the life enters language"). In other words, writers and readers, as well as speakers and listeners, engage inter-subjectively in the production of texts that intersect and address each other (Thompson 2015: 4).

Holquist (1990: 31) views dialogism as epistemology, a way of knowing the world through language and not just a theory of knowledge. Dialogism is also referred to by Plekhanova (2011: 39) as *"философия языка" ('philosophy of the language').* The existing literature highlights two approaches to the Bakhtin's dialogical model of language: *"ретроспективный аспект" ('retrospective aspect')* and *"проспективный аспект" ('prospective aspect')* (Plekhanova 2011: 39-40). From the retrospective view, every text is dialogic as the word has dialogic relations with the past context. The word and the speaker are surrounded by other words on the same topic. Every text enters into specific relations with the previous texts. The speaker "предполагает не только наличие системы того языка, которым он пользуется,

но и наличие каких-то предшествующих высказываний – своих и чужих, – к которым его данное высказывание вступает в те или иные отношения (опирается на них, полемизирует с ними, просто предлагает их уже известными слушателю)" ("assumes not only the existence of the system of the language which he uses, but also some pre-existing utterances – his own and others – with which his given utterance enters in some or other relations (refers to them, enter into polemics with them, simply offers them as already known to the listener)") (Bakhtin 1979a: 247).

From the prospective view, the text is dialogic because it is directed or intended and anticipates the answer of another speaker. The listener assimilates the text into his or her conceptual system, which adds new elements to it. Therefore, the text lives in a dialogic environment "между кругозорами говорящего и слушателя" ("between the scopes of the speaker and listener") (Plekhanova 2011: 40).

Dimock (1997) proposed an approach of diachronic historicism and resonance as the key concept of Bakhtin's dialogism. Diachronic historicism "allows texts to be seen as objects that do a lot of travelling: across space and especially across time. And as they travel they run into new semantic networks, new ways of imputing meaning". Thus, "meanings are produced over and over again, attaching themselves to, overlapping with, and sometimes coming into conflict with previous ones" (Dimock 1997: 1061-62).

While referring to Bakhtin's dialogic phenomenon when describing a text's ability to obtain new meanings, Dimock (1997) also argues by quoting Einstein that physicists' analysis of motion across space-time can also be applied to the analysis of texts in relation to its contexts: "A text is finite, but its contexts are countless" (Dimock 1997: 1065).

Bakhtin introduces a concept of language not only as a dynamic, changing, but as a multi-voiced one. The term *разноречие (heteroglossia)* mentioned in §2.2 of this chapter encompasses diverse world views, meanings, and value in language (Vitanova 2010: 21). While dealing with Dostoevskii's stylistics, Bakhtin (1979b: 6) highlights *полифония (polyphony)* in his novels. Literary texts include different voices of characters, author, narrator, each of which has a different voice, which enters a dialogue (Plekhanova 2011: 47). Therefore,

texts are multi-voiced. Bakhtin (1981) argues that language is stratified into socio-ideological languages, such as "languages of social groups, 'professional' and 'generic' languages, languages of generations and so forth" (272). Particularly notable is 'other words' usage argued by Bakhtin (1981: 337):

> In all areas of life and ideological activity, our speech is filled to overflowing with other people's words, which are transmitted with highly-varied degrees of accuracy and impartiality.

With reference to winged phrases' contexts, Bakhtin's works on dialogism and heteroglossia are particularly relevant as they provide a dynamic framework for analysing contextual usage of winged phrases both in oral speech and in Internet communication. As Bakhtin (1981: 293) notes:

> For any individual consciousness living in it, language is not an abstract system of normative forms but rather a concrete heteroglot conception of the world. All words have the "taste" of a profession, a genre, a tendency, a party, a particular work, a particular person, a generation, an age group, the day and hour. Each word tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life; all words and forms are populated by intentions.

Equally, Bakhtin's concept of dialogism is particularly helpful in shedding light on the process of transformations of winged phrases, as it also illustrates that the variety of ways of transferring 'other' utterance is determined by changing social conditions of communication (Plekhanova 2011: 116).

Plekhanova (2011: 116) notes that "созданная Бахтиным типология высказываний отражает особенности взаимодействия своего и чужого высказывания и является основой его металингвистики, новым методом стилистического анализа текста как в плане индивидуального стиля, так и в плане его структуры" ("a typology of utterances created by Bakhtin reflects on particularities of interaction of someone's own and other utterance and is the basis of his metalinguistics, a new method of stylistic analysis of the text from the perspective of both its individual style and structure").

Therefore, dialogism is a framework that considers the uniqueness of each person and his or her unrepeatable social and historical location. It also allows for the human potential for creativity and the possibility for transformation. Dialogism is a view of individuals as active and dynamic (or 'speaking') subjects with multiple voices, who draw on different linguistic forms and their embedded ideologies to 'author' themselves as they orient towards, interact with and respond to each other (Vitanova 2010: 132-134).

Similarly to dialogism, *карнавал (carnival)* is one of Bakhtin's most influential concepts. In *"Творчество Франсуа Рабле"* (*Rabelais and His World)* Bakhtin (1965) refers to carnival as a complex system and pays special attention on carnival festivities. Carnival is described as "вторая жизнь народа, организованная на начале смеха" ("second life of the people, originated on the basis of laughter") (Bakhtin 1965: 11). Carnival laughter is first of all "праздничный" ("festive"), secondly, it is "универсален, он направлен на всё и на всех (в том числе и на самих участников карнавала)" ("universal, it is directed to all and everyone (including the participants of the carnival themselves)") (Bakhtin 1965: 15). The importance and power of laughter is highlighted as Bakhtin notes its independence from the outside forces:

> …laughter in the Middle Ages remained outside all official spheres of ideology and outside all official strict forms of social relations. Laughter was eliminated from religious cult, from feudal and state ceremonials, etiquette, and from all the genres of high speculation' (Bakhtin 1984: 73).

While Middle Ages class culture is described as "authoritarian" with "violence, prohibitions, limitations" and "an element of fear and intimidation", medieval laughter was seen by Bakhtin as "victory over fear" (Bakhtin 1984: 90).

A unique "карнавально-площадный стиль речи" ("carnivalesque style of expression") (Bakhtin 1965: 14) which takes place at a market-place is identified: street cries in the form of the loud advertisements in the marketplace filled with laughter "merged with the general popular-festive and utopian world" (Bakhtin 1984: 185). Special attention is paid to the fools and clowns, who are described as "characteristic of the medieval culture of humour", "constant,

accredited representatives of the carnival spirit" who "remained fools and clowns always and wherever they made their appearance" (Bakhtin 1964: 8).

Bakhtin's (1965) writing on carnival are fruitful for understanding reasons for quoting winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary Russian. As argued by McWilliams (2001: 248):

> …we need to understand how language itself is transformed by film's distinctive form of carnival. Language, Bakhtin continually reminds us, is always situated, it comes to us from a specific context.

There is also a criticism directed to the appropriateness of applying Bakhtin's ideas. While his writings have received much attention in recent years, careful application of the theory to practice is required. As noted by Matilainen (1998: 37), "we seem to have plenty of dialogism and various carnivalesque phenomena around us, waiting to be baptised 'Bakhtinian'". Steinby (2013: 37) argues that "once become part of the toolkit of literary scholars, Bakhtin's concepts have taken on an academic life of their own: they have often been used in an approximate way, even misleadingly". Therefore, a selective approach to writings of Bakhtinologists and taking due care to avoid misinterpretation of Bakhtinian ideas is important.

The problem of translation of Bakhtin's writings by different authors into English also needs to be addressed. Thus, there is no one term in Bakhtin's works in Russian to refer to the abovementioned concept of *разноречие (heteroglossia)* as Bakhtin uses *разноязычие (medley of languages), разноголосица (variglossia):* "Роман – это художественно организованное социальное разноречие, иногда разноязычие, и индивидуальная разноголосица" ("The novel is artistically organised social heteroglossia, at times medley of languages and variglossia") (Bakhtin 1975: 76; Piskunova 2014: 49).

This research aims to include the original writings by Bakhtin translated by the author where possible in order to give the most appropriate interpretation of Bakhtin's ideas. Where the author had the choice between the original work and the translation, the preference was given

to the original work with the exception when English translation seemed to be more appropriate in order to refer to key concepts of each theory.

The same applies to the writings of the semiotician Yurii Lotman, whose views are discussed in the next section of this chapter. It should be noted that some of Lotman's works which were not identified as translated into English were included in this research using the author's own translation.

2.11.2 Lotman's writings on semiotics and on the semiosphere

There is a great deal of literature available on semiotics, which is the theory of sign systems, but Lotman in particular (1973a) provided a detailed justification for applying semiotic methodology in the language of cinema. His writings in the field of semiotics are remarkable in a number of aspects outlined by Kull (2015):

> 1) foundational formulation of the principles of the semiotics of culture;
>
> 2) fundamental description of communication and sign processes as modelling processes;
>
> 3) detailed analysis of the empirical material (literature and cultural phenomena), making it possible to use his models as a basis for contemporary semiotics (Kull 2015: 255).

In this research, an interpretation of winged phrases in contemporary Russian drawing upon Lotman's writings on cultural semiotics is presented. Lotman's concept of the *семиосфера (semiosphere)*, which is "concerned with culture as a complex system of signs that communicate with one another" (Ndalianis 2014: 5) is particularly useful in this respect. In his essay *"О семиосфере" (On the semiosphere)* (Lotman 1992, 2005) and in the book *Universe of the mind: a semiotic theory of culture* (1990) Lotman outlined the theory of semiosphere or semiotic space, "вне которого невозможно само существование семиозиса" ("outside of which semiosis itself cannot exist") (Lotman 1992: 13). The term was introduced by analogy

with Vernadsky's concepts of *"биосфера" ('biosphere')* and *"ноосфера" ('noosphere')* (Lotman 1992: 12). While Lotman argues, that "the space of the semiosphere carries an abstract character", it is not used "in a metaphorical sense", but rather is "a specific sphere, possessing signs, which are assigned to the enclosed space". According to Lotman, "only within such a space is it possible for communicative processes and the creation of new information to be realised" (Lotman 2005: 207).

While outlining the attributes of the semiosphere, Lotman focuses on the border of semiotic space as its "most important functional and structural position, giving substance to its semiotic mechanism" (Lotman 2005: 210). The border is described as a "bilingual mechanism, translating external communications into the internal language of the semiosphere and vice versa", which divides "the self from the other" and filters "external communication and the translation thereof into its own language" (Lotman 2005: 210).

The semiosphere has its border, "represented by the sum of bilingual translatable 'filters', passing through which the text is translated into another language (or languages), situated outside the given semiosphere" (Lotman 2005: 205). Creation of a new meaning is a result of dialogic exchange of texts when they cross the semiotic border as Lotman (1992: 17-19) puts it:

> …семиосфера многократно пересекается внутренними границами, специализирующими её участки в семиотическом отношении. Информационная трансляция через эти границы, игра между различными структурами и подструктурами, направленные непрерывные семиотические "вторжения" той или иной структуры на "чужую территорию" образуют порождения смысла, возникновение новой информации.

> (…the semiosphere repeatedly crosses its own internal borders, which specialise its parts in a semiotic sense. The translation of information through these borders, a game between various structures and sub-structures, the continuous semiotic 'invasions' of one or other structure into the 'other territory' creates meaning, appearance of new information).

Wilma Clark's (2010) concept of 'resemiotisation' as a notion of Lotman's 'translation' mentioned above is referred to as follows:

> The act of translation relates to a process of transformation. It is not a mere substitution of like for like, but a remediation, an act of assimilation and resemiotisation across and between disparate sign systems. This resemiotisation generates an element of unpredictability in the dialogic process (Clark 2010: 67).

Notably, Lotman (1992: 19) highlights the "диалогический обмен текстами" ("dialogic exchange of texts") within "семиотический процесс" ("semiotic process"). Particular attention is paid to the "транслируемый текст" ("the text which is being translated"), which "должен, упреждая ответ, содержать в себе элементы перехода на чужой язык" ("must, while anticipating the answer, include the elements of transition into another language") (Lotman 1992: 19). In other words, texts obtain new meanings by taking on new elements. According to Lotman, one of the key concepts in a mythologic-oriented culture is *"текст-код" ('text-code')* between a language and intermediate text:

> Входя в структурные связи с элементами своего уровня, он (текст-код) образует текст, наделённый всеми признаками текстовой реальности, даже если он нигде не выявлен, а лишь неосознанно существует в голове сказителя,.. организуя его память и подсказывая ему пределы возможного варьирования текста. Именно такая реальность описывается моделью волшебной сказки Проппа....
>
> (While entering into structural connections with the elements of its level, it (text-code) creates a text, which possesses all the qualities of textual realness, even if it is not discovered, but unconsciously exists in the narrator's mind … arranging his memory and suggesting to him the limits of possible variation of the text. Such a reality is being described by Propp's model of a fairytale...) (Lotman 1992: 150-151).

2.11.3 Winged phrases from Soviet film as a continuation of a Russian folkloric tradition

Lotman's reference to Propp's model of a fairy tale connects the concept of *"текст-код"* to the idea that in narratives of Russian fairy tales there are 31 functions and eight generic character types discussed by Vladimir Propp in *Morphology of the Folktale* (Propp 1968).

Propp's study lent itself to a dialogue not only with Soviet cinema (Fedorov 2009), but with Hollywood screenplays (Murphy 2015). Therefore, it is a useful concept for analysing the connection between the Russian folk tale, film script and an occurrence of *"текст-код"* within the film.

It can be argued that the existence of text-code makes it possible to understand the text because it is known in advance by a group of people, as described in Lotman's essay *"О двух моделях коммуникации в системе культуры" (About two models of communication in the system of culture)* (1973: 234). Therefore, such codes concentrate information about the type of the language itself (Lotman 1973: 239). However, as noted by Eco (1990: x), Lotman realised that "seeing a text as a message elaborated on the basis of a linguistic code is by no means the same as seeing a text (or a culture as a set of texts) as a code" and that "no historical period has a sole cultural code, … that in culture there exist simultaneously various codes".

Thus, Lotman researches cultural texts while presenting them in a form of hierarchy of mutually-interrelated hierarchical systems, which differentiates his approach to text from Bakhtin's approach to verbal utterances on natural language (Shchukin 2008: 102). While Bakhtin is interconnected to Lotman because of his dialogic view on texts exchange, Lotman's theory of semiosphere and the concept of 'text-code' appear to be more useful in order to analyse the process of winged phrase transformations and the new meaning that winged phrases obtain as a result of such transformations. Lotman's concept on text-code also adds depths to Bakhtin's writings when exploring different ways and reasons why winged phrases from Soviet films are used in contemporary Russian. In addition, the fact that Norman (1999) refers to the area of semiotics when he writes about language games (see §2.7.1) provides a basis for applying a theory of semiotics with reference to language games which involve winged phrases from Soviet films.

In order to complement Bakhtin's concept of carnival and gain a deeper understanding of winged phrases from Soviet films and humour it is considered appropriate to focus on an additional theoretical concept which considers language beyond its structure – cognitive linguistics.

2.11.4 Theory of cognitive linguistics and humour

A study of cognitive linguistics provides an approach to the study of language beyond its visible structure. It investigates the background operations of human cognition. As Fauconnier puts it (2006: 1):

> Cognitive linguistics recognises that the study of language is the study of language use, and that when we engage in any language activity, we draw unconsciously on vast cognitive and cultural resources, call up models and frames, set up multiple connections, coordinate large arrays of information, and engage in creative mappings, transfers, and elaborations.

In the past decades cognitive psychology and cognitive linguistics have proven particularly useful in researching humour (Martin 2007; Brône, Feyaerts, & Veale 2015; Dynel 2018). A particular interest of this study lies in Seana Coulson's (2015) space structuring model, influenced by ideas in cognitive linguistics. According to this model, "frame structures represent expectation-building background knowledge about objects, actions and events distributed across different mental spaces and lend themselves to creative combinations in response to contextual demands, whereby novel local meanings are constructed" (Dynel 2018: 6).

Coulson (2015) notes by quoting Sandford (1981) and Lange (1989) that memory for short texts includes inferred material. In addition, language comprehension involves a capacity for dynamic inferencing based on general knowledge represented as frames (Coulson 2015: 167). Stressing the fact that language is "semantically indeterminate", Coulson argues that "context plays a constitutive role in the construction of meaning" (Coulson 2015: 170).

While stressing attention on selective activation of structures from background knowledge, Veale, Brône and Feyaerts (2015: 8) compare the space structuring model to more traditional frame-based models:

> …the space structuring model has a somewhat more flexible view in the sense that frames need not be explicitly tied to contextually available elements. Rather, frames are argued to serve to constrain the construction of cognitive models in specific discourse situations. Jokes and other forms of nonsense provide prime examples of the type of flexible meaning construction covered by the space structuring model, as they often require a sudden and radical reorganisation of the cognitive model of message-level representation.

The variety of discursive situations in which winged phrases from Soviet films are used in contemporary Russian makes the space structuring model particularly useful for this study. In addition to Bakhtin's carnival, Coulson's (2015) space structuring model can be applied while researching humour when it relates to the dialogue from Soviet films. To sum up, this study draws on four major linguistic theories in order to provide a comprehensive analysis of the functioning of winged phrases in contemporary Russian. A diagrammatic representation of how these four key analytical approaches relate to each other is outlined in Figure 2.1 below. An insight into such theories application in practice is offered in the methodology and research design chapter.

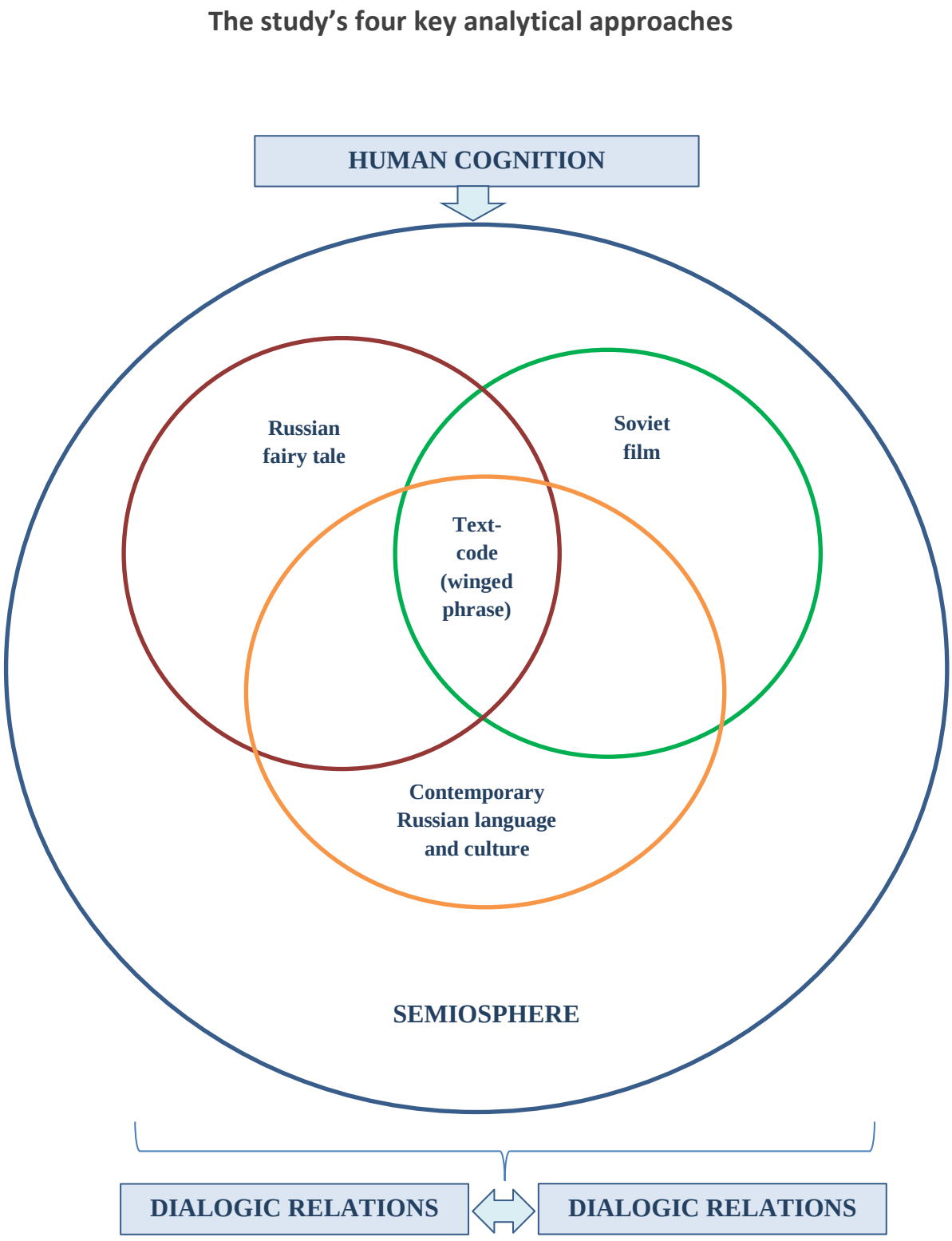

Figure 2.1 A diagrammatic representation of the study's four key analytical approaches

2.12 Research questions

Based on the literature review and existing gaps in knowledge and focusing on the linguistic and socio-cultural aspects of winged phrase use in contemporary Russian, this study addresses three key research questions, operating on the prevailing assumption that respondents speak Russian as a mother tongue:

1) In what contexts are winged phrases from Soviet films incorporated into contemporary Russian language practice?

2) How are winged phrases from Soviet films incorporated into contemporary Russian language practice?

3) Why are winged phrases from Soviet films incorporated into contemporary Russian language practice?

Chapter 3: Methodology and research design

3.1 Introduction

As stated in the introduction chapter, the primary aim of this study is to gain insights into the use and dynamics of winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary Russian. In order to provide a detailed description of this phenomenon, three research questions are addressed: the contexts in which winged phrases from Soviet films are incorporated into contemporary Russian language practice, as well as how and why such phrases are being used.

The research methodology is described below with the aim of providing a rationale to address the research questions outlined above. The chapter is divided into the following sections: 1) overview of the study; 2) rationale for mixed-methods research design; 3) description of the data sources; 4) data gathering procedures; 5) data management and analysis; 6) research ethics; and 7) reflections on the author's own position as a researcher. The chapter finishes with a concluding summary.

3.2 Overview of the study

The research questions that drive this research arise from the author's interest as a Russian language teacher and linguist in better understanding how winged phrases from Soviet films make their way into in contemporary Russian usage. The focus of this study is not simply on quantifying the number of occurrences of winged phrases, or in compiling a list of most frequently used phrases in their current contexts for classroom use, or for inclusion in a dictionary; rather, this inquiry seeks to understand and explain beyond the quantitative nature of frequency counts how and why such phrases are employed by Russian native speakers today. The theoretical perspectives summarised below, in combination with both quantitative and qualitative approaches to data analysis, it is argued, offer a very rich framework through which a deeper appreciation of the enduring popularity of winged phrases from Soviet films can be gained.

If, as suggested by Mikhail Bakhtin, dialogic relations can be considered as "почти универсальное явление, пронизывающее всю человеческую речь и все отношения и проявления человеческой жизни, вообще всё, что имеет смысл и значение" ("almost a universal occurrence, which runs through the whole human speech and all relations and instances of a human life, in general everything that has a value and meaning") (Bakhtin 2002: 51)[3], then perhaps winged phrases from Soviet cinema making their way into contemporary Russian language might be considered a *'retrospective aspect'* of Bakhtin's dialogical model of language – a model which views the word through its dialogic relations with the past context (Plekhanova 2011: 39-40). In this sense, phrases travel across space and time, they enter a variety of diverse contexts, obtain new meanings and undergo transformations.

Like Bakhtin, Yurii Lotman refers to the process of text exchange as 'dialogic'. However, of special interest to this inquiry, Lotman also locates such exchange within a 'semiotic process' Lotman (1992: 19). He stresses the importance of the semiotic border, which is necessary for the text to pass through in order to be "translated into another language… outside the given semiosphere" (Lotman 2005: 209) – in this case, the text in question is the winged phrase, passing over time into contemporary Russian language from its genesis in a Soviet film script.

Adding a further dimension to this concept of the text passing over borders in time, this study also draws on Lotman's concept of the 'text-code', which he argues exists in the narrator's unconscious mind in mythologically oriented cultures. Such codes present limitations of text variations and can be further described by Propp's model of a fairy tale outlined in §2.6 (Lotman 1992: 150-151).

Taken together, these prisms of semiotic thought around language and culture offer a very productive theoretical framework through which to gain a deeper understanding of the resilience of winged phrases as they forge their path from Soviet cinematic discourse through to the kind of contemporary Russian language used for example in online discussion forums and newspaper headlines. Bakhtin and Lotman's thinking allows us to theorise the trajectory

[3] Following discussion in §2.11.1, all translations of quotations from Russian into English are the author's. The preference in quoting was given to the original work in Russian except where English translation was deemed more appropriate in order to refer to key theoretical concepts.

of winged phrases as they journey across time and space, undergoing transformational processes while maintaining relationships with original contexts. Fundamental also to the theoretical and analytical framing of this study is the notion that winged phrases and their journeys may in fact be viewed, *via* Lotman's text-code and Propp's fairy tale concepts, as part of a much broader Russian cultural continuum.

The mixed-methods design adopted in this study has been influenced by the writings of other researchers such as Teddlie and Tashakkori (2011), O'Dwyer and Bernauer (2014), Creswell (2011), Creswell and Creswell (2018), Mehdi Riazi (2016), Lincoln, Lynham and Guba (2011), Thompson (2015), Bloomberg and Volpe (2016), Pelias (2011), Dörnyei (2007), Leavy (2014) and Hewson (2014), and draws on both qualitative and quantitative traditions of inquiry.[4]

A total of four different data sources are used to allow for a triangulated approach to data analysis in order to ensure that the research questions can be explored from multiple angles (see below for further explanation). They comprise the *"Цитаты советского кино"* (*Quotations from Soviet Cinema)* group on *ВКонтакте* (*VKontakte)* social network; responses provided by an online questionnaire; online posts on the *ЯПлакалъ* (*YaPlakal)* discussion forum and headings from *"Комсомольская правда – Москва" (Komsomolskaya Pravda – Moskva / Komsomol's Truth – Moscow), "Известия" (Izvestiya / News)* and *"Литературная газета"* (*Literaturnaya gazeta* / *Literary Gazette*) newspapers.

3.3 Research design: a mixed-methods approach

This study has been positioned across a number of disciplines, namely linguistics, sociolinguistics, literary studies (especially fairy tales) as well as cultural and film studies. With this in mind and given the multi-layered theoretical framework of this project, it was decided that a mixed-methods rather than either a purely quantitative or qualitative approach to research design would best facilitate a comprehensive and in-depth exploration of the research questions.

[4] See §2.3 of the literature review chapter for discussion of similarly designed studies.

3.3.1 Mixing methods as a research strength

The term 'mixed-methods' refers to inquiry which "combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches… for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration" (Teddlie & Tashakkori 2011: 285). Thus, mixed-methods research allows researchers to see "different aspects of the same crystal just in different ways, from different perspectives" (O'Dwyer & Bernauer 2014: 267) and to make "more effective inferences" (Mehdi Riazi 2016: 20). According to Dörnyei (2007: 164), a practical purpose for mixing methods is "to reach audiences that would not be sympathetic to one of the approaches if applied alone". As Creswell and Creswell (2018: 4) put it:

> The core assumption of this form of inquiry is that the integration of qualitative and quantitative data yields additional insight beyond the information provided by either the quantitative or qualitative data alone.

The author's own experience of teaching Russian as both a native and a foreign language over 19 years, and the inclusion of Soviet films into the curriculum has allowed her to develop an awareness of uncertainties surrounding the topic of winged phrases from Soviet films. Such observations have influenced the use of multiple methods in this research. For example, while being an important aspect of winged phrases dynamics, understanding only the frequency of each phrases' appearance in a form of quantitative data does not provide an answer to the question on how such phrases are involved in dialogic, temporal or spatial relations between Soviet film scripts and contemporary spoken and written Russian. Similarly, a description and interpretation of usage of a 'text-code' in the form of a winged phrase from a Soviet film requires quantification and statistical analysis in order to establish a list of the most popular phrases and to ensure that the research questions are addressed objectively, without unduly involving the researcher's and participants' value systems (Mehdi Riazi 2016: 259).

Therefore, in this study, the differences between qualitatively and quantitatively oriented research traditions are seen not in terms of inconsistency, but as an important additional strength: both approaches "rely on empirical data as the basis for discovering new knowledge,

which can then be interpreted in relation to a larger framework or theory" (O'Dwyer & Bernauer 2014: 266).

In addition, a description of the notion of analytical triangulation provided by Mehdi Riazi (2016) includes cross-validating findings from one data source or method or perspective with findings from other data sources, methods and perspectives. The rationale for such cross-validation is that any inherent weaknesses in a given data source, method, or perspective may be compensated by another so that more reliable and valid conclusions could be made about the phenomenon under study (Mehdi Riazi 2016: 330).

The value placed on dialogic relations between texts discussed earlier (see §3.2) influences the role of a dialogue between different data sources played in this research. Therefore, it is important that one stage of the research enters into a dialogue with the decisions made during the next stage. Furthermore, the PhD thesis that the author has produced is also dialogic in relation to both winged phrases as they occur in Soviet film scripts and as they travel into the data sources uncovered in this particular research. This key theoretical concept has directed this study towards an exploratory sequential mixed-methods research approach which will be explained further in the following section of this chapter.

3.3.2 Sequential mixed-methods research approach

Within the framework of a mixed-methods research approach, an "exploratory sequential mixed design" has been considered to offer the richest insights into the research questions that drive this study. The concept of "exploratory sequential mixed design" is used to capture a notion of mixing that occurs across chronological phases of the research when "questions or procedures of one strand emerge from or are dependent on the previous strand" (Teddlie & Tashakkori 2011: 289). It is deemed 'exploratory' because the author plans to explore the research questions in two stages. The first stage involves collecting and analysing qualitative data (for example, wall posts with winged phrases on the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group's wall, winged phrases listed by online questionnaire respondents, comments on the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum which include winged phrases, newspaper headings in

which winged phrases are being used); the second stage uses such data in the quantitative phase (frequency counts) (Mehdi Riazi 2016: 116).

This mixed-methods research design is particularly useful in avoiding weaknesses in previous research approaches (see §2.3). As already explained, the research questions which drive this study are focused on usage contexts – as well as on exploring on how and why high-frequency winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary Russian practice are being used. These foci are in contrast to merely gathering and cataloguing such phrases as they appear in oral or written speech. Another reason for adopting a mixed methods approach related to the use of several key theoretical concepts of dialogism and semiotics, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter. The author wanted to avoid locking this study into a singular methodological approach, in order to use the findings obtained during the first phase of the study to construct several instruments that could be used during subsequent phases. Such an approach provides a framework that facilitates comparisons between data sources thus enriching data analysis and research findings.

Prior to conducting this research, the scope of the study had to be limited on grounds of practicality, given that at least 15,000 winged phrases from Soviet-Russian cinema had already been identified by Kozhevnikov (2001). The aim of this study is to address the research questions related to the usage of high-frequency winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary Russian, rather than to codify the entire corpus of winged phrases from national cinema.

3.4 Data sources selection

This section of the chapter explains how the research scope was determined, and is followed by a rationale of how and why four data sources were selected. Sections §3.5 – 3.8 present a detailed description of each data source and explain the data gathering procedures.

3.4.1 Limiting the research scope

Step 1: The first step's aim was to identify the most-quoted Soviet films *(фильмы-цитатники)* as discussed in §2.6 of the literature review chapter. For the purpose of this research, ten films were identified based on the following criteria:

1) they possessed the highest number of winged phrases from the film in Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary of winged phrases from national cinema (i.e. when compared to other films within the dictionary);

2) the films in question were present in Elistratov's (2010) dictionary (not all of the popular films which demonstrate high numbers of winged phrases as listed in Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary were included into Elistratov's (2010) study);

3) as for Kozhevnikov's dictionary, the chosen films also appeared with high numbers of winged phrases in Titova's (2010) dictionary;

4) the film in question was present in at least four out of the five websites dedicated to winged phrases from national cinema: www.vot-status.jimdo.com, www.vothouse.ru, www.kquote.ru, www.podskazok.net, www.adme.ru. It should be noted that even such popular films as *"Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика" (The Prisoner of the Caucasus, or Shurik's New Adventures)* with 110 winged phrases listed in Kozhevnikov's (2001: 498-500) dictionary did not appear on adme.ru website.

For criterion 4) above, the suitability of websites was determined by the following: appearance on the first page of Google search results as based on key words *крылатые слова (winged words), крылатые фразы (winged phrases), цитаты (quotations), киноцитаты (cinema quotations)* and *фильмы (films), советские кинофильмы (Soviet films), советское кино (Soviet cinema), отечественное кино (national cinema).* A summary of the preliminary data set is presented in Appendix 1. Following Elistratov's (2010: 17) method of excluding adaptations – which excludes films based on Russian well-known literary works – all adaptations (except for films mentioned in §2.6 of the literature review chapter, such as *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию" / Ivan Vasilievich Changes Profession* and *"Свадьба в*

Малиновке" / Wedding in Malinovka) were not included in the list of the top ten most quoted Soviet films.

Accordingly, this research focuses on winged phrases from film scripts which carry deeply embedded information about "русская ментальность" ('Russian mentality') (Elistratov 2010: 17). From Lotman's cultural semiotics point of view, such winged phrases are referred to as *"текст-код" ('text-code')* (see §2.11.2). The rationale for such selection of scripts is that this study investigates primarily the phenomenon of quoting from films and not literary works. In addition, it is considered that these scripts reveal connections between Soviet film and its reflection on contemporary Russian language and that further to this, they are useful for positioning Propp's notions of the fairy tale and of enduring characters and themes in Russian culture in a productive context.

Step 2: As a further practical limitation to the scope, the second step of data selection involved identifying the most frequently used winged phrases from the ten films selected in step 1 above. Firstly, *units of analysis* in the form of winged phrases were extracted from ten films based on dictionary entries in Kozhevnikov's (2001), Titova's (2010) and Elistratov's (2010) dictionaries. At this point, the "*Цитаты советского кино"* group on the *ВКонтакте* social network service was reviewed for the number of 'likes', 'reposts'[5] and comments made by group members following the appearance of identified winged phrase. Member activity within one year was then analysed (from 1st September 2015 to 31st August 2016). Research results along with a study of the Russian National Corpus contributed to the process of winged phrase selection for the next step of this study – the questionnaire.

The rationale for such a data selection process was guided by principles of combining research findings contained within relevant academic dictionaries with up-to-date quantitative analysis based on the popularity of each winged phrase amongst native Russian speakers on *ВКонтакте* – a social network service website where free voting and commenting on each winged phrase takes place.

[5] For a definition of the term 'repost' see §2.8.2 of the literature review chapter.

Step 3: During the last step of limiting the research scope, data sources and research tools were selected. In addition to the "*Цитаты советского кино"* group on the *ВКонтакте* social network service, data sources include structured questionnaires, the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum and newspaper headings from three Russian newspapers *"Комсомольская правда – Москва", "Известия"* and *"Литературная газета"*.

In order to fill in the gap in previous research in the area of winged phrases from Soviet films, the online questionnaire targeted Russian speakers not only in former USSR countries, but around the world. The only inclusion criterion for participation in the research was for respondents to be speakers of Russian as a mother-tongue language and to be familiar to a reasonable extent with popular Soviet films.

3.4.2 Data sources selection

The initial selection of data sources for this study was "purposeful" (Mehdi Riazi 2016: 232). Selection of "information-rich cases for study in depth… from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry" (Patton 2002: 230) is indeed crucial for making defensible inferences about contexts, ways and reasons of usage of winged phrases from Soviet films. Therefore, each data source was carefully selected, primarily based on the strengths identified in previous research (see §2.3 of the literature review chapter). The four data sources are: 1) "*Цитаты советского кино"* group on the *ВКонтакте* social network service; 2) an online questionnaire; 3) *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum, and 4) headings from *"Комсомольская правда – Москва", "Известия"* and *"Литературная газета"* newspapers.

The following four sections of the chapter explain the process of the data sources selection, and data gathering procedures.

3.5 *"Цитаты советского кино"* group on the ВКонтакте social network service

As argued by Leavy (2014), the Internet as it exists today creates a ready mass of easily locatable, often content-searchable 'traces' of online collaborative activity and social interaction. This is a potentially rich source of qualitative data. In order to address the gap in knowledge related to the usage of winged phrases in RuNet as identified in the literature review chapter (see §2.3.3, §2.5, §2.8), the "*Цитаты советского кино"* group within the *ВКонтакте* social network and the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum were selected as data sources for this Internet research.

Qualitative data in the form of wall posts and comments by the "*Цитаты советского кино"* group users were collected in order to obtain an understanding of how winged phrases from Soviet films are incorporated into contemporary Internet communication. Frequency counts were then undertaken of users' 'likes', responses, and comments to determine the most popular winged phrases employed in this forum. Once this information had been obtained, it was used to inform the design of an additional data source: the online questionnaire (see section §3.6.1 below).

3.5.1 ВКонтакте (VK.com) as the most visited website in Russia

Founded in 2006 (VKontakte 2017a), *ВКонтакте* quickly became the main social network site not only in Russia, but in a number of former Soviet countries. Statistics provided by Alexa (Alexa 2017c) indicate, that in March 2017 *ВКонтакте* was the most visited website in Russia and Belarus (see Appendix 2). In Ukraine, *ВКонтакте* ranks second, and in Kazakhstan, it ranks third (the rank is calculated using a combination of average daily site visitors and page views on the site over the preceding month) (Alexa 2017c). It is worth noting that *ВКонтакте* is popular not only in Russian-speaking countries, but also in Germany. Furthermore, according to Alexa, it ranks as the 15th most visited site in the world (Alexa 2017c).

According to the study conducted by Baran and Stock (2015), compared to other social network services in Russia *ВКонтакте* was considered as more useful than the global giant *Facebook*. Based on the study findings, *ВКонтакте* was considered to be much more trustworthy, and more enjoyable to use (Baran & Stock 2015: 573). While *Facebook* "does more or less the same", it is "more stuffed with advertising" (Baran & Stock 2015: 578). In February 2017, *ВКонтакте* had almost 14 million active authors in Russia alone, which is 9.53% of Russia's population (Brand Analytics 2017a).

In comparison to other popular social network sites, such as the domestic site *Одноклассники* (*Odnoklassniki)* and the global site *Инстаграм* (*Instagram)*, the Russian social network audience spends twice as much time on *ВКонтакте*. In addition – and of relevance to this analysis – *ВКонтакте* users produce almost half a billion messages *per* month (Appendix 3).

Despite its popularity in Russia, *ВКонтакте* has received scant attention from linguists. There appear to be two main reasons for this: firstly, for now, social network services are primarily being researched by businesses, for their marketing insights. Secondly, similarly to many other social networks, *ВКонтакте* content is constantly changing. Even one-week-old posts become dated: they are relegated to the bottom of an Internet page and with a high number of wall posts, weekly user activity takes some time to load older posts. This time-consuming aspect of researching posts might conceivably act as a disincentive for researchers.

While Altukhova (2012), Doludenko (2012) and Marchenko (2013) were the first to focus on the genre, morphological and linguopragmatic aspects of *ВКонтакте* language, there has been no research to date around the usage of winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary Russian language and culture. Therefore, this study can be considered unique at this point in its subject matter and its approach to communication in social networks in their capacity as one of the spoken forms of modern written Russian.[6]

[6] Except for any instances of uploading recorded speech, both the social network medium as well as the discussion forum are actually forms of written media. However, in quoting dialogue from films, the author is aware of the potential tension in characterising online language forms as 'spoken written Russian' as *per* discussion in §2.8.1.

3.5.2 "Цитаты советского кино" group

As observed by Gruzd and Haythornthwaite (2013), online communities have the ability to talk through text without face-to-face contact or the need for immediate response. Baran and Stock (2015: 578) argue that *ВКонтакте* is based on a sense of community. Part of its user activity involves participation in discussions in different chats and blogs as well as in its ability to invite other users to events and groups (Baran & Stock 2015: 578). Therefore, for the purpose of this research, the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group was chosen. The popularity of the group amongst 75,911 users[7] permits the study of a great variety of group wall posts and user comments. It is worth noting that the group is not business driven, as it does not include any advertising. While the group is present on other social network services such as *Facebook* and *Одноклассники*, the number of members of *"Цитаты советского кино"* on *ВКонтакте* is almost seven times greater than the total number of group members on both *Facebook* and *Одноклассники* together (Facebook 2017; Odnoklassniki 2017; VKontakte 2017b).

The group operates in a similar way to other groups on *ВКонтакте*, wherein members share a common interest: group administrators[8] create a wall post with a quote from Soviet film. In addition to posts with quotations from films, there are posts with quotations from Soviet animation, photographs with biographical details of popular Soviet actors, rare photos from Soviet films, short videos with songs from Soviet films, information on film premieres in the USSR, poems, quizzes, reposts from other sites related to the topic of quotations from Soviet cinema, information on USSR and modern Russian history events, photos of animals and landscape shots with salutations to other group members such as to have a good morning, or evening. Each post on the group's wall includes a photo, a video or an audio recording. The majority of the posts are accompanied by text. Group members then contribute in the form of comments under each post and engage in conversation with each other. Comments include exchange of texts, pictures, audio and video recordings. Only members of the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group can 'like' and 'repost' an administrator's posts as well as leave comments. *"Цитаты советского кино"* group's posts with 'likes', 'reposts' and up to 100 comments are available for viewing to the general public.

[7] As *per* 6th of September 2016.
[8] By administrators we refer to anyone who has the authority to create posts on the group's wall.

As previously discussed in the literature review chapter (see §2.8.2), the similarities between communication on an Internet forum and communication in a social network group provide a rationale for applying a number of the forum's characteristics outlined by Voznesenskaia (2009: 23) to user comments generated in response to *"Цитаты советского кино"* administrator's posts:

> 1) special nature of reciprocity between an addressee and an addresser, which emerges in multiaddressing, interactivity – the ability of dialogic interaction;
>
> 2) hypertextuality – ability to have branches in forms of external links;
>
> 3) thematic polyphony.

In addition to the dialogic nature of interaction highlighted earlier in this chapter as a key theoretical concept of this study, *"Цитаты советского кино"* presents a number of benefits for this particular research. Firstly, all data (in the form of wall posts and user comments on each of the posts) already exists in written form. Secondly, user communication on *"Цитаты советского кино"* can be viewed by any Internet user. Thirdly, a high number of comments on wall posts often means that large groups of respondents can be observed at a glance. Face-to-face interaction, by contrast, involves fewer communicants. Fourthly, group members who are more reserved in a real-world situation or who would have had no opportunity to make a contribution to a conversation for various reasons – such as the potentially intimidating presence of overly-knowledgeable interlocutors – have by contrast in an online environment "an equal chance to make their voice heard" (Crystal 2001: 150). Finally, there is statistical data available for collection – the popularity of each winged phrase posted on the wall by administrators can be numerically evaluated based on the number of 'likes', 'reposts' and comments by group users.

However, any group on the social network site *ВКонтакте* also has limitations. The first applies to online communication in general: as suggested by Moroslin, Mamontov and Gritsenko (2017: 343), participants of online communication lack paralinguistic modes of communication, such as stressing a discrete part of the utterance, imparting special emotional connotation *via* the pitch and the volume of voice, diction and gestures. These paralinguistic

modes are always particularly important for those less adept in expressing precise meaning and tone in their written speech. In virtual discourse, paralinguistic modes of communication are being replaced by type-able emotional reactions, such as 'smiles' and emoticons (or 'emojis'). Such modes of communication are especially important in researching spoken language which includes winged phrases from Soviet films.

As argued by Sadullaeva (2012: 174-175), cinema quotations include not only verbal elements. 'Active' non-verbal elements include pitch of a voice, intonation and gestures. Russian speakers often repeat gestures and intonation of the main characters of Gaidai's comedy *"Бриллиантовая рука" (The Diamond Arm)* in situations similar to the ones in film. Thus, each popular winged phrase from Soviet films appears in the Russian National Corpus accompanied by the list of gestures and explanations of gesture meanings (Appendix 4), which is obviously not possible in online communication.

Secondly, amongst those who indicated their age on *ВКонтакте* (see Appendix 5), there were almost no users from the age group of people who were born in USSR before 1972 – 1977 – who are older than 40 – 45 years of age (Brand Analytics 2017c).[9] This is the period when most of the *фильмы-цитатники* (see Appendix 1) appeared on screen for the first time. In addition, as noted by Markovskaia (2013: 154), the majority of *ВКонтакте* users have tertiary and incomplete tertiary education, which eliminates Russian speakers with other types of education.

Thirdly, it must be noted that the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group was created specifically for enthusiasts who are willing to exchange quotations from Soviet films online. Such Russian speakers can be presumed to have a greater knowledge of winged phrases from Soviet films than other users of the general *ВКонтакте* social network. In this sense, the group can be considered quite specialist: members know more than the average Russian-speaking person about their field of interest, and this fact poses a limitation. Therefore, it can be suggested that for the "*Цитаты советского кино"* group members, the exchange of quotations from Soviet films was rather a form of social identification in online communication – as Dushenko (2002)

[9] It should be noted that only 31.66% of *ВКонтакте* users indicated their age (Brand Analytics 2017c).

refers to the respondents selected by Elistratov (2010) for his dictionary of winged phrases from the Russian cinema.

In addition, while one of the benefits of analysing user comments in a form of an asynchronous list was outlined by Crystal (2001: 135): "the effect of a contribution is preserved over an indefinable period of time", only up to 100 comments to each post were available for viewing by the general public. Some of the posts that were included into this research had less than 100 comments, but there were also posts with over 200 comments. In the latter cases, it was possible to access only about half of the conversation by group members.

Lastly, while the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group is dedicated to quotations from Soviet cinema, the term *'цитата' ('quotation')* must be differentiated from the term *'крылатое выражение' ('winged phrase')*. In Ozhegov's dictionary *'цитата'* is defined as "точная, дословная выдержка из какого-нибудь текста, высказывания" ("exact, literal extract from a text, utterance") (Ozhegov 2012: 701). Therefore, it is a broader concept than a winged phrase. Only quotations from Soviet films which include winged phrases listed in Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary were taken into consideration. The focus of this research was on wall posts – messages posted on *"Цитаты советского кино"* wall, or user comments provoked by each post as well as on the number of 'likes', 'reposts' and comments generated by group users in response to each post.

The *"Цитаты советского кино"* group is distinctive due to the way in which verbal interaction in the form of winged phrases is presented within the group. However, at the time of completing this research thesis[10] the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group's page was not available for viewing on the *ВКонтакте* social network, which is another unique side of this study. While the page was last viewed on the 1st of April 2017, all the data selected for purposes of this study were recorded in digital format and, as such, remain available for review (see Kabiak 2018b).

[10] November 2019.

Recognizing that there are a number of potential limitations of the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group as a data source, three additional data sources have been used: a questionnaire, an online discussion forum and newspaper headings, in order to address the research questions more comprehensively and to ensure research validity (Dörnyei 2007: 165).

3.5.3 Data collection method and data gathering procedures

The overall approach to data collection in this research has been based on salient topics within the scholarship of winged phrases from Soviet films as identified in the literature review chapter (see Table 3.1 below). The author's teaching experience in the field of Russian language and film also provided some insight into how to approach different data sources.

The method involved gathering qualitative and quantitative data in order to investigate how winged phrases from Soviet films or, as they were referred above, 'text-codes' are used in contemporary communication in RuNet. It is expected that specific patterns of online winged phrase exchange, as well as high-frequency winged phrases and their transformations may be identified with this approach. It is also believed that the most suitable way of data gathering is by using an inductive approach, which means that a theoretical explanation of the phenomenon can be developed during the study. In this way, particular observations and data can be used in order to make general inferences (Mehdi Riazi 2016: 140).

Research data in the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group comes in the format of wall posts with winged phrases from Soviet films and comments generated by group users in response to the wall posts. Quantitative data consists of the number of 'likes', 'reposts' and comments to these wall posts. In addition, some of the qualitative data, for example, winged phrases most frequently used on the group's wall, or phrases which undergo transformations, can be quantified. *"Цитаты советского кино"* group users in this research acted as informants. All of the informants were assigned a pseudonym to ensure their anonymity in accordance with ethics guidelines. The author believed that if the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group activities could be studied for the period of one year – from 1st September 2015 to 1st September 2016 – such a time frame would permit the observation of key patterns within the online communication and the identification of high-frequency winged phrases from Soviet films;

such outcomes were sought with a view to including them into the online questionnaire discussed in the next section of the chapter (Appendix 6). In designing the process, it was considered that the data collection process should stop at the point of data saturation, described as "repetition in the information obtained and confirmation of previously collected data" (Morse 1999: 230).

As the research involved counting the number of 'likes' and 'reposts' as well as comments to *"Цитаты советского кино"* posts, it was important to establish whether such quantitative data changed over time. While the author assumed that it would be most unlikely for a group user to go back and amend a post created over a year earlier, this nevertheless remains a theoretical possibility. Therefore, data from five random wall posts were collected and counted twice: in October 2016 and in April 2017. The difference in the number of 'likes' (1,983 'likes' in April 2017 compared to 1,956 in October 2016) and 'reposts' (265 'reposts' in April 2017 compared to 261 in October 2016) at the two collection dates was less than 2%. This was considered a minor discrepancy with no effect on research findings.

3.6 Online questionnaire

Questionnaires are one of the most common instruments employed for data collection in the social sciences in general and in applied linguistics in particular (Mehdi Riazi 2016: 260). Questionnaires have been successfully used in previous research in the field of winged phrases from national cinema by Kozhevnikov (2001) and Karpechenkova (2012). It was felt that this research approach could provide a valuable insight into this particular study as a result of the inherent advantage of questionnaires for obtaining larger and more representative sample sizes (Mehdi Riazi 2016: 261). Thus, as it was indicated in the literature review chapter (see §2.3), covering a wider geographic area of Russian speakers than merely Russian Federation residents would add depth to the existing scholarship. In addition, a questionnaire may include closed and open-ended items, allowing researchers to collect both quantitative and qualitative data for mixed-methods purposes (Mehdi Riazi 2016: 20).

Given these strengths as a research method for this study, the questionnaire was selected as a next step of data collection. In addition, it was felt that at this second stage of gathering the data it would be essential to engage in a 'dialogue' with contemporary Russian speakers, so as to gain insights into the research questions driving the current study. 'Insights' in this sense included in which contexts, how and why winged phrases from Soviet films are incorporated into contemporary Russian language practice.

3.6.1 Online questionnaire development

The questionnaire was designed in the context of this study, based on the issues raised in the literature review chapter, with the specific aim of addressing the aforementioned research questions. The questionnaire consists of 14 questions, with questions 7 and 8 including 10 sub-questions each and questions 4 and 5 including 5 sub-questions each. In this way, respondents would be asked to answer 40 distinct questions in total.

For most of the questions, an answer would be obligatory, except for the last question, which would be optional. It would not be possible for a respondent to move to the next questionnaire question without at least partly completing the previous one. This design feature would ensure that other things equal, only fully-completed questionnaires were taken into consideration for analysis. The questionnaire can be found in the Appendices. Appendix 7 is the original Russian version and Appendix 8 is the author's translation into English.

Selection criteria for the inclusion of winged phrases into the online questionnaire were established drawing upon both existing research in the field discussed in the literature review chapter, as well as upon the results of research into *ВКонтакте* within the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group – an exercise which took place at the same time as the questionnaire design. The reason for combining existing scholarship and the newest results obtained online was to ensure that only winged phrases from Soviet films known to the majority of respondents would be included into the questionnaire. The following criteria were identified to determine inclusion of winged phrases in the questionnaire:

1) The winged phrase's presence in one of the ten most-quoted Soviet films *(фильмы-цитатники)* identified earlier in this chapter (see §3.4.1);

2) Inclusion as a phrase in Elistratov's dictionary *"Словарь крылатых фраз российского кино" (Slovar' krylatykh fraz rossiiskogo kino)* (2010) or in Diadechko's dictionary *"Крылатые слова нашего времени: толковый словарь: более 1000 единиц"* (*Krylatye slova nashego vremeni: tolkovyi slovar': bolee 1000 edinits)* (2008). As previously discussed in §2.5, despite a relatively small number of winged phrases from Soviet films presented, in these dictionaries each winged phrase already includes a description of a situation in which it is used in contemporary Russian. In comparison to Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary of winged phrases from Soviet films, where a simple list of winged phrases is provided, Elistratov's and Diadechko's description of the situational usage of winged phrases could serve as a starting point for an analysis of contextual usage, which addresses the research question on the contexts in which winged phrases are being incorporated into contemporary Russian language use;

3) At least 300 'likes' for the phrase from a Soviet film amongst the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group users on the *ВКонтакте* social network. Based on the number of 'likes', 70 quotations from Soviet films received over 500 'likes' from group users, which accounts for 3% of all quotations from Soviet films posted on the group's wall by its administrators. As previously mentioned in §3.5.2, not all popular film quotations in *"Цитаты советского кино"* include a winged phrase. In addition, some of the quotations are not listed in any of the dictionaries discussed in §2.5 section of the literature review chapter, which makes the list of most 'liked' winged phrases even shorter. Such limitations of scope are considered appropriate for the purpose of this study;

4) The phrase's presence in the Russian National Corpus (a summary of this resource follows). As reported by Grishina (2006: 123), the aim of the Corpus' creators in 2006 was to insert in the corpus the textual constituent of at least 300 Russian films, which gives this criterion an extra strength, as it could be assumed that its presence in the Corpus guarantees at least recognition of the winged phrase by the general public;

5) inclusion in the list of the 10 most popular quotations identified as a result of an Internet opinion poll conducted in 2003 by the *"Новые Известия" (Novye Izvestiya)*

newspaper along with the mail service *mail.ru* with almost 10,000 respondents, as discussed in §2.4.5.

In order to be included into the questionnaire, each winged phrase would need to satisfy at least three of the above listed criteria. While the spelling of words or punctuation in some winged phrases varies in different sources due to an actor's pronunciation, Kozhevnikov's dictionary *"Большой словарь. Крылатые фразы отечественного кино"* (*Bol'shoi slovar'. Krylatye frazy otechestvennogo kino)* (2001) served as a stable reference point throughout this study for the appearance of each winged phrase in the questionnaire.

The Russian National Corpus, which is accessed *via* www.ruscorpora.ru was selected for this study in order to secure another stable reference point in addition to Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary. The Corpus is a representative and authoritative 120 million-word collection containing texts of all genres and types, which covers Russian language from the 19th up to the 21st centuries (Grishina 2006: 121). Usage of this tool is considered valuable on two fronts: firstly, the Corpus' study has not been credited for involvement in any prior research of winged phrases from national cinema. Secondly, it has proven to be a time-saving tool for researchers. Mehdi Riazi (2016: 63) argues for the usefulness of this facility, which can assist researchers in accessing already collected data containing both oral and written languages.

Quotations which appeared on the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group's wall and which received over 1,000 likes, but which did not appear in Diadechko's (2008) or Elistratov's (2010) dictionaries would not be included into the questionnaire. Winged phrases popular amongst group members which had been taken from adaptations, such as *"Золотой телёнок" (The Golden Calf, Mosfilm, 1968), "Двенадцать стульев" (Twelve Chairs, Mosfilm, 1971), "Двенадцать стульев" (Twelve Chairs, Ekran, 1977) or "Собачье сердце" (Heart of a Dog, Lenfilm, 1988)* would likewise be excluded, following the decision to exclude adaptations where the primary source of citation is a literary text – a matter discussed in §2.6.

As a result, 14 winged phrases which appeared on the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group wall were selected for inclusion into the online questionnaire as a sequential step of this research design.

A full list of the selected winged phrases, as well as a tabular summary of selection criteria, is provided in Appendix 6.

3.6.2 Overview of the questions

The first question was designed in order to request a respondent's consent to participating in the questionnaire in accordance with ethical guidance for human research outlined in §3.10. Only respondents giving this consent would be able to continue to the remaining questions.

The next part of the questionnaire (Questions 2 – 5) enquired about patterns in quoting Soviet films, with the aim of addressing the research question on how winged phrases are being used in contemporary Russian. Question 2 invited respondents to report on the frequency of winged phrase usage in their speech and question 3 asked respondents to select film eras for films they quote most often. In addition, questions 4 and 5 were aimed at addressing the research question regarding contexts of winged phrases usage. Respondents were asked to list up to five of their most popular winged phrases and the situations surrounding their usage.

Question 6 was designed to address the research question on why winged phrases are incorporated into contemporary Russian. This examined the reasons for such usage by inviting respondents to select the five main conditions most likely to lead to the use of winged phrases. Respondents were to choose five of nine potential reasons for usage offered in the questionnaire and to number these reasons according to their importance with 1 being most important and 5 being least important. A space in the 'other' option was provided for participants to specify reasons different to those offered, as required.

Question 7 was designed to gather in-depth information on the context of winged phrases usage. It provided ten popular winged phrases from Soviet films and invited respondents to supply the name of film, character and situation within the film for each winged phrase. Question 8 also included a selection of winged phrases, and was designed to identify patterns in transformations of winged phrases from Soviet films; as such, it could address a different

research question: how winged phrases are being used. Respondents were asked to fill in the gaps in ten winged phrases in order to complete them.

The remaining 6 questions (Questions 9 – 14) constituted demographic questions which aimed to collect information such as gender, age, level of education, occupation, place of residency and – for those living outside Russian-speaking countries – the number of years of residency abroad.

The *SurveyMonkey* website was selected as a tool for the questionnaire distribution as responses in such web-based surveys can be formatted with check boxes and text boxes, making it is easier for respondents to provide answers. Analysis is also easier in such platforms as they offer a back-end database which collects all of the response data (Gaiser & Schreiner 2009: 72). Thus, an open-ended space (such as 'other') could be offered for all multiple-choice questions to allow respondents to expand on their choices. As the questionnaire included both closed and open-ended questions, collection of quantitative and qualitative data for mixed-methods research was made possible.

3.6.3 Data gathering procedures

Step 1: Bilingual-online group: rationale for selection. The German-based *Bilingual-online* group[11] – which includes Russian teachers, parents of Russian-speaking bilingual children and Russian language enthusiasts around the world – was chosen for the questionnaire distribution for a number of reasons. It includes 23,338 members worldwide[12], which is a large sample of respondents located not only in the Russian Federation, but in other former Soviet Union republics and around the world. In addition, the author felt that colleagues and Russian language enthusiasts would be likely to be interested in the topic of winged phrases from Soviet cinema and to complete the questionnaire online. In this way, it was reasoned that the non-response rate could be reduced.

[11] See http://www.bilingual-online.net
[12] Based on data available on the 15th of August 2016.

Over the last nine years, the author signed up as a member of this group and followed the news sent *via* weekly newsletters, this step allowed for greater insight into how the group worked. Typically, the group's administrator sends numerous e-mails *per* week to the group's members with topics including informational and methodological support of Russian-speaking centres worldwide, expertise exchange, carrying out projects, searches for partners in various types of activities, competitions and other matters (for the number of posts and topics *per* month see Appendices 9 and 10). The decision was made to send a questionnaire during the group's lowest activity period, which is June – August. It was conditioned by limitations of the PhD thesis time frame as analysis of a very high volume of questionnaires would not be achievable during this particular research.[13]

Step 2: Pilot study. Prior to sending out the questionnaire to the *Bilingual-online* group members and in order to refine its efficacy, a pilot study was conducted in January 2017. The study was designed to assist the author with the actual questions and the questionnaire layout. The draft questionnaire was sent in Word format or given as a printout to eight colleagues, located variously in Russia, Belarus, Ireland and Australia. As a result, the following factors which influenced the final design of the questionnaire emerged. These factors are:

1) While numbering the reasons of winged phrases usage according to their importance in question 6, all of the respondents marked the first reason offered in the questionnaire *"Ситуация речевого общения совпадает с ситуацией в фильме" ("Situation of speech matches situation in film")* as the most important one. Therefore, it was decided to move that reason down the list and to change the layout of the question;

2) It was noted that respondents who were asked in question 4 to list the most popular winged phrases from their point of view answered this question with the phrases from questions 7 and 8 offered on the second page of the hard copy of the questionnaire. This tendency was eliminated by *SurveyMonkey*, the online survey platform used in this

[13] The questionnaire research findings will be published on *Bilingual-online* group website upon completion of this thesis.

research. In the final web-based version of the questionnaire the respondents were not able to see questions 7 and 8 until question 4 was attempted in full;

3) Winged phrases not recognised by any of the respondents were replaced by the other winged phrases which had satisfied the criteria listed in §3.6.1;

4) Following comments provided by participants of the pilot study, one additional reason for quoting Soviet films was added to the list of reasons in question 6;

5) Finally, almost all questions related to demographics were converted into multiple choice questions in order to allow for consistency in data analysis.

Taking into account the results of the pilot study, both the order and layout of some of the questions were changed slightly and additional questions were added. A few more minor changes were also made to ensure that the questionnaire would accord with the design features of *SurveyMonkey* online platform.

The questionnaire was launched on the 21st of June 2017 *via* e-mail from an administrator of the *Bilingual-online* group. Participants were invited to follow a link to the survey on the *SurveyMonkey* website. Shifts in response rates were monitored online, and when a decrease in numbers of responses occurred, a link to the questionnaire was sent *via* e-mail to the researcher's network of family, friends and colleagues to maximise recruitment. The questionnaire was finally closed on the 11th of August 2017 by which point responses had apparently been maximised: only 3 responses had been received during the previous seven days to closure.

3.6.4 Online questionnaire respondents: demographic characteristics

The sample consisted of 102 native Russian speakers, all over the age of 18. Respondents were a mixture of both those living on the territory of the former USSR and abroad. Not surprisingly, given that the questionnaire was sent out through the Bilingual-online group (a group with a strong female representation), the majority of the respondents (93 out of 102 [91%]) were female (see Appendix 11).

With regards to age characteristics, for ease of interpretation and analysis, questions with the respondents' age have been divided into three age groups: 18-30, 31-50, 51-65 and over 65. The majority of the sample (67 respondents out of 102 [66%]) belong to the 31-50 age group, while 27% of respondents (28 out of 102) belong to the 51-65 years of age group. A significantly smaller percentage of the sample (3 respondents out of 102 [3%]) was over 65. The youngest age group (18-30) was represented by only 4% of the sample (4 respondents). Therefore, almost all respondents (98 respondents out of 102 [96%]) were born in the USSR (see Appendix 12).

The educational level of the Bilingual-online group members was expected to be high. The questionnaire included three optional answers: secondary education, incomplete tertiary and tertiary education. In addition, a space in the 'other' option was provided in order to specify types of education different to the options provided (see Question 11 in Appendices 7 & 8). Almost all (96 out of 102 [94%]) respondents indicated that they had completed tertiary education, whilst only 2% (2 respondents out of 102) had only completed secondary education. 1% (1 out of 102) of respondents did not complete their tertiary education and 3% of the sample (3 respondents out of 102) indicated a PhD degree in their comments (Appendix 13).

As far as occupation is concerned, the respondents in this study were presented with a list of seventeen options and an 'other' space for listing an extra option (see Question 12 in Appendices 7 & 8). As previously mentioned, the distribution of the questionnaire *via* the Bilingual-online group meant that the majority of the respondents would be teachers, the evidence for which was shown by the results of online questionnaire (55 respondents out of 102 [54%]). Significantly smaller percentages of the sample included unemployed/temporarily out of work (11 respondents out of 102 [11%]), business owners (5 [5%]), scientists (5 [5%]), civil servants (4 [4%]), journalists (4 [4%]), service workers (3 [3%]), pensioners (3 [3%]), health workers (2 [2%]), executive-level managers (2 [2%]), mid-level executives (2 [2%]), postgraduate students (1 [1%]), entrepreneurs (1 [1%]), customer officers (1 [1%]). Amongst respondents who provided comments in the 'other' space, 2% (2 respondents out of 102) of the sample indicated that they were translators and 1% (1) was a community worker. No students, military servants or workman completed this survey (Appendix 14).

The first question on the residency of the respondents (see Question 13 in Appendices 7 & 8) included a list with five optional answers which included residency in the Russian Federation, residency outside the Russian Federation (in the Commonwealth of Independent States or CIS), residency outside the Russian Federation (in former USSR republics), residency outside the Russian Federation (in non-CIS countries) and residency by turns in several countries (in the Russian Federation and in another country). The next question on residency (see Question 14 in Appendices 7 & 8) was designed for respondents who have permanently moved abroad. It included a space with an option to provide the number of years the respondent had lived outside the former USSR.

While 53% of the sample (54 respondents out of 102) reside in the former USSR (30% or 31 respondents in the Russian Federation, 8% or 8 respondents in CIS and 15% or 15 respondents in former USSR republics), almost half (48 respondents out of 102 [47%]) of the sample live either in non-CIS countries (39% or 40 respondents) or by turns in several countries, such as in the Russian Federation and in another country (Appendix 15). Almost all respondents who live abroad (47 out of 48 [98%]) answered the next question on the number of years of residency abroad. Answers ranged from 2 to 28 years, with the largest group of respondents residing abroad from between 11 and 20 years (Appendix 16).[14]

With the sample almost evenly distributed between Russian-speaking and non-CIS countries, study goes some way towards addressing the gap in scholarship on the patterns of using winged phrases from Soviet films outside the former USSR.

As noted earlier, data on winged phrases from Soviet films were mainly collected from female teachers and Russian language enthusiasts around the world. Such a group of respondents might be considered amongst the most sophisticated language users, but this is not necessarily representative of all contemporary Russian speakers. As for the age of online questionnaire respondents, it should be noted that the youngest age group (18-30) was represented by only 4% of the sample. It is evident that almost all respondents (96%) were born in the USSR. This

[14] In Appendix 16 respondents are grouped under four categories: 2-5 years, 6-10 years, 11-20 years, more than 20 years of residency abroad.

could be viewed as a potential limitation of this study, as the number of younger respondents is not sufficient to allow for generalisations about the post-Soviet generation's speech patterns in quoting Soviet films.

With reference to the frequency of winged phrases usage (see Question 2 in Appendices 7 & 8), this was examined by the online questionnaire respondents who provided estimates of usage based on their own speech patterns. However, these findings cannot be extrapolated to all Russian speakers, as the online questionnaire respondents were mainly Russian teachers who were interested in the topic of Soviet cinema. While recognising the above limitations, the author considered that introducing the two additional data sources would add strength to this research.

3.7 *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum as a data source

The next step of this research involved data collection from the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum. The following two sections of the chapter outline the rationale for selecting the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum as a data source, as well as considerations of the research method and data collection procedures.

3.7.1 ЯПлакалъ online discussion forum: rationale for selection

As previously mentioned, scholarship in the area of winged phrases from Soviet films in online communication to date has either limited itself to general online discussions of 'precedent texts'[15], or to mere mentions of winged phrases from Russian cinema and animation (Evenko, Kliukina & Shipovskaia 2016; Gritsenko 2009; Gritsenko & Emier 2011; Tsareva & Chernova 2017). The only exception to date has been Krupenko's (2011) thesis, which includes winged phrases from 12 Soviet films taken from Russian-speaking online discussion forums. Amongst Krupenko's data sources, *ЯПлакалъ* forum was noted as an entertainment network and collectively-written blog, which is filled with news by its users (YaPlakal 2017).

[15] For a definition of a 'precedent text' see §1.1 & §2.2.

As highlighted in the literature review chapter (see §2.3.4), one of the aims of this research is to focus on online communication. The *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum posts are particularly valuable for this research because of the element of spontaneity in interaction between its members. Similarly to communication within the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group on the *ВКонтакте* social network, the language of the *ЯПлакалъ* forum can be described as 'spoken written language' (see §2.8.1). However, if compared to the other data sources selected for this study, an online discussion forum's language is more spontaneous.

In addition, the *ЯПлакалъ* forum's audience is described by Fedorov (2016: 82) as a "marginalised" community in which laughter does not have any other function than entertainment and recreation, self-affirmation through offending others. Forum members contribute to the online conversation not under their own names, but by using pseudonyms. It is expected that such users will have a different verbal behaviour to the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group members, online questionnaire respondents or to the journalists of *"Комсомольская правда – Москва", "Известия"* and *"Литературная газета"* selected as other three data sources for this study. Therefore, the selection of the *ЯПлакалъ* forum allows collecting an additional layer of data for analysis.

According to the *ЯПлакалъ* forum's information page (YaPlakal 2016), the site has over 540,000 users; there are over 13,000,000 unique visitors and over 230,000,000 page views *per* month (Alexa 2019). If compared to other popular online discussion forums, such as *Drom.ru, FORUMHOUSE, Форум Винского, Супермамки*, which are each dedicated to one topic, *ЯПлакалъ* offers a wide variety of themes for discussion.

The main page of the *ЯПлакалъ* forum includes the most popular news created by the forum's users and *"Активные темы" ('Active topics')* – popular topics displayed on the forum's front page. Every registered user can add news, but only forum users who have achieved a particular rating (such as User Quality > 15) can evaluate news and comments. The User Quality rating can be obtained as a result of creation of new topics or after receiving 'likes' for successful comments (YaPlakal 2017). In this way, any original input by forum members is encouraged by others.

As mentioned above, forum members write anonymously. Thus, the style of expression within the forum is very informal. Although all forum members employ pseudonyms or nicknames, some observations might indicate their gender. The facts that nicknames mostly end in a consonant, and/or that profile pictures display well-known male persons, such as actors, sportsman or film characters, and/or that non-normative lexicon is used can suggest that all of the communicants who used winged phrases from Soviet films are male.

The *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum members observe copyright laws and, therefore, often separate film quotations from their own speech by supplying their film-source. This makes data collection process less time-consuming.

3.7.2 Data collection method and data gathering procedures

In a similar way to research method employed for the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group on the *ВКонтакте* social network, both qualitative and quantitative data on the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum were collected. However, owing to the high number of messages by forum members in response to each topic (up to 1114 messages within a topic "*Что должен мужчина иметь к 30 годам" / What a man should have when he turns 30* posted on 24 July 2017*),* a period of just over one month of the forum's activity was identified as sufficient. Therefore, the comments of the forum's members were analysed from 18th July 2017 to 21st August 2017.

It was expected that data gathered would address research questions relating to the contexts and ways of usage of winged phrases from Soviet films. In this respect, the author anticipated that both cultural and semantic uses of winged phrases would feature prominently. This anticipation was based on the author's application of Bakhtin's, Lotman's and Propp's theories. In addition, winged phrases collected in the forum's communication would allow for data triangulation in compiling a list of high-frequency winged phrases from Soviet films – a procedure carried across all data sources in order to address the research question regarding how such phrases were being used.

A total of 15 topics from the *"Активные темы"* list that appeared on the forum's home page daily were selected for this study. The main criteria for selection were the topic's appearance in *"Активные темы"* and the topic's variety – if a similar topic was already analysed, it would be ignored the second time. Topics included into the analysis are listed in the Appendix 17.

The choice of a wide thematic range was influenced by the work of Gritsenko and Emier (2011: 464) who argue that when online discussion forum members are not limited by one specific topic, they are more likely to use precedent texts from their active vocabulary.

Systematic observation of all posts within these topics allowed the author to identify quotations from Soviet films. The appearance of such phrases was either in a form of a text or in a text written on the photograph showing actors in a scene when the phrase is said (also referred to as a meme). Some of the film lines were transformed by forum members. As previously discussed, video and audio content from Soviet films, which was included in posts by forum members, did not form part of the research methodology and was not examined.

Collecting data in online discussion forums presents certain limitations. As noted earlier, the gender of online interlocutors of the *ЯПлакалъ* discussion forum can only be guessed at, while age and occupation cannot be identified. In addition, this research examined only one forum, focusing on one month of member activity due to the limitation of the PhD timeframe. As in any qualitative research, one of the key limitations in topic selection is the author's subjectivity, and in this case, depth of knowledge of winged phrases from Soviet films. While recognising the above limitations, the author ensured that a variety of topics formed a key selection criterion for this study and that dictionaries of winged phrases as well as Soviet films were consulted when establishing whether a winged phrase was sourced from a Soviet film.

All the data collected from the data sources discussed in §3.5 – §3.7 of this chapter had a reference to spoken Russian or written spoken Russian. Therefore, in order to gain a deeper understanding of the use and dynamics of winged phrases in contemporary Russian, written data sources – such as newspapers – were considered.

3.8 Newspaper headings as a data source

According to Zemskaia (2014: 724), the language of modern newspapers is a mirror of contemporary Russian life. In particular, newspaper headlines – being the first elements of newspaper articles which the reader will encounter – do much to determine the interpretation of texts (Marcoci 2014). As mentioned in the literature review chapter (see §2.3 & §2.5), analysis of newspaper headings was one of the effective research methods in the field of winged phrases from Soviet films employed earlier by Kozhevnikov (2001), Shulezhkova (2003) and Diadechko (2008).

Newspaper headings of the three prominent newspapers *"Комсомольская правда – Москва", "Известия" and "Литературная газета"* were included into this research as a data source in order to address the second and third research questions: how and why winged phrases from Soviet films are used in contemporary written Russian. The next sections of the chapter outline the rationale for selecting the three newspapers for this research. They also describe the research method and data collection strategy.

Newspapers were also chosen with another important consideration in mind – that of the risk of overstating the importance and prevalence of winged phrases if research efforts were only to focus on online discussions of these matters. It has already been noted that one of the limitations of the survey questionnaire was the fact that its audience was mostly well educated, intimately familiar with and enthusiastic about winged phrases from Soviet films. In this sense, the analysis which would flow from a research methodology which only examined such audiences *vis-à-vis* winged phrases from Soviet film risked overstating the importance of same in contemporary Russian, as the risk would be that the online questionnaire would self-select for interest in such topics. This particular weakness or risk was addressed by conducting a parallel examination of major established newspapers and their deployment of winged phrases from Soviet films.

By their nature, newspapers audiences are more general than online discussions of winged phrases from enthusiasts. It was felt that the editorial choice of a newspaper editor to employ winged phrases would be necessarily more measured and most likely more representative of

the relative popularity and utility of winged phrases in the broader community. In this sense, an examination of newspaper usage of winged phrases complements the other data sources employed in this thesis.

3.8.1 "Комсомольская правда – Москва", "Известия" and "Литературная газета": rationale for selection

Modern newspapers include elements of spoken, vernacular language and even slang and are characterised by the high level of relaxedness of presentation, as noted by Zemskaia (2014: 717). While the language of Soviet newspapers was "a mixture of official jargon and Soviet 'news-speak'" (Beumers 2005: 51), the choice of newspapers as a data source is determined by the fact the language of modern Russian newspapers is close to contemporary spoken language (Zemskaia 2014: 717).

A total of three Russian newspapers were selected for this study: *"Комсомольская правда – Москва", "Известия" and "Литературная газета".* While all of the newspapers are mass-circulation publications, the selection process was also based on the necessity to include newspapers with different audiences. In addition to its overall value as a different perspective on winged phrases from the other research streams, the aim of such selection was to examine the use of winged phrases from Soviet films across three various relatively popular sources, which started their existence in Soviet era. The choice of a heading rather than the body of the article is explained by the fact that while precedent texts are used by journalists in both the heading and the body of the text, they are used more frequently in the heading (Zemskaia 2014: 725). In addition, time restrictions permitted only a wider range of newspapers (3 newspaper) and a longer timeframe (1.5 years) by including headings only.

"Комсомольская правда – Москва"

"Комсомольская правда" was founded in USSR in 1925 (Integrum 2019). As noted by Beumers (2005: 51), *"Комсомольская правда"*, "the organ of the youth organisation (komsomol)" in the Soviet Union, increased its popularity during perestroika and reached print

runs of 13 million towering above the most important Soviet paper *"Правда" (Truth).* Today it is a "ежедневная общественно-политическая газета" ("daily social and political newspaper") (Integrum 2019), which covers a wide range of topics, such as politics, society, economics, world news, sport, celebrities, health, science, legal advice, current events (Komsomol′skaia Pravda 2019). It has a large circulation of 55,000,000 issues (Integrum 2018). *"Комсомольская правда"* was rated as number one amongst Russian media sources according to Integrum's (2019) IndEx tool, which evaluates Russian mass media organisations within media space.

The newspaper is published in 52 regions of Russia as well as in Belarus, Moldova, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Cyprus and Northern Europe. In order to limit the data scope to one region, the *"Комсомольская правда – Москва*" (Moscow edition) was selected. In addition to Russian federal news, it includes the news from the Russian capital.

"Известия"

Throughout the existence of the Soviet Union *"Известия",* founded in 1917, was "the organ of the Supreme Soviet of the Council of Ministers". In addition, it was the second newspaper by its importance after *"Правда"* (Beumers 2005: 51). However, during Gorbachev's leadership and his principle of гласность (openness) *"Правда"* remained conservative towards proposed reforms and was reduced to a low print while *"Известия",* by being more liberal and supportive towards the reforms, still remains "relatively popular in the twenty-first century" (Beumers 2005: 52-53).

The daily circulation of *"Известия"* is 8,300,000; the newspaper is positioned as a social and political newspaper (Integrum 2019, Izvestiya 2018). Despite the similarity in its description with *"Комсомольская правда",* the key sections of *"Известия"* are dedicated to politics, economics, world news, Russian news, the society, occurrences, army, culture, style, cars, science, sport. Based on the statistical data provided by IndEx, it is ranked third amongst Russian media sources (Integrum 2019).

"Литературная газета"

"Литературная газета" is a specialised paper, the organ of the Writers' Union, which covers literary matters (Beumers 2005: 52). Although the newspaper claims to continue the traditions of *"Литературная газета"* founded by Pushkin in 1839 (Literaturnaia gazeta 2018), it was officially founded in 1929 (Integrum 2019). The newspaper is published weekly, its circulation is 148,000 issues.

Despite the relatively low circulation, *"Литературная газета"* was selected based on the fact that its readers differ somewhat from the target audience of newspapers such as *"Комсомольская правда"* and *"Известия"* which have higher ratings. It is addressed to the following audience: "истинным ценителям литературы и искусства, авторской журналистики" ("true lovers of literature and art, unique journalism") (Integrum 2019). The newspapers' topics dedicated to literature, politics, society, art and television are particularly relevant to this research.

3.8.2 Data collection method and data gathering procedures

The aim of using newspaper headings as a data source is to examine in which contexts and how winged phrases from Soviet films are used in contemporary Russian. The author was particularly interested in different communicative situations in written Russian and the relations between the semantic meaning imparted by a winged phrase used in a headline, when compared to its situational usage within the film. In addition, following the discussion in §2.10 of the literature review chapter, it was estimated that winged phrases in newspaper headings would be transformed more often and with a higher degree of creativity than in other data sources used in this study. At this stage of the research it was crucial to focus on the concept of "other words" used as or embedded into a newspaper heading which transforms the heading into a "multi-voiced" text (Bakhtin 1981). It was expected that new contexts in which winged phrases from Soviet films may appear might be discovered and some patterns in the manner of their appearance – such as transformations – could be identified.

Headlines in each issue of the abovementioned three newspapers were analysed for the period from 1st of January 2017 until 1st of July 2018 (863 newspaper issues in total). Two phases of examination of hard copies of each newspaper took place in Vitebsk regional library (Belarus) and in a number of Moscow libraries. Headings which included winged phrases from Soviet films were recorded with a note of the newspaper title, issue, date and content of the article. Winged phrases from literary adaptations, such as *"Золотой телёнок"*, *"Двенадцать стульев", "Двенадцать стульев" (Twelve Chairs, Ekran, 1977)* and *"Жестокий романс" (A Cruel Romance, Mosfilm, 1984),* were not included in the data (see §2.6). Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary was used as the main reference point for the identification of winged phrases. This ensured that each film quotation from a newspaper headline was checked for its presence in the dictionary prior to inclusion into this study.

Within the 863 newspapers examined, there was a combined average of 45 distinct headlines *per* issue across the three aforementioned newspapers. The average was calculated on a sample of 10 issues of each of the newspapers in a row, published at the same period of time starting from 1st of January 2018.

Because the analysis of newspaper headings was a function of the author's choices, the main limitation of data collection was that the process of identifying winged phrases used as or embedded into a newspaper heading was based on the author's knowledge of winged phrases from Soviet films – in this way, any lack of knowledge would compromise the identification process. In order to overcome this limitation, newspaper issues were checked further. In the event that the author was not sure whether a winged phrase used in a newspaper heading was from Soviet film, each potential phrase was cross-checked against Kozhevnikov's (2001), Elistratov's (2010) and Diadechko's (2008) dictionaries as well as against the Russian National Corpus.

3.9 Data management and analysis

The process of analysing each data source for this study started from organizing the data into a database (see §3.9.1 below) and then evolved in three sequential stages (see §3.9.2 – §3.9.4 below). The final stage of data analysis and discussion is presented in Chapter 9.

3.9.1 Steps undertaken prior to data analysis

Based on the choice of a sequential mixed-methods research approach as adopted for this study, the author felt it was necessary to undertake a number of data management steps in order to ensure that each data source would speak with the same 'voice' prior to entering a 'dialogue' during the process of data analysis described earlier in this chapter. Therefore, Soviet film quotations were extracted from each of the data sources – in the questionnaire quotations, winged phrases were recorded as they appeared in respondents' answers to question 4, along with key notes relevant to each data source and recorded into the database. An example of a full entry for a winged phrase from each data source is presented in Appendix 18.

In keeping with the decision to exclude adaptations discussed in §2.6 of the literature review chapter, all quotations from adaptations were removed from the spreadsheet. Finally, each quotation was checked for its presence in Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary in order to ensure that only winged phrases rather than quotations were considered for this study.[16] The rationale for selecting the abovementioned dictionary as one stable reference point is presented in §2.5-§2.6 of the literature review chapter. For all transformed winged phrases, an original phrase from Kozhevnikov's dictionary was also recorded.

Once a final list of winged phrases for each data source was compiled, the film from which the winged phrase was sourced was also recorded for all data sources. A list of most popular winged phrases from Soviet films was then produced. Finally, quotations which did not appear in Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary were also noted for further reference.

[16] A comparison between a quotation and a winged phrase is outlined earlier in this chapter in §3.5.2.

3.9.2 Overview of data analysis

The first stage of analysis occurred after data collection from each of the data sources discussed earlier in §3.5 – §3.8 of this chapter in which codes were assigned inductively to qualitative data in conjunction with the key themes identified in the literature review chapter. During stage two of the analysis quantitative data were analysed using frequency tables. In addition, in order to demonstrate distinct patterns of occurrence in the qualitative data, some parts of the dataset were quantified (examples are provided in §3.9.3 below). In other words, data which was originally qualitative in nature was converted into numbers or 'quantitized'[17] as described by Teddlie and Tashakkori (2011: 289). Therefore, in defining 'quantitizing' Teddlie and Tashakkori (2011: 289) were followed as they describe this process as the conversion of qualitative data into numerical codes which can be statistically analysed.

As a result, some of the key observations in the qualitative data were counted and expressed in frequencies and percentages in tables. The most popular winged phrases within each data source – with the exception of the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum[18] – were identified. Each of the four data sources was analysed in sequential order prior to the next stage of data synthesis.

Based on the process of data analysis for each data source presented above, this research can be characterised as a mixed-methods research approach, with an emphasis on the qualitative component. Each consecutive phase of the study (i.e. data collection and analysis of each of the four data sources) was based on explorations undertaken in the initial qualitative phase. Following the typology proposed by Dörnyei (2007: 169-175), the sequence of research methods and the dominance of the qualitative method can be visually represented for each data source as follows: QUAL/QUAN + QUAL→QUAN.

[17] The author is aware that 'quantifying' is a more common term, however, the spelling 'quantitized' and 'quantitizing' by Teddlie and Tashakkori (2011) is kept, and draws on the definition above.
[18] *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum data included 11 winged phrases from Soviet films which occurred in the online communication once. Therefore, it was not possible to compile the list of the most popular winged phrases within this data source.

Thus, the visual representation above indicates that data analysis within each data source consisted of three phases. An initial qualitative phase was followed in sequence by a quantitative phase (qualitative data collection, then quantitative data collection). The same qualitative phase was then followed in sequence by another quantitative phase (quantifying qualitative data). At the final stage of data analysis and discussion the data were concurrently cross-checked across at least three out of four data sources in order to identify key patterns (such as most popular winged phrases, most popular directors and most productive periods in Soviet cinema, key patterns in winged phrase transformations, main reasons for quoting Soviet films). Therefore, the dialogic relations in this research exist not merely between different data sources but between various layers of data (such as qualitative and quantitative data) within each single source.

Figure 3.1 depicts the exploratory sequential mixed-methods design employed for each step of this study. Phases outlined within the figure are explained in detail for each data set in section §3.9.3 below.

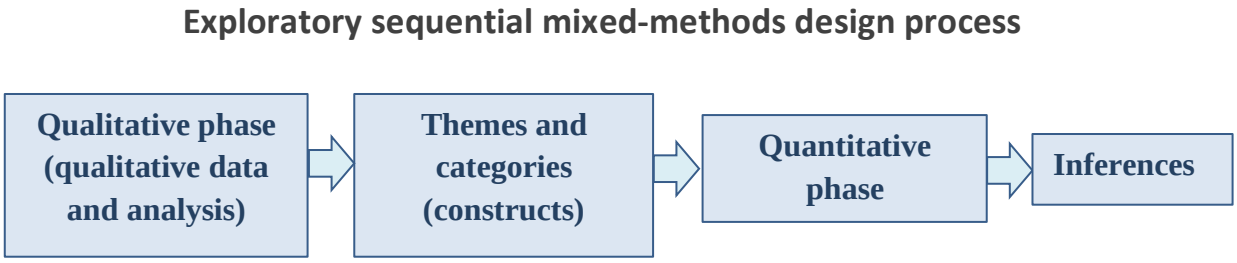

Figure 3.1 Exploratory sequential mixed-methods design adopted for this study (extended from Mehdi Riazi 2016)

The final stage of analysis involved comparing patterns in the deployment of winged phrases from Soviet films as well as various aspects of dynamics of winged phrase usage and reasons for quoting Soviet films occurring across all four data sources. This was done with the aim to analyse, interpret and synthesise the research data. Finally, the study was positioned within the theoretical framework outlined in §2.11 by drawing on the writings of Bakhtin (1965, 1975, 1979a, 1979b, 1981, 1984, 1996, 2002), Lotman (1973a, 1973b, 1990, 1992, 2005), Propp (1968) and Coulson (2015).

The key challenges throughout data analysis were to reduce the volume of large amounts of heterogeneous data, to identify patterns within data and to develop one criterion for quantifying qualitative data across all four sources. This study is based on a 'dialogue' between qualitative and quantitative data both within each respective data source and between all of the four data sources. Thus, cross-checking analysis of the data (for example, types of winged phrase transformations presented in Appendix 21) with each sequential step was crucial so that triangulation might be achieved. Amongst validity strategies that can be employed in order to check the accuracy of the findings, Creswell and Creswell (2018: 200) note different data sources triangulation; as they put it:

> If themes are established based on converging several sources of data or perspectives from participants, then this process can be claimed as adding to the validity of the study.

Such an approach was seen by the author as a valid strategy prior to drawing conclusions about the phenomenon in this research study.

3.9.3 Data analysis stages one and two: coding qualitative data, quantitative data analysis, quantifying

"Цитаты советского кино" group on the ВКонтакте social network

As outlined above, the *"Цитаты советского кино"* data were gathered from 1st September 2015 to 1st September 2016. A total of 2,660 wall posts in the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group were counted, amongst which 1,250 included quotations from Soviet films. A total of 104 wall posts with quotations from *фильмы-цитатники* (see Appendix 1) were identified. Each quotation was checked against Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary of winged phrases from national cinema in order to separate winged phrases from quotations. As a result, 92 wall posts with winged phrases from Soviet films were identified and used as the first part of qualitative data from *"Цитаты советского кино"*.

The second element of qualitative data in this phase focused on collecting and analysing comments which were generated by group members in response to wall posts. Given that so many posts would generate a multitude of comments which would be beyond the resources of this study to examine comprehensively, it was decided to select a limited number of wall posts for comment analysis.

The wall posts thus selected were of particular interest to the focus of this research. A total of 22 such wall posts within the *"Цитаты советского кино"* were chosen. The author endeavoured to ensure that the posts so chosen would represent a broad mix of relevant film titles, winged phrases and actors. Member comments on these posts were recorded to form this second part of the *"Цитаты советского кино"* qualitative data. A total of 1,694 comments to the posts were counted and then analysed. A total of 12 extracts of online interactions were presented in Chapter 4 in order to illustrate how data from the *"Цитаты советского кино"* addresses the research questions of this study, that is to say, different ways of winged phrase usage and reasons for such usage.

Taking into consideration the fact that for posts attracting over 100 comments, it was possible to view only the most recent 100, member comments on the same winged phrase posted a number of times during the year were analysed.[19]

During this phase of qualitative data analysis, the themes that emerged were consistent with those outlined in the literature review chapter. This influenced the coding design of both the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group data and the data within the remaining three data sources (Table 3.1 below).

[19] Raw data collected in the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group is available upon request.

Table 3.1 Data analysis stage one: coding qualitative data in conjunction with the key themes identified in the literature review chapter

THEME	AUTHOR	SECTION OF THE LITERATURE REVIEW CHAPTER
Contexts of usage (in terms of semantics and communicative situations)	Elistratov (2010), Ezhkova (2010), Grigorieva and Berezovskaia (2015), Kozhevnikov (2001), Kudriavtseva (2008)	§2.4.4, §2.7.1
Most popular winged phrases	Bakanov (2005)	§2.4.5
Most quoted films	Elistratov (2010), Kozhevnikov (2001), Kudriavtseva (2008), Sadullaeva (2012)	§2.6
Frequency of winged phrases usage	Berkov and Berkova (2000)	§2.7.1
Source of winged phrases within a film	Kostomarov and Burvikova (1994)	§2.6
Periods in Soviet filmmaking	Elistratov (2010), Dushenko (2002), Kozhevnikov (2001), Krupenko (2011), Kudriavtseva (2008)	§2.4.1, §2.4.5
Contribution by the director	Dushenko (2002), Elistratov (2010), Graham (2016), Kudriavtseva (2008)	§2.4.1
Verbal personality of the actor	Beumers (2009), Elistratov (2010)	§2.4.1
Transformations of precedent texts	Ezhkova (2010), Galieva and Zinnatova (2011), Gritsenko and Emier (2011), Petukhova and Simulina (2015)	§2.10
Types of precedent texts transformations	Ezhkova (2010), Galieva and Zinnatova (2011), Gritsenko and Emier (2011), Petukhova and Simulina (2015)	§2.10
Reasons for quoting	Kozhevnikov (2001), Elistratov (2010)	§2.4
Verbal game	Kozhevnikov (2001), Norman (1999)	§2.7.1, §2.10
Humour	Prokhorova (2016)	§2.4.3
Culturally specific elements	Elistratov (2010), Kudriavtseva (2008), Rozhkova (2015)	§2.7.1
Lexicographical representation	Rozhkova (2015), Sadullaeva (2012)	§2.5

While there were similarities across all four data sets observed, each data source was approached independently. In order for a theme to be identified and included into Table 3.1 above, it was required to recur at least three times across at least two data sets. There were several occasions where new themes, different to those outlined in the Table 3.1, emerged during the process of data analysis.

In order to establish inter-coder reliability and consistency of coding (Dörnyei 2007: 57), a research assistant proficient in both Russian and English and trained as a linguist was chosen as a coder.[20] The assistant was given a brief introduction to the study and its relevant concepts. A list of previously identified items for thematic analysis (see Table 3.1 above) was also provided as a reference to assist with coding. Eight examples with themes such as contexts of usage, transformations of precedent texts, types of precedent texts transformations (two examples), reasons for quoting, verbal game, humour and culturally specific elements were coded together.[21] Once the coder was familiar with the key themes, he was asked to code 22 samples of the author's data with at least 4 samples from each data set. Comments and feedback were encouraged during the coding process. After completion of this task, the identified themes were compared with those already identified by the author. This was followed by discussion about any disagreement and clarification of the coding approach. At this stage the assistant was asked to code another 12 data samples of transformed winged phrases individually. Once completed, types of transformations were again compared between the coder and the author. Each inconsistency was discussed one more time until the coder was satisfied with the results. After completion of the training, the assistant independently coded 108 samples of the author's data (12 from *"Цитаты советского кино"* group, 41 from online questionnaire, 7 from *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum and 48 from newspaper headings) with the majority of samples (89 samples or 83%) being transformed winged phrases. The results of the coded data along with comments by the research assistant were then provided to the author for cross-checking.

[20] For guidelines for establishing inter-coder reliability and training procedure see Appendix 22.

[21] The rest of the themes identified in Table 3.1 were used for coding by frequency counts, identifying film's directors, actors who say the phrase, year of film's creation and phrases' appearance in Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary.

As the results of coding done by research assistant indicate, almost all of the data samples (101 samples or 94%) were coded in a similar way by both the coder and by the author. In another 5 data samples (5%) the research assistant coded the data differently. In the remaining 2 data samples (2%) the assistant did not assign any codes. Such statistical results were considered to be reliable for the existing research.

One interesting and previously unrecorded theme to emerge through such analysis was the presence of subtle shifts in the phonetic appearance of winged phrases in online communication of the *"Цитаты советского кино"*. For example, the fact that group members mimicked the accents of particular actors – especially regional accents – was deemed prevalent enough in the data to warrant the application of its own code 'phonetic appearance'. Therefore, the coding of the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group qualitative data included the following: 1) phonetic features of winged phrases; 2) verbal personality of the actor; 3) transformations of winged phrases; 4) types of transformations; 5) verbal games; 6) reasons for quoting Soviet film.

The most popular winged phrases appearing on the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group's wall were identified by counting the number of 'likes', 'reposts' and comments that appeared on wall posts with winged phrases. Preliminary examination of the data showed that the average number of 'likes' *per* wall post with winged phrases from *фильмы-цитатники* was 464.

It was noted that there were other wall posts with quotations from films other than *фильмы-цитатники* (Appendix 1) which had more than 464 'likes'. Therefore, in order to include winged phrases popular amongst the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group users from other Soviet films, data were collected on a further 55 wall posts with quotations from Soviet films which exhibited more than 464 'likes'. The rationale for selecting additional winged phrases on the group's wall was driven both by the decision to widen the research focus from 10 *фильмы-цитатники* and out of a desire to avoid the limitation of Krupenko's (2011) study discussed earlier in the literature review chapter (see §2.3.4).

Another phenomenon which appeared worthy of its own distinct category in the process of quantitative data analysis was the connection between the time of a winged phrase's appearance on the group's wall and its relative popularity amongst group members. This phenomenon was

observed across a total of 92 wall posts which included winged phrases from *фильмы-цитатники*. The observation process involved counting the number of comments, 'likes' and 'reposts' each wall post received during different times of the year.

Each quotation was checked for its presence in Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary. The most popular winged phrases amongst *"Цитаты советского кино"* administrators (based on the number of appearances on the group's wall) and group members (based on the number of 'likes') were then recorded in frequency tables. The limited number of transformed winged phrases which were identified in this phase were also quantified. As previously mentioned, some of the *"Цитаты советского кино"* data contributed to the process of questionnaire design (Appendix 6). Finally, instances of winged phrases appearing in online communication yet not appearing in Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary were noted.

At the time of embarking on this research, to the author's knowledge, no previous examination of winged phrases in Russian (whether from Soviet films or otherwise) had as yet undertaken a quantitative analysis of the popularity of winged phrases in online communication social media.

In undertaking such analysis, the author expected to encounter a deviation from the accepted wisdom of what are considered to be the most popular winged phrases (Bakanov 2005). It was reasoned that analysis of online communication would shed new light on how the verbal personality of the actor connects to his or her lines in the film, as well as on the development of a verbal game employing quotations from Soviet films between virtual interlocutors.

The *"Цитаты советского кино"* group data is presented in Chapter 4 of this thesis. The process of making different types of inferences emerging from this data is reported in the analysis and discussion chapter (Chapter 9).

Online questionnaire

As noted earlier, data from the online questionnaire were collected from 21st of June 2017 until 11th of August 2017 from *Bilingual-online* group members. Data from 102 fully-completed questionnaires were then analysed.

The questionnaire data analysis involved two stages: analysis of questions 2 – 6 and analysis of questions 7 and 8 (see Appendix 7 for the questionnaire in Russian & Appendix 8 for the questionnaire in English). Within each stage, analysis of qualitative data was followed by the quantitative phrase (Figure 3.1 above). Data containing demographic characteristics of online questionnaire respondents from questions 9 – 14 of the questionnaire is reported in §3.6.4 and in Appendices 11 – 16.

The first phase of qualitative data analysis involved comments provided by respondents to questions 2 – 8 of the questionnaire. Variations of winged phrases reported by respondents in question 4 of the questionnaire were grouped under the main phrase as listed in Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary.

A total of 14 preliminary codes emerged from across the online questionnaire qualitative data and from the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. These codes are as follows: 1) contexts of winged phrases usage; 2) source of winged phrases within a film; 3) frequency of winged phrases usage; 4) most popular directors; 5) most productive periods in Soviet cinema; 6) phonetic features of winged phrases; 7) verbal personality of the actor; 8) conditionality of situation; 9) usage of a winged phrase as a joke; 10) connection between winged phrase and a film in respondent's memory; 11) transformations of winged phrases; 12) types of transformations; 13) reasons for quoting Soviet film; and 14) quotations not in Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary.

Data gathered from questions 2, 3 and 6 were compiled into frequency tables *per* the *SurveyMonkey* platform. With reference to question 6, which examined the reasons for winged phrase usage, after respondents allocated points to each of the reasons provided in the questionnaire, the mean was calculated for each of them. As described by Mehdi Riazi (2016:

180), “the mean is the arithmetic average of a set of data and is one of the three measures of central tendency”.

The importance of reasons in the question started from 1; as such, the lowest mean indicated the most important reason and the highest mean stood for the least important reason for quoting the winged phrase. The top four reasons for quoting Soviet films have been identified. The inclusion of the top four and not top three reasons can be explained by the very small gap between the mean of reasons 3 and 4 (0.01).

Qualitative data from questions 4 and 5 (winged phrases and contexts of their usage provided by the respondents) and 7 and 8 (film-sources, characters in the film who declaim winged phrases, comments on winged phrases contexts, missing words in winged phrases) was then arranged into frequency tables. Statistical analysis identified the most popular winged phrases amongst respondents, transformations of winged phrases and types of transformations, patterns in situational contexts for winged phrases usage and patterns in connections between a winged phrase and its film-source and a film character. For each transformed winged phrase, the original phrase from Kozhevnikov’s (2001) dictionary was recorded. Frequently used key words – such as *шутка (joke)* – were also analysed in this manner.

It was expected that while the data addresses all three research questions outlined in the literature review chapter, contexts different to those of winged phrases usage in the films would emerge – and that various types of transformations of such phrases would be identified. A detailed insight into the frequency of winged phrases usage and periods in Soviet cinema which provided most winged phrases into contemporary Russian was also anticipated. It was also expected to discover a connection between a winged phrase viewed as a ‘text-code’, its film-source and an actor who speaks the phrase in the film. Moreover, the exercise was expected to produce an in-depth knowledge related to factors influencing the inclusion of winged phrases from Soviet films into contemporary Russian speaker’s linguistic repertoires.

Data collected from the online questionnaire is presented in Chapters 5 and 6. Chapter 9 outlines inferences from the online questionnaire data and their analysis.

ЯПлакалъ online discussion forum and newspaper headings

By this stage of analysis, the author had become more familiar with the key themes emerging in the data. The *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum data were collected and analysed first, the newspaper headings data were analysed as the next and final step of data gathering and analysis. Therefore, the analysis for both data sources is described in one section of the chapter, as it was derived in the same manner.

Firstly, as described earlier, qualitative data were collected from the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum posts and from the newspaper headings of *"Комсомольская правда – Москва", "Известия"* and *"Литературная газета"* newspapers. For the *ЯПлакалъ* forum, data consisted of forum member comments which included winged phrases from Soviet films. For the newspaper heading, qualitative data were in the form of newspaper headings in which winged phrases were used. Any quotations from adaptations were then identified and removed. Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary was used as the main reference point to cross-check transformed winged phrases. Pure – or non-transformed – winged phrases were recorded for each transformation.

Qualitative data were then coded drawing upon the thematic analysis which had emerged from analysis in the literature review chapter and from codes already employed for the previous two data sets (the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group and the online questionnaire). The codes included: 1) contexts of winged phrases usage; 2) source of winged phrases within a film; 3) most popular directors; 4) most productive periods in Soviet cinema; 5) transformations of winged phrases; 6) types of transformations; and 7) quotations not in Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary. For the newspaper headings an additional code – culturally specific elements – mentioned in the Table 3.1 above, was employed.

For each winged phrase, a film, the year of creation and name of director were recorded according to Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary. Intersituative winged phrases were extracted from winged phrases which had appeared in newspaper headings.

During the quantitative phase of data analysis (see Figure 3.1 above), qualitative data within both data sources were quantified and recorded into frequency tables. Such data included the source of winged phrases within a film, most popular directors, most productive periods in Soviet cinema, transformations of winged phrases and types of such transformations. For newspaper headings the most popular winged phrases were identified based on the number of appearances in newspaper headings.

With reference to the analysis of the data gathered from newspaper headings, two issues should be raised: firstly, most of the winged phrases found in newspaper headings (67%) appeared in a heading only once, while one-third appeared repeatedly, between 2 and 8 times (33%). For this reason, the minority of winged phrases which were used in newspaper headlines at least twice were deemed 'popular phrases'. Secondly, when coding data according to year of film's creation, all periods of Soviet cinema were grouped under five categories, which followed broadly the steps of the online questionnaire design. The periods comprised 1) Soviet films made between 1917 and 1929; 2) the 1930-1950s; 3) the 1960s; 4) the 1970s and 5) the 1980s – 1991.

In addition, within data obtained from newspaper headings, based on the fact that half of the online questionnaire respondents mainly quoted films created in the 1970-1980s, the decision was made to analyse the popularity of winged phrases that appeared in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s separately and only then to highlight the peak year within the most-quoted period.

Data collection from the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum was expected to address a gap in current literature on the employment of winged phrases from Soviet films in spontaneous Internet communication. Data gathered from newspaper headings aimed to address a gap in literature on winged phrase transformations in contemporary written Russian. It was expected that a wide number of transformation types of winged phrases from Soviet films would be

found in newspaper headings. In addition, it was anticipated that the data would allow for the analysis of intersituative[22] winged phrases in a variety of contexts.

Data collected from the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum and from newspaper headings is presented in Chapters 7 and 8. Inferences drawn from the data are outlined in Chapter 9.

3.9.4 Data analysis stage three: key pattern identification and applying a strategic theoretical framework

The third and final stage of the data analysis process identified key patterns across all data sources and situated this study with respect to previous research in the area of winged phrases from Soviet films. By this stage, data that were assigned similar codes across different data sets had been cross-checked and interlocked in order to analyse the data through the prism of key theoretical concepts outlined in the literature review chapter. An example of such cross-checking is presented in Appendices 19 – 21, wherein most popular winged phrases, 'successful'[23] phrases and a summary of transformation types of winged phrases from Soviet films across all data sets have been identified.

At this stage, the attempt at a thorough, stepwise approach to data analysis allowed key strategic theoretical concepts to be explored: Bakhtin's concepts of dialogism, heteroglossia and carnival, Lotman's writings on the semiosphere and cultural semiotics and Propp's approach to a fairy tale discussed in the literature review chapter became central to the construction of the final framework and analysis of the data gathered for this study. This stage of the data analysis is presented in Chapter 9 – analysis and discussion.

Thus, following data analysis and synthesis, it was possible to note some broader implications of this study and to formulate conclusions and recommendations for future research in the field of winged phrases from Soviet films.

[22] An explanation of the term 'intersituative' is offered in §2.7.1.
[23] An explanation of the term 'successful' winged phrase if offered in §9.1.

3.10 Research ethics

Any research project involves certain ethical issues to be accounted for by the researchers, as they must ensure they do not violate codes of ethics when collecting and analysing data obtained from human beings (Mehdi Riazi 2016: 106). The aim of this particular research was to contribute to a body of knowledge, based on a thorough study of prior literature. While it is anticipated by the author that there are no ethical threats to any of the online questionnaire respondents or online communication participants, the study employed codes of ethics for professional and academic associations as outlined by Christians (2011: 65-67):

1) Informed consent: respondents completing questionnaires must agree voluntarily to participate, their agreement must be based on full and open information;

2) Deception: research design must be free of active deception;

3) Privacy and confidentiality: people's identities and locations are to be kept confidential; confidentiality must be assured as the primary safeguard against unwanted exposure;

4) Accuracy: as a cardinal principle, the researcher must ensure data are accurate.

With reference to human research ethics, this inquiry followed the ethical framework outlined by *The Code of Conduct for Research* and *The National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* governing research at the University of Melbourne.[24] Special attention in this research was paid to the informed consent of respondents of online questionnaire. Thus, the first question of the questionnaire requested each respondent's consent to voluntary proceed with the study. Only respondents giving such consent were able to continue to the remaining questions. The author was also committed to ensure the confidentiality of the questionnaire respondents. As noted by Mehdi Riazi (2016: 9), "anonymity is a methodological principle and a code of practice enforced in ethics guidelines of different research institutions". Therefore, in the online questionnaire, the respondents were

[24] http://unimelb.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0007/1655737/r171r8.pdf; https://www.nhmrc.gov.au/health-ethics/history-national-statement-ethical-conduct-human-research-2007?

not asked to write their names or provide any information which might otherwise have identified them.

The online environment represents new ethical challenges for researchers which include anonymity and privacy matters, as argued by Gaiser and Schreiner (2009: 27). As far as the research on the *ВКонтакте* social network and on the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum was concerned, pseudonyms were used instead of the online communicants' real or nick-names. Some additional measures were also taken to ensure anonymity, such as deleting compromising details and breaking identifiable characters into multiple characters to make them less identifiable (Lawson 2004: 91).

Finally, the storage of data was approached with due caution, to ensure that only the author had access to any of research-related records. In accordance with the guidelines set by the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research, prior to proceeding with sending out the online questionnaire, an approval was acquired from the Human Ethics Advisory Group (HEAG) at University of Melbourne.

3.11. Reflections on researcher positionality

As a researcher in this field, the author claims an 'insider' status and therefore her writing can be considered 'reflexive' (Pelias 2011: 662). As a Russian speaker who grew up in Belarus watching Soviet feature films, the author believes that she shares cultural membership with her research participants, as she too employs quotations from films in her day-to-day speech just like other phraseological locutions or proverbs.

However, the author also belongs to a generation which might confess that "лишь недавно, просмотрев какой-либо старый отечественный фильм, обнаруживали первоисточник хорошо известного им высказывания, афоризма и т.п., которые раньше считали любимой шуткой кого-либо из родителей или знакомых" ("only recently, after watching an old national film, they discovered the source of a well-known phrase, proverb and so on,

which they earlier counted as a favorite joke of their parents or acquaintances") (Kozhevnikov 2001: 7).

In addition, the author does not feel she has the right to impose her subjective interpretation of 'winged phrases' from Soviet film on her research participants, as the author left Belarus ten years after the collapse of the USSR, at a time when new feature films which are now also being quoted in modern Russian had only just begun to appear on screen. In this research, the author considers herself principally as an 'observer', largely due to the lack of direct involvement in actual language use in Russian-speaking countries today.

3.12 Chapter summary

In summary, this chapter provided a detailed description of the methodological approach to the research. A mixed-methods study methodology was employed in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under study. It was considered that a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods would add additional strength to the research methodology in order to address the key research questions on the contexts, ways and reasons of winged phrases from Soviet films being used in contemporary Russian language practice.

The chapter sought to justify the research choice of four different data sources, comprising online communication within the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group on *ВКонтакте* social network, online questionnaire, posts on the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum and headings from the newspapers *"Комсомольская правда – Москва", "Известия"* and *"Литературная газета"*. Newspaper selection was argued to be particularly useful in offering a more general audience for winged phrases than the online discussion forum questionnaire, which could otherwise tend to overemphasise the importance of winged phrases given the special interest of this group in winged phrases.

Data gathering procedures and the approach to data management and analysis for this study were presented. Ethical considerations and the author's position as a researcher were also outlined. The findings of the study are presented and discussed in the next six chapters.

Chapter 4: Winged phrases from Soviet films within the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group on the *ВКонтакте* social network

4.1 Introduction

As discussed in §2.8, while contemporary Russian speakers are showing an increased interest in quotations from popular Soviet films (Elistratov 2010), one of the new spheres of Soviet precedent text usage is Internet communication (Evenko, Kliukina & Shipovskaia 2014; Gritsenko 2009; Gritsenko 2013; Gritsenko & Emier 2011; Krupenko 2011). The existing literature highlights the spoken component in defining the language of the Internet in Russian (Ivanova 2017; Karpova 2010; Krotova & Permiakova 2017; Kytina 2017; Marchenko 2013; Markovich 2017; Tsariova & Chernova 2017). The present chapter results from wall posts and member comments from the *"Цитаты советского кино"* (*Quotations from Soviet cinema)* group on the *ВКонтакте* (*VKontakte)* social network.

While existing scholarship focuses on the usage of winged phrases from Soviet films in face-to-face interaction (Elistratov 2010; Karpechenkova 2013; Kozhevnikov 2001), very little research has been conducted into how winged phrases might function in the context of Internet communication (Krupenko 2011). The present study addresses this knowledge gap. It concerns itself with the socio-historical and linguistic features of usage as well as with the dynamics of winged phrases from Soviet films within the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group.

The term 'dynamics' in this chapter includes the popularity of winged phrases, patterns in online verbal interactions which include such phrases, the connection between the verbal personality of an actor and his or her lines being transformed to winged phrases as well as winged phrase transformations. All of these factors indicate the general tendencies which winged phrases might display within one particular group in the *ВКонтакте* social networking service.

"Цитаты советского кино" wall posts and comments of group members were collected from 1st September 2015 to 31st August 2016 and then analysed. Six findings emerged from this analysis. They became the organising structures for the chapter:

1) Group members showed an excellent knowledge of Soviet film quotations; their online interaction was in the form of quotations exchange;

2) Phonetic features of winged phrases, such as the particular accent of a film character, were graphically represented in member comments;

3) Popularity and relevance of winged phrases was conditioned by the time of year in which the phrase was quoted;

4) Online interaction did not always consist of winged phrases and quotations which related to each other;

5) There were three connections identified regarding an actor's verbal personality: the actor – one of his or her roles; the actor's connection to a particular director; the actor's connection to multiple directors;

6) Less than 1% of winged phrases that appeared on wall posts were transformed phrases.

The above findings are reported in this chapter. In addition, the most popular winged phrases were identified in order to select content for further research, which includes an online questionnaire.

This chapter starts with an overview of the main observed patterns in the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group communication and presents a list of the most popular winged phrases within this group. Linguistic observations are then reported, followed by the popularity of winged phrases as they relate to special events or times of year, the dynamics of the verbal interaction and the verbal personality of the actor. This is followed by an analysis of winged phrase transformations. The chapter ends with a summary of results.

4.2 Overview of main patterns in the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group communication

Amongst the 2,660 wall posts that appeared on the group's wall from 1st September 2015 to 31st August 2016, a total of 1,250 (47%) included quotations from Soviet films. As discussed in §3.5.2, structurally speaking, winged phrases are not necessarily the same as quotations. Having selected Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary as a reference point for the appearance of winged phrases from Soviet films, three types of wall posts in *"Цитаты советского кино"* – all of which included quotations from Soviet films – were identified:

a) quotations which constitute winged phrase;

b) quotations in which one or more winged phrases are embedded;

c) quotations which do not include a winged phrase.

Only the first two types of wall posts were included into this study, although some exceptions were presented in order to highlight that not all of the popular film quotations are included into Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary.

A total of 92 wall posts which included winged phrases from ten *фильмы-цитатники (film-quotations)* (see §2.6, §3.4.1 & Appendix 1) were identified. The number of 'likes', 'reposts' and comments were recorded for each of the posts. Then the number of 'likes' and 'reposts' was collected on another 31 wall posts with winged phrases from Soviet films which were not drawn from the top ten film-quotations. Within the wall posts mentioned above, 22 were randomly selected for further analysis and user comments were recorded for each of them. There were 1,694 comments collected in total (see §3.9.3).

4.2.1 Most popular winged phrases amongst "Цитаты советского кино" administrators

The popularity of each winged phrase amongst group administrators was based on the number of times it appeared on the group's wall during the year. The six most popular winged phrases amongst administrators were identified (Table 4.1 below). [25]

Table 4.1 Most popular winged phrases in the "Цитаты советского кино" amongst administrators

MOST POPULAR WINGED PHRASES AMONGST ADMINISTRATORS	
WINGED PHRASE	NUMBER OF TIMES/ DATES OF APPEARANCE
Полюбить – так королеву, проиграть – так миллион!	6 (29.09.2015, 14.10.2015, 26.12.2015, 8.03.2016, 21.04.2016, 9.06.2016)
Этот Василий Алибабаевич, этот нехороший человек мне на ногу батарею сбросил... падла!	5 (1.11.2015, 14.02.2016, 24.03.2016, 17.07.2016, 28.07.2016)
Ты не женишься! Умалишённых не регистрируют!	4 (11.09.2015, 9.12.2015, 12.01.2016, 19.07.2016)
– Горчички! *– Угу.*	4 (22.09.2015, 4.02.2016, 11.04.2016, 14.08.2016)
Срамота!	4 (15.09.2015, 30.12.2015, 20.02.2016, 20.03.2016)
– Как вам моя причёска? *– Умереть – не встать!*	4 (29.12.2015, 8.04.2016, 11.06.2016, 26.07.2016)

[25] All the study's translations of winged phrases into English will be made available upon request. However, the author plans to collate and publish her English translations of all of the winged phrases identified in this research at a later time. At this point, a special note should be made of the approach to translation. Some winged phrase English translations were available on the official *Mosfilm* or *Lenfilm* websites. These same sites have been employed in this and the following chapters for presenting English translations, where they appear relevant for presenting the results of the study. Not all winged phrases mentioned in this thesis were available on these film websites. Where a translation was not available, the author has provided her own translation of both winged phrase and in some cases its subsequent transformation in as meaningful an English version as possible.

4.2.2 Most popular winged phrases amongst "Цитаты советского кино" group members

The popularity of a winged phrase amongst group members was based on the number of 'likes' which the post with a winged phrase received from group members. A total of 25 top-rated winged phrases from 19 Soviet films are listed in Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2 Most popular winged phrases in the "Цитаты советского кино" amongst group members

MOST POPULAR WINGED PHRASES AMONGST GROUP MEMBERS		
WINGED PHRASE	DATE OF APPEARANCE	NUMBER OF 'LIKES'
Автомашину куплю с магнитофоном, пошью костюм с отливом, и – в Ялту.	20.04.2016	1404
Как говорит наш любимый шеф: "Если человек идиот, то это надолго".	17.06.2016	1312
– Был в Берлине, в Праге. *– Вы ездили туда по служебным делам?* *– Я не ездил, я пешком.* *– В качестве туриста?* *– Нет, в пехоте.*	10.05.2016	1242
– Вы же непьющая. *– Как это непьющая? Очень даже… почему же?!*	10.08.2015	1058
День взятия Бастилии впустую прошёл.	27.11.2015	819
Какая гадость, какая гадость эта ваша заливная рыба!	26.09.2015	764
Простите, мы рядом не лежали?	4.08.2015	732
– Если вы еще раз посмотрите в чужую тетрадь – получите два. *– А вы думаете, я так больше получу?*	16.02.2016	725
– Если б тебе предложили планету с любой жизнью, ты б с какой выбрал? *– Да где пиво бесплатное.*	17.02.2016	688
Обыкновенная причёска. Форма называется "Я у мамы дурочка".	6.01.2016	681
Есть такая профессия, Иван, защищать свою Родину.	24.02.2016	664

Мой прадед говорит: “Имею желание купить дом, но не имею возможности. Имею возможность купить козу, но не имею желания”. Так выпьем за то, чтобы наши желания совпадали с нашими возможностями.	3.08.2016	642
Мне ухаживать некогда. Вы привлекательны, я чертовски привлекателен – чего зря время терять?	7.03.2015	636
Вот у меня один знакомый, тоже учёный, у него три класса образования, а он десятку за полчаса так нарисует, не отличить от настоящей.	7.01.2016	635
– А если это любовь, Надя? *– Кака любовь?* *– Така любовь!*	5.02.2016	629
Когда-нибудь спросят, а что вы, собственно, можете предъявить? И никакие связи не помогут сделать ножку маленькой, душу большой и сердце справедливым.	26.03.2015	625
– Пожалуюсь мужу, и он превратит вас в крысу. *– А кто у нас муж?* *– Волшебник.* *– Предупреждать надо. Был не прав, вспылил! Но теперь считаю своё предложение безобразной ошибкой, раскаиваюсь, прошу дать возможность загладить, искупить. Всё. Ушёл.*	7.01.2016	616
Сегодня я буду кутить. Весело, добродушно, со всякими безобидными выходками.	20.02.2016	606
Запомните, джентльмены, эту страну погубит коррупция!	23.01.2016	605
То ли музыки-цветов хочется, то ли зарезать кого-нибудь.	19.01.2016	596
Летит бабочка. Головка крошечная, безмозглая, крылышками бяк-бяк, бяк-бяк, бяк… Ну, дура дурой! Воробушек тоже не лучше. Береза – тупица, дуб – осёл, речка – кретинка, облака – идиоты, лошади – предатели. Люди – мошенники.	14.08.2015	578
Граждане новосёлы, внедряйте культурку! Вешайте коврики на сухую штукатурку! Никакого модернизма, никакого абстракционизма! Сохраняет стены от сырости, вас от ревматизма. Налетай, торопись, покупай живопись!	8.07.2016	577
– Что делать, Инка? Что делать? *– Сухари сушить.*	4.04.2015	568
Сто грамм – не стоп-кран, дёрнешь – не остановишься!	15.02.2016	563
Все глупости на земле делаются именно с этим выражением лица.	11.07.2015	558

As illustrated in Table 4.2 above, the number of 'likes' for the most popular winged phrases amongst group members varied from 1404 to 558. One fifth of winged phrases (5 out of 25 [20%]) in Table 4.2 were sourced from *"Обыкновенное чудо" (Ordinary Miracle, Mosfilm, 1978).* Each of the films *"Джентльмены удачи" (Gentlemen of Fortune)* and *"Любовь и голуби" (Love and Pigeons* or *Love and Doves, Mosfilm, 1984)* supplied 2 winged phrases (2 out of 25 [8%]) into the list above. The remaining 16 winged phrases (16 out of 25 [64%]) which received a high number of 'likes' from group members came from 16 different Soviet films.

4.2.3 Patterns of online interaction

One pattern of online interaction was identified in the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group (Figure 4.1 below). It illustrates the key characteristic of communication between group members insofar as it mainly consisted of quotations from Soviet films:

Typical pattern of online interaction within the "Цитаты советского кино"

Administrator creates a post-impetus
Member A comments in the form of a relevant quotation from a Soviet film
Member B comments in the form of a relevant quotation from a Soviet film
Member C comments in the form of a relevant quotation from a Soviet film
Member A responds to *Member B* or *Member C* with another quotation from a Soviet film
Member B responds to *Member A* or *Member C* with another quotation from a Soviet film

Figure 4.1 Typical pattern of online interaction within the "Цитаты советского кино"

Short texts in social networks are common due to "an increasing spread of communication media that encourage the use of less words for sharing information" (Cabrera, Escalante & Montes-y-Gómez 2013: 335-336). Amongst 1,694 comments included into the study, 1,126 (67%) consisted of one line *per* comment. Such short responses give chatgroup interactions a "dynamic conversational feel" (Crystal 2001: 145). The maximum number of paragraphs that

had appeared in one comment in the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group observations was eight. This was noted only once – in a comment written in response to a post dedicated to actor Yurii Yakovlev on the 26th of April 2016.

There were also examples of communication wherein responses by group members were delayed or interrupted by others. This pattern is illustrated by Figure 4.2 below:

Typical pattern of interrupted communication within the "Цитаты советского кино"

Member A posts unfinished quotation provoking others to reply
Member B posts a different quotation
Member C posts a different quotation
Member D continues a quotation that was posted by *Member A*

Figure 4.2 Typical pattern of interrupted communication within the "Цитаты советского кино"

The data collected from the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group illustrated that group members did not always read all of the previous messages. Some of the quotations were repeated several times during one act of communication, especially when the number of comments which follow a post exceeded 100. There were also examples when one member of the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group posted up to 10 separate messages in a row.

Communication within the group was also characterised by an absence of insulting comments. *"Цитаты советского кино"* group members did not display any disrespect to each other. Popular comments to a wall post received up to 24 'likes' by other group members. The highest number of 'likes' achieved for a given phrase (24) was noted in response to a comment with the winged phrase *"Птичку жалко" ("I'm sorry for the bird")*, which followed a wall post dedicated to actor Aleksandr Dem′ianenko's birthday on the 31st of May 2016.

Another feature of online communication in the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group was the inclusion of the interlocutor's name each time someone responded to a comment. Such a pattern encouraged the flow of conversation (Extract 1):[26]

Extract 1

Galina Brikova: Лариса, у Вас ус отклеился!

Larisa, your moustache… one side has come off.

Vera Skorodum: Цигель, цигель! Ай лю лю!

Tsigiel', tsigiel', ai liu liu!

Larisa Ignatieva: Галина, А ну иди отсюда, МИША!!! Топай до хазы.

Galina, you get out of here Misha. Back to your cage.

Ol'ga Privalova: Вера, ай лю лю потом.

Vera, ai liu liu later.

Galina Brikova: Лариса, ясно! – собутыльник!

Larisa, I see. Drinking buddy.

Ol'ga Privalova: Лариса, "Шанель" номер пять.

Larisa, Chanel, number five.

Responses to a post with a winged phrase from "Бриллиантовая рука"

Date of the post: 25 December 2015

As seen in Extract 1 above, it was not uncommon for a female group member to quote lines which were pronounced in the film by a male actor. The same applied to male group members who sometimes quoted lines pronounced by female actors.

4.2.4 Member activity based on gender

Addressing the question of the dependence of member activity based on gender, Figure 4.3 below shows that female members in the group were more active: they wrote 71% of the comments (1,202 out of 1,694) included into this study. A total of 29% of the comments (485

[26] All members of *"Цитаты советского кино"* group are assigned pseudonyms for ethical reasons.

out of 1,694) were produced by male group members, while the gender of authors of 7 comments (less than 1%) could not be identified.

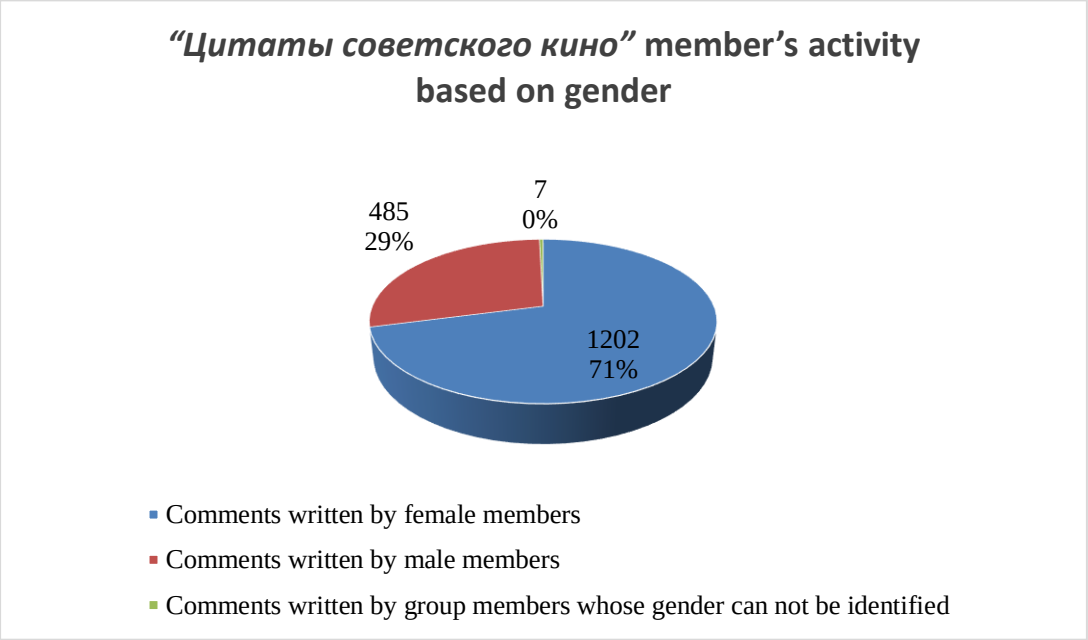

Figure 4.3 "Цитаты советского кино" member's activity based on gender

4.2.5 Knowledge of Soviet film quotations

While the appearance of the same film quotation more than once or several messages posted straight after another by one person was tolerated by group members, they appeared alert to messages not relevant to the wall post (Extract 2).

Extract 2

Maksim Ivanov: Это же вам не лезгинка, а твист!

This is not your lezginka. This is twist!

Vladimir Leskin: Максим, это из "Кавказской пленницы"!

Maksim, this is from The Prisoner of the Caucasus!

Responses to a post with a quotation from "Операция "Ы" и другие приключения Шурика"

Date of the post: 8 July 2016

Although errors in comments within the *"Цитаты советского кино"* were corrected by group members, this tended to be done in a friendly manner. Group members often complimented others for their knowledge of film quotations (Extract 3):

Extract 3

Ни фига себе. Цитаты! Тут весь фильм пересказали))

Wow. Quotations! The whole film has been paraphrased here))

Response to a post with a quotation from "Иван Васильевич меняет профессию"

Date of the post: 7 December 2015

Иван, реплики Вауууу! Спасибо!

Ivan, the retorts are wow! Thank you!

Response to a post with a quotation from "Джентльмены удачи"

Date of the post: 20 April 2016

Иван, ты Король сегодняшней вечеринки!! Цитаты шедевр!

Ivan, you are the King of today's party!! Your quotations are a masterpiece!

Responses to a post with a quotation from "Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!"

Date of the post: 23 April 2016

Ирина, Вы так всё запомнили, класс.

Irina, you remembered everything so well, it's cool.

Response to a post with a quotation from "Бриллиантовая рука"

Date of the post: 17 June 2016

Amongst comments which followed wall posts, there were comments which addressed the topic of a film's popularity (Extract 4):

Extract 4

Alfia Girzanova: В фильме много очень трогательных моментов. Хочется пересматривать бесконечно.
The film has a lot of touching moments. I want to watch it again and again.

Response to a post with a winged phrase from "Служебный роман"
Date of the post: 10 August 2016

Svetochka Liakh: ГЕНИАЛЬНЫЙ фильм, который разобрали на цитаты. То чувство, когда знаешь сценарий фильма от начала до конца, но в очередной раз пересматриваешь, наслаждаешься игрой актёров и мастерством режиссёра! Жаль, сейчас таких фильмов нет.
A BRILLIANT film that was taken apart for quotations. It's that feeling when you know the script from the beginning to the end, but watch it one more time, enjoy the acting and the mastery of the director!
It's a pity that now there are no such films.

Response to a post with a winged phrase from "Бриллиантовая рука"
Date of the post: 17 June 2016

Liza Pushchina: Это классика))) она будет актуальна всегда))) мне 17 лет, а я с самого детства люблю советские фильмы)))
It's classics))) it will be always relevant))) I am 17, and from a young age I liked Soviet films)))

Response to a post with dedicated to Yurii Yakovlev
Date of the post: 24 January 2016

Whilst group members often spoke about their favourite Soviet film, or expressed their gratitude to the film creators and actors, there were a few clearly dedicated fans who admitted watching a film many times (Extract 5).

Extract 5

Veronika Selina: Кристина, скомпрометировать))

Kristina, compromise))

Kristina Ageeva: Вероника, дааа! Опозорилась. На днях ведь фильм смотрела, в 300-й раз.

Veronika, oh! Shame on me. The other day I watched the film, you know, for the three hundredth time.

Responses to a post with a quotation from "Служебный роман"

Date of the post: 10 August 2016

A nostalgia for the Soviet past was often expressed in messages posted by group members. Thus, group members congratulated each other on the 7th of November – the day which in Soviet times commemorated the October 1917 revolution.

4.3 Linguistic observations

There were also linguistic observations from the comments worth noting: firstly, group members made a number of typographical, spelling and syntax mistakes *("Выйграла что-нибудь?", "Чуть что сразу Косой").* These were not classified as deliberate variations and such mistakes were not a focus of data presentation.

Emotive punctuation in the form of two or more exclamation marks was also common in the group's communications and was retained for research presentation (*"Отдай рог! Отдай рог, тебе говорю! Оба рога отдай!!!" / "Give me the horn! Give me the horn, now! Give me both horns!!!").*

The phonetic features of a winged phrase were often represented graphically by using uncommon spelling and capitalisation. In response to a wall post with a winged phrase from *"Бриллиантовая рука" (The Diamond Arm), "Цитаты советского кино"* group members imitated Liolik's accent in writing, mainly by capitalizing the hard pronunciation of consonants

(*туалЭт*), the use of ‘у’ instead of ‘в’ after vowels and at the start of the word (*сядем усе*), fricative ‘г’ (*за сиГналом*) and incorrect stress *(детЯм)* (Extract 6).

Extract 6

Vera Skorodum: Строго на север, порядка пятидесяти метров, расположен туалЭт типа сортир, с буквами МЭ и ЖО.

Armen Samson: Достаточно одной таблЭтки.

Elena Ostapova: Спокойно, Козлодоеу! Сядем усе!

Sergei Grushevin: Слэдить за сиГналом!

Varia Ivanovskaia: Начальство приказало менять точку, пЭрЭбазироваться, вот так!

Aleksandra Shlyk: ДетЯм мороженое, его бабе цветы! Смотри, нэ пэрэпутай, Кутузоу!
Идиот!!! ДетЯм мороженое!!!

Responses to a post with a winged phrase from “Бриллиантовая рука”
Date of the post: 17 June 2016

Winged phrases quoted by group members included mistakes in word endings and the absence or incorrect usage of prepositions in order to imitate the accent of Vasilii Alibabaevich from *“Джентльмены удачи”* (Extract 7).

Extract 7

Tania Tereshkova: У тебя папа, мама был?

Rimma Pazuk: Мы будем прятать, а он дырка смотреть, да?

Yana Razina: Эй, гражданина!!! Ты туда не ходи! Ты сюда ходи, а то снег в башка попадёт! Совсем мёртвый будешь!

Responses to a post dedicated to Radner Muratov’s birthday
Date of the post: 21 October 2015

4.4 Popularity of winged phrases at special times of year

The relationship between the popularity of a winged phrase and the time of its appearance in *"Цитаты советского кино"* was also noted. While popular film quotations from Soviet films appeared several times on the group's wall during the research period, reactions to some of the winged phrases varied throughout the year. Winged phrases taken from films dedicated to the Second World War, or Great Patriotic War as it was referred to in the Soviet Union, reached a peak of popularity on the 9th of May – Victory Day. As can be seen from Figure 4.4 below, a wall post with the winged phrase from the film *"Тридцать три" (The Thirty-Three, Mosfilm, 1965)* which appeared on the group's wall on the 10th of May 2016 received a high number of 'likes' (1245):

A wall post with the winged phrase from the *"Тридцать три"*

Figure 4.4 A wall post with the winged phrase from the "Тридцать три" dedicated to the Victory Day (VKontakte 2017b)

The winged phrase "*Полюбить – так королеву, проиграть – так миллион!" ("To love no less than a queen, to lose no less than a million!")* from the *"Москва слезам не верит" (Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears)* appeared on the group's wall six times. As illustrated by Figure 4.5, it received most of the 'likes' by group members on 8th of March, International Women's Day, a popular holiday in Russia. In addition, in the comments that follow the post, 80% of the 100 comments accessible for viewing belong to female group members.

Figure 4.5 "Полюбить – так королеву, проиграть – так миллион!" popularity during the year amongst "Цитаты советского кино" group users

The date of a winged phrase's appearance on the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group's wall did not only influence its popularity, but may also have had an effect on its meaning. Thus, the winged phrase from *"Свадьба в Малиновке" (Wedding in Malinovka): "Чует моё сердце, что мы накануне грандиозного шухера" ("My heart tells me that the revolution is just about to begin")* conveys the following meaning: "У меня дурные предчувствия, надо сматывать удочки, плохо наше дело" ("I feel disquiet, we must get going, it is bad for us") (Elistratov 2010: 243). Its appearance on the group's wall one day before New Year's Eve (30

December 2015) was followed by comments which were related to the year 2016 coming up (Extract 8):

Extract 8

Andrei Shanin: Но шо-то шухер не торопится… только накануне.

But revolution is not in a hurry… its's only on the eve…

Inga Dobrova: Правильно чует его сердце.

His sense is spot-on.

Responses to a post with a winged phrase from "Свадьба в Малиновке"

Date of the post: 30 December 2015

4.5 Dynamics of a verbal interaction

The data collected within the *"Цитаты советского кино"* suggests that group members were most active in producing comments in response to the following three types of wall posts:

1) A wall post with a direct quotation from a specific Soviet film;

2) A wall post with information about a specific Soviet film, such as a release date, a specific shot or scene within the film;

3) A photo, a quotation (or a number of quotations) of a specific actor or director or his/her biographical information (e.g. date of birth or date of death).

Amongst comments related to all three of the abovementioned types of wall posts, it is worth noting two types of verbal interaction between the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group members. The most common variation took place when group members exchanged quotations from different parts of one or more films merely by providing their favourite quotations, which did not relate to each other (Extract 9):

Extract 9

Olesia Dobrich: Идите вы... в бухгалтерию!

Go to… your accounting department!

Irina Potekhina: Хорошие сапоги, надо брать.

Good boots, I'll buy them.

Anna Tereshkova: В молодости вы были гораздо талантливее, только я не знала, что вы творили под псевдонимом Пастернак.

In youth you seem to have been a lot more talented, I couldn't even imagine that your pen name was Pasternak.

Responses to a post with a winged phrase from "Служебный роман"

Date of the post: 10 August 2016

With this type of verbal interaction, a virtual dialogue almost took the form of a competition, and at times group members encouraged each other to provide more quotations in order to reach a specific number (Extract 10):

Extract 10

Roza Kravchenko: Так что передать мой король? – Передай свой король мой пламенный привет.

So whadda I say my king? – Say your king my warm greetings.

Roza Kravchenko: !6 не хватает до 200, до рекорда!)))

!We are 6 short of 200, of the record!)))

Zhora Zhukov: Роза, а Кемска волост?

Roza, whaddabout Kemsk region?

Roza Kravchenko: Отдавайте! Я-то думал!

Give it! I though it was something important!

Responses to a post with a photo made while shooting "Иван Васильевич меняет профессию"

Date of the post: 11 August 2016

Another variation of a verbal interaction included the first line of a winged phrase posted by one group member, which was continued by the second interlocutor and finished by the third one. In between were posited non-related winged phrases, owing to the fact that comments are posted at the same time by multiple group members (Extract 11):

Extract 11

Ella Tikhonova: А у вас нет такого же, но с перламутровыми пуговицами?
Haven't you got something like this, but with mother-of-pearl buttons?

Ol'ga Privalova: Элла, к сожалению, нет.
Ella, no, sorry, we haven't any.

Ol'ga Privalova: Руссо туристо...
Russo turista…

Liudmila Snegina: Будем искать.
Well, I'll have a look around.

Responses to a post with a winged phrase from "Бриллиантовая рука"
Date of the post: 25 December 2015

Departures from the topic of exchanges of quotations were very rare and almost always related to the film, actor or director being discussed. Such shifts in quotations exchange did not shift the conversation to another topic. Comments usually quickly moved back to quotations from the same film.

4.6 The verbal personality of the actor

The verbal personalities[27] of Aleksandr Dem′ianenko, Andrei Miagkov, Savelii Kramarov, Yurii Yakovlev and Radner Muratov were included in this study as there were observable connections between the verbal personalities of the abovementioned actors, their roles and directors who made films in which they appeared.

In this way, there was a connection between Aleksandr Dem′ianenko and his role of Shurik in Leonid Gaidai's films *"Операция "Ы" и другие приключения Шурика" (Operation "Y" and Shurik's Other Adventures), "Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика" (The Prisoner of the Caucasus or Shurik's New Adventures)* and *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию" (Ivan Vasilievich Changes Profession)*. The connection was established by examining two wall posts dedicated to Dem′ianenko which appeared on the group's wall on the 24th of April and on the 31st of May 2016.

The first wall post included a photo of Dem′ianenko as Shurik with a note *"Спасибо тебе, Шурик, за все твои роли! Спасибо за смех миллионов!"("Thank you, Shurik, for all your roles! Thank you for laughs of millions!").* The second post also had two photos of Dem′ianenko playing Shurik and further noted that it was his birthday and that he is remembered and loved. Both posts had 154 comments in total, which were mainly quotations from the aforementioned Gaidai's films (108 out of 154 [70%]). Group members noted that Dem′ianenko was aiming for serious roles, but we only know and quote him as Shurik – such was the impact of these roles and the winged phrases which endured from them in popular consciousness (Extract 12).

[27] For an explanation of a concept of the verbal personality of the actor see §2.4.1 of the literature review chapter.

Extract 12

Andrei Kataev: Шурик – его счастье и трагедия одновременно.
Shurik – his happiness and tragedy all at once.

Response to a post dedicated to Aleksandr Dem'ianenko
Date of the post: 24 April 2016

Aleksandr Boiko: Сколько замечательных цитат, верно? Но ни одной из его серьёзных ролей, а ведь именно такие роли Александр Демьяненко и старался играть. Но знаем мы его только как Шурика.
Really, how many wonderful quotations? Yet not even one of them were from his serious roles, even though such roles were what Aleksanrd Dem′ianenko was aiming for. But we know him only as Shurik.

Response to a post dedicated to Aleksandr Dem'ianenko
Date of the post: 31 May 2016

A similar connection between an actor and a director was discovered between Andrei Miagkov and El′dar Riazanov. A wall post created on the 9th of July 2016 congratulated the actor on his birthday and included a shot of Miagkov in a role of Zhenia in *"Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!" (Irony of Fate, or Have a Good Sauna!).* On the same day, the post received 69 comments from group members, 51 of which (74%) included quotations pronounced by or addressed to Miagkov's character in three of Riazanov's films: *"Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!", "Служебный роман" (Office Romance, Mosfilm, 1977)* and *"Жестокий романс" (A Cruel Romance).* There were attempts by some group members to move the conversation towards five other films with Miagkov's characters, but each time it quickly shifted towards Riazanov′s works.

A connection between an actor and multiple directors was discovered by analysing member comments dedicated to Savelii Kramarov and Yurii Yakovlev. A wall post in memory of Savelii Kramarov on the anniversary of his death appeared on the 7th of June 2016 and had a text mentioning that Kramarov became famous thanks to his roles in *"Джентльмены удачи"* and *"Неуловимые мстители" (The Elusive Avengers, Mosfilm, 1966).* The post was followed by 64 comments with mainly quotations by Kramarov's character's lines. Except for quotations from *"Джентльмены удачи"* and *"Неуловимые мстители"* mentioned by the administrators on a wall post, eight other films were quoted, but half of comments were lines taken from just three films: *"Джентльмены удачи"* (24 comments out of 64 [38%]), *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию"* (6 comments out of 64 [9%]) and *"Неуловимые мстители"* (2 comments out of 64 [3%]).

Two wall posts were dedicated to Yakovlev: the first thanking him for great roles on the 24th of January 2016 and the second appearing on his birthday with a note that he is remembered on the 26th of April 2016. These posts prompted 113 comments from group members. Yakovlev's quotations from seven Soviet films directed by different directors were quoted. However, lines by the Soviet office block manager Bunsha and Ivan the Terrible played by Yakovlev in Gaidai's *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию"* dominated (58 comments out of 113 [51%]).

Actor Radner Muratov appeared in over 80 films, however, according to comments in *"Цитаты советского кино",* his most-quoted character is Vasilii Alibabaevich in *"Джентльмены удачи"*. A wall post on the actor's birthday on the 21st of October 2015 generated 44 comments, mainly comprising Muratov's lines from the abovementioned film (34 comments out of 44 [77%]).

4.7 Transformations of winged phrases within the *"Цитаты советского кино"*

The next finding was that transformations of winged phrases included into wall posts proved very rare. Amongst 1,250 wall posts which included quotations from Soviet films, only three were transformed, which is less than 1% of all film quotations posted by administrators during the year.

Of the few transformations which were noted, one – *"Копают все!" ("Everybody dig!")* – appeared on group's wall on the 7th of June 2016. It can be classified as a substitution based on the analytical structure outlined in §2.10 of the literature review chapter. The original winged phrase "*Танцуют все!" ("Everybody dance!")* is sourced from *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию".* It is pronounced by housing block manager Bunsha, who temporarily acts as Ivan the Terrible. A wish to have a good day, an invitation to smile and a note that the most well-known gym – the vegetable garden – is now open also appeared on the post (Figure 4.6).

"Копают все!" wall post

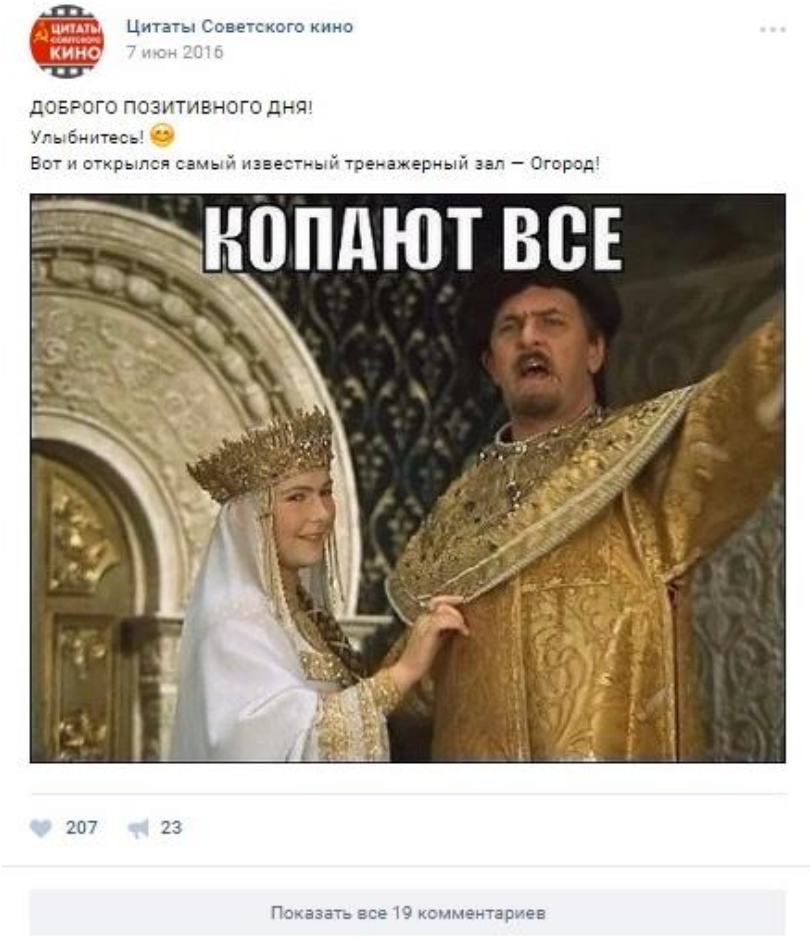

Figure 4.6 "Копают все!" wall post (VKontakte 2017b)

There were also two other examples of transformations of a quotation[28] from *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию"*, not included in Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary*: "Войско взбунтовалось! Говорят, царь – ненастоящий!" ("A mutiny in the army! They say that the tsar is not real!").* A wall post which included the manipulation of this quotation appeared on the 22nd of December 2015 related to New Year: *"Какие подарки? Снега нет, зимы нет – Новый год ненастоящий!!!!!!"* (*"What presents? There is no snow, no winter – the New Year is not real!!!!!").*

Another transformed quotation appeared on the 22nd of February 2016, a day before 23rd of February, which is a public holiday in Russia and which was followed by comments discussing the number of days off over the weekend: *"Пятница-то, говорят, ненастоящая!!!" ("Friday as they say is not real!!!").*

Amongst group member comments included in this study, there was only one example which included a transformation of a winged phrase: *"Жара-то какая, духота" ("Oh, how hot it is! Sultry air!")* instead of *"Ох, красота-то какая! Лепота!"("Oh, how beautiful it is! Ravishing!")* from *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию"*. It appeared in response to a wall post on the 7th of December 2015. Notably, December is one of the coldest months in Russia and therefore it can be suggested that as the transformation has no relation to a real life and was being deployed ironically.

4.8 Chapter summary

In summary, the results of the study outlined in this chapter give a detailed account of how winged phrases from Soviet films were used in online communication within the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group. The findings mainly address research questions on how and why winged phrases from Soviet films are used in contemporary 'spoken written Russian', which is the type of language used within online communication as referred to in §2.8.1.

[28] For a discussion on definitions of 'winged phrases' versus 'quotations' see §3.5.2 of the methodology and research design chapter.

The research question related to the contexts of winged phrase usage could not be addressed in this chapter, owing to the fact that the quotation exchange as examined consisted of only one social network service group dedicated to quotations from Soviet films – as such, there was no capacity to draw a comparative analysis with other groups. This question will be addressed instead in the following chapters.

The primary finding of this chapter is that the *"Цитаты советского кино"* online interaction consisted primarily of quotations from Soviet films. Group members expressed their appreciation of Soviet cinematography with regards to such films supplying script extracts into modern Russian. The findings in the form of the most popular winged phrases within the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group contributed to better design of the online questionnaire.

Although winged phrases and quotations in online communication between members were often from different parts of a film script or even from different films, the exchange of such quotations was ongoing for group members and at times turned into a competition. Group members indicated a number of reasons for quoting Soviet films – from the simple fact that the film was watched many times to the admission that a film, a director or an actor was a favourite one and/or the film was regarded as a classic.

From a linguistic perspective, group members imitated the accents of film characters in writing. As outlined in this chapter, the speech of Liolik from *"Бриллиантовая рука"* and Vasilii Alibabaevich from *"Джентльмены удачи"* produces this effect by intentionally repeating the film character's phonetic and grammar mistakes and capitalisation.

The dynamics of verbal interaction between group members were influenced by everyday contexts, such as time of the year, or a public holiday. Notably in this respect, winged phrases which appeared on the group's wall during the Victory Day and International Women's Day celebrations were well-received by group members, further underlining how winged phrases from Soviet films can play a central and readily accepted role in modern life events in Russia.

Addressing the question of an actor's verbal personality, as raised in the literature review chapter, three types of connection were identified in quoting patterns: the actor – one of his roles; actor – director; actor – multiple directors. In addition, quotations in online communications within the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group rarely underwent transformations: less than 1% of winged phrases were transformed.

As far as established dictionaries of winged phrases are concerned, despite the fact that Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary is considered one of the most comprehensive repositories of winged phrases, the results of this study suggest that members of the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group quote a higher number of winged phrases than listed in the dictionary.

Analysis of data from the *"Цитаты советского кино"* is aimed to address a gap in existing scholarship relating to the use and dynamics of winged phrases from Soviet films in online communication. However, notwithstanding their formidable online presence, the popularity of winged phrases in spoken Russian cannot be underestimated. Such usage is reported in the next chapter of the thesis, where findings collected *via* online questionnaire are presented.

Chapter 5: Online questionnaire questions 2 – 6: overview of results

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents key findings obtained from questions 2 – 6 of the online questionnaire. In keeping with the discussion of the matter in §3.6, a questionnaire is considered an effective tool for research involving the use of winged phrases from Soviet films (Karpechenkova 2012; Kozhevnikov 2001, 2007). However, available research in this field was found to be either dated (Kozhevnikov 2001) or limited to a focus on the methodology of teaching winged phrases in the RLF classroom (Karpechenkova 2012). In addition, this inquiry found no evidence that extant research in this field included native Russian speakers from outside the Russian Federation, such as people from the former USSR republics or other countries where Russian speakers may reside. The online questionnaire in this study was therefore designed in part to address these gaps in scholarship.

The present chapter reports data collected by the online questionnaire in order to address all three research questions outlined in the literature review chapter: namely, in what contexts, how and why are winged phrases from Soviet films incorporated into contemporary Russian practice. While the question on contexts for usage of winged phrases from Russian films has been partly addressed in academic literature and in dictionaries (Diadechko 2008; Elistratov 2010; Kozhevnikov 2001; Kudriavtseva 2008; Shulezhkova 2003, 2011), there is evidence of discrepancies in the deployment of winged phrases by modern users (Diadechko 2008; Elistratov 2010; Kudriavtseva 2008).

There is also a gap in existing scholarship regarding transformations of winged phrases from Soviet films (Ezhkova 2010; Galieva & Zinnatova 2011; Gritsenko & Emier 2011; Petukhova & Simulina 2015). As for the reasons behind winged phrases from Soviet films being incorporated into contemporary Russian, available literature highlights the popularity of cinema quotations (Elistratov 2010: 8; Grishina 2006: 123), but does not provide a sufficient explanation for this linguistic phenomenon beyond mere popularity. This chapter presents

detailed responses to a comprehensive questionnaire on the subject, with a view to filling some of these gaps in existing scholarship.

Five major findings emerged from this data, which became the organising structure for the chapter:

1) The majority (61%) of the sample used winged phrases from Soviet films in their speech at least several times a week; half of the respondents (50%) who live outside the former USSR also employ such phrases at least several times a week;

2) Soviet films made in the 1970s and 1980s were the most popular source of winged phrases amongst online questionnaire respondents (49%);

3) A majority (56%) of the most popular winged phrases mentioned by respondents were sourced from Leonid Gaidai's films;

4) A total of 40% of winged phrases listed by respondents as popular from their point of view were transformed phrases; the dominant type of transformation being reduction (64% of transformed phrases);

5) Online questionnaire respondents indicated that their main reason for quoting Soviet films is that their present situation of verbal communication matches the situation in the film.

The first part of the chapter presents the frequency of winged phrase usage as reported by the online questionnaire participants. Periods in Soviet and Russian cinema which provided most winged phrases are then outlined. The chapter follows with analysis of winged phrase transformations. The main reasons for quoting Soviet films as provided by online questionnaire respondents are then presented. The chapter ends with a summary of the results.

5.2 Question 2: How often do you use winged phrases from Soviet films in speech?

This question requested respondents to report on patterns of their speech with regards to the frequency of winged phrases usage. Although the question was designed as multiple-choice, it was recognised that the answer may possibly fall outside the choice of four options suggested in the question or that it would be difficult for the respondents to estimate how often they use winged phrases from Soviet films. Therefore, an option to provide a comment was also included. The question was designed to give information on how winged phrases from Soviet films are being used in contemporary Russian.

5.2.1 Frequency of winged phrase usage

All of the respondents indicated some degree of usage of winged phrases from Soviet films in their speech. A total of 44% of the sample (45 respondents out of 102) reported using winged phrases several times a week. Almost one third of the respondents (33 respondents out of 102 [32%]) used such phrases less frequently – several times a month, while the smaller group (17 [17%]) employed them several times a day (Figure 5.1 below).

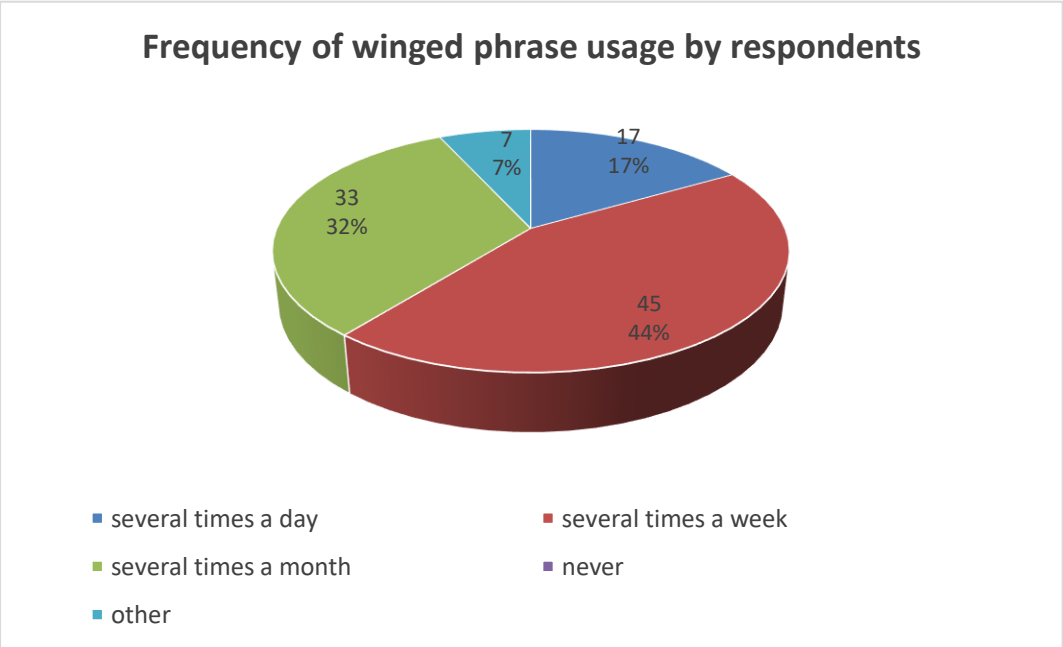

Figure 5.1 Frequency of winged phrase usage by online questionnaire respondents

Amongst comments provided by 7% of the sample (7 respondents out of 102), 4 respondents (4%) indicated usage of winged phrases rarely or very rarely. One respondent (1%) indicated periodical usage of winged phrases, but less often than several times a month. Such comments were provided by research participants who have lived either outside the former Soviet Union countries for at least the past five years, or by those who have lived by turns in the Russian Federation and in another country.

None of the respondents living in non-CIS countries or by turns in several countries (see §3.6.4 of the methodology and research design chapter & Appendix 15) indicated that they never use winged phrases from Soviet films. Half of respondents (24 out of 48 [50%]) from this group employ winged phrases quite often, either several times a day (5 respondents out of 48 [10%]) or several times a week (19 [40%]).

With regards to comments, one female respondent did not indicate frequency of winged phrase usage, commenting that she had not thought about it. In addition, Comment 5.1 below, which indicates the frequency of winged phrase usage as once in several months, also establishes a connection between a winged phrase and the context for its usage:

Редко, в подходящей ситуации, может, раз в несколько месяцев в среднем.
Rarely, in a suitable situation, may be once in several months in general.
Comment 5.1, female respondent, 31-50 years old, teacher, answer to question 2 of the questionnaire.

5.2.2 Age of most frequent users of winged phrases

This section reports on the age of 17 respondents who use winged phrases most often – being several times a day, as outlined in the previous section. Figure 5.2 below shows that a larger number of respondents (10 out of 17 [59%]) were in the age group of 31 – 50. This is compared to 6 respondents (35%) of older participants of the study aged 51 – 65, while the youngest age group (18 – 30 years old) rarely used winged phrases several times a day (1 respondent out of 17 [6%]) and the eldest group (over 65 years of age) never did so.

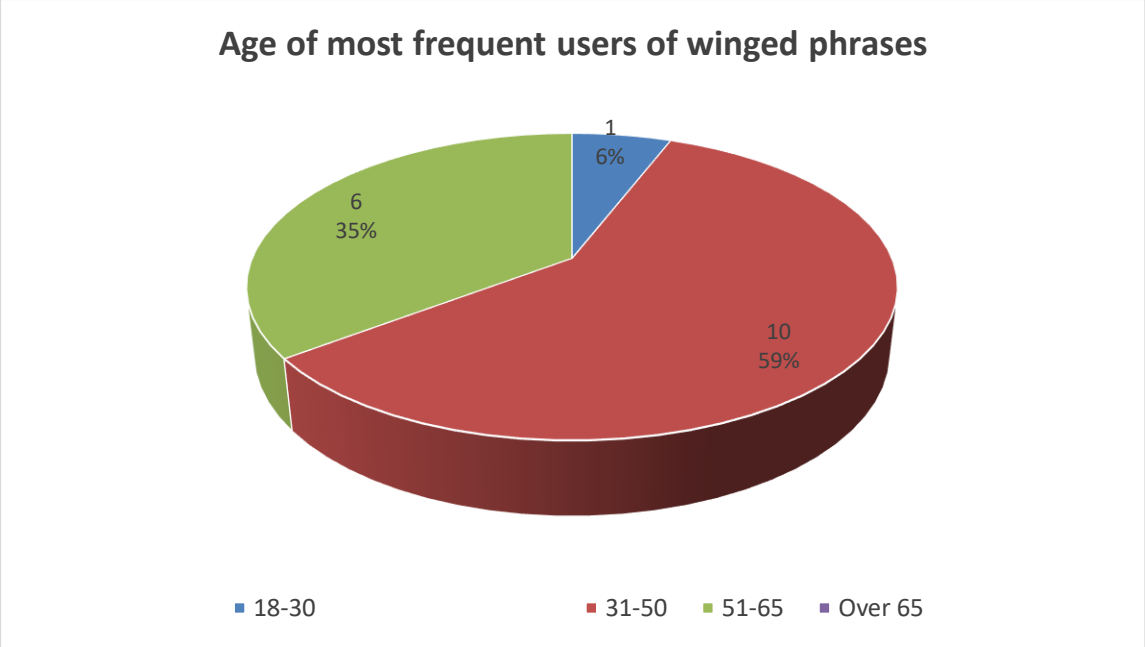

Figure 5.2 Age of online questionnaire respondents who used winged phrases several times a day

5.3 Question 3: You predominantly quote…

This question was designed to address the research question regarding how winged phrases from Soviet films are being used. Its aim was to establish periods in Soviet and Russian cinema which provided the majority of winged phrases in contemporary Russian. Respondents reported on the periods of time from which they primarily quote films (Figure 5.3):

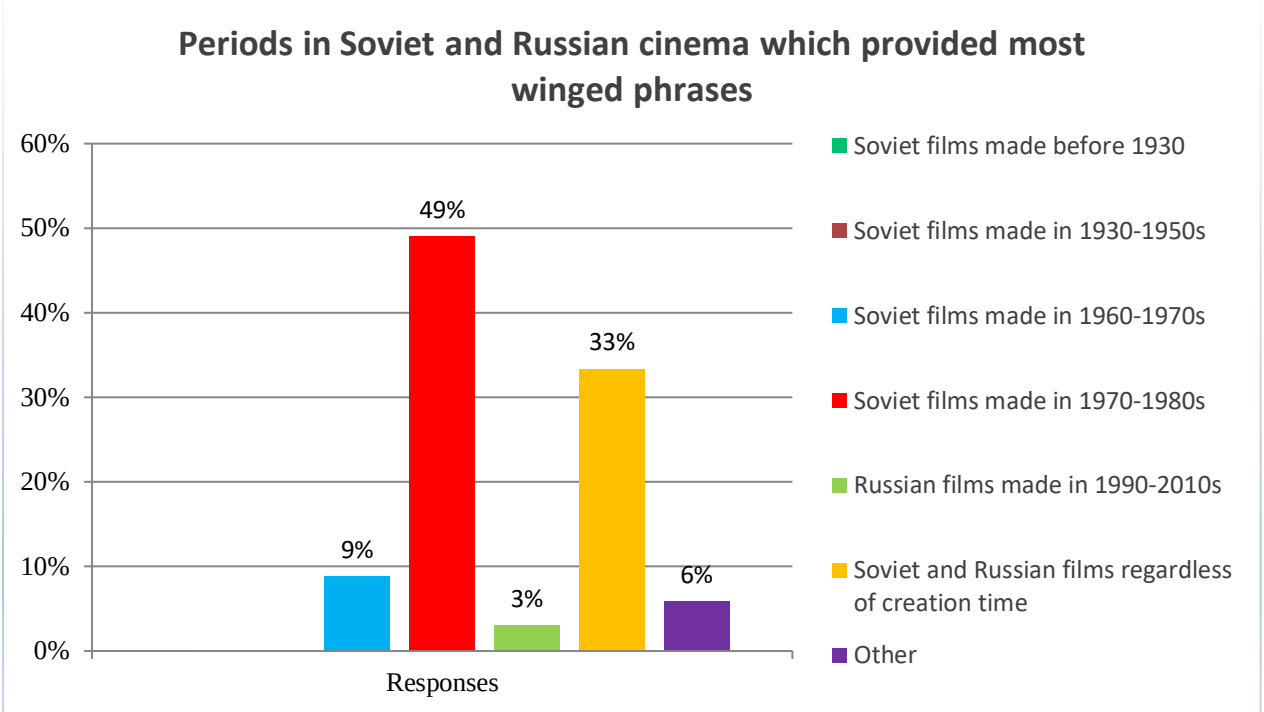

Figure 5.3 Periods in Soviet and Russian cinema which provided winged phrases in contemporary Russian

As suggested by Figure 5.3 above, Soviet films made in the 1970-1980s were the most popular source of quotations: almost half of online questionnaire respondents (50 respondents out of 102 [49%]) stem from this period. In addition, Soviet and Russian films regardless of the time of their creation are being quoted by 33% of respondents (34 out of 102). None of the respondents indicated any films made before 1930 or films made between 1930-1950 as their main preference for quoting.

While the title of this questionnaire – *Winged phrases from Soviet films* – directed respondents towards the Soviet era of film-making, one of the multiple-choice answers offered in the questions included Russian films made between the 1990s-2010s. Only 3 respondents out of 102 (3%) selected this era as their main preference in quoting films.

Some participants noted the connection between the context in which a film is being quoted rather than indicating the time of a film's creation as a major factor (Comment 5.2):

Год фильма не имеет значения, всё по ситуации.
The year of the film is of no importance, everything depends on the situation.
Comment 5.2, female respondent, 51-65 years old, business owner, answer to question 3 of the questionnaire.

One comment, which highlights that Leonid Gaidai's films are most preferred for quoting, is presented below (Comment 5.3):

Из фильмов Гайдая в основном.
Mainly from Gaidai's films.
Comment 5.3, female respondent, 31-50 years old, tutor and entrepreneur, answer to question 3 of the questionnaire.

5.4 Questions 4 and 5: List winged phrases from Soviet films which are most popular from your point of view. In which situations are the abovementioned winged phrases used?

Questions 4 and 5 were interrelated; they generated data in order to address research questions on how winged phrases from Soviet films are used and on contexts of their usage. Comments provided by respondents also partly address the research question regarding reasons for using such phrases in contemporary Russian. Responses served as a basis for identifying the most frequently used winged phrases as well as common situations of their usage.

5.4.1 Most popular winged phrases amongst respondents: overview of results

Those surveyed were asked to provide their view on five popular winged phrases from Soviet films and situations most apt for their usage. As a result, 223 winged phrases from Soviet feature films were identified by online questionnaire respondents.[29]

Amongst the 223 winged phrases from Soviet films mentioned by these online questionnaire respondents, the majority (210 winged phrases out of 223 [94%]) were sourced from film dialogue. A total of 9 winged phrases (4%) were titles of Soviet feature films: *"Бриллиантовая рука" (The Diamond Arm), "Вам и не снилось" (You Would Not Even Dream It, Gorky Studio, 1980), "В бой идут одни старики" (Only Old Men Are Going to Battle, Dovzhenko Studio, 1973),"Волга-Волга" (Volga-Volga, Mosfilm, 1938), "Здравствуйте, я ваша тётя!" (Hello, I Am Your Aunt!, Ekran, 1975), "Иван Васильевич меняет профессию" (Ivan Vasilievich Changes Profession), "Место встречи изменить нельзя" (The Meeting Place Must Not Be Changed), "Москва слезам не верит" (Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears), "Операция "Ы" и другие приключения Шурика" (Operation "Y" and Shurik's Other Adventures).* A few winged phrases (4 out of 223 [2%]) were lines from a song in a Soviet film.

In addition to the 223 winged phrases mentioned above, 10 winged phrases from Soviet animation and 2 winged phrases from *"Брат 2" (Brother 2, СТВ, 2000)*, a popular feature film made not long after the collapse of the USSR, were listed by participants.

A total of 23 winged phrases listed by respondents came from adaptations. This thesis mainly deals with Soviet feature films, which are not adaptations; the exceptions are discussed in §2.6 of the literature review chapter. Winged phrases from Soviet animation and adaptations as well as from Russian films were not the focus of this research effort. Therefore, such phrases were not included into the 223 winged phrases reported in this data chapter.

[29] Raw data is available upon request.

As noted in the methodology and research design chapter, variations of winged phrases provided by respondents were grouped under the main phrase as listed in Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary. This chapter reports winged phrases from Soviet films in its pure form. Transformations of such phrases are presented separately in sections §5.4.3 – §5.4.5.

5.4.2 Winged phrases mentioned most often

A number of winged phrases proved to be most popular, as each of them was mentioned by respondents several times. Twenty such phrases and their sources are presented in Table 5.1 below.

Table 5.1 Twenty most popular winged phrases amongst online questionnaire respondents

WINGED PHRASE	FILM	NUMBER (%) OF RESPONDENTS (102 IN TOTAL)
Надо, Федя, надо!	*Операция "Ы" и другие приключения Шурика*	17 (17%)
Какая гадость, какая гадость эта ваша заливная рыба!	*Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!*	15 (15%)
Студентка, комсомолка, спортсменка, наконец, она просто красавица.	*Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика*	11 (11%)
Семён Семёныч!	*Бриллиантовая рука*	11 (11%)
Кто же его посадит?!.. Он же памятник!	*Джентльмены удачи*	9 (9%)
Не учи меня жить, лучше помоги материально.	*Москва слезам не верит*	9 (9%)
– Жить, как говорится, хорошо! – А хорошо жить – ещё лучше!	*Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика*	8 (9%)
Птичку жалко!..	*Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика*	7 (7%)
Муля, не нервируй меня!	*Подкидыш*	7 (7%)
Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят!	*Бриллиантовая рука*	6 (6%)
Я не трус, но я боюсь. Боюсь, смогу ли я, способен ли.	*Бриллиантовая рука*	6 (6%)

И тебя вылечат, и тебя тоже вылечат... и меня вылечат.	*Иван Васильевич меняет профессию*	5 (5%)
Ох, красота-то какая! Лепота!	*Иван Васильевич меняет профессию*	5 (5%)
Не виноватая я!.. Он сам пришёл!	*Бриллиантовая рука*	5 (5%)
Ой, тёпленькая пошла!	*Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!*	5 (5%)
Нехороший человек, редиска.	*Джентльмены удачи*	5 (5%)
Руссо туристо, облико морале, ферштейн?!	*Бриллиантовая рука*	5 (5%)
Танцуют все!	*Иван Васильевич меняет профессию*	5 (5%)
Цигель, цигель, ай-лю-лю!	*Бриллиантовая рука*	5 (5%)
Поскользнулся, упал. Закрытый перелом! Потерял сознание, очнулся – гипс.	*Бриллиантовая рука*	5 (5%)

It is worth noting that a healthy majority (14 out of 20 [70%]) of most popular winged phrases listed in Table 5.1 above were sourced from Gaidai's comedies *"Операция "Ы" и другие приключения Шурика", "Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика" (The Prisoner of the Caucasus or Shurik's New Adventures), "Бриллиантовая рука"* and *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию".* All four of these films were included in a list of the 10 most popular *фильмы-цитатники* discussed in the methodology and research design chapter (see §3.4.1 & Appendix 1). Three winged phrases from the above list were also from the two *фильмы-цитатники*: *"Джентльмены удачи" (Gentlemen of Fortune)* and *"Москва слезам не верит".*

The winged phrase *"Муля, не нервируй меня!" ("Mulia, don't irritate me!")* is sourced from the film *"Подкидыш" (The Foundling),* which was not included in the list of 10 *фильмы-цитатники*. The phrase is spoken by the actress Faina Ranevskaia, whose extensive contribution to the treasury of Soviet winged phrases was noted in §2.4.1. Another two winged phrases, *"Какая гадость, какая гадость эта ваша заливная рыба!" ("How horrible, how horrible is this jellied fish of yours!")* and *"Ой, тёпленькая пошла!" ("Oh, it's getting*

warmer!") listed in Table 5.1 above are from the *"Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!" (Irony of Fate, or Have a Good Sauna!)* directed by El'dar Riazanov.

5.4.3 An overview of winged phrase transformations

As discussed in §2.10 of the literature review chapter, precedent texts can be modified in a variety of ways, while remaining recognisable to Russian speakers. Ten types of such transformations were identified in the existing literature, which include *замещение (substitution)*, *усечение (reduction)*, *добавление компонента или расширение (addition)*, *контаминация (blend)*, *перемещение (hyperthesis)*, *изменение интонационной оформленности (change of intonational contour)*, *реминисцентная трансформация (reminiscential transformation)*, *искажение грамматической формы компонентов (change of grammatical form of the components)*, *заменение ожидаемой концовки другими словами (replacement of the expected ending by other words)*, *каламбур (wordplay)*. This section of the chapter reports data on transformed winged phrases from online questionnaire responses using the abovementioned classification.

A total of 88 winged phrases (88 out of 223 [40%]) listed by online questionnaire respondents were transformed. The majority of modified phrases (56 out of 88 [64%]) were transformed by the method of reduction. Some winged phrases identified by respondents could be seen to undergo up to seven distinct transformations from the way in which they are spoken in the film, such as the well-known line from *"Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика" "Студентка, комсомолка, спортсменка, наконец, она просто красавица" ("A student, a Young Communist, an athlete, and last but not least, a beauty")* (Table 5.2 below).[30]

[30] Translations of transformed winged phrases reported in this and the following chapters are available upon request.

Table 5.2 Transformations of the winged phrase "Студентка, комсомолка, спортсменка, наконец, она просто красавица" by online questionnaire respondents

VARIATIONS IN TRANSFORMATIONS
Студентка, комсомолка, спортсменка наконец-то красавица.
Студентка, комсомолка и просто красавица.
Студентка, комсомолка и просто хороший дэвушка!
Спортсменка, комсомолка и просто красавица!
Комсомолка, спортсменка и просто красавица.
Активистка, комсомолка и просто красавица.
…. спортсменка, комсомолк…

Some winged phrases have shown relative stability in their appearance despite the fact that they were mentioned by respondents several times. Examples include winged phrases which appeared earlier in Table 5.1: "*Я не трус, но я боюсь" ("I am no coward, I'm just afraid. Afraid I won't be able to do it")*, "*Цигель, цигель, ай-лю-лю!" ("Tsigiel', tsigiel', ai liu liu!")***)** from *"Бриллиантовая рука"* (mentioned by respondents 6 & 5 times respectively) and *"Восток – дело тонкое" ("The Orient is a tricky business")* from *"Белое солнце пустыни" (The White Sun of the Desert)* (mentioned 4 times). These phrases were not transformed by any of the respondents.

The length of a winged phrase did not affect its capacity for transformation: although both of the above winged phrases are shorter than the earlier, much-transformed winged phrase *"Студентка, комсомолка, спортсменка, наконец, она просто красавица"* which was transformed 7 times, there were other examples in the responses of short winged phrases which were listed as both pure and transformed phrases (Table 5.3):

Table 5.3 Winged phrases mentioned by online questionnaire respondents as both pure and transformed phrases

WINGED PHRASE	NUMBER (%) OF MENTIONS (223 IN TOTAL)	NUMBER (%) OF PURE PHRASES	NUMBER (%) OF TRANSFORMATIONS
Муля, не нервируй меня!	7 (3%)	5 (2%)	2 (1%)
Ох, красота-то какая! Лепота!	5 (2%)	3 (1%)	2 (1%)

Reduction, substitution and blend were identified as the three main transformation types of winged phrases listed by online questionnaire respondents. The first two types of transformation were used as pure methods or as parts of a more complex method of transformation. Blend was a transformation type used simultaneously with reduction. An additional transformation type – *change of phonetic norms* – was also introduced in this study, as this transformation did not fall into the aforementioned types (Table 5.4).

Table 5.4 Types of winged phrase transformations by questionnaire respondents

TRANSFORMATION TYPE	TRANSFORMED WINGED PHRASE	KOZHEVNIKOV'S DICTIONARY	FILM-SOURSE
Reduction	*Упал, очнулся – гипс.*	*Поскользнулся, упал. Закрытый перелом, потерял сознание, очнулся – гипс.*	*Бриллиантовая рука*
Substitution	*Не учите меня жить, лучше помогите деньгами.*	*Не учи меня жить, лучше помоги материально.*	*Москва слезам не верит*
Reduction and substitution	*Вся такая сгорбилась, скрючилась и почесала.*	*Вся отклячится, в узел вот здесь завяжется, вся скукожится, как старый рваный башмак, и вот чешет на работу, как будто сваи вколачивает!*	*Служебный роман*
Reduction and blend	*В то время, как... бороздят просторы Большого театра.*	*В то время, как наши космические корабли бороздят просторы вселенной...* *Давай, бухти мне, как космические корабли бороздят Большой театр, а я посплю.*	*Операция "Ы" и другие приключения Шурика*
Substitution, reduction and change of phonetic norms	*Это ж памятник, кто его посодит!*	*Кто же его посадит?!.. Он же памятник!*	*Джентльмены удачи*

The last type of transformation suggested for this study requires further explanation. It relates to examples where modern users of winged phrases have made subtle phonetic changes to a phrase from a film. This phenomenon is an extension of that identified in the previous chapter (see §4.3), where modern users of phrases would emphasise aspects of pronunciation of a film phrase for additional effect. Examples include lines delivered by Liolik in *"Бриллиантовая рука" ("Достаточно одной таблЭтки", "Слэдить за сиГналом")*. However, in the last row of Table 5.4 (above) a winged phrase has a different stressed vowel in the verb *посадит* when compared to the original phrase in film. Thus, in the phrase *"Кто ж его посадит?!.. Он же памятник!" ("How could the poor guy sit down? An iron monument like that!")* pronounced by Kosoi in *"Джентльмены удачи" посадит* is changed to *посодит:* "*Это ж памятник, кто его посодит!"*.

The following two sections of the chapter focus on reduction and substitution as the main types of transformations of winged phrases from Soviet films mentioned by online questionnaire respondents.

5.4.4 Reduction as a transformation type

As previously raised in §5.4.3, 64% of transformed winged phrases mentioned by online questionnaire respondents (56 winged phrases out of 88) were transformed by the method of reduction. There were two variations of reduction for the most popular winged phrases (Table 5.1), as shown in Table 5.5 below.

Table 5.5 Examples of variations in reduction of winged phrases by questionnaire respondents

VARIATION 1	VARIATION 2	KOZHEVNIKOV'S DICTIONARY
И тебя вылечат, и меня вылечат.	*И тебя вылечат!*	*И тебя вылечат, и тебя тоже вылечат... и меня вылечат.*
Ты туда не ходи, а то снег башка попадёт.	*Ты туда не ходи, ты сюда ходи.*	*Эй, гражданина, ты туда не ходи, ты сюда ходи. А то снег башка попадёт, совсем мёртвый будешь.*
Мне за державу обидно.	*За державу обидно.*	*Я мзду не беру. Мне за державу обидно!*
Георгий Иванович, он же Гоша, он же Гога...	*Гоша, он же Гога, он же Жора.*	*Георгий Иванович, он же Гога, он же Гоша, он же Юрий, он же Гора, он же Жора здесь проживает?*

As illustrated by Table 5.6 below, for winged phrases transformed once as a result of reduction, either a word or the entire phrase from the original cinematic quotation was absent.

Table 5.6 Examples of reduction of winged phrases from Soviet films by questionnaire respondents

TRANSFORMED WINGED PHRASE	KOZHEVNIKOV'S DICTIONARY
Какая же ... Эта ваша заливная рыба.	*Какая гадость, какая гадость эта ваша заливная рыба!*
Муля, не нервируй!	*Муля, не нервируй меня!*
Наши люди на такси не ездят.	*Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят.*
Упал, очнулся – гипс.	*Поскользнулся, упал. Закрытый перелом, потерял сознание, очнулся – гипс.*
Всё! Кина не будет!	*Всё. Кина не будет. Электричество кончилось.*
Значит, надо брать.	*Значит, хорошие сапоги, надо брать.*
Огласите весь список!	*Огласите весь список, пожалуйста.*
Ну и дура!	*– Девушка, а девушка, а как вас зовут? – Таня. – А меня Федя! – Ну и дура.*

Нет, уж лучше вы к нам	*– Ну, будете у нас на Колыме... Будете у нас на Колыме – милости просим. – Нет, уж лучше вы к нам.*
А в тюрьме сейчас макароны	*А в тюрьме сейчас ужин. Макароны.*
Шеф, всё пропало.	*Шеф, всё пропало, всё пропало! Гипс снимают, клиент уезжает...*
Будет тебе чай, кофе и ванна!	*Будет тебе там и ванна, будет и кофе, будет и какаво с чаем.*
Пешком постою.	*Спасибо, я пешком постою.*

5.4.5 Substitution as a transformation type

Two types of transformation by substitution were identified based on the respondent's answers: substitution of one component of a winged phrase by a synonym and substitution of proper nouns. Winged phrases which included a name were subject to transformation with a name replacement. No substitution by an antonym was noted (Table 5.7 below).

Table 5.7 Examples of substitution of winged phrases from Soviet films by online questionnaire respondents

SUBSTITUTION TYPE	TRANSFORMED WINGED PHRASE	KOZHEVNIKOV'S DICTIONARY
Substitution by a synonym	*Не учите меня жить, лучше помогите деньгами.*	*Не учи меня жить, лучше помоги материально.*
	Наши люди в булочную на машинах не ездят!	*Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят.*
	Бить буду больно, но аккуратно.	*Буду бить аккуратно, но сильно.*
	Кушать подано! Идите жрать, пожалуйста!	*Кушать подано, садитесь жрать, пожалуйста!*
Substitution of proper nouns	*Надо, Вася, надо!*	*Надо, Федя, надо!*
	Муся, не нервируй меня!	*Муля, не нервируй меня!*

The remaining transformed winged phrases were transformed by two distinct types – such as reduction and substitution – simultaneously, as illustrated in Table 5.8 below.

Table 5.8 Examples of reduction and substitution of winged phrases from Soviet films by online questionnaire respondents

TRANSFORMED WINGED PHRASE	KOZHEVNIKOV'S DICTIONARY
Активистка, комсомолка и просто красавица.	*Студентка, комсомолка, спортсменка, наконец, она просто красавица.*
Студентка, комсомолка и просто хороший дэвушка!	*Студентка, комсомолка, спортсменка, наконец, она просто красавица.*
Шёл, упал, очнулся – гипс.	*Поскользнулся, упал. Закрытый перелом, потерял сознание, очнулся – гипс.*
Вся такая сгорбилась, скрючилась и почесала.	*Вся отклячится, в узел вот здесь завяжется, вся скукожится, как старый рваный башмак, и вот чешет на работу, как будто сваи вколачивает!*
Не будут брать, отключим воду.	*– Распространите среди жильцов нашего ЖЭКа. – А-а, е... – А если не будут брать, отключим газ.*
Приезжайте к нам на Колыму. Нет, лучше вы к нам…	*Ну, будете у нас на Колыме... Будете у нас на Колыме – милости просим. – Нет, уж лучше вы к нам.*
– Девушка, а девушка. А меня Вася зовут. – Ну и дура!	*– Девушка, а девушка, а как вас зовут? – Таня. – А меня Федя. – Ну и дура.*

As can be seen in Table 5.8 above, two distinct types of transformation were applied by respondents to complex winged phrases. Some of the transformed winged phrases, such as "*Вся такая сгорбилась, скрючилась и почесала"* are paraphrases of a phrase from a film, as retold in the respondent's own words. There was also an example of reduction followed by a substitution of a proper name: "*– Девушка, а девушка, а меня Вася зовут. – Ну и дура!".*

5.4.6 Variations in situational usage

In addition to listing most popular winged phrases from Soviet films from their point of view in question 4, in question 5 of the online questionnaire, respondents volunteered quite a wide range of situations in which such phrases are used. A total of 411 comments on contexts of winged phrases usage were noted.

For the most popular winged phrase *"Надо, Федя, надо!" ("No, it's necessary, Fedia… It's necessary!")* (Table 5.1 above), 17 respondents suggested a number of different contexts of its usage. The majority of respondents who commented on the phrase (12 out of 17 [71%]) explained its situational usage as follows: *если нужно убедить кого-то в том, что нужно что-то делать помимо его воли* (*when it is necessary to persuade someone to do something against one's will), когда нужно сделать что-то, чего совсем делать не хочется (when it is necessary to do something that one doesn't want to do at all), необходимость действия (necessity of action), оказывая давление на другого или уговарвя себя (when putting pressure on someone or talking yourself into something)*. In addition, respondents' comments included the following descriptions of situations for the phrase's usage, such as: *с ребёнком* (*with a child), работа и учёба (work and study), в "воспитательных" беседах (in 'disciplinary' talks), когда нужно смягчить ситуацию вынужденного действия (when it is necessary to soften a situation of a forced action)*. Comment 5.4 below highlights a very specific context of the winged phrase usage:

> *Реакция на слова собеседника, содержащие слова МОЖЕТ БЫТЬ, НЕ НАДО.*
> Reaction to interlocutor's words, which include words MAYBE, NOT NECESSARY.
> **Comment 5.4, female respondent, 31-50, teacher, answer to question 5 of the questionnaire.**

Similarly, when the winged phrase "*Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят" !" ("Our tenants don't go to the baker's in a taxi!")* was mentioned by respondents, in addition to its main meaning – a joke about those who live richly and spend a lot of money (Diadechko 2008: 431; Elistratov 2010: 170), there were other contexts of usage of this winged phrase suggested by respondents. Examples include: *в шутливой форме с подругами-водителями* (*joke with female-friend drivers), шутка при вызове такси (joke when calling for a taxi), об усложнении ситуации (difficulty of a situation), шуточно при определении "свой – чужой" (joke in defining 'insider – outsider' status).*

Online questionnaire respondents also suggested the contexts of winged phrase usage here which were quite different to contexts in film. Thus, the winged phrase pronounced by Nadia in *"Любовь и голуби" (Love and Pigeons)* when she addresses her husband's lover – Raisa

Zakharovna – carries a pejorative connotation: "*Сучка ты крашена!" ("You dyed bitch!").* Two female respondents indicated a tendency to deploy this phrase in a different context, as *просто в общении с подругами (simply an intercourse with girlfriends), девочковые ми-ми-ми (girls talk)*.

Table 5.9 below is an illustration of instances where descriptions of situational usage of winged phrases by respondents differed from Elistratov's (2010) dictionary of winged phrases from Soviet cinema.

Table 5.9 Contexts of winged phrase usage outlined by online questionnaire respondents compared with Elistratov's (2010) dictionary

WINGED PHRASE	DESCRIPTIONS BY RESPONDENTS	ELISTRATOV'S DICTIONARY
Танцуют все!	In any inexplicit situation.	*A call to everyone to have fun, to dance etc.*
Гюльчатай! Открой личико.	In spoken language for its expression.	*Come into sight, come here, turn to me; addressing shy or embarrassed person.*
А в тюрьме сейчас ужин. Макароны.	Every time when there is pasta for dinner.	*About something, which is lost irrevocably; an expression of nostalgy, pity for the lost welfares.*
Вы привлекательны, я чертовски привлекателен – чего зря время терять?	Disapprovingly about someone easy in morals.	*Jocular invitation to a date.*
Экзамен для меня всегда праздник.	When there is a need to pass through or overcome difficult situation.	*Ironically about a mood before exam.*

5.4.7 Conditionality of situation

Some respondents appeared to make a connection between the situation in which a winged phrase was delivered in film and its subsequent usage in day-to day life. Comments 5.5 and 5.6 make this connection explicit:

В похожих ситуациях как в фильме.

In similar situations as the film.

Comment 5.5, female respondent, 31-50 years old, entrepreneur, answer to question 5 of the questionnaire.

Когда по смыслу похожая ситуация.

When the situation is similar by its intention.

Comment 5.6, female respondent, 51-65 years old, journalist, answer to question 5 of the questionnaire.

Amongst the comments regarding winged phrase usage were some reflecting the popularity of a winged phrase. Comment 5.7 below highlights the aspect of a winged phrase, such as recognition by everyone even when the winged phrase is not being pronounced fully:

Крылатое выражение, понимаемое с полуслова.

Winged phrase, quickly being understood.

Comment 5.7, female respondent, 51-65 years old, teacher, answer to question 5 of the questionnaire.

The specific role of winged phrases as a Russian cultural phenomenon was underlined by a male teacher in the 51 – 65 age group who has lived outside the former Soviet Union countries for the last 23 years. After providing a winged phrase from *"Бриллиантовая рука"*, he commented on its situational usage (Comment 5.8):

Использую в России с друзьями (эти и другие фразы часто, так как хочу окунуться в словесный русский поток).

I use in Russia with friends (these and other phrases) often, because I want to dip into the Russian verbal stream.

Comment 5.8, male respondent, 51-65 years old, teacher, answer to question 5 of the questionnaire.

The data collected in question 5 of the online questionnaire also had a connection to the respondents' interlocutors. The atmosphere of a friendly talk is explicitly depicted in the comment describing the context of a winged phrase "*Хорошо сидим*" ("*Aren't we having a good time?")* from *"Осенний марафон" (Autumn Marathon, Mosfilm, 1979)* (Comment 5.9 below)*:*

> *В хорошей компании с друзьями за столом или в другом уютном месте, когда идет душевный разговор, приятное общение.*
> In good company with friends around the table or at some other cosy place amidst sincere discussion and pleasant conversation.
> **Comment 5.9, female respondent, 51-65 years old, teacher, answer to question 5 of the questionnaire.**

5.4.8 Usage of a winged phrase as a joke

From the data collected in the form of 411 comments pertaining to most popular winged phrases from the respondents point of view, 10 % of comments (41 out of 411) included a word with the same root as *шутка (joke)* or *юмор (humour).* Such words included *шутка, шуточный, пошутить, подшучивать, шуточно, шутя, шутливо, юмор* and *юмористический.* Examples of such comments highlighting jocularity, or the humorous usage of winged phrases are presented in Table 5.10 below.

Table 5.10 Comments by online questionnaire respondents highlighting jocular usage of winged phrases

WINGED PHRASE	COMMENT
Птичку жалко! *I'm sorry for the bird!*	*Шутливо, если о чем-то жалеешь.* *Joke if you feel sorry about something.*
Ларису Ивановну хочу. *I want Larisa Ivanovna.*	*При желании пошутить над произношением, чаще кавказским акцентом.* *If you want to joke about someone's pronunciation, often about a Caucasian accent.*
Муля, не нервируй меня! *Mulia, don't irritate me!*	*Шуточная форма диалога между супругами.* *A jocular form of a dialogue between husband and wife.*

5.4.9 Quotations not in Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary

Data collected from the online questionnaire indicated that not all of the winged phrases listed by the respondents appear in Kozhevnikov's dictionary. For example, the quotation *"Каждый год 31 декабря мы с друзьями ходим в баню" ("Every year on December 31 me and my friends go to the bathhouse")* from *"Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!"* directed by El′dar Riazanov was mentioned by respondents twice and was transformed once. In transformation, the verb *ходим* was replaced by a synonym, *идём*. A detailed description of the quotation's context is provided in Comment 5.10 below.

В шутливой беседе о регулярно происходящих действиях. In jocular conversation about things that happen regularly. **Comment 5.10, female respondent, over 65 years of age, teacher, answer to question 5 of the questionnaire.**

Such evidence suggests that Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary, which includes large volumes of winged phrases for each Soviet film, may not give a particularly comprehensive picture of winged phrase usage in contemporary Russian.

5.5 Question 6: Why in your opinion are winged phrases from Soviet films being used in the speech of modern Russian speakers?

This question was designed to address the research question regarding why winged phrases from Soviet films are being used. Its aim was to discover the reasons behind the popularity of such phrases. Respondents were to choose five out of nine potential reasons for usage offered in the questionnaire and to number these reasons according to their importance with 1 being most important and 5 being least important. A space in the 'other' option was provided for the respondents to specify reasons different to those offered.

After respondents allocated points to each of the reasons, the mean (M) was calculated for each of them. As discussed in §3.9.2 of the methodology and research design chapter, the lowest mean indicated the most important reason and the highest mean showed the least important reason.

As illustrated by Figure 5.4 below, the four most important reasons for quoting Soviet films are listed in the following order:

1) situation of verbal communication matches the situation in the film (M=2.37)
2) cinema quotation is a part of a verbal game (M=2.56)
3) a wish to entertain the interlocutor (M=3.00)
4) sense of belonging between interlocutors in a defined ethnocultural society (M=3.01)

The least popular reason was nostalgia for the Soviet past with the mean 3.64. The inclusion of the top four and not top three reasons is explained by a very small gap between the mean of reasons 3 and 4, which is 0.01 (see §3.9.2).

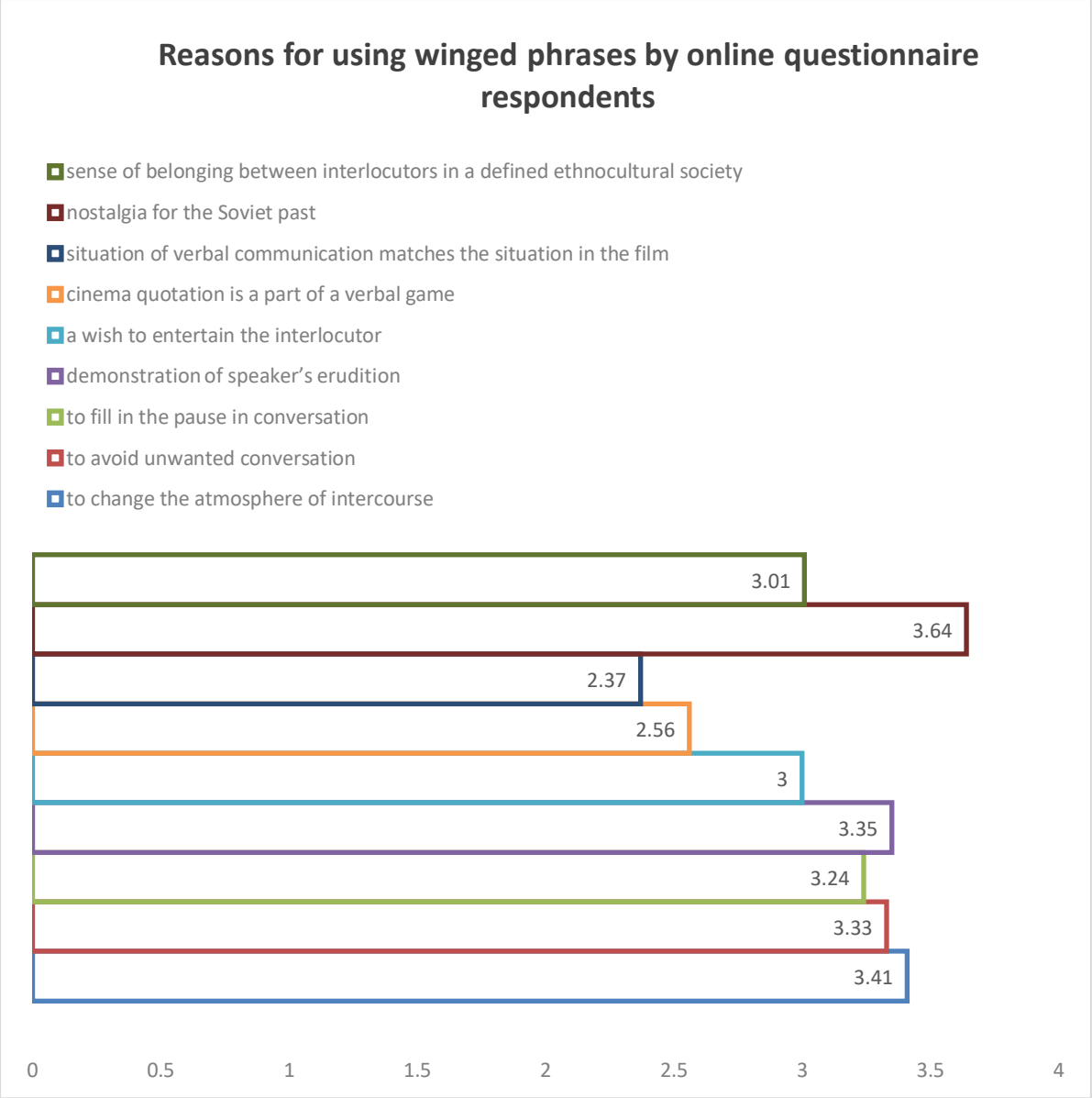

Figure 5.4 Reasons for using winged phrases based on their importance by online questionnaire respondents

In addition to the reasons listed in the question, some respondents (6 out of 102 [6%]) added a comment. Some of the comments highlighted the humorous aspect of winged phrases (Comment 5.11):

Добавление юмора в разговор.

To add humour into a discourse.

Comment 5.11, female respondent, 31-50 years old, teacher, answer to question 6 of the questionnaire.

Whilst question 6 of the questionnaire referred to personal reasons for quoting Soviet films, a number of comments cited the capacity of winged phrases to express a complex thought concisely. This aspect of winged phrases relates to their ability to act much as epigram or aphorism: it belongs to the winged phrase's definition, as discussed in §2.2: "образные, меткие выражения, вошедшие в общее употребление" ("figurative, adroit expressions which have fallen into general use") (Ozhegov 2012: 259). Comment 5.12 below reflects on such a quality of winged phrase:

Одной фразой можно выразить намного больше.

A lot more can be expressed by one phrase.

Comment 5.12, female respondent, 31-50 years old, unemployed, answer to question 6 of the questionnaire.

As previously mentioned, a film's popularity plays an important role in its lines becoming enduring winged phrases. When one refers to a Soviet film, it means that the film was made at least 28 years ago. Despite such a time gap, these films are still being watched over and over and enjoyed (Comment 5.13).

Эти фильмы до сих пор любимы, их часто пересматривают, выражения легко запоминаются.

These films are still being liked, people go over them again, phrases are easily memorised.

Comment 5.13, female respondent, 31-50 years old, teacher, answer to question 6 of the questionnaire.

Comment 5.14 is a reflection on the reason for the phenomenon of quoting Soviet films explained by cultural characteristics of Russian language and people:

> *Многовековая привычка русского народа к афористичности речи.*
> Centuries-long practice of Russian people towards aphoristic character of speech.
> **Comment 5.14, female respondent, 31-50 years old, teacher, answer to question 6 of the questionnaire.**

5.6 Chapter summary

This chapter presented data collected from questions 2 – 6 from the online questionnaire. Although the majority of the sample were female teachers with tertiary education in the age group between 31 – 50 years old, the sample was almost evenly distributed between the Russian Federation and the former Soviet Union republics and other countries where Russian is not an official language. Such geographical distribution is new in existing scholarship.

The first key finding of this chapter is that the majority of respondents (61%) employed winged phrases from Soviet films at least several times a week. Half of the respondents (50%) who lived outside the former USSR or by turns in several countries also used winged phrases from Soviet films at least several times a week.

Soviet films made in the 1970s and 1980s proved the most popular for quotation. However, the data indicated that Soviet and Russian films are being quoted for their utility in a given situation, regardless of the film's creation date.

The twenty most popular winged phrases amongst questionnaire respondents were identified. A majority (70%) of such phrases were sourced from Leonid Gaidai's comedies.

Winged phrases transformed by the online questionnaire respondents (39%) were mainly transformed by the method of reduction (64% of transformed phrases). In terms of contexts of

winged phrase usage, the results of this analysis have illustrated that the situational context for a winged phrase's modern usage is often based on that of the scene in which it was spoken in film. While there are situations indicated by respondents that match situations described in Elistratov's (2010) or Diadechko's (2008) dictionaries, there are some new ways of using such phrases which are not recorded in any dictionaries. In addition, quotations that prove to be popular amongst respondents were not recorded in Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary of winged phrases.

One of the main motivators for use of winged phrases based on survey answers is that the situation of verbal communication of a modern speaker matches the situation in the film. Verbal game, entertainment of interlocutor and a sense of belonging between interlocutors in a defined ethnocultural society were also mentioned most often. Nostalgia for the Soviet past was the least important reason noted by respondents for quoting Soviet films.

The findings reported in this chapter address all three research questions outlined in the literature review chapter, such as in which contexts as well as how and why winged phrases from Soviet films are being incorporated into contemporary Russian practice. Additional data from the last two questions of the online questionnaire (Questions 7 & 8) is presented in the following chapter.

Chapter 6: Online questionnaire questions 7 and 8: overview of results

6.1 Introduction

The key findings from data generated by questions 7 and 8 of the online questionnaire are reported in this chapter. The aim is to address research questions regarding contexts and ways of usage of winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary Russian practice. This chapter is a continuation of Chapter 5 wherein data analysis from questions 2 – 6 of the online questionnaire was presented.

The chapter reports data on two questions from the online questionnaire (Questions 7 & 8) in which responses were collected in a more controlled way than in the previous questions of the questionnaire. In question 7, respondents were asked to comment on ten winged phrases from Soviet films, in particular, to provide the name of the film, to comment on the character and the situation in which the winged phrase is used. In question 8, the respondents were invited to insert missing words in another ten winged phrases.

The chapter firstly reports on ten winged phrases suggested to respondents from the online questionnaire question 7. Findings by respondents on ten winged phrases from question 8 are then presented. The conclusion of the chapter is the summary of results.

6.2 Question 7: To which films, characters and situations can you attribute the following winged phrases?

Question 7 was designed to address the research question on contexts of winged phrases usage as well as how these phrases are being used. The question was also relevant to the theme of the actor's verbal personality as identified in the literature review chapter (see §2.4.1). Ten popular winged phrases from Soviet films were offered to respondents. The participants were asked to relate each phrase to its film-source, to identify the character in the film who declaims

the lines as well as to comment on the general context – either in the film itself or in more general everyday life or speech – in which the phrase can be used.

As discussed in detail in §3.6.1 of the methodology and research design chapter, phrases from the questionnaire emerged from analysis of dictionaries of winged phrases, data collected from the *"Цитаты советского кино"* (*Quotations from Soviet cinema)* on the *Вконтакте (VKontakte)* social network, the Russian National Corpus and results of an Internet opinion poll conducted in 2003 by the newspaper *"Новые Известия" (Novye Izvestiya)*. Therefore, it was expected that such phrases would be known by participants well enough to specify the film, character and the situation for each of them. The online questionnaire respondents were offered a text box in which to provide an answer, rather than a selection of answers to choose from.

On average, 86% of the sample (88 out of 102 respondents) answered the question on the film-source for winged phrases listed in the question. It should be noted that not all of the answers were correct. This was followed by an attempt to specify a character or actor who spoke the phrase in question (average of 72 out of 102 respondents [71%]). The least-often answered section of the question related to the situation in which the winged phrase was used: on average 67% of the sample (68 respondents out of 102) attempted this question (Figure 6.1).

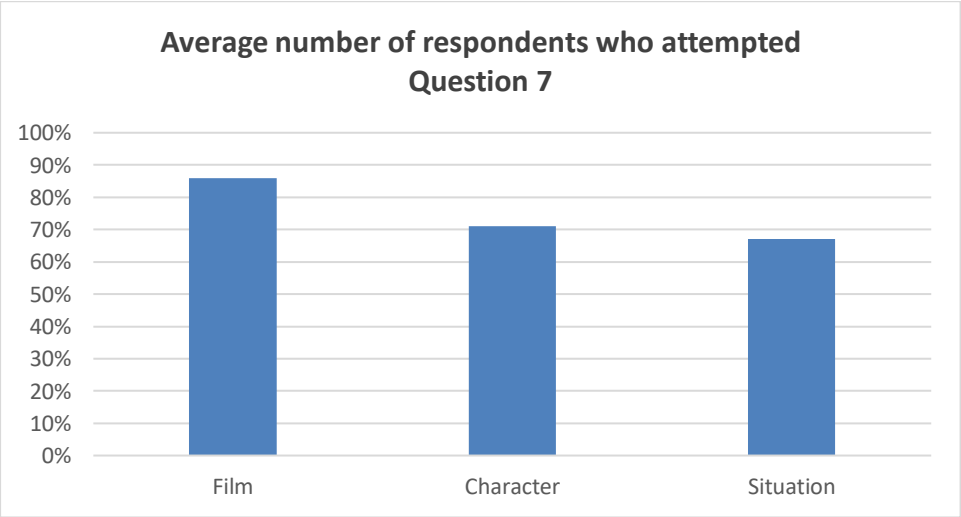

Figure 6.1 Average number of respondents who attempted sub-questions on film, character and situation for each winged phrase in Question 7 of the online questionnaire

The pattern illustrated by Figure 6.1 above suggests that while respondents at least attempted to name a film-source for each winged phrase, they were less confident with the character and the situation in which each winged phrase was used. The next ten sections of the chapter report detailed answers for each of the winged phrases offered to participants in question 7 of the online questionnaire.

6.2.1 "Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят" ("Our tenants don't go to the baker's in a taxi")

Almost all (94 out of 102 [92%]) respondents named *"Бриллиантовая рука" (The Diamond Arm)* as the film-source for this winged phrase. As for the character pronouncing the phrase, the majority of respondents (77 out of 102 [76%]) answered correctly, naming either *управдом (housing block manager)* or actress Nonna Mordiukova or both. Other relevant answers ranged from *тётка руководящая (leading woman)*, *женщина – председатель двора (woman – chairperson of the yard)* to *патруль (patrol)*. Some (16 out of 102 [16%]) respondents indicated that the line belongs to the actress Nonna Mordiukova, one of them could not remember the role she played in the film (Comment 6.1 below):

> *Мордюкова – имени героя её не помню.*
> Mordiukova – I don't remember the name of her character.
> **Comment 6.1, female respondent, 31-50 years old, tutor and entrepreneur, answer to question 7 of the questionnaire.**

Amongst incorrect answers, Semion Semionovich was listed, the character to whom the phrase is being addressed. Instead of Mordiukova, another actress – Ranevskaia – was mentioned once. A possible reason for such a mistake is Ranevskaia's faculty of being able to produce memorable winged phrases from each of her film roles – a matter discussed in §2.4.1 of the literature review chapter.

With regards to the situation, 48% of the sample (49 respondents out of 102) provided a description of the film scene, which involves the main character Semion Semionovich returning from the baker's with a militiaman who pretends to be a taxi driver. A total of 28% of the sample (28 respondents out of 102) provided a semantic description of the situation of winged phrase usage. In addition to variations in the semantics of this winged phrase (listed earlier in §5.4.6 of the previous online questionnaire data chapter), additional meanings were suggested by respondents. Examples include: *критика (criticism), зависть (envy), подозрение (suspicion), злоба (anger), социальная разница (societal gap), вмешательство в личную жизнь (intervention into private life)*.

6.2.2 "Я требую продолжения банкета!" ("I demand continuation of the feast!")

The majority of respondents (72 out of 102 [71%]) reported the correct title of the film: *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию" (Ivan Vasilievich Changes Profession)*. Some respondents (13 out of 102 [13%]) indicated other films by the same director Leonid Gaidai as the film-source: *"Бриллиантовая рука", "Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика" (The Prisoner of the Caucasus or Shurik's New Adventures)* and *"Двенадцать стульев" (Twelve Chairs)* – there were two adaptations of the novel made, and Gaidai directed one of them. In addition, 2% of respondents (2 out of 102) reported another popular comedy, *"Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!" (Irony of Fate, or Have a Good Sauna!)*, which was filmed in 1975, two years after *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию"*.

A total of 61 respondents (60%) were able to name the main character of *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию"* – Ivan Vasilievich Bunsha, a housing block manager who temporarily acts as Ivan the Terrible. While this role was played by Yurii Yakovlev, none of the respondents mentioned the name of the actor. However, one respondent reported that the line was pronounced by Ippolit – another character played by Yakovlev in *"Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!"*. Actor Andrei Mironov was mentioned by 3 (3%) respondents and Yurii Nikulin was mentioned once (1%).

Amongst incorrect answers regarding the character, 6 (6%) of respondents chose other film characters from Gaidai's films, including different characters from *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию":* Shurik, Shpak, Semion Semionovich and Kozlodoev. Kisa Vorob′ianinov from *"Двенадцать стульев"* was mentioned by 4% of respondents (4 out of 102).

Almost half (47 or 46%) of respondents correctly described the film scene from which the line was pronounced. While a majority of relevant answers were short and included key words *в 16 веке (in 16th century), пир (regale), банкет (banquet), трапеза (feast), в царском дворце, палатах (at tsar's palace), в Кремле (in Kremlin), перед разоблачением (before unmasking),* very few respondents remembered explicit details of the scene (Comment 6.2 below):

> *Подвыпивший Бунша сидит в кресле, шапка царская набекрень, он хочет, чтобы пир продолжался.*
> Drunk Bunsha sits in the chair, tsar's hat is tilted, he wants the feast to continue.
> **Comment 6.2, female respondent, 31-50 years old, unemployed, answer to question 7 of the questionnaire.**

One fifth of the sample (19 respondents out of 102 [19%]) provided a semantic description of the winged phrase similar to the one in Elistratov's (2010) dictionary: "давайте продолжим, давайте не останавливаться, продолжаем!" ("let's continue, don't stop, go on!") (Elistratov 2010: 322). Comment 6.3 below illustrates an even more precise definition of the winged phrase:

> *Шутливое требование продолжения какого-либо мероприятия, чаще – застолья.*
> Jocular demand to continue some event, more often than not food-related.
> **Comment 6.3, female respondent, 31-50 years old, teacher, answer to question 7 of the questionnaire.**

6.2.3 "Полюбить – так королеву, проиграть – так миллион!" ("To love no less than a queen, to lose no less than a million!")

This winged phrase proved to be the least known by participants. Only 31% of respondents (32 out of 102) answered the first part of this question correctly by listing *"Москва слезам не верит" (Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears)* as a source for the phrase. One respondent could not remember the film, but indicated that the winged phrase is popular (Comment 6.4 below):

> *Известная фраза, но не помню фильм.*
> Well-known phrase, but I don't remember the film.
> **Comment 6.4, female respondent, 31-50 years old, teacher, answer to question 7 of the questionnaire.**

Amongst the incorrect answers offered, *"Девчата" (The Girls, Mosfilm, 1961)* was mentioned. In this film, as in *"Москва слезам не верит"*, the main heroines are female.

A total of 26% of the sample (26 respondents out of 102) correctly reported the character who spoke the phrase in the film. Amongst relevant answers were the name of the film heroine – Liudmila – or the name of the actress who played the role of Liudmila – Irina Murav′iova. Similarly to Comment 6.1 mentioned earlier, Comment 6.5 illustrates that even though the name of the film character was not remembered, there is a connection between the winged phrase and the actress who spoke it:

> *Героиня Ирины Муравьевой, имени не помню.*
> Heroine played by Irina Murav′iova, I don't remember the name.
> **Comment 6.5, female respondent, 31-50 years old, translator, answer to question 7 of the questionnaire.**

One female respondent who could not remember the name of the film or the character, noted that the phrase is known to her (Comment 6.6):

> *Но фразу знаю.*
> But I know the phrase.
> **Comment 6.6, female respondent, 31-50 years old, teacher, answer to question 7 of the questionnaire.**

Only 21% of the sample (21 respondents out of 102) named the situation correctly either by describing the scene from the film or by providing its semantics, stressing the element of risk taking. Comment 6.7 below linked the winged phrase with the Russian phenomenon "*авось" ('may be').*

> *Непобедимое желание веры в чудо, русское "авось", или всё или ничего.*
> (it's the) Invincible wish to believe in a miracle, Russian 'may be', either all or nothing.
> **Comment 6.7, male respondent, 51-65 years old, teacher, answer to question 7 of the questionnaire.**

In addition, one respondent mentioned a connection of the winged phrase with life in Moscow, which relates to the title of the film.

6.2.4 "А в тюрьме сейчас ужин. Макароны" ("It's suppertime at prison. Macaroni")

While a significant number of respondents (84 out of 102 [82%]) reported the name of the film as *"Джентльмены удачи" (Gentlemen of Fortune),* one of them incorrectly indicated the director as Leonid Gaidai. Just above half of the sample (56 respondents out of 102 [55%]) were able to either name the film's character – Vasilii Alibabaevich – or to provide some description of him: *узбек (Uzbek), татарин (Tartar), незапланированный беглец (footloose runaway).* None of the respondents mentioned the actor Radner Muratov, who played the role of Vasilii Alibabaevich. However, Comment 6.8 below connected this winged phrase to another phrase spoken by the same actor in a different scene of *"Джентльмены удачи"*:

Тот же, который "снег башка попадёт".

The same one, who said "the snow will fall on your head".

Comment 6.8, female respondent, 31-50 years old, teacher, answer to question 7 of the questionnaire.

Half of the sample (52 respondents out of 102 [51%]) identified the correct situational context in which the winged phrase was used, such as feeling pity for welfare that was lost. While some respondents (29 out of 102 [28%]) focused on the situation from the film, other answers have shown some variations in semantics of the phrase. In addition to the meaning outlined in §5.4.6 (about something lost, an expression of nostalgia), the following contexts of usage were suggested by respondents: *когда ты голоден (when you are hungry), ответ на слова о желании поесть (response to the words about a wish to eat), когда нет еды или сильно задерживается подача еды (when there is no food or there is a long delay with serving food).* Such meanings narrow down the semantics of the winged phrase to the feeling of hunger. More general contexts suggested for usage include the following: *большое видится на расстоянии (important can be seen from a distance), сожаление по поводу неудачного стечения обстоятельств (pity because of an unfortunate combination of circumstances).*

6.2.5 " – Как вам моя причёска? – Умереть – не встать!" ("– What do you think about my hairdo? – A real stunner!")

A total of 50% of respondents (50 out of 102) reported *"Служебный роман" (Office Romance)* as its film-source, while 40% (41 out of 102) knew at least one character participating in the dialogue and 42% (42 out of 102) described the situational context for winged phrase usage either from the film or from their own experiences. Comment 6.9 below suggests a respondent's interpretation of the winged phrase, which includes a recognition of differences between situational usage of the phrase in the film and in modern life:

В фильме: душевное (и психическое) обновление человека от любви; в современной ситуации: иронично-фамильярная оценка какой-либо вещи партнёра, собеседника, желающего услышать одобрение.

In the film: the affectionate (and mental) rejuvenation from love; in a modern situation: ironically-avuncular praise for some object, a partner, an interlocutor who wishes to hear an approval.

Comment 6.9, male respondent, 51-65 years old, teacher, answer to question 7 of the questionnaire.

With reference to daily usage of the winged phrase, three types of semantic descriptions were identified: *1) комплимент, высшая похвала, восхищение (a compliment, highest phrase, admiration); 2) удивление (astonishment); 3) демонстрация чего-то нового, необычного (demonstration of something new, unusual).*

It is also worth noting that in the comment by a female respondent a willingness to use the phrase in speech was expressed (Comment 6.10):

Так здорово сказано, хочется употреблять эту цитату.

It is so well-said that I want to make use of this quotation.

Comment 6.10, female respondent, 51-65 years old, mid-level executive, answer to question 7 of the questionnaire.

6.2.6 "Гюльчатай! Открой личико, а" ("Giul'chatai! Show your face, huh")

Almost all respondents (92 out of 102 [90%]) were familiar with this winged phrase's film-source and named it correctly as *"Белое солнце пустыни" (The White Sun of the Desert).* A total of 68% percent of the sample (69 respondents out of 102) identified the character as Petrukha or at least were able to describe him as a young Red Army soldier. As for situational usage, 69% of the sample (70 respondents out of 102) provided a detailed description of the winged phrase's context.

Comments included the description of the scene from the film in which Petrukha tries to get to know young Giul′chatai better and asks her to remove the veil from her face. Other comments implied use of the phrase in day-to-day situations. Some responses covered both aspects, as in Comment 6.11 below:

> *В фильме: знакомство с гаремом; в современной ситуации: желание поближе познакомиться с партнершей (реже с партнером).*
> In film: getting acquainted with a harem; in modern situation: a wish to get to know better a female partner (more rarely with a male partner).
> **Comment 6.11, male respondent, 51-65 years old, teacher, answer to question 7 of the questionnaire.**

The majority of respondents reported the situational usage of this winged phrase in everyday life differently to descriptions provided in dictionaries. Thus, in addition to Elistratov's description of the phrase as outlined in §5.4.6 of the previous chapter, which is a request to turn towards the interlocutor, Diadechko's dictionary offers an additional figurative meaning: "просьба говорить, действовать открыто, не скрывая своих истинных намерений" ("a request to speak or act openly without hiding one's own true intentions") (Diadechko 2008: 160-161).

When compared to dictionary entries, only 3% of the sample (3 respondents) reported situations of usage similar to those in the dictionaries. The remaining answers, which added other contexts to this phrase's situational usage, are provided in Table 6.1 below.

Table 6.1 Contexts of usage of the winged phrase "Гюльчатай! Открой личико, а" different to Diadechko's (2008) or Elistratov's (2010) dictionaries

DESCRIPTION	NUMBER (%) OF RESPONDENDTS (102 IN TOTAL)
Acquaintance, advertence, dalliance with somebody, molestation	9 (9%)
Curiosity	3 (3%)
One can pay a high price for naivete and simplicity	1 (1%)
When someone swelled up after sleep or looks bad for other reasons	1 (1%)

It is evident that based on respondent answers, the meaning of acquaintance (9% of the sample) dominates dictionary meanings (3% of the sample) of the winged phrase in question.

6.2.7 " – Жить, как говорится, хорошо! – А хорошо жить – ещё лучше!" (" – To live, so to say, is good! – But to live well is even better!")

A total of 43 participants (42% of the sample) reported the film-source for this winged phrase correctly as *"Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика"*. A few respondents (4 out of 102 [4%]) reported *"Приключения Шурика"* highlighting a connection between the winged phrase and the appearance of Shurik (played by Aleksandr Demʹianenko) in the film. Amongst the incorrect answers by respondents, the film was wrongly attributed to other comedies directed by Leonid Gaidai. Thus, *"Операция "Ы" и другие приключения Шурика" (Operation "Y" and Shurik's Other Adventures)* was reported by 17% of the sample (17 respondents out of 102) as a film-source of the winged phrase – both films have the same villain characters – *Бывалый* (*Experienced,* played by Yevgenii Morgunov), *Балбес* (*Dumb-Arse,* played by Yurii Nikulin) and *Трус* (*Coward,* played by Georgii Vitsin). It should be noted that 4% of respondents (4 out of 102) reported *"Бриллиантовая рука"*, where Nikulin plays not the role of *Балбес*, but of the accountant Semion Semionovich Gorbunkov. Other popular Soviet comedies, such as *"Берегись автомобиля" (Beware of the Car* or *Watch Out for the Car, Mosfilm, 1966), "Двенадцать стульев"* and *"Джентльмены удачи"* were mentioned once.

With regard to characters, 30% of the sample (31 respondents out of 102) recalled the names of the characters or actors playing their roles correctly. Although the two lines of the winged phrase were pronounced by *Трус* and *Балбес* – there is one more line in the dialogue pronounced by *Бывалый*, which is not part of a winged phrase. A total of 9% of respondents (9 out of 102) reported the trio of *Трус*, *Балбес* and *Бывалый* or Vitsin, Nikulin and Morgunov. One respondent could not remember the film-source or the characters, but commented that the phrase is known to her.

A total of 27% of respondents (28 out of 102) described a film scene when identifying a situation for usage of the winged phrase: three characters on a hot day drink beer at a beer cask. Notably, 9 respondents (9% of the sample) described the phrase with key words *наслаждаться (to enjoy), наслаждение (enjoyment),* which allude to Elistratov's dictionary description: "диалог, разыгрываемый говорящими в ситуации, когда они получают какое-либо удовольствие: едят, пьют и т.п." ("a dialogue between interlocutors in the situation when they enjoy something: food, drink etc.") (Elistratov 2010: 105).

In addition to its main meaning, there were other contexts of this winged phrase usage reported by respondents, such as: *повышенные запросы (uptown tastes), разговор о ловких людях (conversation about shufflers), за границей (abroad), просто к слову в ходе разговора (by the way during a conversation), наблюдая за жизнью не совсем чистых на руку людей (observing life of people with sticky fingers), положительная оценка ситуации (positive appraisal of situation), ироничная оценка ситуации (ironic appraisal of situation).*

6.2.8 "Руссо туристо, облико морале, ферштейн?!" ("Russo turista, capito, moralita! Verstehen?")

The majority of respondents (86 out of 102 [84%]) reported *"Бриллиантовая рука"* as the film-source of this winged phrase, which was the correct answer. As far as the character is concerned, it was one of the most well-recognised characters amongst all of this questionnaire – 66% of the sample (67 respondents out of 102) provided the correct answer, reporting either the name of the character in the film Gesha or Andrei Mironov who played this role. Based on the script, the character who says the winged phrase, had a number of names, such as Gena,

Gesha, Gennadii, Kozodoev and Kozlodoev. Variations of his name, such as Gosha and Kesha, were also ventured; this might be explained by the wide variety of names in the film itself. Almost half of the correct answers (28 respondents out of 102 [28%]) included the name of the actor Andrei Mironov. Such a connection between the winged phrase and the verbal personality of Mironov might account for some incorrect answers (5 respondents out of 102 [5%]) reporting the film-source as *"Невероятные приключения итальянцев в России" (The Unbelievable Adventures of Italians in Russia, Mosfilm, 1973)* – in which he also plays one of the main roles (i.e. the militiaman Andrei).

The majority of the sample (67 respondents out of 102 [66%]) identified the situational context for winged phrase usage. A total of 72% of correct answers (48 respondents out of 67) included description of the film scene and 28% of the answers (19 respondents out of 67) reported the ways of usage of the phrase in modern life. A total of 7% of the sample (7 respondents out of 102) included ironic components in their answers and 5% (5 out of 102) mentioned Russian people abroad or on holidays.

A few respondents (5 out of 102 [5%]) described the winged phrase as an unwillingness to take part in some suspicious business, with no relation to travel or tourism. Comment 6.12 below provides a detailed description in this vein and includes two examples of situations in which it can be used:

> *Шутливое объяснение, почему не надо (не хочется) участвовать в каких-либо не слишком правильных действиях (приём алкоголя, проезд без билета...).*
> Joking explanation of why there is no need (one doesn't want to) to take part in some sort of not-quite-right action (imbibing alcohol, travelling without a ticket…).
> **Comment 6.12, female respondent, 31-50 years old, teacher, answer to question 7 of the questionnaire.**

6.2.9 "Ларису Ивановну хочу" ("I want Larisa Ivanovna")

The respondents displayed strong knowledge of the source of this winged phrase. Thus, *"Мимино" (Mimino, Mosfilm, 1977)* was reported by 85% of the sample (87 respondents out

of 102). Only half of the sample (53 respondents out of 102 [52%]) correctly named the character who spoke the line, 12% of respondents (12 out of 102) mentioned the name of the actor who said the line: *герой, которого играет Кикабидзе (it is a character played by Kikabidze).*

A larger percentage of the sample – 62% (63 respondents out of 102) – was able to describe the situational context for use of this winged phrase. Both dictionaries which provide meanings of winged phrases describe this situation as: "ироничное начало телефонного разговора" ("ironical beginning of a telephone conversation") (Elistratov 2010: 143), "ответ на вопрос: "Вам кого?"" ("response to a question: 'Who would you like to speak to?'") (Diadechko 2008: 350).

In addition to a telephone conversation, a number of apt situations were offered by respondents which do not appear in dictionaries: *когда вижу тёзку Ларису Ивановну (when I see a person with the same name Larisa Ivanovna), когда приходишь по блату к нужному человеку (when through good connections I come to a person I need), мне обязательно нужно именно это (I must have something in particular).*

A meaning advanced by one respondent – *приглашение к отношениям (an invitation to start dating)* – was semantically close to the second explanation of the phrase provided in Elistratov's dictionary: "иронично о сексуальном желании" ("ironically about a sexual desire") (Elistratov 2010: 143).

6.2.10 "Какая гадость, какая гадость эта ваша заливная рыба!" ("How horrible, how horrible is this jellied fish of yours!")

The respondents displayed an excellent knowledge of the source of this winged phrase: 92% of the sample (93 respondents out of 102) correctly attributed it to *"Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!",* while only one respondent mentioned *"Служебный роман"* – a film made two years later by the same director El′dar Riazanov.

Despite this knowledge of film-source, less than half of the sample (48 respondents out of 102 [47%]) reported the name of the character correctly. The majority (74 respondents out of 102 [73%]) commented on the situational context for this winged phrase usage by describing the film scene or describing the relevant situation in day-to-day life.

As far as modern usage of the phrase is concerned, some comments were similar to the descriptions provided in dictionaries of winged phrases, while others suggested different semantics: 13% of the sample (13 respondents out of 102) explained the phrase similarly to Diadechko's dictionary*:* "о чьих-либо кулинарных способностях" ("about someone's culinary abilities"), "о заливной рыбе"("about jellied fish") (Diadechko 2008: 291). Some respondents (7 out of 102 [7%]) reported the phrase's meaning synonymously to the third meaning provided by Diadechko: "о неприятии чего-либо" ("about nonacceptance of something") (Diadechko 2008: 291) stressing a negative judgement of a situation in the phrase's meaning. Additional contexts of usage offered by participants are presented in Table 6.2 below.

Table 6.2 Contexts of usage of winged phrase "Какая гадость, какая гадость эта ваша заливная рыба!" different to Diadechko's (2008) dictionary

DESCRIPTION	NUMBER (%) OF RESPONDENDTS (102 TOTAL)
New Year's Eve celebration	5 (5%)
At the table	4 (4%)
At a banquet about a dainty dish	1 (1%)
Admitting a bad reception	1 (1%)
When something goes wrong, but you complain about particulars	1 (1%)

As can be seen in Table 6.2 above, while the majority of situational usages for this winged phrase held negative connotations, data provided by respondents also revealed neutral or positive usage, for example: *празднование Нового года (New Year's celebration), за столом (at the table), на банкете об изысканном блюде (at a banquet about a dainty dish).*

6.2.11 Question 7: Summary of results

Data collected in this part of the questionnaire illustrated that that while a majority of respondents (on average 72%) were familiar with film-sources, only half of the sample (on average 52%) were able to identify the character who said the winged phrase in the source film.

Respondents proved most competent in identifying correctly the film-source of winged phrases *"Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят"* (92% of the sample), *"Какая гадость, какая гадость эта ваша заливная рыба!"* (92%) and *"Гюльчатай! Открой личико, а"* (90%). The least known amongst participants was the film-source for the winged phrase *"Полюбить – так королеву, проиграть – так миллион!"* (31%). The results suggest some enduring connection between winged phrases from the Soviet film period and the actors who say them, such as Nonna Mordiukova, Irina Murav′iova, Andrei Mironov and Vakhtang Kikabidze.

An average of 51% of respondents reported contexts of winged phrase usage similar to the film or to the usage in Diadechko's (2008) or Elistratov's (2010) dictionaries. They provided varying situational contexts for usage of these winged phrases. While these contexts often spanned a considerable range, core meanings were generally observable. At times, the situational contexts for using winged phrases differed significantly from the available dictionary explanations of same, especially for phrases *"Гюльчатай! Открой личико, а", "Жить, как говорится, хорошо! – А хорошо жить – ещё лучше!", "А в тюрьме сейчас ужин. Макароны", "Какая гадость, какая гадость эта ваша заливная рыба!".*

More generally, while respondents often were unable to report a film-source or a character, they commented on the fact that they knew and used the phrase. This means that the winged phrases in question are indeed a part of modern Russian practice, even though they have lost an important part of winged phrase definition – authorship.

6.3 Questions 8: Fill in the gaps in the following winged phrases

Question 8 was designed in order to identify transformations of winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary Russian practice, with the aim of addressing the research question on how winged phrases are being used in contemporary Russian. Respondents were offered ten incomplete winged phrases and asked to fill in the gaps. Popular winged phrases were selected based on at least three criteria described in detail in §3.6.1.

Most respondents (on average 88%) attempted to complete all winged phrases, at times having a question mark in brackets next to the suggested answer or having two alternative words advanced for some of the answers. On average, only 12% of all answers in this question were left blank or with such comments as *не знаю (I don't know), не помню (I don't remember)*. If a respondent did not attempt to complete some of the winged phrases in this question, he or she was able to complete the others (at least three out of ten). This fact suggests some knowledge of the commonly-understood meaning of each winged phrase.

6.3.1 "Оставь меня, старушка, я в печали" ("Leave me alone, old woman, I am being sad")

This winged phrase from Gaidai's comedy *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию"* proved very prominent in respondent memories: almost all respondents (96 out of 102 [94%]) supplied the missing component: *в печали* (*being sad*) while one respondent replaced it with the synonymous short adjective *печален* (*sad*). Some respondents (5 out of 102 [5%]) either skipped the question or noted *не помню (I don't remember)* in the answer box.

6.3.2 "Если человек идиот, то это надолго!" ("Once a halfwit always a halfwit!")

A total of 80 respondents (78% of the sample) provided a correct answer *надолго* (*for a long time*) in order to complete this winged phrase from *"Бриллиантовая рука"*. A total of 12 respondents (12%) replaced it with the synonymous *навсегда* (*forever*) and 3 respondents (3%)

with *на всю жизнь* (*for life*). There was one case of substitution with an antonym *недолго (not long*).

6.3.3 "С бумагой в стране напряжёнка!" ("There is a paper shortage in the country!")

Although just over half of respondents (59 out of 102 [58%]) attempted this question, this winged phrase from *"Москва слезам не верит"* revealed a number of variations in transformations. Half of the sample (51 respondents out of 102 [50%]) added a missing component at the start *с бумагой (with paper)* in order to complete the winged phrase. A few respondents (3 out of 102 [3%]) completed the phrase with *у нас (here)*. The remaining 5 answers included substitutions with the following words: *с лёгкой промышленностью (with the consumer goods industry), с шерстью (with wool), с честью (with honour), опять (again), всегда (always).*

6.3.4 "Кто не работает, тот ест. Учись, студент!" ("Those who don't work, get to eat. Take note, student!")

The majority of the sample (77 respondents out of 102 [76%]) were able to reconstruct the phrase by providing *ест (eats)* at its conclusion. While the phrase in the comedy *"Операция "Ы" и другие приключения Шурика"* is a transformation of the well-known saying *"Кто не работает, тот не ест" ("Those who don't work, don't eat")*[31], the following transformations by respondents were conditioned by the original proverb: a total of 16% of the sample (16 respondents out of 102) completed the winged phrase by *не ест* (*doesn't eat*) and one respondent wrote *не пьёт (doesn't drink)*, which all give the winged phrase a different meaning to that of the film. A few respondents (3 out of 102 [3%]) reported *учится (studies)* or *должен учиться (must study).*

[31] The Bible, II Thessalonians, 3, 10: *"Если кто не хочет трудиться, тот и не ешь" ("If any would not work, neither should he eat"* (Uolsh & Berkov 1984: 107).

6.3.5 "Так выпьем за то, чтобы наши желания совпадали с нашими возможностями" ("Let's drink to our wishes always matching our means")

This phrase from *"Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика"* was known by almost all participants of the study (98 respondents out of 102 [96%]). The only two other variations provided by respondents were *ожиданиями (expectations)* – from 1 respondent (1%) and *способностями (abilities)* – also from 1 respondent (1%).

6.3.6 "Кто ж его посадит?!.. Он же памятник!" ("How could the poor guy sit down? An iron monument like that!")

The majority of respondents (88 out of 102 [86%]) filled the gap in the winged phrase correctly with the noun *памятник (monument)*. The nouns *дерево (tree), мент (cop), тунеядец (parasite)* were mentioned once as well as the verb *сидит (sits)* – a total of 4 responses (4%) with transformations of the winged phrase. While the words *дерево* and *сидит* are alluded to in the dialogue between Kosoi and a taxi driver in *"Джентльмены удачи"*, substitutions by *мент* and *тунеядец* give this winged phrase a completely different meaning.

6.3.7 "Это я удачно зашёл!" ("How lucky for me to drop by!")

This winged phrase was spoken by the thief Miloslavskii upon entering Shpak's apartment in *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию"*. In the questionnaire, the phrase was missing the last component *зашёл.* It was reported correctly by 68% of the sample (69 respondents out of 102). The substitutions included verbs *попал (got in)* (5 respondents out of 102 [5%]), *приземлился (landed)* (2 [2%]), *заскочил (dropped in)* (1 [1%]). Other versions proposed employed the following verbs: *пошутил (joked)* (4 respondents out of 102 [4%]), *упал (fell down)* (2 [2%]), *сочинил (composed)* (1 [1%]), *устроился (settled)* (1 [1%]), *женился (married)* (1 [1%]), *вытерла (wiped)* (1 [1%]), making this the most often transformed phrase in the questionnaire.

6.3.8 "Я мзду не беру. Мне за державу обидно!" ("I don't accept graft. It is what is done to the Great State that insults me!")

This winged phrase from *"Белое солнце пустыни"* was missing the last component *обидно,* which was restored by all respondents (98 out of 102 [96%]) who attempted this question, revealing an excellent knowledge of this winged phrase by Russian speakers who took the questionnaire.

6.3.9 "Ну, граждане алкоголики, хулиганы, тунеядцы, кто хочет сегодня поработать?" ("All right, citizens alcoholics, parasites, hooligans. Who wants to work today?")

A total of 71% of the sample (72 respondents out of 102) completed the phrase with the missing component *поработать (to work)*. Most of the transformations included the following variants: *потрудиться (to work)* (2 respondents out of 102 [2%]), *работать (to work)* (1 [1%]), *на работу (to go to work)* (1 [1%]), *на мясокомбинат (to meat packing plant)* (2 [2%]), *на песчаный карьер (to sand pit*) (2 [2%]), *на стройку (to building site)* (2 [2%]), *на винзавод (to wine factory)* (1 [1%]), *на кирпичный завод (to brick factory)* (1 [1%]), *на лесоповал (to tree cutting)* (1 [1%]). There was one substitution by the antonym *развлечься (to have fun)* (1 [1%]), which changed the meaning of the winged phrase.

6.3.10 "На тебе сто миллионов! Слушай, возьми всё, я себе ещё нарисую" ("Take one hundred million! Listen, take everything, I will draw more for myself")

This winged phrase was the most often transformed. More than half of the sample (53 respondents out of 102 [52%]) provided the correct answer, which was a verb *нарисую (I will draw).* Substitutions included verbs such as *напечатую (I will print)* (5 respondents out of 102 [5%]), *нарежу (I will cut)* (1 [1%]), *наворую* (6 [6%]) and *украду* (2 [2%]) *(I will steal), достану (I will obtain)* (2 [2%]), *найду (I will find)* (1 [1%]), *куплю (I will buy)* (1 [1%]); 4 respondents (4%) included an antonym *заработаю (I will earn)* giving this winged phrase a different meaning to the one in the film.

6.3.11 Question 8: Summary of results

The data collected from online questionnaire respondents in question 8 illustrated that on average, there were ten transformations of each winged phrase listed in this question. The most often transformed winged phrase (22 transformations) was *"На тебе сто миллионов! Слушай, возьми всё, я себе ещё нарисую"*. The phrase *"Я мзду не беру. Мне за державу обидно!"* was not transformed by participants**.** On average, the majority of respondents (78 out of 102 [76%]) were able to fill in gaps in the winged phrases correctly.

6.4 Chapter summary

In summary, the findings of this chapter address two research questions outlined in the literature review chapter, namely in which contexts and how winged phrases from Soviet films are being used in contemporary Russian practice.

The first key finding to have emerged from the data is that in addition to the situation in which the phrase is used in film or described in dictionaries by Diadechko (2008) or Elistratov (2010), there is a variety of communicative contexts for their usage, especially for the phrases *"Гюльчатай! Открой личико, а", " – Жить, как говорится, хорошо! – А хорошо жить – ещё лучше!", "А в тюрьме сейчас ужин. Макароны"*.

Secondly, respondents displayed knowledge of popular winged phrases. The majority of respondents (76%) reconstructed winged phrases with a missing word without any modifications. However, a number of transformations of each winged phrase were noted (on average 10 transformations of each phrase), which were mainly transformations by substitution.

Thirdly, a connection between winged phrases and the actors who speak those phrases in films was evident. For instance, *"Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят!"* and Nonna Mordiukova; "*Полюбить – так королеву*, *проиграть – так миллион!"* and Irina

Murav′iova; "*Руссо туристо, облико морале, феритейн?!"* and Andrei Mironov; *"Ларису Ивановну хочу"* and Vakhtang Kikabidze.

While Chapters 5 and 6 reported on data from online questionnaire respondents, which in this research is considered to be spoken Russian, the following data chapters present results collected from two different data sources: Chapter 7 reports on data collected from the *ЯПлакалъ (YaPlakal)* online discussion forum and Chapter 8 outlines data collected from newspaper headings.

Chapter 7: *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum: winged phrases from Soviet films within online communication

7.1 Introduction

This chapter reports on winged phrases which appeared in the communications of the *ЯПлакалъ (YaPlakal)* online discussion forum. The aim of this analysis is to address the research questions on contexts as well as to examine how winged phrases from Soviet films are being used in contemporary Russian.

As discussed in the literature review chapter, scholarship to date has either limited itself to general online discussions of precedent texts, or to mere mentions of winged phrases from Russian cinema and animation (Evenko, Kliukina & Shipovskaia 2016; Gritsenko 2009; Gritsenko & Emier 2011; Tsareva & Chernova 2017). The only exception is Krupenko's (2011) thesis, which considered winged phrases from Soviet cinema as they appear in online discussion forums in the Russian internet. Thus, the question of winged phrases from Soviet films in online discussion forums has not as yet received academic attention. This chapter aims to address this gap.

A total of 12,804 posts written by *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum members were analysed for the period from 18th July to 21st August 2017. In this chapter, key findings obtained from 11 winged phrases included into the posts are presented. Five major findings emerged from this analysis. They became the organising structures for the chapter:

1) All winged phrases (100%) used by the *ЯПлакалъ* forum members were part of film dialogue.

2) Winged phrases employed in the forum's communications were sourced from Soviet films made in the 1960s and 1970s.

3) Winged phrases used in the *ЯПлакалъ* forum communication were sourced from films by three directors: Leonid Gaidai (36%), El′dar Riazanov (36%) and Aleksandr Seryi (27%).

4) The majority (82%) of winged phrases which appeared in the *ЯПлакалъ* forum posts were used in similar contexts to those in the original Soviet source films, while some of the phrases (18%) obtained a different situational meaning.

5) Almost half (46%) of winged phrases in the forum's communication were transformed.

Structurally, the chapter consists of five parts. In the first part an overview of the main patterns of communication within the *ЯПлакалъ* forum is outlined. The second part focuses on the three directors of the Soviet films quoted in the *ЯПлакалъ* forum. An analysis of contexts in which the winged phrases are used is then presented. This is followed by a discussion of transformations of winged phrases mentioned in the *ЯПлакалъ* forum. The chapter ends with a summary of results.

7.2 Overview of main patterns in the *ЯПлакалъ* discussion forum communication

A total of 11 winged phrases from Soviet films were included into 12,804 posts produced by the *ЯПлакалъ* forum members, which is less than 1 winged phrase *per* 1,000 posts. Almost half (5 out of 11 [46%]) of winged phrases were transformed phrases.

Posts with winged phrases from Soviet films were identified within 15 topics from the *"Активные темы" (Active topics)* list that appears on the forum's home page (see Appendix 17). A full list of winged phrases used in the *ЯПлакалъ* online communication, as well as their film-sources, forum topics and dates of appearance, is presented in Table 7.1 below. It should be noted that while 55% of the winged phrases were transformed by forum members, in Table 7.1 the winged phrases are listed prior to transformation, as they appear in Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary. Transformations are outlined separately in §7.5 of this chapter.

Table 7.1 Winged phrases from Soviet films identified in online communication within ЯПлакалъ online discussion forum (YaPlakal 2017)

WINGED PHRASE	SOURCE	FORUM TOPIC	DATE
Автомашину куплю с магнитофоном, пошью костюм с отливом, и – в Ялту.	*Джентльмены удачи*	В какой период СССР вы б хотели попасть?	18.07.2017
Какая отвратительная рожа!	*Джентльмены удачи*	Из колонии в Пермском крае сбежал заключённый	18.07.2017
А в тюрьме сейчас ужин. Макароны.	*Джентльмены удачи*	Из колонии в Пермском крае сбежал заключённый	18.07.2017
Жениться нужно на сироте!	*Берегись автомобиля*	Что должен мужчина иметь к 30 годам	24.07.2017
Три магнитофона, три кинокамеры заграничных, три портсигара отечественных, куртка замшевая... три куртки.	*Иван Васильевич меняет профессию*	Что должен мужчина иметь к 30 годам	24.07.2017
Машина – на имя жены, дача – на моё имя. Ничего у тебя нет! Ты голодранец!	*Берегись автомобиля*	Что должен мужчина иметь к 30 годам	24.07.2017
Если сегодня ещё кто-нибудь умрёт или родится, я останусь без обеда.	*Служебный роман*	СССР, Россия, деньги и колбаса	31.07.2017
Это же всё же, всё же, что нажито непосильным трудом, всё погибло.	*Иван Васильевич меняет профессию*	СССР, Россия, деньги и колбаса	31.07.2017
Распространите среди жильцов нашего ЖЭКа. – А-а, е... – А если не будут брать, отключим газ.	*Бриллиантовая рука*	СССР, Россия, деньги и колбаса	31.07.2017
Пить надо меньше!	*Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!*	Как вы боретесь с потливостью	20.08.2017
Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят.	*Бриллиантовая рука*	США приостанавливают выдачу неиммиграционных виз по всей России	21.08.2017

As illustrated by Table 7.1 above, all of the winged phrases which appeared in the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum originated as dialogue from Soviet films. There were no examples of Soviet film titles or lines from a song in a Soviet film.

Winged phrases mentioned by the *ЯПлакалъ* forum members were sources from just six Soviet films of the 1960s and1970s, four of which appear on the list of *фильмы-цитатники (film-quotations)* identified in the methodology and research design chapter (see Appendix 1): *"Бриллиантовая рука" (The Diamond Arm), "Джентльмены удачи"(Gentlemen of Fortune), "Иван Васильевич меняет профессию" (Ivan Vasilievich Changes Profession)* and *"Служебный роман" (Office Romance).* Two film-sources, both directed by El′dar Riazanov, were not amongst ten *фильмы-цитатники: "Берегись автомобиля" (Beware of the Car)* and *"Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!" (Irony of Fate, or Have a Good Sauna!).* At times, in using film quotations, some members made direct reference to the film. This was done by either a copyright sign (©) or by mentioning the film-source by title (1 out of 11 winged phrases (9%).

While in some of the topics from the *"Активные темы"* forum members used winged phrases up to 3 times *("СССР, Россия, деньги и колбаса" / USSR, Russia, money and the sausage, "Что должен мужчина иметь к 30 годам" / What a man should have by the time he turns 30, "Из колонии в Пермском крае сбежал заключённый" / A prisoner from a prison camp in the Perm Region escaped)*, only 1 out of 3 such topics displayed a reference to the USSR ("*СССР, Россия, деньги и колбаса").* In the *"Активные темы"* where the usage of winged phrases from Soviet films was noted, after being provided with a stimulus in the form of a winged phrase, forum members quickly engaged in an exchange of winged phrases and quotations from films.

As for the linguistic observations, the usage of non-normative lexicon should be noted. In addition, there were some typographical, grammar and spelling mistakes in both posts written by forum members and in the way winged phrases were presented. In this respect, extracts from forum posts have been kept in their original form in this chapter, without any modifications.

The appearance of winged phrases was either in the form of a text or in a text written on a photograph showing actors in the scene in which the phrase in question is spoken (this is also referred to as a "meme", see §2.2 of the literature review chapter). As previously discussed,

video and audio content from Soviet films, which was included in forum member posts, was not deemed relevant to this research and was not examined.

Following discussion in §2.6 of the literature review chapter, not all winged phrases from adaptations which appeared in forum members posts were included in this study. In addition, as previously noted, not all film quotations are in the form of winged phrases. Therefore, even though forum members employed quotations not included in Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary of winged phrases, such quotations were not part of this research.

7.3 Directors of films quoted on the *ЯПлакалъ* forum

The winged phrases employed by forum members in the *ЯПлакалъ* forum posts were sourced from just six Soviet films directed by three directors: Leonid Gaidai (4 winged phrases out of 11 [36%]), El′dar Riazanov (4 [36%]) and Aleksandr Seryi (3 [27%]) (Table 7.2).

Table 7.2 Number of winged phrases identified in online communication within the ЯПлакалъ forum by director

NUMBER (%) OF WINGED PHRASES (11 IN TOTAL)	DIRECTOR
4 (36%)	*Leonid Gaidai*
4 (36%)	*El'dar Riazanov*
3 (27%)	*Aleksandr Seryi*

One of the forum members, after mentioning the winged phrase "*Если сегодня ещё кто-нибудь умрёт или родится, я останусь без обеда" ("If someone else dies or gets born today, I'll be left without my lunch")* from *"Служебный роман"* remarked specifically about the film character who pronounced the phrase and also remarked on the film's director (Extract 7.1):[32]

[32] All members of the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum are assigned pseudonyms for ethical reasons.

Extract 7.1

Grizli888: Товарищ Новосельцев не хуя с этим текстом не согласен, “Если кто нибудь сегодня родится или умрет, я останусь без обеда” ©. зарплата 120 руб., начало 80хх, расскажите что Рязанов жизни не знал.

Comrade Novosel′tsev does not agree with this text, “If someone else dies or gets born today, I’ll be left without my lunch” ©. The salary of 120 roubles, the start of the 80s, tell that Riazanov didn’t know life.

Forum topic: “СССР, Россия, деньги и колбаса”

Date: 30 July 2017

In Extract 7.1 above, Riazanov’s name and his knowledge of the Soviet epoch was mentioned in order to contradict another forum member who earlier stated that in the 1980s Soviet engineers were paid 300 roubles *per* month. Notably, in *“Служебный роман”,* Novosel′tsev was tired of never-ending collections of money for his colleagues’ anniversaries, deaths and child births and he said that if another collection appears, he will not have enough money to pay for his lunch. In the forum, the winged phrase was used to highlight that the salary of an average office clerk in the USSR did not meet a bare minimum for living, which raises a question of the variety of contexts of winged phrases usage discussed in the next section of this chapter.

7.4 Contexts of usage of winged phrases on the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum

This part of the chapter focuses on the contexts in which *ЯПлакалъ* forum members employed winged phrases from Soviet films, such as contexts similar to the ones in film and contexts which by contrast differ from that of the film.

7.4.1 Contexts of usage are similar to the ones in the film

A total of 9 winged phrases (9 out of 11 [82%]) were observed in the forum in similar contexts to those surrounding the use of the winged phrase in question in the film. The majority of such contexts (6 out of 9 [67%]) are reported below.

Thus, two winged phrases from *"Джентльмены удачи"* appeared in an online communication exchange dedicated to the escape of a prisoner from a prison camp in the Perm Region. The first post included information on the escapee, such as his description, a photo and an appeal to local citizens to cooperate in the search. It was immediately followed by a winged phrase "*Какая отвратительная рожа!" ("What a disgusting face!")*, which was deployed as an impetus for an exchange of winged phrases and quotations from the film at times interrupted by posts by other group users (Extract 7.2 below).

Extract 7.2

bgkntvh: Какая отвратительная рожа!

What a disgusting face!

…

Bisqus: Салих Нургалиевич! Хули Вы там бегаете? Вернитесь, пожалуйста, у нас тут макароны!

Salikh Nurgalievich! Why the hell are you running there? Come back please, we have macaroni here!

…

ITman (in response to *bgkntvh)*: Да рожи-то у нас всех...

Yeah, we've all got the faces...

Forum topic: "Из колонии в Пермском крае сбежал заключённый"

Date: 18 July 2017

Two winged phrases from *"Джентльмены удачи"* in Extract 7.2 above ("*Какая отвратительная рожа!"* and "*А в тюрьме сейчас ужин. Макароны" / "It's suppertime at prison. Macaroni"*) were taken from different parts of the film script. However, both of them were used in situations similar to the ones observed in the film. The first phrase "*Какая отвратительная рожа!"* was said by professor Mal′tsev's when he saw a photo of the criminal Dotsent who had escaped from prison in *"Джентльмены удачи"*. In the forum, the use involved the very first reaction to a news story and accompanying photo of a prison camp escapee.

The winged phrase "*А в тюрьме сейчас ужин. Макароны"* requires some explanation of the film script. In the film, the kindergarten director Troshkin – who looks exactly like the criminal Dotsent – was sent to prison in order to find out where the stolen helmet of Alexander the Great was hidden. Troshkin was asked by the police to organise a prison break with two of Dotsent's fellow criminals, Kosoi and Khmyr′. They were followed by the prisoner Vasilii Alibabaevich, who had no relation to the theft. When the criminals became hungry after their prison break, Vasilii started regretting that he had left the prison – in this context, he spoke nostalgically about the macaroni he used to have there for dinner.

This winged phrase, which in Elistratov's (2010: 25) dictionary is described as "о чём-либо, что утеряно безвозвратно; выражение ностальгии, сожаления по утраченным благам" ("about something which is lost forever; an expression of nostalgia, pity for the lost welfare state") is employed in the forum to appeal to the runaway prisoner to return to the camp. Thus, the prisoner's name *Salikh Nurgalievich* was used by the forum member *Bisqus* in order to address him. This address was followed by questioning as to why he would run away. Then in one sentence *Bisqus* politely asks the prisoner to come back: *вернитесь, пожалуйста (come back please)* and transforms the winged phrase by replacing its first part *а в тюрьме сейчас ужин (It's chowtime at the camp)* by *у нас тут (we have)* finishing the sentence with *макароны (macaroni).*

As communication in the topic progresses, the forum member *ITman* quotes the the same winged phrase "*Какая отвратительная рожа!"* and posts a reply to it: "*Да рожи-то у нас всех..." ("Yeah, we've all got (ugly) faces…").* This quotation, although not being recorded as

a winged phrase in Kozhevnikov's dictionary, adds to the quotations exchange and is used in the similar context to the one in *"Джентльмены удачи"*. In the film, when Kosoi suspects that a taxi driver stole ten roubles and comments on his face expression. Khmyr′, who actually hid the money, replies: "*Да рожи-то у нас всех..."*. This and other quotations not included into Kozhevnikov's dictionary are reported in §7.6 of this chapter.

The next two examples of usage of winged phrases in similar contexts to the film were phrases sourced from *"Бриллиантовая рука"* which appeared in two different topics: "*СССР, Россия, деньги и колбаса"* and *"США приостанавливают выдачу неиммиграционных виз по всей России" (USA suspends issuing of non-immigration visas throughout Russia)* (Extracts 7.3 & 7.4).

Extract 7.3

InocCent: А хуле бы нет, в страны соцлагеря и прочим борцам с капитализмом типа Кубы. "А не будут брать – отключим газ" ©

And why not to the countries of Soviet block and to other fighters against capitalism like Cuba. "If they won't buy, we'll cut off their gas" ©

Forum topic: "*СССР, Россия, деньги и колбаса"*
Date: 31 July 2017

Extract 7.4

AndreiT: А в чём прикол? Наши граждане на такси в булочные не ездят. Кстати, на месте Израиля я бы выразил протест.

And what is the problem? Our citizens don't go to bakeries in a taxi. By the way, in Israel's place, I would protest.

Forum topic: "США приостанавливают выдачу неиммиграционных виз по всей России"

Date: 21 August 2017

The first winged phrase from Extract 7.3 above is mentioned in the forum topic "*CCCP, Россия, деньги и колбаса".* The discussion referred to the fact that in the USSR in the 1970s a factory was built making already obsolete (i.e. 1964 model) motor cars for export. With a winged phrase from *"Бриллиантовая рука",* forum member *InocCent* stressed the fact that it was possible to sell such goods, as Eastern bloc countries and Cuba were fully controlled by the Soviet Union – the implication being that no consumer choice was present in any event.

In the film, the apartment complex manager Varvara Sergeevna Pliushch said the phrase when she bought 100 lottery tickets in a row. She responded to the sales assistant that she was not buying the tickets in order to win. She then ordered one of her helpers to distribute the tickets amongst residents. Her actions were not explained by Gaidai in *"Бриллиантовая рука",* making them look rather ridiculous to the viewer. However, Varvara Pliushch was ready to suppress any disobedience when she warned that anybody who refused to buy the tickets would have their gas supply cut.

Another transformed winged phrase "*Наши граждане на такси в булочные не ездят" ("Our people don't go to the baker's in a taxi!")* from Extract 7.4 also belongs to Varvara Pliushch. She criticised Gorbunkov's taxi ride late at night as it was a luxury that not every

Soviet citizen could afford. In the forum it was invoked by *AndreiT* in response to a message that the American Embassy in Russia is to cease issuing non-immigration visas.

While the winged phrase is transformed by a method of substitution and change of grammatical form of its components (see §7.5 below), it remains connectable to *"Бриллиантовая рука"* for Russians with a knowledge of popular culture. With reference to travel, which is discussed in this forum topic, the meaning of travelling to the USA, which is not usually affordable for a Russian citizen with an average salary today, is implied. Thus, the phrase is used in a similar context that in the film and in academic dictionaries, where it is a criticism of those who live richly and spend a lot of money (Diadechko 2008: 431, Elistratov 2010: 170).

In the forum topic *"Что должен мужчина иметь к 30 годам"* a winged phrase from Riazanov's *"Берегись автомобиля"* was used when the discussion moved towards one's wife's relatives (Extract 7.5):

Extract 7.5

Rockstar: Жениться надо на сироте...

A man should marry an orphan…

Forum topic: "Что должен мужчина иметь к 30 годам"

Date: 24 July 2017

The winged phrase from Extract 7.5 above in the forum depicts a conflict between the film's main character Semitsvetos and his father-in-law Semion Vasilievich. The phrase is explained in Elistratov's dictionary as "о трудностях, возникающих при совместной жизни мужа и родителей жены" ("difficulties emerging when a husband and wife's parents are living together") (Elistratov 2010: 104). The forum member *Rockstar* used the phrase in the context of relations between in-laws similar to the situation in film.

The forum's discussion referring to father-in-law – son-in-law conflict continued later on the same day when one forum member posted a photograph from "*Берегись автомобиля"* – a scene with another winged phrase *"Машина – на имя жены, дача – на моё имя. У тебя ничего нет! Ты голодранец!" ("The car belongs to your wife, the dacha belongs to me. You haven't got anything! You are a beggar!")* written over it as a part of his comment (Figure 7.1):

***"Машина – на имя жены, дача – на моё имя. У тебя ничего нет! Ты голодранец!"* in the *ЯПлакалъ* forum**

Figure 7.1 A winged phrase from "Берегись автомобиля" appearing on a photograph taken from a film scene in the ЯПлакалъ forum (YaPlakal 2017)

The winged phrase from Figure 7.1 above in forum discussion was used in a similar context as in the film. However, there were two examples of winged phrases obtaining a different meaning in *ЯПлакалъ* discussion forum. Such phrases are the topic of the next section of this chapter.

7.4.2 Contexts of usage are different from the ones in the film

The first winged phrase which was used in a context different from the one in the film appeared in a post dedicated to a topic *"Что должен мужчина иметь к 30 годам".* A winged phrase

from *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию"* was mentioned as it related to the theme of unwillingness to share one's possessions with a spouse (Extract 7.6):

Extract 7.6

Алла3001: че там из имущества то? ржавые жигули и клоповник 10 м?

what is about possessions? rotten Zhiguli and a bug-ridden apartment of just 10 square metres?

…

Лентяй: Три магнитофона, три кинокамеры заграничных, три портсигара отечественных, куртка замшевая… Три. Куртки. ©

Three tape recorders, three imported movie cameras, three home-made cigarette cases, a suede jacket… Three jackets! ©

Forum topic: "Что должен мужчина иметь к 30 годам"

Date: 24 July 2017

The post with a winged phrase in Extract 7.6 above was provoked by *Алла 3001,* who criticised a forum member for trying to protect his possessions from his wife before and during his marriage. *Алла 3001* asked about the available possessions by using a car description *ржавые жигули* (rotten Zhiguli) and a description of an apartment such as *клоповник 10 м (a bug-ridden apartment of just 10 square metres).* This post was followed by a winged phrase by forum member *Лентяй: "Три магнитофона, три кинокамеры заграничных, три портсигара отечественных, куртка замшевая… Три. Куртки" ("Three tape recorders, three foreign movie cameras, three cigarette cases, suede jacket… Three. Jackets").*

It should be noted that in *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию"* the phrase appears in a different context. The dentist Shpak suffered a break-in to his apartment. He dramatised the situation by multiplying the amount of goods stolen during the break in by three. The situation was rather absurd, as he expressed his dissatisfaction to a militia's dog.

Another winged phrase "*Пить надо меньше!" ("You should drink less")* appeared on the *ЯПлакалъ* discussion forum during the discussion about how to fight sweatiness in the topic *"Как вы боретесь с потливостью".* It was the second comment following this topic's creation (Extract 7.7)*:*

Extract 7.7

Громыч: Дык... Пить меньше надо. Надо меньше пить © Ирония судьбы или с легким паром.

So… You should drink less. You should drink less © Irony of Fate, or Have a Good Sauna!

Forum topic: "Как вы боретесь с потливостью"
Date: 20 August 2017

In *"Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!"* the line was addressed on New Year's Eve to the drunken main character, Zhenia. Zhenia had earlier been mistakenly put on an aeroplane by his friends to travel from Moscow to Leningrad. He ended up in the wrong city yet in an apartment with the same address, without being able to remember how he got there. In this context, the verb *пить* in the phrase referred not to its most common meaning (*to drink),* but to the meaning *to consume alcoholic drinks*. In the forum, this phrase was used in a different context – as an advice to drink less liquids in order to sweat less. The comment was popular amongst other forum members, as it attracted 30 'likes'.

As can be seen in Extract 7.7, the forum members were directed by *Громыч* to *"Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!"* as a source for this winged phrase. While being a part of the film script, the phrase does not appear in Kozhevnikov's dictionary under the *"Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!"* film entry. However, the winged phrase *"Пить надо меньше!"* appears in an additional 27 distinct Soviet and Russian films in the abovementioned dictionary (Kozhevnikov 2001: 235-236).

7.5 Transformations of winged phrases from Soviet films used on the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum

As discussed in §2.2 of the literature review chapter, winged phrases differ from other set expressions as they have the ability to be transformed or modified. A total of 10 possible types of transformation of precedent texts were listed in §2.10. Four such types were observed amongst 5 transformed winged phrases used by the *ЯПлакалъ* forum members: *замещение (substitution), усечение (reduction), добавление компонента или расширение (addition), искажение грамматической формы компонентов (change of grammatical form of the components).* A total of 2 (18%) of winged phrases were transformed by various types of transformations (Table 7.3 below).

Table 7.3 Transformations of winged phrases used in the ЯПлакалъ forum posts

WINGED PHRASE	SUBSTITUTION	REDUCTION	ADDITION	CHANGE OF GRAMMATICAL FORM	KOZHEVNIKOV'S DICTIONARY
Нажито непосильным трудом.		x			*Это же всё же, всё же, что нажито непосильным трудом, всё погибло.*
А не будут брать – отключим газ.		x			*– Распространите среди жильцов нашего ЖЭКа. - А-а, е... – А если не будут брать, отключим газ.*
А в тюрьме сейчас ужин, макароны дают...			x		*А в тюрьме сейчас ужин. Макароны.*
Выстоял бы очередь на машину и квартиру потратил бы 10 000, костюм с отливом и в Ялту.		x	x	x	*Автомашину куплю с магнитофоном, пошью костюм с отливом, и – в Ялту.*
Наши граждане на такси в булочные не ездят.	x			x	*Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят.*

While table 7.3 above shows a number of transformation types of winged phrases on the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum, more than half of winged phrases from Soviet films that were used by the forum members (6 out of 11 [55%]), were not transformed: "*Какая*

отвратительная рожа!", "Жениться нужно на сироте!", "'Машина – на имя жены, дача – на моё имя. Ничего у тебя нет! Ты голодранец!", "Три магнитофона, три кинокамеры заграничных, три портсигара отечественных, куртка замшевая... три куртки", "Если сегодня ещё кто-нибудь умрёт или родится, я останусь без обеда" and *"Пить надо меньше!".*

7.6 Quotations not in Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary

A total of 11 winged phrases from Soviet films which appear in Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary were selected as a data set for this chapter. However, there were other quotations from a number of films used by the *ЯПлакалъ* forum members with reference to their sources which were not included into the dictionary.

As mentioned earlier in §7.4.1, the quotation "*Да рожи-то у нас у всех..."* from *"Джентльмены удачи"* was used in exchange for the lines from the original film dialogue in the forum's topic dedicated to the escaped prisoner.

A similar example appeared within the forum's topic "*Сделал велосипед сыну" (I made a bicycle for my son)*. A quotation from the children's film *"Приключения Электроника" (Electronic Adventures, Odessa Studio, 1979)* was employed with reference to the film-source (Extract 7.8):

Extract 7.8

DiCapprio: Супе-КРУТО! Руки у тя золото. Молоток!

Super cool! You have got gifted hands. The man!

…

DGb: Руки Золотые, а как сказали в фильме "Приключения Электроника" "Не руки золотые, а контакты Платиновые" © Аплодирую стоя!!! ВЕЩЬ!!

Gifted hands, but as was said in the film Adventures of Electronics 'My hands are not gold, but platinum pins' © I rise in applause!!! GREAT!!

Forum topic: "Сделал велосипед сыну"

Date: 19 July 2017

The remaining two quotations from the *ЯПлакалъ* forum communication which did not appear in Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary were sourced from two of El′dar Riazanov's films: "*Я не могу покупать по рыночным ценам. Я, в отличие от вас, товарищ Аникеева, в правлении не состою, мне в лапу не суют" ("Гараж" / The Garage, Mosfilm, 1979)* and *"В магазине тебя оскорбляют, придёшь на рынок – там то же самое!" ("Вокзал для двоих" / Station for Two, Mosfilm, 1982).*

7.7 Chapter summary

This chapter reported on data collected from posts on the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum from 18th July to 21st August 2017. A total of 11 winged phrases from Soviet films were identified. The findings address the first and the second research questions outlined in the literature review chapter, such as in which contexts and how winged phrases from Soviet films are used in contemporary Russian. The key findings in this chapter were related to the sources of winged phrases within Soviet film, Soviet film directors, contexts of winged phrases usage and transformations of such phrases.

While data collected from the *ЯПлакалъ* online forum indicates that winged phrases from Soviet films were not used frequently by forum members in their communication (less than 1 winged phrase *per* 1,000 posts), where they did appear, they were mostly deployed in similar situations to the original films (82%). All winged phrases which appeared in the forum's communication were sourced from dialogue originally attributable to Soviet films. The films in question were directed by Leonid Gaidai (36%), El′dar Riazanov (36%) and Aleksandr Seryi (27%). All winged phrases employed in forum communication were from films made in the 1960s and 1970s. Almost half (46%) of winged phrases used by forum members were transformed phrases. The *ЯПлакалъ* forum's data suggests that Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary does not represent a comprehensive picture of all winged phrases from Soviet films used in contemporary spoken Russian.

The next chapter presents data on newspaper headings with a view towards adding data from written Russian in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under examination.

Chapter 8: Newspaper headings: overview of results

8.1 Introduction

Winged phrases used as or embedded into newspaper headings are included in this study in order to investigate how winged phrases from Soviet films are being used in contemporary written Russian (Research question 2). To date, a substantial amount of research in the field has focused on spoken Russian. As outlined in §2.3.1, only Kozhevnikov's (2001) study included data from newspapers and magazines. More recently, research conducted by Krupenko (2011) introduced headings from internet publications. Current scholarship dedicated to the use of winged phrases from Soviet films in print media is primarily part of wider research into the area of Russian winged phrases (Diadechko 2008; Shulezhkova 2003, 2011).

The data collected for this chapter is intended to address an existing gap in this field and relates to two research questions outlined in the literature review chapter: in what contexts and how are winged phrases from Soviet films being used in contemporary Russian.

The headings of three newspapers, *"Комсомольская правда – Москва" (Komsomolskaya Pravda – Moskva / Komsomol's Truth – Moscow), "Известия" (Izvestiya / News)* and *"Литературная газета"* (*Literaturnaya gazeta* / *Literary Gazette*) were analysed for the period from 1st January 2017 until 1st July 2018. This chapter presents the key findings obtained from 151 headings, which is the total amount of headings in which winged phrases were found. Of these, 96 winged phrases from 51 different Soviet films were identified. Five major findings emerged from this analysis:

1) The majority (51%) of headings included winged phrases which were a part of a film's dialogue;

2) Almost half (49%) of the headings included winged phrases from Soviet films directed by Leonid Gaidai (34%), El′dar Riazanov (9%) and Vladimir Men′shov (6%);

3) Half of the headings included winged phrases from Soviet films made in the 1970s, with 1973 being the peak year (11% of headings);

4) The overwhelming majority (91%) of headings used transformed winged phrases from Soviet films; two new types of transformations were introduced for this particular research;

5) Some of the transformed winged phrases (8%) were classified as intersituative, being interconnected with Russian history and culture.

The findings, with details and explanations, are outlined in this chapter.

The chapter starts with an overview of the main sources of winged phrases from Soviet films used in newspaper headings. The chapter is followed by the frequency of appearance of these winged phrases. The most prevalent directors of the films quoted and the periods in Soviet cinema which provided the most winged phrases in the newspaper headings are also identified. An analysis of the transformations of winged phrases is then presented. The chapter ends with a summary of the results.

8.2 Main sources of winged phrases

The data included 151 headings with 96 winged phrases, some of which appeared in newspaper headings more than once (see Table 8.2 in §8.3 below). A total of 863 newspapers were included into this study with 45 headings *per* issue on average (see §3.8.2). Therefore, there was an average of less than one heading with winged phrases from Soviet films *per* newspaper issue.

As shown in Table 8.1 below, in the majority of all headings displaying winged phrases just over half employed dialogue from Soviet films (77 headings out of 151 [51%]). The remaining headings identified included winged phrases which were either a Soviet film title (40 headings out of 151 [26%]) or a name or a line from a song used in a Soviet film (34 headings out of 151 [23%]).

Table 8.1 Three main sources of winged phrases from Soviet films used in newspaper headings

WINGED PHRASE SOURCE	NUMBER (%) OF WINGED PHRASES (151 IN TOTAL)
Dialogue from Soviet film	77 (51%)
Soviet film title	40 (26%)
Title or a line from a song from Soviet films	34 (23%)

The overwhelming majority of headings (137 out of 151 [91%]) included transformed winged phrases from all three abovementioned sources, namely dialogue, titles and songs: *"Ты сюда не ходи – стена башка попадёт"("You don't go this way – wall will fall on your head")* – film dialogue, *"Морковь и голуби" ("Carrot and pigeons")* – film title, *"Есть только Крым между прошлым и будущим" ("There is only Crimea between the past and the future")* – line from a song. A more detailed description of such transformations is outlined in sections §8.6 – §8.12 of this chapter.

The sources of winged phrases not transformed in the remaining 9% of headings (14 headings out of 151) were mainly film dialogue (13 headings out of 14 [93%]). There was one film title that was used as a pure winged phrase in the newspaper heading.

8.3 Frequency of winged phrase appearance

Based on the calculation outlined in §3.8.2 of the methodology and research design chapter, the average number of headings in each surveyed issue of *"Комсомольская правда – Москва", "Известия"* and *"Литературная газета"* was 45. Between newspapers, variation in frequency of appearance was noticeable: some newspaper issues (for example, *"Комсомольская правда – Москва"* 65-ч (26842-ч) of 21 June 2018) included several headings with winged phrases, as follows: *"Первым делом чемпионы, ну а девушки – потом" ("First of all, first of all are champions. And the girls?.. The girls come second"), "Банкноты во сне и наяву" ("Bank notes in dreams and in reality"), "Не думай о минутах*

свысока" ("Do not think about the minutes from above") and *"Томский волк тебе товарищ" ("Your companion is Tomsk wolf").*

As mentioned above in §8.2, there were 151 headings collected with 96 winged phrases from Soviet films. Some of the winged phrases appeared repeatedly in newspaper headings between 2 and 8 times (32 out of 96 [33%]). However, the majority of winged phrases found (64 out of 96 [67%]) were used as a headline or a part of a headline just once.

All winged phrases used at least twice in the surveyed newspaper headings are listed in Table 8.2 below. As previously mentioned, a majority of headings included transformed winged phrases. Table 8.2, which presents the frequency of winged phrases, lists each winged phrase in its pure form prior to transformation.

Table 8.2 Winged phrases used in newspaper headings at least twice

WINGED PHRASE	SOURCE	NUMBER (%) OF WINGED PHRASES (151 IN TOTAL)
Танцуют все!	*Иван Васильевич меняет профессию*	8 (5%)
Первым делом, первым делом самолёты. Ну, а девушки?.. А девушки потом.	*Небесный тихоход*	8 (5%)
Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят.	*Бриллиантовая рука*	5 (3%)
Птичку жалко!..	*Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика*	4 (3%)
How could the poor guy sit down? An iron monument like that!	*Джентльмены удачи*	4 (3%)
Есть только миг между прошлым и будущим, именно он называется жизнь.	*Земля Санникова*	4 (3%)
В бой идут одни старики.	*В бой идут одни старики*	3 (2%)
Москва слезам не верит.	*Москва слезам не верит*	3 (2%)
Место встречи изменить нельзя.	*Место встречи изменить нельзя*	3 (2%)

Если друг оказался вдруг и не друг, и не враг, а так…	*Вертикаль*	3 (2%)
Штирлиц! А вас я попрошу остаться.	*Семнадцать мгновений весны*	3 (2%)
Всё, всё, что нажил непосильным трудом, всё же погибло!	*Иван Васильевич меняет профессию*	2 (1%)
Тьфу на вас!	*Иван Васильевич меняет профессию*	2 (1%)
Икра чёрная, икра красная, икра заморская, баклажанная	*Иван Васильевич меняет профессию*	2 (1%)
И тебя вылечат, и тебя тоже вылечат... и меня вылечат.	*Иван Васильевич меняет профессию*	2 (1%)
В сорок лет жизнь только начинается, это уж я теперь точно знаю.	*Москва слезам не верит*	2 (1%)
Георгий Иванович, он же Гога, он же Гоша, он же Юрий, он же Гора, он же Жора здесь проживает?	*Москва слезам не верит*	2 (1%)
Ой, тёпленькая пошла!	*Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!*	2 (1%)
Я спросил у ясеня, где моя любимая?..	*Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!*	2 (1%)
Это студентка, комсомолка, спортсменка, наконец, она просто красавица.	*Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика*	2 (1%)
Налетай, торопись, покупай живопись!	*Операция "Ы" и другие приключения Шурика*	2 (1%)
Гюльчатай! Открой личико, а.	*Белое солнце пустыни*	2 (1%)
Добро пожаловать, или Посторонним вход воспрещён.	*Добро пожаловать, или Посторонним вход воспрещён*	2 (1%)
О бедном гусаре замолвите слово.	*О бедном гусаре замолвите слово*	2 (1%)
Полёты во сне и наяву.	*Полёты во сне и наяву*	2 (1%)
Тот самый Мюнхгаузен.	*Тот самый Мюнхгаузен*	2 (1%)
Здравствуйте, я ваша тётя!	*Здравствуйте, я ваша тётя!*	2 (1%)
А я иду, шагаю по Москве, но я пройти ещё смогу солёный Тихий океан, и тундру, и тайгу…	*Я шагаю по Москве*	2 (1%)
Взмывая выше ели, не ведая преград, крылатые качели летят, летят, летят...	*Приключения Электроника*	2 (1%)

8.4 Directors of the most quoted films

As indicated earlier, almost half (74 of 151 [49%]) of newspaper headings included winged phrases which were supplied by the films of just three directors. As illustrated in Table 8.3 below, of these directors, Leonid Gaidai's works are the most well-represented in headings, supplying winged phrases in 51 newspaper headings (34%), as also noted. Gaidai is followed by El′dar Riazanov with 14 headings (9%) and Vladimir Men′shov with 9 headings (6%).

Table 8.3 Number of headings containing winged phrases

NUMBER (%) OF WINGED PHRASES (151 IN TOTAL)	DIRECTOR
51 (34%)	Leonid Gaidai
14 (9%)	El′dar Riazanov
9 (6%)	Vladimir Men′shov
8 (5%)	Semion Timoshenko
7 (5%)	Stanislav Govorukhin
7 (5%)	Aleksandr Seryi
5 (3%)	Georgii Daneliia
5 (3%)	Tatiana Lioznova
4 (3%)	Al′bert Mkrtchian
4 (3%)	Vladimir Motyl′

The other directors whose films were quoted in the newspaper headings were Semion Timoshenko (8 headings out of 151 [5%]), Stanislav Govorukhin (7 [5%]), Aleksandr Seryi (7 [5%]), Georgii Daneliia (5 [3%]), Tatiana Lioznova (5 [3%]), Al′bert Mkrtchian (4 [3%]) and Vladimir Motyl′ (4 [3%]).

8.5 Winged phrases in newspaper headings across periods in Soviet cinema

The winged phrases in newspaper headings were also analysed according to the time of a film's creation. Periods of Soviet cinema were grouped under five categories, such as: 1) Soviet films made between 1917 and 1929; 2) the 1930-1950s; 3) the 1960s; 4) the 1970s and 5) the 1980s-1991. Thereafter, popular winged phrases which appeared in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s through to 1991 were analysed separately and the peak year within the most-quoted period was highlighted.

As shown in Figure 8.1 below, Soviet films made in the 1970s were found to be the richest source of winged phrases which were either used as or embedded into newspaper headings (76 headings out of 151 [50%]). The second most popular decade was the 1960s (48 headings out of 151 [32%]). Films made in the 1930-1950s and in the 1980s proved least popular for quotation, with 17 (11%) and 10 (7%) of headings respectively using winged phrases from films made during these respective eras. No winged phrases from films made before 1930 were used in headings.

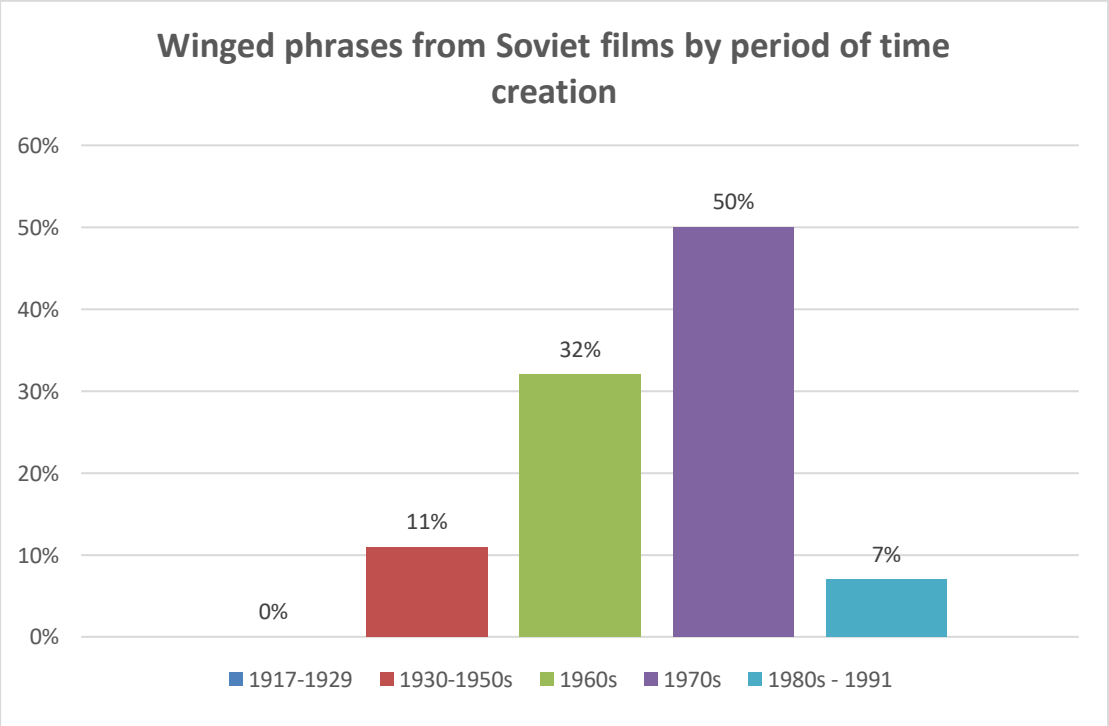

Figure 8.1 Winged phrases from Soviet films by period of film creation

As illustrated in Figure 8.2 below, the peak year of the 1970s for Soviet films as a source of winged phrases in the surveyed newspaper headings was 1973. Winged phrases from four films, such as *"В бой идут одни старики" (Only Old Men Are Going to Battle), "Иван Васильевич меняет профессию" (Ivan Vasilievich Changes Profession), "Невероятные приключения итальянцев в России" (Unbelievable Adventures of Italians in Russia), "Семнадцать мгновений весны" (Seventeen Moments of Spring, Gorky Studio for GTR)* were used in 28 out of 151 newspaper headings (19%).

Figure 8.2 1970s winged phrases in newspaper headings by year

Figure 8.2 above also shows that 1979 marks the second richest source of winged phrases in the 1970s: 16 newspaper headings out of 151 (11%). There were 6 films from which winged phrases were used in newspaper headings: *"Место встречи изменить нельзя" (The Meeting Place Must Not Be Changed) , "Москва слезам не верит" (Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears), "Осенний марафон" (Autumn Marathon), "Пираты XX века" (Pirates of the Twentieth Century), "Приключения Электроника" (Adventures of Electronics), "Тот самый Мюнхгаузен" (The Very Same Munchhausen* or *That Munchhausen).*

8.6 An overview of winged phrase transformations

As previously mentioned, winged phrases are characterised by the possibility of their transformation (see §2.2). As discussed in §2.9, there is a tendency in substitution or replacement of components in precedent texts used as newspaper headlines (Galieva & Zinnatova 2011: 239). In addition to substitution, nine other main types of precedent text transformations were identified in §2.10 of the literature review chapter: *усечение (reduction), добавление компонента или расширение (addition), контаминация (blend), перемещение (hyperthesis), изменение интонационной оформленности (change of intonational contour), реминисцентная трансформация (reminiscential transformation), искажение грамматической формы компонентов (change of grammatical form of the components), заменение ожидаемой концовки другими словами (replacement of the expected ending by other words), каламбур (wordplay)*.

As already mentioned earlier in this chapter (see §8.2), the majority of headings (137 out of 151 [91%]) included transformed winged phrases. There were 96 winged phrases used in the abovementioned 151 headings with some of the phrases appearing more than once. A total of 86 winged phrases out of 96 (90%) had been transformed by various types of transformations. A few winged phrases (4 out of 96 [4%]) were used as both pure and transformed phrases (Table 8.4):

Table 8.4 Winged phrases used in newspaper heading as both pure and transformed phrases

WINGED PHRASE	APPEARANCES IN NEWSPAPER HEADINGS (151 IN TOTAL)	PURE PHRASES	TRANSFORMATIONS
Танцуют все!	8	4	4
Птичку жалко!..	4	2	2
Всё, всё, что нажил непосильным трудом, всё же погибло!	2	1	1
Ой, тёпленькая пошла!	2	1	1

A small number of winged phrases (6 out of 96 [6%]) appearing in newspaper headings were pure phrases: *"Идите вы в... бухгалтерию!" ("Go to your accounting department"), "В общем, все умерли" ("In short, everyone died"), "Тьфу на вас ещё раз!" ("Darn you one more time"), "Людк, а Людк! Глянь, чё делается…" ("Liudka, Liudka! Get a load of this!"), "Сто грамм – не стоп-кран, дёрнешь – не остановишься!" ("A shot of vodka isn't a stop handle: once you take it, you never stop"), "По семейным обстоятельствам" ("For Domestic Reasons").*

Some winged phrases identified in newspaper headings were transformed up to 8 times, such as a line from a song that was used in *"Небесный тихоход"(Heavenly Slug, Lenfilm, 1945): "Первым делом, первым делом самолёты. Ну, а девушки?.. А девушки потом" ("First of all, first of all are planes. And the girls?.. The girls come second")*. As shown in Table 8.5 below, the majority of the transformations appeared in *"Комсомольская правда – Москва".*

Table 8.5 Transformations of the winged phrase "Первым делом, первым делом самолёты. Ну, а девушки?.. А девушки потом" in newspaper headings

TRANSFORMATION	NEWSPAPER	ISSUE
Первым делом – самолёты! А бояться будем, девушки, потом.	Комсомольская правда - Москва	124п-2017 30/10/17
Первым делом чемпионы, ну а девушки – потом.	Комсомольская правда - Москва	65ч-2018 21/06/18
Первым делом – пассажиры, ну а денежки за топливо потом…	Комсомольская правда - Москва	124п-2017 30/10/17
Первым делом образование, политика потом.	Комсомольская правда - Москва	68ч-2017 22/06/17
Первым делом, первым делом самокаты!	Комсомольская правда - Москва	35с-2017 01/04/17
Первым делом – самолёты.	Литературная газета	3-4 (6628)-2018 24-30 /01/18
Первым делом – аэропорты.	Комсомольская правда - Москва	70с-2017 24/06/17
Первым делом – ледоколы.	Комсомольская правда - Москва	44с-2017 22/04/17

The length of a winged phrase did not affect its ability to be transformed. Thus, short winged phrases with only 2 components, such as the examples mentioned above – *"Танцуют все!" ("Everybody dance!")* and *"Птичку жалко" ("I'm sorry for the bird")* – were also transformed. In contrast, a much longer winged phrase *"Сто грамм – не стоп-кран, дёрнешь – не остановишься!"* was used in its entirety as the heading, without any modifications.

The transformed winged phrases found in headlines gave rise to a whole range of new meanings. In addition to winged phrases that were used in different contexts compared to the original winged phrase (*"В булочную – на такси" / "To the baker's in a taxi", "За державу теперь не обидно" / "It is what is done to the Great State that doesn't insult me any longer"*), the headings which included transformed winged phrases from popular Soviet comedies displayed a rather satirical tone (*"Кто возьмёт гектаров пачку, получит и кредит в придачу" / "If you buy a bundle of hectares, as a bonus you can win a loan", "Госэкзамен, открой личико!" / "State exam, show your face!", "Всё, что нажил Захарченко непосильным трудом, – государству!" / "Everything that Zakharchenko have got by working tirelessly is gone to the State!").* The comical effect was increased by word play (*"Я другого города не знаю, где так вольно дышит аллергик" / "I don't know of any other city where a person with an allergy breathes so freely", "И медицину тоже вылечат" / "And healthcare will be cured too").*

Transformed winged phrases were also observed in newspaper headings aimed at attracting attention to global politics (*"Операция Ын" / "Operation Un", "Налетай, не скупись, покупай Трампа живопись!" / "Hurry! Be smart! Buy Trump's fine art!", "Добро пожаловать, или Русским вход запрещён" / "Welcome or No Trespassing for Russians").*

The types of transformations discussed in §2.10 of the literature review chapter were applied when coding the newspaper headings data (see §3.9.3 & Appendix 18). There were examples of winged phrase transformations by two, three or four methods simultaneously.

Table 8.6 below presents the four main transformation types identified: substitution, reduction, addition and change of grammatical form of the components. The reason for highlighting four types is that at least one of them was observed to be present as a pure type or a part of a more complex type in all of the headings analysed containing transformed winged phrases.

Table 8.6 Examples of main types of transformations of winged phrases used in newspaper headings

TRANSFORMATION TYPE	TRANSFORMED WINGED PHRASE	KOZHEVNIKOV'S DICTIONARY	FILM-SOURSE
Substitution	*Королевство поздемных зеркал.*	*Королевство кривых зеркал.*	*Королевство кривых зеркал*
Reduction	*Учись, студент!*	*Кто не работает, тот ест. Учись, студент!*	*Операция "Ы" и другие приключения Шурика*
Addition	*Бриллиантовая рука закона.*	*Бриллиантовая рука.*	*Бриллиантовая рука*
Change of grammatical form of the components	*Птичек жалко.*	*Птичку жалко!..*	*Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика*

In addition to the main types outlined in Table 8.6 above, other transformation types discussed in §2.10 were also noted, such as hyperthesis and change of intonational contour. Neither was a pure type, but part of more complex transformation type. Examples of complex transformations are presented in Table 8.7 below. A further breakdown of all transformation types is outlined in the following sections of this chapter.

Table 8.7 Examples of complex transformations of winged phrases used in newspaper headings

WINGED PHRASE	SUBSTITUTION	REDUCTION	ADDITION	HYPERTHESIS	CHANGE OF INTONATIONAL CONTOUR	CHANGE OF GRAMMATICAL FORM
Студентка, спортсменка, красавица и просто сутенёрша.	x	x				
Всё, что нажил Захарченко непосильным трудом, – государству!	x		x			
Ольга Голодец: сдвиньте парты, сдвиньте в круг.	x	x	x			
Кто заказывал лабутены на "Дубровке"?	x					x
Упала, потеряла сознание, очнулась – 690 тысяч рублей.	x	x				x
Тут Бах нечаянно нагрянул…	x	x	x			x
И не друг, и не враг. А как?	x	x			x	
Пить будем сильно, но аккуратно!	x			x		
Она виновата. Но она не виновата…		x				x
Садитесь ржать, пожалуйста!		x		x		
Добро пожаловать или вход воспрещён?		x			x	
Вагончик тронулся?		x			x	x
Одинокие женщины не желают познакомиться.			x			x

8.7 Substitution

Substitution, or the method of replacement of components within winged phrases, was dominant in the surveyed newspaper headings: 52 of 137 headings with transformed winged phrases (38%) used a winged phrase in its entirety with one or two of its components being replaced. An additional 47 headings (34%) included winged phrases transformed by two or more types of transformations simultaneously, with one of the types being a substitution.

8.7.1 Pure substitution

There were three structural models of pure substitution noted: 1) substitution of a morpheme within one word; 2) substitution of one or more words within a winged phrase; 3) substitution of a phrase within a winged phrase. The majority of headings employing winged phrases transformed by pure substitution: 49 of 52 (94%) had one or more words within a winged phrase replaced. There were only occasional examples (2) noted of substitution of a morpheme within one word or a phrase within a winged phrase. Table 8.8 below provides examples of the structural models of pure substitution.

Table 8.8 Examples of the structural models of pure substitution of winged phrases used in newspaper headings

SUBSTITUTION TYPE	TRANSFORMED WINGED PHRASE	KOZHEVNIKOV'S DICTIONARY
Substitution of a part of a word within one word	*Печки-лампочки.*	*Печки-лавочки.*
Substitution of one or more words within a winged phrase	*Остров везения.*	*Остров невезения.*
Substitution of a phrase within a winged phrase	*Я спросил у ясеня: как живётся в городе.*	*Я спросил у ясеня, где моя любимая?..*

8.7.2 Variations in substitution

When one or more words within a winged phrase were replaced, substitution by either a word with a different meaning, by an antonym or by a synonym was identifiable. Substitution by a word with a different meaning was most common in newspaper headings. Substitution of proper nouns and substitution of a common name or a verb by a proper noun was also noted. Table 8.9 below provides examples of all types of substitution.

Table 8.9 Examples of substitution types of winged phrases used in newspaper headings

SUBSTITUTION TYPE	TRANSFORMED WINGED PHRASE	KOZHEVNIKOV'S DICTIONARY
Substitution by a word with a different meaning	*Восток – дело долгое.*	*Восток – дело тонкое.*
	Налетай – не скупись, покупай живопись.	*Налетай, торопись, покупай живопись!*
	Тебя посодют – а ты не балуй.	*Тебя посодют, а ты не воруй.*
	Кто возьмёт гектаров пачку, получит и кредит в придачу.	*Кто возьмёт билетов пачку, тот получит... – Водокачку*
	Иван Васильевич меняет прописку.	*Иван Васильевич меняет профессию*
	Невероятные приключения секс-беженцев в России.	*Невероятные приключения итальянцев в России.*
	Мажоры XXI века.	*Пираты XX века.*
	Банкноты во сне и наяву.	*Полёты во сне и наяву.*
	Думайте сами, решайте сами – следить или не следить?	*Думайте сами, решайте сами, иметь или не иметь.*
	Нам песня строить и выбирать помогает.	*Нам песня жить и любить помогает…*
Substitution by an antonym	*Недостаточно одной таблетки.*	*Достаточно одной таблетки*
	Весенний марафон.	*Осенний марафон.*
	Развода не будет!	*Свадьбы... Не будет!*
	Место встречи изменить ... можно.	*Место встречи изменить нельзя.*
Substitution by a synonym	*В бой идут одни пенсионеры.*	*В бой идут одни старики.*
	Будьте как дома, но не забывайте, что в гостях!	*Чувствуйте себя, как дома! – Да не забывайте, что в гостях!*
Substitution of proper nouns	*Зачем Григорий сбрил усы?*	*Почему Володька сбрил усы.*
	Бабченко умер. А потом он не умер.	*Бубликов умер, а потом он не умер.*
	А вас, Набиуллина, я попрошу остаться!	*Штирлиц! А вас я попрошу остаться.*
	Они сражались за Одина.	*Они сражались за Родину.*
Substitution of a common name/verb by a proper noun	*Чайковский во сне и наяву.*	*Полёты во сне и наяву.*
	Москва ЕГЭ не верит.	*Москва слезам не верит.*
	Я Шаганов по Москве.	*Я шагаю по Москве.*

8.7.3 Substitution as one of transformation types within one phrase

As noted earlier (see §8.7), 34% of headings with transformed winged phrases included phrases that were transformed by two or more types of transformations simultaneously with one of the types being a substitution. Table 8.10 below illustrates examples of such transformations.

Table 8.10 Examples of two or more types of transformations applied to winged phrases used in newspaper headings with one of the types being substitution

SUBSTITUTION TYPE	TRANSFORMED WINGED PHRASE	KOZHEVNIKOV'S DICTIONARY
Substitution and reduction	*Студентка, спортсменка, красавица и просто сутенёрша.*	*Студентка, комсомолка, спортсменка, наконец, она просто красавица.*
Substitution and addition	*Налетай, не скупись, покупай Трампа живопись!*	*Налетай, торопись, покупай живопись!*
Substitution, reduction and addition	*Ольга Голодец: сдвиньте парты, сдвиньте в круг.*	*Встаньте, дети, встаньте в круг, встаньте в круг, встаньте в круг.*
Substitution and change of grammatical form	*Кто заказывал лабутены на "Дубровке"?*	*Кто заказывал такси на Дубровку?*
Substitution, reduction and change of grammatical form	*Упала, потеряла сознание, очнулась – 690 тысяч рублей.*	*Поскользнулся, упал,закрытый перелом, потерял сознание, очнулся – гипс.*
Substitution, reduction, addition and change of grammatical form	*Тут Бах нечаянно нагрянул…*	*Любовь нечаянно нагрянет, когда её совсем не ждёшь…*
Substitution, reduction and change of intonational contour	*И не друг, и не враг. А как?*	*Если друг оказался вдруг и не друг, и не враг, а так…*
Substitution and hyperthesis	*Пить будем сильно, но аккуратно!*	*Буду бить аккуратно, но сильно.*

The transformed winged phrases in Table 8.10 above included proper nouns, such as *Ольга Голодец*, *Бах*, *"Дубровка"*. The heading *"Налетай, не скупись, покупай Трампа живопись!"* included the name of the current American President Donald Trump.

8.7.4 Transformations by simple, stable substitution form

A number of winged phrases from popular Soviet films formed the basis for a range of transformations in newspaper headings, according to one pattern. For example, the winged phrase *"Гюльчатай! Открой личико" ("Giul'chatai! Show your face")* was transformed twice by the substitution of its first word *Гюльчатай (Giul'chatai)* by singular nouns in the nominative case, such as *Шахерезада, госэкзамен* (*Shahrazad, state examination).* Table 8.11 below shows other examples of such patterns, where substitution of a noun or a verb has occurred:

Table 8.11 Examples of substitution by one pattern of winged phrases used in newspaper headings

SUBSTITUTION TYPE	ADDITIONAL TYPE OF TRANSFORMATION	KOZHEVNIKOV'S DICTIONARY	WORD REPLACED	REPLACED BY	NUMBER OF TRANSFORMATIONS
Substitution of a noun	None	*В бой идут одни старики.*	старики	*пенсионеры, парикмахерши*	2
	None	*Тот самый Мюнхгаузен.*	Мюнхгаузен	*Красновский, Богданов*	2
	None	*Здравствуйте, я ваша тётя!*	ваша тётя	*ваша тёща, ваш Калягин*	2
	None	*О бедном гусаре замолвите слово.*	гусаре	*"Гомере", Кирилле*	2
	Reduction of the second part of winged phrase	*Есть только миг между прошлым и будущим, именно он называется жизнь.*	миг	*"Мост", Крым , МИД, танк*	4
Substitution of a verb	None	*Кто ж его посадит?!.. Он же памятник!*	посадит	*починит, снесёт*	4
	None	*Танцуют все!*	Танцуют	*читают, блефуют, паркуются*	3

As can be seen from Table 8.11 above, the winged phrase *"Кто ж его посадит?!.. Он же памятник!" ("How could the poor guy sit down? An iron monument like that!")* as a part of a newspaper heading was transformed four times. Two of the transformations were according

to the model outlined in the table, and the other two transformations were also achieved by substitution, but differently to the model: *"Как же его не любить, он же памятник!"*, *"Кто ж Сердюкова остановит? Он же на КамАЗе!"*. This example illustrates that frequently used winged phrases used as or embedded within newspaper headings can undergo a variety of transformations.

8.8 Reduction

Reduction was observed to be a less popular type of transformation than substitution in the newspaper headings studied. Only 8 out of 137 headings with transformed winged phrases (6%) were transformed by pure reduction. Reduction as one of the transformation types was noted in 29 out of 137 headings with transformed winged phrases (21%). Thus, a total of 27% of headings with transformed winged phrases included winged phrases which had been shortened, but remained recognisable and attributable to Soviet films.

8.8.1 Variations in reduction

Amongst the observed winged phrases used in newspaper headings which had been transformed purely by reduction, from 1 to 14 words of a winged phrase were not present (Table 8.12 below).

Table 8.12 Examples of the structural models of pure reduction of winged phrases used in newspaper headings

TRANSFORMED WINGED PHRASE	KOZHEVNIKOV'S DICTIONARY	NUMBER OF WORDS NOT PRESENT
Крылышками бяк-бяк-бяк.	*Бабочка крылышками бяк-бяк-бяк, а за ней воробушек прыг-прыг-прыг, он её голубушку шмяк-шмяк-шмяк, ам-ням-ням да и шмыг-шмыг-шмыг!*	14
Профессор – лопух.	*Профессор, конечно, лопух, но аппаратура при нём, при нём. Как слышно?*	9

Первым делом – самолёты.	*Первым делом, первым делом самолёты. Ну, а девушки?.. А девушки потом.*	8
И тебя вылечат!	*И тебя вылечат, и тебя тоже вылечат... и меня вылечат.*	7
Торопиться не надо.	*Э-э, нет, торопиться не надо, торопиться не надо.*	5
В булочную – на такси.	*Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят.*	4
В бой идут старики.	*В бой идут одни старики.*	1

Similarly to the winged phrase *"Кто ж его посадит?!.. Он же памятник!"* mentioned in §8.7.4, some of the winged phrases listed in the above table were transformed a number of times by different types of transformations: *"Первым делом, первым делом самолёты. Ну, а девушки?.. А девушки потом"* (see Table 8.5 in §8.6), *" Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят", "И тебя вылечат, и тебя тоже вылечат... и меня вылечат"* and *"В бой идут одни старики"*. The last winged phrase was transformed twice by substitution (see Table 8.10) and once by reduction (see Table 8.11 above).

Concerning the semantics of transformed winged phrases listed in Table 8.11, having fewer components did not affect the original meaning for most of them. Only transformed winged phrases *"Профессор – лопух"* and *"В булочную – на такси"* presented different connotations to the original phrases in Gaidai's comedies *"Операция "Ы" и другие приключения Шурика" (Operation "Y" and Shurik's Other Adventures)* and *"Бриллиантовая рука" (The Diamond Arm).*

8.8.2 Reduction as one of the transformation types within a phrase

A total of 29 out of 137 headings with transformed winged phrases (21%) included winged phrases which were transformed by two or more distinct types of transformations simultaneously, with one displaying reduction. Table 8.13 below illustrates examples of such complex transformations.

Table 8.13 Examples of complex types of transformations applied to winged phrases in newspaper headings which include reduction

TRANSFORMATION TYPE	TRANSFORMED WINGED PHRASE	KOZHEVNIKOV'S DICTIONARY
Reduction and addition	*За державу теперь не обидно.*	*Я мзду не беру. Мне за державу обидно!*
Reduction and change of grammatical form of the components	*Она виновата. Но она не виновата…*	*Он, конечно, виноват, но он... не виноват. Пожалейте его, товарищи судьи.*
Reduction and hyperthesis	*Садитесь ржать, пожалуйста!*	*Кушать подано, садитесь жрать, пожалуйста!*
Reduction and change of intonational contour	*Добро пожаловать или вход воспрещён?*	*Добро пожаловать, или Посторонним вход воспрещён.*
Reduction, change of grammatical form of the components and change of intonational contour	*Вагончик тронулся?*	*Вагончик тронется, перрон останется.*

The data in the table above includes a number of examples of addition, hyperthesis and change of intonation contour combined with reduction. While examples with substitution are not included here – they were outlined earlier in Table 8.10 – it is evident that reduction combined with other types of transformations can result in a change to a phrase's connotation. Thus, the heading *"За державу теперь не обидно"*, which is a transformed line from *"Белое солнце пустыни",* obtained a different meaning to the original winged phrase. The winged phrase *"Садитесь ржать, пожалуйста!"* from *"Джентльмены удачи"* in addition to reduction was transformed by hyperthesis, but not of the whole lexical item, only a part. As a result, the vernacular verb *"жрать" ("eat hungrily")* (Ozhegov 2012: 169) was replaced by another vernacular verb *"ржать" ("to laugh too loud")* (Ozhegov 2012: 548). In this way, as a result of transformation, the winged phrases *"Добро пожаловать, или Посторонним вход воспрещён" (Welcome or No Trespassing, Mosfilm, 1964), "Вагончик тронется, перрон останется" ("The carriage sets off, and the platform stays behind")* changed from statements to questions: *"Добро пожаловать или вход воспрещён?", "Вагончик тронулся?".*

8.9 Addition

Addition as a pure transformation type was noted in 7 headings which included transformed winged phrases (7 of 137 [5%]). Another 20 headings with transformed winged phrases (20 out of 137 [15%]) had winged phrases simultaneously transformed by two or more types of transformations with one of them being addition. Addition was also combined with change of grammatical form of the components, as illustrated in Table 8.14.

Table 8.14 Examples of addition of winged phrases used in newspaper headings

TRANSFORMATION TYPE	TRANSFORMED WINGED PHRASE	KOZHEVNIKOV'S DICTIONARY
Addition	*Тёпленькая не пошла.*	*Ой, тёпленькая пошла!*
	Главное – чтобы на "Викинге" костюмчик сидел.	*Главное – чтобы костюмчик сидел!*
	Место встречи в метро изменить нельзя.	*Место встречи изменить нельзя.*
Addition and change of grammatical form of the components	*Одинокие женщины не желают познакомиться.*	*Одинокая женщина желает познакомиться.*
	Леди и джентльмены у дачи.	*Джентльмены удачи.*

Examples of pure addition in Table 8.14 above illustrate the importance of the added component within the transformed phrase. Thus, the transformed film title *"Место встречи в метро изменить нельзя"* stresses the importance of the Metro as a meeting point. The transformed film line *"Главное – чтобы на "Викинге" костюмчик сидел"* directs the reader to the topic of costumes for the recent film *"Викинг" (Viking, Dago Productions, 2016).*

With the addition of the negative particle *не* the winged phrase obtains a different meaning to the original phrase: *"Тёпленькая не пошла"*, *"Одинокие женщины не желают познакомиться"*. The winged phrase *"Леди и джентльмены у дачи"* has a different meaning as a result of transformation by two types – the addition and change of grammatical form of the components.

8.10 Change of grammatical form of the components

Although change of grammatical form of the components as a transformation type was apparent in a small number of headings (7 out of 137 transformed headings [5%]), it was not previously noted in Chapters 4 – 7. As can be seen in Table 8.15 below, it is mainly the noun as a component of a winged phrase which changes its grammatical form. A change of grammatical form was also noted for one adjective and one verb.

Table 8.15 Examples of change of grammatical form of the words in winged phrases used in newspaper headings

TRANSFORMED WINGED PHRASE	KOZHEVNIKOV'S DICTIONARY
Штирлица попросили остаться.	*Штирлиц! А вас я попрошу остаться.*
Королева-бензоколонка.	*Королева бензоколонки.*
Баллада о солдатах.	*Баллада о солдате.*
Москва в слезах не верит.	*Москва слезам не верит.*
Полосатых – в рейс.	*Полосатый рейс.*

8.11 Other types of transformations

There were some transformed winged phrases used in newspaper headings which were difficult to classify even by two or more existing transformation types. Thus, the heading *"Сосны пермские, лапник тамбовский, ели заморские нормандские"* does not include any of the lexical components of the winged phrase *"Икра чёрная, икра красная, икра заморская, баклажанная" ("Black caviar, red caviar, and from overseas eggplant caviar")* from *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию"*. However, its grammatical structure and word order (noun + adjective, noun + adjective, noun + adjective + adjective) is identical to that of this winged phrase.

Another two surveyed headings included one key word of the winged phrase: *"Казань брали? Нет, торговали!"* (compare to *"Казань брал, Астрахань брал, Ревель брал... Шпака не брал" / "I took Kazan, I took Astrakhan, I took Revel, but never Shpak")* and *"Как хряснет по столу – и тишина"* (compare to *"Глянул в стороны: гроб с покойничком летает над крестами, а вдоль дороги мёртвые с косами стоять. И тишина!" / "I looked round – a coffin flying over the graves, and beside the road – ghosts with scythes. And not a sound!").* In the first example, the key word *Казань* is at the start of the winged phrase and of the heading. The second example includes the key element *тишина* at the end of both winged phrase and heading.

Therefore, it can be seen that the above three headings are transformations of winged phrases, which do not fall under any of the existing types described in the literature. New types of transformations were employed in this study in order to classify the abovementioned examples – *lexical* and *associative* transformations.

8.12 Intersituative winged phrases

As discussed in the literature review chapter (see §2.7.1), intersituative winged phrases from Soviet films are phrases which are connected to the history and culture of Russian speakers. In other words, in order to understand the phrase, the reader should not only have seen the film, but be familiar with Russian culture.

A total of 11 (8%) transformations of intersituative winged phrases were noted in surveyed newspaper headings. The winged phrase *"Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят" ("Our tenants don't go to the baker's in a taxi!")* was transformed 5 times *("В булочную – на такси", "Наши люди в булочную на арендованном авто ездят", "Наши люди к метро на такси ездят", "Наши люди на такси стали ездить чаще, и не только в булочную", "Наши люди в отпуск не ходят").* Four of these transformed headings had a different connotation, with the meaning that taking a taxi or rented car for a short journey had become common in modern Russian society.

There was a transformed winged phrase which alludes to historical events in Russia: Tsar Ivan Groznyi's line from *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию"* relates to capturing Kazan in 1552: *"Казань брал, Астрахань брал, Ревель брал... Шпака не брал"*. Therefore, its transformation in a form of newspaper heading relates to both the historical event and the film: *"Казань брали? Нет, торговали!".*

Some of the transformed winged phrases used as newspaper headings include lexical components which relate to aspects of Russian daily life, such as *прописка, ЕГЭ, дача*: *"Иван Васильевич меняет прописку", "Москва ЕГЭ не верит", "Леди и джентльмены у дачи".* The latter example becomes intersituative as a result of the transformation of the film's title *"Джентльмены удачи"* by way of addition and change of grammatical form of the components.

Two newspaper headings included transformed winged phrases which relate to other Soviet and Russian films: *"Томский волк тебе товарищ"* and *"Главное – чтобы на "Викинге" костюмчик сидел"*. The first example could be a transformation of either the winged phrase *"Тамбовский волк вам товарищ"* from *"Дело Румянцева" (The Rumiantsev Case, Lenfilm, 1955)* or the winged phrase *"Тамбовский волк тебе боярин"* from *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию".* While in Soviet films both winged phrases have a negative connotation, the heading *"Томский волк тебе товарищ"* has a different meaning and is connected to Забивака (Zabivaka) – the official mascot of the Football World Cup held in Russia in 2018.

8.13 Quotations not in Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary

In addition to 151 headings with winged phrases from Soviet films reported in sections §8.2 – §8.12 of this chapter, 26 headings which include quotations from Soviet films were also noted. These quotations did not appear in Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary and for this reason were not included in this study. However, as can be seen from Table 8.16 below, some of these quotations are frequently used and transformed by journalists. All of the quotations used as or embedded into newspaper headings more than three times were film titles of or lines from songs in Soviet films.

Table 8.16 Quotations from songs used in Soviet films which appeared in surveyed newspaper headings

QUOTATION	FILM	HEADLINE
Постой, паровоз, не стучите, колёса. Кондуктор, нажми на тормоза...	*Операция "Ы" и другие приключения Шурика*	*Слепил паровоз, не стучали колёса.*
		Постой, пароход! Не мешай футболистам…
		Водитель, постой! Прочь от зебры колёса.
		Продюсер, нажми на тормоза!
Им бы понедельники взять и отменить...	*Бриллиантовая рука*	*Нам бы все учебники взять и исключить!*
		Нам бы День сурка взять и отменить.
		Нам бы репетиторов взять и отменить.
		Ночные гипермаркеты взять и отменить?
Вот и стало обручальным нам Садовое кольцо.	*Москва слезам не верит*	*Вот и стало обручальным парашютное кольцо.*
		Вот и стало инфернальным нам "Садовое кольцо".
		Вот и стало картой "Тройка" нам для транспорта кольцо.
Последний бой – он трудный самый...	*Освобождение*	*Последний бой, он трудный самый…*
		Бизнес-бой – он трудный самый.
		Мой первый рубль – он трудный самый…
На поле танки грохотали…	*На войне, как на войне*	*На поле танки пробегали.*
		По Волге танки грохотали.
		На речке "Ярсы" грохотали.

Other examples include Gaidai's film title *"Пёс Барбос и необычный кросс" (The Dog Barbos and the Unusual Race, Mosfilm, 1961),* which was used as a pure film title in a heading as well as transformed once: *"И необычный Cross".* In addition, the heading *"Мы перестали лазить к любимым в окна, а они тоскуют!"* is a transformed quotation *"Мы перестали лазить в окна к любимым женщинам" ("We no longer climb through windows to see our loved ones")* from *"Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!".* The heading *"Газ есмь царь"*

is a transformed quotation *"Аз есмь царь" ("I am the tsar")* from *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию".*

8.14 Chapter summary

This chapter presented data taken from three newspapers – *"Комсомольская правда – Москва", "Известия"* and *"Литературная газета"* – over the period from 1st January 2017 to 1st July 2018 in the headings of which winged phrases from Soviet films were evident. In total 151 such headings were found. The findings address two research questions outlined in the literature review chapter: in what contexts and how winged phrases from Soviet films are being incorporated into contemporary Russian language practice.

Five key findings in this chapter were related to the main sources of winged phrases from Soviet film deployed in newspaper headings, the directors of the most-quoted films, winged phrases in newspaper headings across different periods in Soviet cinema, the transformation types of winged phrases and transformed intersituative winged phrases.

The key finding of this chapter is that surveyed newspaper headings mainly used transformed winged phrases from Soviet films. This finding emanated from 91% of headings that include transformed winged phrases, some of which bestowed a different meaning when compared to the original winged phrase. Two new types of transformations were introduced for this research: lexical and associative transformation.

The second finding was that 51% of headings included winged phrases from dialogue in Soviet films. This rate of frequency was followed by headings including Soviet film titles (26%) and headings incorporating a title or a line from a song from Soviet films (23%). Some of the winged phrases showed a high frequency of usage by appearing in headings up to 8 times: *"Танцуют все!", "Первым делом, первым делом самолёты. Ну, а девушки?.. А девушки потом", "Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят", "Птичку жалко!..", "Кто же его посадит?!.. Он же памятник!", "Есть только миг между прошлым и будущим, именно он называется жизнь".*

The third finding was that Soviet films directed by just three directors – Leonid Gaidai, El′dar Riazanov and Vladimir Men′shov – supplied winged phrases to almost half (49%) of all surveyed newspaper headings.

The fourth finding was that half of the headings (50%) included winged phrases from films made in the 1970s. Winged phrases from four films made in 1973 supplied winged phrases to 19% of all headings.

The fifth finding is that some of the transformed winged phrases used as or embedded into newspaper headings were intersituative phrases, meaning they were aimed at a reader with an historical and cultural knowledge of Russia. One winged phrase *"Леди и джентльмены у дачи"* became intersituative as a result of transformation.

Data from newspaper headings presented above along with data outlined in Chapters 4 – 7 will be used in the following analysis and discussion chapter to demonstrate the main patterns in contexts of usage as well as how and why winged phrases from Soviet films are being used in contemporary Russian.

Chapter 9: Analysis and discussion

"The dialogue, I want to emphasise, is above all temporal, an interaction between texts and their future readers, complicated by the dynamics of historical change and by the interpretive energies thus released." (Dimock 1997: 1062)

"Кинематограф тоже есть песня, былина, сказка, причитание, заговор."
("Cinema is also a song, a Russian epic, a fairy tale, a lamentation, a spell.")
(Chukovskii 1969: 120)

9.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to investigate the use and dynamics of winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary Russian language practice. The intention was to provide a detailed account of contexts for the usage of winged phrases from Soviet films, as well as to explain how and why winged phrases from Soviet cinema are employed by contemporary native Russian speakers.

9.1.1 Research approach

This research used a mixed-methods approach, collecting both qualitative and quantitative data from four different sources: the *"Цитаты советского кино"* (*Quotations from Soviet cinema)* online group on the *Вконтакте* (*VKontakte)* social network; questionnaire responses from 102 online participants; posts on the *ЯПлакалъ* (*YaPlakal)* online discussion forum, as well as an analysis of headings from the popular Russian newspapers *"Комсомольская правда – Москва" (Komsomolskaya Pravda – Moskva / Komsomol's Truth – Moscow), "Известия"*

(Izvestiya / News) and *"Литературная газета"* (*Literaturnaya gazeta* / *Literary Gazette*). The study was designed to address the following three research questions:

1) In what contexts are winged phrases from Soviet films incorporated into contemporary Russian language practice?

2) How are winged phrases from Soviet films incorporated into contemporary Russian language practice?

3) Why are winged phrases from Soviet films incorporated into contemporary Russian language practice?

The findings from the data gathered for this study were presented in Chapters 4 to 8. The focus of the current chapter is on analysing, interpreting and synthesizing these findings drawing on theoretical insights based on concepts of dialogism, heteroglossia and carnival (Bakhtin 1965, 1975, 1979a, 1979b, 1981, 1984, 1996, 2002), as well as those from semiotics (Lotman 1973a, 1973b, 1990, 1992, 2005; Clark 2010), folk tale (Propp 1968) and cognitive linguistics (Coulson 2015).

9.1.2 Chapter structure

The chapter is divided into the following sections, which correspond to the three questions above:

1) Contexts of usage of winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary Russian (Research question 1);

2) Main patterns in quoting winged phrases from Soviet films by contemporary Russian speakers, including transformations (Research question 2);

3) Factors influencing the inclusion of winged phrases from Soviet films into contemporary Russian speakers' linguistic repertoires (Research question 3).

The above sections are directly connected with each of this study's research questions. Sections 2 and 3 were employed in order to assemble data sets; the findings from this exercise were presented in Chapters 4 – 8.

9.1.3 Summary of main findings from four data sources

Chapter 4 reported on the findings from the *"Цитаты советского кино"* group. An online communication within the group took the form of quotation exchange from Soviet cinema. There were connections observed between an actor's verbal personality and the popularity of associated winged phrases, as well as between the popularity of a winged phrase at specific times and Russian national events during the year. In addition, a number of reasons for quoting Soviet films were listed by the group's members.

In chapters 5 and 6 the findings from the online questionnaire were outlined. A number of new usage contexts were observed in addition to the communicative situations in which the phrase was first used in film, as described in modern dictionaries of winged phrases. According to the respondents, the most productive period in Soviet filmmaking for supplying winged phrases into colloquial speech was the 1970s – 1980s. A total of 70% of the most popular winged phrases were sourced from Leonid Gaidai's comedies. The majority of winged phrases that were transformed by the online questionnaire respondents were transformed by a method of reduction. A new distinct observable type of winged phrase transformations – *change of phonetic norms* – was introduced by the author. The main reason for quoting Soviet films was that the situation of verbal communication matched the situation in the film.

Data collected in the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum were presented in Chapter 7. The majority of winged phrases reported in the chapter appeared in communicative situations similar to the ones in film. All winged phrases in the forum's communication were from films directed by just three directors: Leonid Gaidai, El′dar Riazanov and Aleksandr Seryi and were sourced from films made in the 1960s and 1970s.

As reported in Chapter 8, newspaper headings mainly employed transformed winged phrases from Soviet films. Two new transformation types were discovered amongst such phrases – the author has dubbed these new categories *lexical* and *associative* transformations. Soviet films directed by Leonid Gaidai, El′dar Riazanov and Vladimir Men′shov supplied almost half of all identified winged phrases within examined newspaper headings. In addition, half of all newspaper headings included winged phrases which were from films made in the 1970s. As might be expected, there was evidence of intersituative winged phrase usage by the newspapers. This form of winged phrase assumes a level of historical and cultural knowledge which might be expected of readers of such newspapers.

9.1.4 Levels of the analysis

The purpose of this analysis is to discern and consider patterns in the data with due reference to the existing body of published research in this field. As a secondary level of analysis, the data is further scrutinised against the theories outlined in the literature review chapter.

For the most part of the chapter, mainly the "successful" winged phrases were selected for detailed analysis in this chapter. In employing the term "successful" Knobel and Lankshear (2007) were followed as they applied this terminology for their study of online memes. Thus, winged phrases for discussion were selected on the grounds that they appear across at least three data sources of this research. The full list of such winged phrases as selected is at Appendix 20 for further reference.

The discussion embraces the existing literature on winged phrases from Soviet films, as well as theoretical writings on dialogism, semiotics and cognitive linguistics. The implications of the findings which flow from this discussion seek to illustrate the current state of use and dynamics of winged phrases in contemporary Russian. The chapter concludes with a summary of findings, along with a consideration of the possible utility of this study for the RFL classroom.

9.2 Contexts of usage of winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary Russian (Research question 1)

The first research question sought to determine contexts in which winged phrases from Soviet films are typically incorporated into contemporary Russian language practice. Research findings across the online questionnaire, the *ЯПлакалъ* discussion forum as well as newspaper heading analysis illustrate the dialogic and heteroglot nature of winged phrases, as encapsulated by Bakhtin's theory of dialogism. According to this theory, while such phrases remain connected to their film contexts, they 'resound' in contemporary Russian or, in other words, enter a dialogue with modern contexts while speaking with new voices. This opens up the opportunity for these phrases to take on new contexts and inferences.

It is evident that "there is a constant interaction between meanings, all of which have the potential of conditioning others" (Bakhtin 1981: 426) and that "the speech of another, once enclosed in a context, is – no matter how accurately transmitted – always subject to certain semantic changes" (Bakhtin 1981: 340).

Data reported in Chapters 5 – 8 show findings to which the theory of dialogism mentioned above can be applied. The data indicated that the situational context in which a winged phrase was intended to be deployed played an important role in the selection of an appropriate phrase. Some responses emphasised this importance. For example, one respondent suggested this was even more important a marker than the film's year of production (Comment 9.1):

Год фильма не имеет значения, всё по ситуации.

The year of the film is of no importance, everything depends on the situation.

Comment 9.1, female respondent, 51-65 years old, business owner, answer to question 3 of the questionnaire.

In the above example, a winged phrase enters into a 'dialogue' with the situation in which it is being used. The 'voice' that such a winged phrase speaks with in a given situation is enclosed within a specific context, which dictates the selection of the most appropriate winged phrase.

With regards to different situations which occur in daily life and condition a Russian speaker's choice of a winged phrase, the online questionnaire respondents indicated that their first reason for quoting Soviet film was because the situation of verbal communication which they are observing (or which they otherwise feel positioned to comment upon) matches the situation in the film (see §9.5.1 of this chapter for further discussion on this matter). This sentiment was best reflected by one respondent (Comment 9.2) who said:

> *В похожих ситуациях как в фильме.*
> In similar situations as the film.
> **Comment 9.2, female respondent, 31-50 years old, entrepreneur, answer to question 5 of the questionnaire.**

The highest number of examples and therefore the most representative sample of what drove winged phrase choice in contemporary Russian was provided by data from questions 4 and 5 of the online questionnaire (e.g. 'List winged phrases from Soviet films which are most popular from your point of view'. 'In which situations are the abovementioned winged phrases used?').

Turning to insights from the literature review, there appear to be two core explanations for why these winged phrases from film are deployed so readily by questionnaire respondents.

Firstly, winged phrases which can be thematically classified as real-life situations lend themselves to contemporary day-to-day contexts (see §2.4.4 of the literature review chapter for a discussion on this matter). Examples of this type provided by the online questionnaire respondents are as follows: necessity of action (*"Надо, Федя, надо!" / "No, it's necessary, Fedia… It's necessary!")*, characterisation or judgement (*"Какая гадость, какая гадость эта ваша заливная рыба!" / "How horrible, how horrible is this jellied fish of yours!"; "Студентка, комсомолка, спортсменка, наконец, она просто красавица" / "A student, a*

Young Communist, an athlete, and last but not least, a beauty"; "Руссо туристо, облико морале, феритейн?!" / "Russo turista, capito, moralita! Verstehen?"; "Сучка ты крашена!" / "You dyed bitch!"), reproach *("Семён Семёныч!"/ "Semion Semionych!")*, instruction or request (*"Гюльчатай! Открой личико, а" / "Giul'chatai! Show your face"; "Я требую продолжения банкета!" / "I demand continuation of the feast!"; "Оставь меня, старушка, я в печали" / "Leave me alone, old woman, I'm being sad"; "Идите вы в... бухгалтерию!" / "Go to your accounting department")*, greeting *("Здравствуйте, я ваша тётя" / "Hello I Am Your Aunt!").*[33]

Secondly, as noted by Kozhevnikov (2001: 5), "ситуация цитирования" ("the situation of quoting") as it relates to film is closest to our daily verbal reality when compared to fiction, academic literature and journalistic writing.

Written Russian displays a parallel contextual deployment of winged phrases to the aforementioned spoken language. Thus, the meme reaction written on the picture of a prisoner who escaped from a prison camp in Perm Territory was similar to the situation which occurred in *"Джентльмены удачи" (Gentlemen of Fortune):* "*Какая отвратительная рожа!" ("What a disgusting face!")* (see §7.4.1). Employment of this winged phrase was determined by a situation in the film: professor Mal′tsev expressed his feelings when he looked at the photo of a criminal who stole and hid Alexander the Great's helmet at an archaeological excavation.

As far as written Russian is concerned, the winged phrase *"Птичку жалко" ("I'm sorry for the bird!")* was used in newspaper headings four times as either a pure phrase, or transformed into a plural form *("Птичек жалко"/ "I'm sorry for the birds!")*. All four of these articles were dedicated to the topic of the death of birds in Moscow. The original phrase is said by the drunk Shurik in *"Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика" (The Prisoner of the Caucasus or Shurik's New Adventures)* when he hears the toast from one of the local Caucasians about a bird whose wings were burned by the sun. In the film the scene has a

[33] Classifications employed are drawn from Elistratov's (2010) dictionary and Karpechenkova's (2012) PhD thesis. Winged phrases above were selected on the basis that the situational usage of a winged phrase in film matches the situational usage as described by online questionnaire respondents in Questions 4 and 5 (i.e. 'List winged phrases from Soviet films which are most popular from your point of view'. 'In which situations are the abovementioned winged phrases used?') and furthermore is being contextualised in the existing literature.

comical effect and its usage in the abovementioned newspaper contexts by comparison was deployed to draw attention to a sad situation. The situation in which the winged phrase is used in the newspaper directly matches the context of the dialogue in film in a way the editors clearly assume will be readily understood by most readers.

From a Bakhtinian perspective, the examples listed above demonstrate dialogic relations between fragments of Soviet film scripts and their usage as winged phrases in contemporary Russian. According to Bakhtin, the speaker presumes pre-existing utterances, his own and others, "к которым его данное высказывание вступает в те или иные отношения (опирается на них, полемизирует с ними, просто предполагает их уже известными слушателю)" ("with which his given utterance enters certain relationships (refers to them, debates with them, simply presumes them already known to the listener)") (Bakhtin 1979a: 247). Such texts travel across time and are in dialogic relations with the past context. This understanding appears to resemble closely the notion of crossing a "semiotic border" (Lotman 2005: 205). In this sense it is appropriate to offer a figurative explanation of winged phrases – "they have taken flight from their original source and embedded themselves in vernacular speech" (Kabiak 2016b: 80).

Notwithstanding this ability for phrases to share a common understanding across the semiotic border, it can be observed that at times there is also room for differences and new meanings to be developed. This does not necessarily need to be viewed as an inconsistency: Bakhtin sees the link between words and the voices uttering them as being always contextual, and contextual meaning is personalistic (Vitanova 2010: 15-20). This study's findings support the notion that the contexts of winged phrase usage can sometimes differ from the situations in which they were used in film. Out of the film's context, the meaning changes. Indeed, many of the realities shown in films have now become dated, yet the phrases remain popular in both spoken and written Russian. In this sense, phrases can sometimes find new voices in new contexts.

Question 7 of the online questionnaire (i.e. 'To which films, characters and situations can you attribute the following winged phrases?') was particularly useful in shedding light on the wide variety of contexts available for the deployment of winged phrases in contemporary spoken Russian. Questions 4 and 5, in which the respondents were asked to list winged phrases from

Soviet films which are most popular from their point of view, as well as describe situations of their usage, also showed repetitive and, therefore, arguably quite representative answers. These results were consistent with the data obtained from analysis of newspaper headings.

In order to illustrate the variety of contexts of usage, a winged phrase known to almost all respondents was selected: *"Гюльчатай! Откpой личико, а" ("Giul'chatai! Show your face, huh")* from *"Белое солнце пустыни" (The White Sun of the Desert)*. The majority of respondents (69 respondents out of 102 [68%]) were familiar with the character Petrukha – he spoke this phrase in the film when he was trying to get to know one of Abdulla's wives better and asked her to uncover her face from behind a veil. However, only 3% of respondents (3 out of 102) described communicative contexts of the winged phrase in a similar way to Elistratov's (2010) and Diadechko's (2008) dictionaries (see §6.2.6).

A number of variations of contextual usages for this phrase were provided by respondents; these included: *acquaintance, advertence, dalliance with somebody, molestation curiosity, one can pay a high price for naivete and simplicity.* Other situational deployments for this phrase indicated by the online questionnaire respondents in Questions 4, 5 and 7 were connected to very specific situations: *addressing a shy or embarrassed person, when someone is swelled up after sleep, or looks bad for other reasons* and *in spoken language for its expression*.

In addition, this transformed winged phrase was used as a newspaper heading twice: *"Шахерезада, откpой личико" ("Shahrazad, show your face")* and *"Госэкзамен, откpой личико!" ("State examination, show your face!").* While being easily recognised because of the similarity of its syntax, the winged phrase used as a heading appeared in two contexts different to the ones in the film – this underlines the heteroglossic nature of language as highlighted by Bakhtin: "a multiplicity of social voices and a wide variety of their links and interrelationships" (Bakhtin 1981: 263).

In a similar way, the winged phrase *"Какая гадость, какая гадость эта ваша заливная рыба!"* ("*How horrible, how horrible is this jellied fish of yours!")* sourced from *"Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!" (Irony of Fate, or Have a Good Sauna!)* underlines the ability of a winged phrase to enter a variety of contexts. The phrase was amongst the most popular

phrases suggested by respondents in Questions 4 and 5 of the online questionnaire. It was also known by almost all respondents attempting Question 7, in which the respondents' comments revealed different situations for usage. The communicative contexts varied from the ones which are very similar to the situation in the film: *about someone's culinary abilities, about jellied fish, about nonacceptance of something, New Year's Eve celebration, at the table* to quite different usages when someone compliments the meal ironically: *at a banquet about a dainty fish* (see §6.2.10). Such connotations differ from descriptions provided in dictionaries and highlight the plasticity of usage of the winged phrase.

Amongst many winged phrases deployed in contexts other than the ones in film, the phrase *"Руссо туристо, облико морале, феритейн?!" ("Russo turista, capito, moralita! Verstehen?")* from *"Бриллиантовая рука" (The Diamond Arm)* was especially notable. In the film, by pronouncing this winged phrase, Gesha protects Gorbunkov from a prostitute in Istanbul, explaining to her that Soviet tourists have high morals. Such positive behaviour was an absolute necessity for anyone travelling outside the Soviet Union at the time; an opening scene of the film shows that foreign trips were a luxury not to be taken for granted. Today the phrase has rather the opposite connotation, suggesting that the behaviour of Russians travelling abroad is often far from exemplary: *"иронично о русских туристах"* (*"to be used ironically, about Russian tourists")* (Elistratov 2010: 230). Online questionnaire respondents commenting on the phrase did note a meaning similar to the one in Elistratov's dictionary.

Thus, even when being quoted faithfully to source, winged phrases are "always subject to certain semantic changes" (Bakhtin 1981: 340), as they present "specific points of view on the world, forms of conceptualizing the world in words" (Bakhtin 1981: 291-292). Dimock (1997: 1062) argues that text "cannot and will not remain forever the same object":

> Besides locating a text in its original context, […] readers might want to dislocate it, relocate it, and line it up against competing voices – the natural sciences, the visual arts, law, economics – to see how it sounds and resounds. Interdisciplinarity is perhaps a logical consequence of this broad definition of context (Dimock 1997: 1065).

From this perspective, each winged phrase from a Soviet film 'resounds' in contemporary contexts in a range of communicative situations. Its semantic overtones can be seen as reflections of the many human voices with which a winged phrase is spoken. While entering a 'dialogue' between the Soviet film and modern life, new meanings of winged phrases are produced, thus, their contexts are "countless" (Dimock 1997: 1065).

In addition to obtaining new communicative contexts, there were patterns observed in how winged phrases are being used. There were also observable factors influencing the inclusion of winged phrases into contemporary Russian speakers' linguistic repertoires. These are discussed in the following two sections of this chapter.

9.3 Main patterns in quoting winged phrases from Soviet films by contemporary Russian speakers (Research question 2)

The second research question – How are winged phrases from Soviet films incorporated into contemporary Russian language practice? – was chosen to provide a more complete examination across a broad spectrum of processes that relate to the dynamics and use of film quotations in modern Russian. The examination includes the frequency of winged phrases usage, the main sources of winged phrases from Soviet films, the most popular winged phrases, the most popular directors, the most productive periods in Soviet cinema which provided winged phrases, the actor's verbal personality and more intensive usage of winged phrases during public holidays or specific times of the year. It also includes an analysis of transformations of winged phrases from Soviet films which has not been dealt with by existing scholarship.

The dynamics and use of winged phrases from Soviet films in this research are viewed in light of Bakhtin's concepts of dialogism, heteroglossia and carnival (see §2.11.1), wherein each winged phrase is seen as a unit of verbal communication. At the same time, it should be remembered that such phrases enter language as the individual expressions of others, such as script writers, directors, actors, "сохраняя при этом в большей или меньшей степени тона и отзвуки этих индивидуальных высказываний" ("while maintaining to a greater or lesser

extent tones and echoes of these individual expressions") (Bakhtin 1979a: 268). Their popularity is determined by a specific period of time and a social environment as noted by Bakhtin (1979a: 268):

> В каждую эпоху, в каждом социальном кругу, в каждом маленьком мирке семьи, друзей и знакомых... всегда есть авторитетные, задающие тон высказывания, художественные, научные, публицистические произведения, на которые опираются и ссылаются, которые цитируются, которым подражают, за которыми следуют.
>
> (In every era, in every social circle, in every small world of family, friends and acquaintances… there are always authoritative, tone-setting statements, works of art, science and journalism, which people refer to and quote, which are imitated and followed).

Thus, while winged phrases from Soviet films are used in contemporary Russian practice as tone-setting statements, sections §9.3.1 – §9.3.7 below portray various angles of the most recent dynamics of such usage.

9.3.1 Frequency of winged phrases usage

The frequency of quoting winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary Russian has not been addressed in previous research. However, it is an important element of the dynamics of film quotation in modern Russian. Frequency of usage was examined based on three data sources: 1) frequency of winged phrases usage in contemporary spoken Russian, based on data from the online questionnaire; 2) frequency of winged phrases usage in the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum; 3) frequency of winged phrase usage in the surveyed newspaper headings.

In order to examine the frequency of self-reported winged phrase usage in spoken Russian within the scope of this current study, the online questionnaire respondents were asked to answer a question on how often they use winged phrases from Soviet films in speech (Question 2, see Appendices 7 & 8). The results indicated that the majority of online questionnaire respondents were using winged phrases several times a week. It is of interest that even after

re-examining the responses classified by the location of respondents who live in countries other than former USSR republics – that is, potentially respondents outside the daily Russian-speaking social and cultural environment – the results still revealed such respondents quoting winged phrases from Soviet films at least several times a week (see §5.2.1). However, these findings cannot be extrapolated to all Russian speakers, as the online questionnaire respondents were mainly Russian teachers who were particularly interested in the topic of winged phrases from Soviet films.

Regarding usage in the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum, there was less than 1 winged phrase employed *per* 1,000 online posts by forum members (see § 7.2). In a similar way to the "*Цитаты советского кино"* group, after being provided a stimulus in the form of a winged phrase, *ЯПлакалъ* forum members readily engaged in exchanges of winged phrases and quotations. Such an exchange of winged phrases is referred to as a *verbal game*. This concept is discussed in detail in §9.5.2. As far as the newspaper headings were concerned, the ratio of headings with winged phrases from Soviet films was less than one heading with winged phrase *per* one newspaper issue (see §8.2).

Whilst this is the first attempt to provide an empirically supported estimate of frequency of winged phrase usage across three different data sources, the key finding is that winged phrases from Soviet films can be viewed as a formidable cultural 'text-code' (see § 2.11.2) which expands Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia in more concrete terms.

9.3.2 Main sources of winged phrases from Soviet films

As noted in §2.4, winged phrases from Soviet films can be classified as follows: film dialogue, film title and a name or a line from a song used in a film. This study's quantitative findings indicate that film dialogue was the most frequently-quoted across all four data sets. These findings are in line with existing scholarship, in which the dialogue is a dominant source of winged phrases in spoken Russian (Elistratov's 2010, Karpechenkova 2012, Kozhevnikov's 2001, Krupenko 2011).

In Bakhtinian terms, our language is full of 'other words' of which we are aware and which we utilise to various degrees (Bakhtin 1979a: 269). Lines from Soviet film scripts stand out as a part of dialogue occurring in oral speech, while still being utilised in written language and in its 'spoken written' form as the language of online communication was referred to in §2.8.1.

Recognising the pattern of quoting Soviet film dialogue is important to authors of dictionaries of winged phrases from Soviet films. For example, in the most recent of Shulezhkova's (2011) dictionaries of winged phrases *"'"И жизнь, и слёзы, и любовь..." Происхождение, значение, судьба 1500 крылатых слов и выражений русского языка"* (*'I zhizn', i sliozy, i liubov'' Proiskhozhdenie, znachenie, sud'ba 1500 krylatych slov i vyrazhenii russkogo iazyka)*, amongst winged phrases included into the dictionary which have relevance to Soviet cinema, the majority are either film titles or lines from songs in a Soviet film.

The next examined aspect of winged phrase dynamics, which is high-frequency winged phrases from Soviet films, is reported in the following section.

9.3.3 Most popular winged phrases from Soviet films

In terms of the most popular or "tone-setting" (Bakhtin 1979a: 268) winged phrases identified in this research, a number appear to have more popularity across this study's data sources than have been suggested by existing literature (Bakanov 2005, Karpechenkova 2012). This raises the possibility of inclusion of an extended set of winged phrases into the RFL classroom – a matter further discussed in the following chapter.

In order to identify the most popular winged phrases, various methods were employed across different data sources. Thus, in the "*Цитаты советского кино"* group within the *ВКонтакте* social network, the most popular winged phrases amongst administrators were determined by the number of times each phrase appeared on the group's wall, while the most popular winged phrases amongst group members were the phrases which received the highest

number of ‘likes’. For the online questionnaire and newspaper headings, the popularity of winged phrases was determined by the frequency of their appearance within each data set.[34]

The selection criteria were based on the fact that the phrase was the most popular at least across two data sets of this study. A combination of both heterogeneous data sources and various criteria for selection of most popular winged phrases supports the plausibility of this selection. Table 9.1 below presents a list of the top nine winged phrases from Soviet films used in contemporary Russian. The selection process for the Table 9.1 is presented in Appendix 19.

Table 9.1 Top nine popular winged phrases from Soviet films across three data sources

	WINGED PHRASE	FILM
1	*Налетай, торопись, покупай живопись!* *Hurry! Be smart! Buy fine art!*	*Операция "Ы" и другие приключения Шурика*
2	*Птичку жалко!..* *I’m sorry for the bird!..*	*Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика*
3	*Студентка, комсомолка, спортсменка, наконец, она просто красавица.* *A student, a Young Communist, an athlete, and last but not least, a beauty.*	*Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика*
4	*Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят!* *Our tenants don’t go to the baker’s in a taxi!*	*Бриллиантовая рука*
5	*Кто же его посадит?!.. Он же памятник!* *How could the poor guy sit down? An iron monument like that!*	*Джентльмены удачи*
6	*Танцуют все!* *Everybody dance!*	*Иван Васильевич меняет профессию*
7	*И тебя вылечат, и тебя тоже вылечат... и меня вылечат.* *You'll be cured. And you'll be cured. And I'll be cured, too.*	*Иван Васильевич меняет профессию*
8	*Какая гадость, какая гадость эта ваша заливная рыба!* *How horrible, how horrible is this jellied fish of yours!*	*Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!*
9	*Ой, тёпленькая пошла!* *Oh, it’s getting warmer!*	*Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!*

[34] As footnote 18 in §3.9.2 states, there was not a list of the most popular winged phrases within the YaPlakal online forum.

The list provided in Table 9.1 above shows that the majority (6 out of 9 [67%]) of the most popular winged phrases are sourced from films directed by Leonid Gaidai *"Операция "Ы" и другие приключения Шурика"(Operation "Y" and Shurik's Other Adventures), "Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика", "Бриллиантовая рука"* and *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию" (Ivan Vasilievich Changes Profession)*. Another unanticipated finding was that just over half of all such phrases (5 out of 9 [56%]) were from films made in the 1970s: *"Джентльмены удачи" (1971), "Иван Васильевич меняет профессию", "Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!" (1975).* These two observations and their significance are expanded upon in the following sections §9.3.4 and §9.3.5 of this chapter.

9.3.4 Most popular directors

This study's findings, from both quantitative and qualitative data sources clearly show that it is Leonid Gaidai who stands out as the Soviet director whose films are most often quoted in contemporary Russian. Thus, Gaidai's films, being the main source of quotations, were highlighted by the online questionnaire respondents, one of which, commenting upon question 3 of the online questionnaire (see Appendix 7 for the questionnaire in Russian & Appendix 8 for the questionnaire in English) about the periods of time from which Soviet films are primarily quoted, suggested (Comment 9.3):

> *Из фильмов Гайдая в основном.*
>
> Mainly from Gaidai's films.
>
> **Comment 9.3, female respondent, 31-50 years old, tutor and entrepreneur, answer to question 3 of the questionnaire.**

Frequency counts of the most popular winged phrases amongst online questionnaire respondents (see Table 5.1 in §5.4.2) illustrated that the majority (70%) of such phrases were sourced from Gaidai's films. The data from newspaper headings was also in line with the questionnaire results, where Leonid Gaidai was the leading director amongst others with 34% of headings employing winged phrases from his films (see Table 8.3 in §8.4). Gaidai was followed by El′dar Riazanov (9% of headings) and Vladimir Men′shov (6% of headings). As

for the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum, winged phrases noted in the forum's communication were sourced from films by Leonid Gaidai (36% of winged phrases), El′dar Riazanov (36%) and Aleksandr Seryi (27%) (see Table 7.2 in §7.3).

This finding also broadly supports the work of other studies in the area of Soviet film dialogue (Dushenko 2002, Kudriavtseva 2008, Prokhorova 2016, Sadullaeva 2012), where the notion of Gaidai's comedies as a leading source of winged phrases has already been established. Thus, Gaidai was referred to as "the king of Soviet comedy" (Prokhorova 2016: 23), his famous comedies are "всенародно любимые" ("loved nationwide") (Elistratov 2010: 20). In addition, Gaidai's dialogue is "pithy, aphoristic" (Prokhorova 2016: 523), it manages to challenge and "put to comic use elements of Soviet ideological narrative" (Prokhorova 2016: 520). It has also been argued that comedy as a genre is predisposed to being easy to memorise (Kudriavtseva 2008: 2; Sadullaeva 2012: 168).

Despite the aphoristic and absurdist nature of dialogue in Gaidai's films, language and sound in general are central to the films' success through a carnivalesque inversion of the very role dialogue hitherto had played in Soviet cinema (Prokhorova 2016: 528). Therefore, the language of Gaidai's comedies can be distinguished as carnivalised and dialogical (see §2.11.1 on Bakhtin's notion on carnival). As a result, it can be argued that the laughter which is present in Gaidai's films functions in a similar way to laughter in the Middle Ages, which was "eliminated from official cult and ideology" (Bakhtin 1984: 82). Laughter, according to Bakhtin, represented victory over fear:

> It was the defeat of divine and human power, of authoritarian commandments and prohibitions, of death and punishment after death, hell and all that is more terrifying than the earth itself. Through this victory laughter clarified man's consciousness and gave him a new outlook on life (Bakhtin 1984: 90-91).

Similar characteristics are applicable to the late period of the Soviet Union, during which Gaidai's films were made. Salys (2009, 5-6) explains the complexities involved in Soviet comedy production:

> Because Socialist Realism stipulates absolutes, such as the positive hero and the vision of a perfect society, and operates with black and white binaries, the Soviet arts always struggled with humour as a potentially destabilizing and subversive modality.

Thus, the Soviet apartment complex manager Varvara Pliushch, instead of being a typical Soviet hero, becomes a target for satire when viewed through the prism of Russian folkloric character types discussed by Vladimir Propp (Propp 1968, see §2.6 for further discussion on this matter). "Gaidai's comedies challenged and put to comic use elements of the Soviet ideological narrative and its major device, the positive hero", as argued by Prokhorova (2016: 520).

The authoritarian voice of Varvara Pliushch in such winged phrases as *"Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят!" ("Our tenants don't go to the baker's in a taxi!")* and *"А если не будут брать, отключим газ" ("If they won't buy, we'll cut off their gas")* illustrates the complexity of relationships between those with power in their hands and the 'little people' of the Soviet Union who, as it might be argued, are an extension of Pushkin's, Gogol's and Dostoevsky's literary character type which first appeared in Russian literature of the 1830s (see Iemets & Iakimova 2016). In other words, in Gaidai's comedies "all that was terrifying becomes grotesque" (Bakhtin 1984: 91).

In this way, the popularity of winged phrases from Gaidai's comedies in contemporary Russian may be explained by the "the temporal and spatial relationships" (Bakhtin 1981: 84) which relate the carnival laughter of the Middle Ages to Russian classical literature characters and to Soviet film and then resound in contemporary Russian in the form of winged phrases.[35] Laughter as a form of resistance against praise, flattery and hypocrisy can be perceived as a code between generations – passed on in a similar way to other forms of Russian folklore genres (see §9.5.5 for continued discussion on winged phrases as a new folklore genre).

[35] See §2.11.1 for further discussion of carnival, §2.11.3 on 'text-code' and §2.4.1 on comparing Soviet film to Russian classical literature.

The concept of the dialogism is particularly relevant in the next section of this chapter, where the most productive periods in Soviet cinema which provided Russian with winged phrases are outlined.

9.3.5 Most productive periods in Soviet cinema

Bakhtin highlights the problem of time and the relations which every text has with past context (see §2.11.1). As part of its examination of the dynamics of winged phrases, this research aimed to observe and analyse the relationship between winged phrases quoted in contemporary Russian and the period of their appearance on screen. In order to identify the most productive period in Soviet film-making in terms of winged phrases, a separate question was offered to respondents of the online questionnaire. An additional analysis was then undertaken based on data collected from newspaper headings. Two different approaches were taken to analyse this issue.

As reported in §5.3 (Question 3 of the online questionnaire), films made in the 1970s and 1980s were the most popular source of quotations amongst online questionnaire respondents. The results were then narrowed down by results reported in Chapter 8, wherein winged phrases in newspaper headings were analysed (see §8.5). This dual analysis suggested that films made in the 1970s – with a peak year of 1973 – were the richest source of winged phrases.

Thus, in terms of Bakhtin's perspective of time-space travel, films created in the Soviet Union, particularly in the 1970s, function as an era to which the contemporary speaker chooses to return to on a regular basis. Such interaction is dialogical: we are presented with texts in the form of winged phrases from Soviet films which represent different voices, particularly voices of actors who – by playing various types of characters – said the lines in film.

The matter of how such voices shape the verbal personality of the actor is discussed in the following section of the chapter.

9.3.6 Actor's verbal personality and winged phrases as first spoken by the actor

While the existing literature makes clear the importance of the verbal personality of the actor (Beumers 2009: 94; Elistratov 2010: 15; Kozhevnikov 2001: 9), this field in the area of winged phrases from Soviet films has received little attention. As far as the verbal personality of the actor is concerned as an influencer of winged phrase potential, wall posts within the "*Цитаты советского кино"* group on the *ВКонтакте* social network provided examples connected to Aleksandr Dem′ianenko, Andrei Miagkov, Savelii Kramarov, Yurii Yakovlev and Radner Muratov and frequently used winged phrases pronounced by these actors. A photo, a quotation (or a number of quotations) of a specific actor or his biographical information (e.g. date of birth or date of death) acted as an impetus for comments produced by group members, which consisted mainly of film quotations pronounced by this actor.

Such posts as the start of a verbal exchange in the form of comments citing film dialogue would support Kozhevnikov's (2001), Elistratov's (2010) and Beumers' (2008) respective arguments – outlined in §2.4.1 – on the importance of personality of the actor and the power of this personality to imbue phrases of films with extra meaning or popularity for the viewers. The strength of an actor's verbal personality appears to be one of the reasons for film lines becoming winged phrases.

Especially indicative in this regard was Aleksandr Dem′ianenko – best known as Shurik in Leonid Gaidai's comedies, despite a number of roles in other films. The popularity of Shurik's lines amongst other winged phrases that took off during the Soviet era is confirmed in the table of the top ten most popular winged phrases (Table 9.1 above): *"Птичку жалко!"* from *"Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика"* was the most popular amongst the questionnaire respondents as well as in newspaper headings. In addition, Shurik's line "*Надо, Федя, надо!"* from *"Операция "Ы" и другие приключения Шурика"* was indicated by the online questionnaire respondents as the most frequently quoted winged phrase.

Dem′ianenko or Shurik's popularity may be explained by the fact that this role may fall into Propp's (1968) folkloric 'hero' type. Prokhorov (2007) calls him the "modern version of Ivan-the-Fool" as he puts it:

> … the student Shurik, who – like his folk ancestor – is incapable of any transformation until he is assisted by miraculous coincidence and modern versions of magic helpers. Moreover, Shurik succeeds only by luck and chance and not because of his ingenuity or out of the iron necessity of history (Prokhorov 2007: 126).

Shurik's similarity to the famous Russian folk character goes hand in hand with his connection to the student community of the Thaw, adding comic effect. Woll comments on Shurik's dark-framed eyeglasses, suggesting that they "act as a comic prop and sired a clutch of bespectacled comic heroes, *ochkariki*" (Woll 2000: 188). The strength of this effect is very durable: Shurik's lines have remained popular for over 50 years, since *"Операция "Ы" и другие приключения Шурика"* was first released in 1965.

The data collected from the "*Цитаты советского кино"* group allowed an exploration of an interesting example of an actor introduced not by one, but by several directors. Therefore, in response to two posts where Yurii Yakovlev was mentioned (dates of the posts are the 24th of January 2016 and the 26th of April 2016), group members produced quotations from films by different directors. While Yakovlev's lines from Gaidai's *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию"* were used most frequently (for example, *"Ох, красота-то какая! Лепота!" / "Oh, how beautiful it is! Beauteous!"*, "*Танцуют все!" / "Everybody dance!")*, other data sources revealed the popularity of winged phrases spoken by the same actor in Riazanov's *"Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!",* such as *"Какая гадость, какая гадость эта ваша заливная рыба!"* (*"How horrible, how horrible is this jellied fish of yours!")* and *"Ой, тёпленькая пошла!" ("Oh, it's getting warmer!")*.

Findings obtained from the responses to question 7 of the online questionnaire (i.e. 'To which films, characters and situations can you attribute the following winged phrases?') also illustrated a connection between the following winged phrases and the actors who speak those phrases in films: *"Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят!"* and Nonna Mordiukova;

"*Полюбить – так королеву, проиграть – так миллион!" ("To love no less than a queen, to lose no less than a million!")* and Irina Murav'iova; "*Руссо туристо, облико морале, ферштейн?!" ("Russo turista, capito, moralita! Verstehen?")* and Andrei Mironov; *"Ларису Ивановну хочу" ("I want Larisa Ivanovna")* and Vakhtang Kikabidze.

Elistratov (2010: 15) expands the concept of the "verbal personality" of the actor as "presented" by the director:

> Она [языковая личность актёра] – как магнит – притягивает к себе всё окружающее пространство и время киномира, одухотворяет и организует его. Знаменитый психологизм русской классической литературы и углублённое внимание к перевоплощению актёра в традиции русского театра имеют своим продолжением (и на наш взгляд, вполне достойным) советский кинематограф XX века.

> (It [the actor's verbal personality], acts as a magnet, attracting all within its encircling world of cinema across space and time, spiritualises and organises it. The well-known psychologism of Russian classical literature and the profound attention paid to transformation in the tradition of the Russian theatre are continued (and in our opinion, utterly successfully) in the Soviet cinema of the 20th century).

The continuous process of Soviet actors providing sources of winged phrases into contemporary Russian is a "double-voiced" representation of another's words; this acts as "authoritative discourse" (Bakhtin 1981: 341-342). Having acknowledged the actor's power and individuality as presented by one or more directors, Russian speakers enter "the authoritative word", which is "organically connected with a past that is felt to be hierarchically higher" (Bakhtin 1981: 342). By introducing the actor's voice into daily speech, a connection with a character played by that actor is also established; this represents another important aspect of winged phrase dynamics in contemporary Russian.

9.3.7 Usage of winged phrases during specific times of the year

The "*Цитаты советского кино"* members' perceptions of Russian public holidays and other special times of year reflected themselves in the increased popularity of some winged phrases. Thus, the phrase "*Полюбить – так королеву, проиграть – так миллион!"* from *"Москва слезам не верит"* – a film described by Beumers (2009: 183) as a "modern Cinderella story" – appeared on the group's wall six times over an eighteen month period, but received the highest number of 'likes', 'reposts' and comments on the 8th of March, which is celebrated as International Women's Day (see §4.4). Sharing a high-frequency winged phrase at a given historical moment illustrates how each generation at each social level has its own shared language, while such languages of heteroglossia "intersect each other in a variety of ways" (Bakhtin 1981: 290-291).

Another example of how winged phrases are used at a specific point of time was the transformed phrase *"Копают все!" ("Everybody dig!").* According to Bakhtin, "чужие высказывания можно пересказывать с различною степенью их переосмысления, на них можно просто ссылаться как на хорошо известные собеседнику" ("other expressions can be retold with varying degree of reinterpretation, they can simply be referred to as well-known to the interlocutor") (Bakhtin 1996: 196). Although only three winged phrases within "*Цитаты советского кино"* were observed to have been transformed, one transformation *"Копают все!"* which appeared on the group's wall was of particular interest, as it contains a number of cultural inferences. The original winged phrase "*Танцуют все!"* is spoken by the apartment complex manager Bunsha, who temporarily acts as Ivan the Terrible in *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию"*.

According to Elistratov (2010: 256), the phrase means "призыв ко всем окружающим веселиться, танцевать и т. п." ("a call to others to have fun, dance, etc."). Diadechko's (2008: 671) dictionary provides four similar transformations of this winged phrase, where the verb *танцуют* is replaced by *играют, бобслеют*, *торгуем* and *рисуют*. The *ВКонтакте* transformation, while being referred as known to the members of online communication, is particularly interesting as it is determined by the time of its appearance – 7th of June, which is the start of summer in Russia when the majority of population within the bigger Russian cities

begin seasonal work planting and harvesting fruit and vegetables at their summer cottages. *"Копают все!"* is therefore a call to start their work to all *дачники* – Russia's summer cottage gardeners.

The abovementioned connection between winged phrases from Soviet films and Russian public holidays has not been previously discussed in the literature and, therefore, may constitute a starting point for further research. The second example of a transformed phrase brings this study to the second part of the research question on how winged phrases are being incorporated into contemporary Russian language practice; this part deals with winged phrase transformations.

9.4 Transformations of winged phrases from Soviet films (Research question 2)

This section focuses on the matter of transformations of winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary Russian. While also addressing research question number 2 on various ways of winged phrase usage, it is distinguished from other research avenues by a number of factors. Firstly, the large scale of transformations identifiable across all data sources suggested that the phenomenon of transformations deserves additional attention. Secondly, the depth of analysis afforded by the current study has revealed new types of transformations, thereby offering an extension to the existing body of research in field of winged phrases from Soviet films.

The section starts with an overview of the main identified patterns of winged phrase transformations from Soviet films across all data sources. More specific types of transformations found across the data sources are then presented. New types of transformations discovered in this study are also highlighted. The intention is that these newly-observed and classified types will contribute to existing scholarship in the field.

9.4.1 Overview of main patterns of winged phrase transformations

In light of the theory of dialogism Bakhtin (1996: 196) notes that "чужие высказывания" ("other expressions") can enter the speech as a whole expression or as part of an expression with an assumption that the expression is already known to others. In other words, the ability

of a winged phrase to be transformed or modified goes hand in hand with common knowledge of such a phrase; this is an important factor for the dynamics of such phrases in contemporary Russian.

Data collected for Chapters 4 – 8 of this research reveals a pattern whereby winged phrases from Soviet films are transformed as they enter a variety of contexts. As a result, a new, often apparently different meaning to that implied in the film can take hold. In this way, one of the most popular winged phrases across this study *"Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят"* has been deployed by speakers across all four data sources in both similar and different ways to how it was first uttered by Varvara Pliushch in Gaidai's *"Бриллиантовая рука"*. Table 9.2 below illustrates a comparison of various transformations. In the right hand column the author has attempted to classify the use of the winged phrase as either being similar or different to the use of the phrase in the film. Producing such a binary opposition is, of course, not without risk noting that it is difficult to establish a single, stable 'meaning' of any single phrase for comparative purposes: according to Bakhtin, such phrases would always be considered multi-voiced and dialogic:

> Чужие слова, введённые в нашу речь, неизбежно принимают в себя новое, наше понимание и нашу оценку, то есть становытся двуголосыми. Различными может быть лишь взаимоотношение этих двух голосов. Уже передача чужого утверждения в форме вопроса приводит к столкновению двух осмыслений в одном слове: ведь мы не только спрашиваем, мы проблематизируем чужое утверждение.
>
> (Other words introduced into our speech inevitably embrace the new, our own understanding and our appreciation, that is, they become double-voiced. Only the interrelation between the two voices can be different. The transmission of someone else's statement in a form of a question already leads to a conflict of two meanings in one word: after all, we not only ask, but problematise someone else's statement) (Bakhtin 1979b: 226).

Nevertheless, the following table offers some insight into the ways in which the same phrase can be deployed by different speakers.

Table 9.2 Comparison of transformations of "Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят" by meaning

VARIATIONS OF TRANSFORMATIONS	DATA SOURCE	CONNOTATION
Наши люди на такси не ездят.	Online questionnaire	Similar to film
Наши люди в булочную на машинах не ездят!	Online questionnaire	Similar to film
Наши граждане на такси в булочные не ездят.	YaPlakal forum	Similar to film
Наши люди в отпуск не ходят.	Newspaper headings	Different to film
Наши люди к метро на такси ездят.	Newspaper headings	Different to film
Наши люди в булочную на арендованном авто ездят.	Newspaper headings	Different to film
Наши люди на такси стали ездить чаще, и не только в булочную.	Newspaper headings	Different to film
В булочную – на такси.	Newspaper headings	Different to film

The tendency across all data sets illustrated that most often, winged phrases were transformed in written Russian when they were used as or embedded within newspaper headings, which accords with the existing literature (Zemskaia 2014: 728). The least number of transformed winged phrases (less than 1%) appeared in the "*Цитаты советского кино"* group within the *ВКонтакте* social network. However, the example *"Копают все!"* from "*Цитаты советского кино"* discussed in §9.3.7 above was of particular interest owing to its connection to Russian cultural traditions.

Such a low number of transformations within "*Цитаты советского кино"* can possibly be explained by the fact that this group's administrators do not engage in conversation in the form of comments, but rather generate an online dialogue around each wall post. Wall posts created by administrators were used merely to keep the conversation up between group members. In contrast, journalists must make newspaper headings readily digestible, informative and intriguing; perhaps it is for this reason, as argued by Galieva and Zinnatova (2011: 239), that they employ transformed winged phrases more often.

The length of a winged phrase did not seem to be connected to its capacity for transformation. Thus, a phrase structured as a complex sentence *"Сто грамм – не стоп-кран, дёрнешь – не остановишься!" ("A shot of vodka isn't a stop handle: once you take it, you never stop")* from *"Вокзал для двоих" (Station for Two)* was not transformed; it was used in its entirety as a newspaper heading. In contrast, phrases that consist of merely two words, such as *"Танцуют все!"* from *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию"* were transformed in one post in the "*Цитаты советского кино"* group (see §4.7) and in newspaper headings (see §8.6).

The number of times each winged phrase was transformed as part of a newspaper heading was not as high as was seen in Chapters 5 and 6, wherein the online questionnaire results were presented. This could be because winged phrases in newspaper headings were not repeated to the extent that they were amongst online questionnaire respondents. In contrast, newspaper headings included a wider variety of winged phrases from a longer list of films, the majority of which (91%) were intentionally transformed by journalists in order to add individual expression to their writing.

Indeed, unlike in the act of common daily communication between interlocutors, the aim of a journalist is to attract maximum attention to a heading. As noted by Zemskaia (2014: 721), "журналисты придумывают остроумные, броские, нестандартные, порой загадочные заголовки, которые заставляют человека прочитать статью" ("journalists create sharp-witted, catchy, substandard, at times mysterious headings which encourage the reader to finish reading an article"). Thus, the names of the political leaders of North Korea and the United States are observed being deployed as transformed winged phrases from Soviet films within newspaper headings in order to attract attention to each article: *"Операция Ын" ("Operation Un" (with reference to Kim Jong-un)), "Налетай, не скупись, покупай Трампа живопись!" ("Hurry! Be smart! Buy Trump's fine art!" with reference to Donald Trump's paintings).*

Furthermore, the transformed winged phrases found in headings gave rise to a whole range of new meanings, "orchestrating" the expression of authorial intentions (Bakhtin 1981: 397). In addition to winged phrases which displayed a derivation of meaning when compared to the original winged phrase in film (*"В булочную – на такси", "За державу теперь не обидно"*), headings which included transformed winged phrases from popular Soviet comedies

demonstrated an often humorous tone (*"Кто возьмёт гектаров пачку, получит и кредит в придачу", "Госэкзамен, открой личико!", "Всё, что нажил Захарченко непосильным трудом, – государству!").* This effect was enhanced by word play (*"Я другого города не знаю, где так вольно дышит аллергик", "И медицину тоже вылечат").*[36]

Ezhkova (2010: 23) argues that a high number of variations of a precedent text confirms that the text is in demand – that it is alive. With the increased usage of other texts within one single text in the discourse of modern newspapers, as noted by Galieva and Zinnatova (2011: 239), Bakhtin's concepts of dialogism and heteroglossia are particularly relevant.

9.4.2 Types of transformations

A total of ten types of transformations of precedent texts resulting from a critical review of the existing literature were outlined in §2.10: *замещение (substitution), усечение (reduction), добавление компонента или расширение (addition), контаминация (blend), перемещение (hyperthesis), изменение интонационной оформленности (change of intonational contour), реминисцентная трансформация (reminiscential transformation), искажение грамматической формы компонентов (change of grammatical form of the components), заменение ожидаемой концовки другими словами (replacement of the expected ending by other words), каламбур (wordplay).*

Not all of the abovementioned types of transformations were noted in the data reported in Chapters 4 – 8 of this study. However, complex transformations, whereby one winged phrase was transformed by several methods simultaneously, were common. As a result, a combination of the ten main types of transformations was used to code the data.

One unanticipated finding from this approach was that some types of the transformations observed did not fall readily into the classification established in the existing literature for a

[36] The impact of humour on winged phrases usage is further discussed in §9.5.3 of this chapter.

given winged phrase. This gave rise to the need to establish new explanations for some winged phrase transformations.

The majority of transformed winged phrases in this study were obtained from the online questionnaire data and from the data collected from the *ЯПлакалъ* forum and newspaper headings, with a view to comparing and contrasting transformations in spoken and written Russian. Both data sources provided examples of all the types of transformations of winged phrases outlined in §2.10 either as pure types, or combinations of various transformational types or methods. A summary of all transformational types of winged phrases discovered in this study is presented in Appendix 21.

The findings in this research have illustrated that reduction as a transformation type or method was dominant amongst online questionnaire respondents and *ЯПлакалъ* forum members, while substitution was prevalent across newspaper headings.

Let us consider the implications of both these respectively dominant methods of transformations.

While substitution is considered to be the most common manner of precedent text modifications in the existing literature (Ezhkova 2010: 23; Galieva & Zinnatova 2011: 240; Petukhova & Simulina 2015: 213), the majority of transformed winged phrases provided by respondents to the online questionnaire were classified as reduction. Examples of winged phrases transformed by reduction included: "*И тебя вылечат!" ("And you'll be cured"), "Ты туда не ходи, ты сюда ходи" ("You don't go that way, go this way"), "За державу обидно" ("It is insulting what is done to the Great State").*

In contrast, newspaper headings show a clear tendency towards intended modification of winged phrases by substitution of one word or phrase within a broader winged phrase. Combinations of substitution and other types of transformations were observed in winged phrases used in newspaper headings. These included reduction, addition, change of

grammatical form within the components, change of intonation contour and hyperthesis (all described in §2.10 of the literature review chapter).

The most common substitution type amongst newspaper headings was substitution by a word with a different meaning ("*Восток – дело долгое"*) or by antonym *("Развода не будет!").* Especially notable were substitutions of proper nouns within one winged phrase and substitution of a common name or a verb with a proper name.

Data collected from newspaper headings suggested that seeking ironic effect was one motivator of transformations. For example, winged phrases transformed by an antonym obtained an opposite meaning to the original winged phrase without stylistic differences. Variations in the meaning included the ironic change from negative connotation of the original winged phrase ("*Место встречи изменить нельзя" / "The Meeting Place Must Not Be Changed")* to the positive ("*Место встречи изменить ... Можно"/ "The Meeting Place Can Be Changed")* and from the positive ("*Достаточно одной таблетки" / "One pill will be enough")* to the negative ("*Недостаточно одной таблетки" / "One pill will not be enough").* Similarly, there were no observable stylistic changes amongst winged phrases which had been transformed as a result of a substitution by a synonym. What is significant about the data on winged phrases transformed by substitution in this way is that their use in newspaper headings at times results in a phrase of quite a different stylistic type to the original film phrase.

To expand Bakhtin's writings on dialogism we now refer to Lotman's theory of the semiosphere, where signs exist in an enclosed space. Within such space, new information can be created (Lotman 205: 207). Thus, winged phrases from Soviet films travelling from the past into the space of contemporary Russian culture have crossed the semiotic border, which resulted in the "translation" of winged phrases and the creation of new meanings (Lotman 1992: 17). Such new meanings at times illustrate a lowering of stylistic norms for newspaper headings.

Thus, in the heading "*Невероятные приключения секс-беженцев в России",* a film title *"Невероятные приключения итальянцев в России" (The Unbelievable Adventures of Italians in Russia)* was transformed by substitution of a neutral noun *итальянцев (Italians)*

with *секс-беженцев (sexual refugee)*. The first component of this noun is described in Ozhegov's dictionary as *"разговорное" ("colloquial")* (Ozhegov 2012: 570). A similar example is the heading *"Мажоры XXI века",* a transformation of a film title *"Пираты XX века" (Pirates of the Twentieth Century)*. The heading starts with a slang noun *мажоры (silver-spooners)* (Gramota.ru 2018), which replaces the neutral *пираты (pirates)* in the original winged phrase.

Another notable example is the popular winged phrase *"Студентка, комсомолка, спортсменка, наконец, она просто красавица"* transformed by substitution and reduction into the heading *"Студентка, спортсменка, красавица и просто сутенёрша"*. In Gaidai's comedy *"Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика"* this phrase is used to describe the main heroine Nina; it has an overwhelmingly positive connotation. In the transformed variation, it becomes pejorative, owing to the presence of the noun *"сутенёрша",* which in its connotation evokes prostitution (Ozhegov 2012: 625).

The abovementioned examples illustrate the social and cultural dependence of verbal exchange, its creative character, the particularities of linguistic interaction as conditions for the creation of the meaning (Plekhanova 2011: 43). In the case of newspaper headings, a dialogic, communicative relationship between the author of the article and the reader occurs. However, as noted by Zemskaia (2014: 727), "если читателю цитата неизвестна, никакого диалога с автором не возникает" ("if the quotation is unknown to the reader, a dialogue with the author does not emerge").

As mentioned in §2.10, substitution of a common name with a proper noun requires background knowledge, as in the transformed winged phrases with proper nouns used in newspaper headings which included surnames and abbreviations, such as *Чайковский (Chaikovskii), Шаганов (Shaganov), ЕГЭ (United National Exam): "Чайковский во сне и наяву" ("Chaikovskii in Dreams and in Reality"), "Москва ЕГЭ не верит" ("Moscow does not believe in United National Exam"), "Я Шаганов по Москве" ("I Shaganov around Moscow").* A similar level of knowledge is required for substitution of a proper noun with another proper noun for the following headings: *"Бабченко умер. А потом он не умер" ("Babchenko died. And then he did not die"), "А вас, Набиуллина, я попрошу остаться!"*

("Nabiullina, I would ask you to stay!"), "Они сражались за Одина" ("They Fought for Odin").

Another notable example of transformation by substitution is the heading *"Иван Васильевич меняет прописку" ("Ivan Vasilievich changes registration")*, which is a transformed film title *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию"*. While this is an example of substitution with a word with a different meaning, it should be noted that the noun *прописка (registration)* is rather unique to Soviet and post-Soviet life: "пометка в паспорте регистрации места жительства" ("a note in the passport which relates to the record of place of residence") (Ozhegov 2012: 500).

Similar examples include headings such as *"Казань брали? Нет, торговали!" ("Did you capture Kazan? No, we traded it"), "Москва ЕГЭ не верит" ("Moscow does not believe in United National Exam"), "Леди и джентльмены у дачи" ("Ladies and gentlemen at the summer house")* with the last heading referring to *дача (summer house)* similarly to the transformed winged phrase *"Копают все!"* from "*Цитаты советского кино"* discussed earlier in §9.3.7. In line then with the description of intersituative winged phrases outlined in §2.7.1, (i.e. phrases which require historical and cultural knowledge in addition to knowledge of the film), the abovementioned transformations can therefore be referred as intersituative transformations.

The data reported in Chapters 5 and 8 also highlighted additional transformation types that were not present in the existing literature. The first new type identified amongst winged phrases supplied by the questionnaire respondents is referred to as a reduction and *change of phonetic norms* within the phrase: "*Это ж памятник, кто его посодит!"*. The way the winged phrase was spelled by one questionnaire respondent displayed a capacity to play with orthoepic norms which are not evident in the film. Thus, the abovementioned winged phrase from *"Джентльмены удачи"* – spoken by the uneducated thief Kosoi – can not only be classified as substitution and reduction when compared to the dialogue spoken in the film: ("*Кто же его посадит?!.. Он же памятник!" / "How could the poor guy sit down? An iron monument like that!").* The phrase is transformed by the deployment of the stressed syllable in the word *посодит*: "*Это ж памятник, кто его посодит!"*. To better explain

this particular effect, such a transformation has been classified as a *reduction and change of phonetic norms.*

The above transformation shows a dialogic act of heteroglossia, where the voice and individuality of Kosoi is interpreted in a complex dialogic relation with contemporary Russian practice. As noted by Bakhtin (1979a: 307):

> …человек как целостный голос вступает в диалог. Он участвует в нём не только своими мыслями, но и своей судьбой, всей своей индивидуальностью.
>
> (… a person as a holistic voice enters a dialogue. He takes part in it not only by his thoughts, but by his destiny, all his individuality).

Similarly, there were also examples amongst newspaper headings in which transformed winged phrases from Soviet films were used which did not fall under any of the existing types of transformations. Thus, the heading *"Сосны пермские, лапник тамбовский, ели заморские нормандские"* included only one adjective from the winged phrase *"Икра чёрная, икра красная, икра заморская, баклажанная" – заморские*. However, its grammatical structure and word order (noun + adjective, noun + adjective, noun + adjective + adjective) is identical to that of the winged phrase.

Another two of the headings analysed included one key element of the winged phrase: *"Казань брали? Нет, торговали!"* (compare to *"Казань брал, Астрахань брал, Ревель брал... Шпака не брал" / "I took Kazan, I took Astrakhan, I took Revel, but never Shpak")* and *"Как хряснет по столу – и тишина"* (compare to *"Глянул в стороны: гроб с покойничком летает над крестами, а вдоль дороги мёртвые с косами стоять. И тишина!" / "I looked round – a coffin flying over the graves, and beside the road – ghosts with scythes. And not a sound!")*. In the first example, the key word *Казань* is at the start of both the winged phrase and the heading alike. The second example includes the key element *тишина* at the end of both winged phrase and heading. Therefore, it can be seen that the above three headings are transformations of winged phrases which do not fall into any of the existing classifications

described in the literature (see §2.10). In this study, it is proposed that such transformations are referred to as *lexical* and *associative transformations*.

Employing Lotman's (1992) theory of semiosphere, it can be argued that transformations of winged phrases from Soviet films enter a dialogic relationship with new Russian sociocultural contexts. The "транслируемый текст" ("transmitted text"), which is a winged phrase from a Soviet film and "полученный на него ответ" ("its answer"), which is a transformed winged phrase, include "элементы перехода на чужой язык" ("elements of transition into another language"), such as new elements *(Трамп, ЭГЭ)* unknown to the creators of the Soviet films, as they did not exist or were not known at the time of the film's creation (Kabiak 2019: 263). As noted in §2.11.2 of the literature review chapter, the process of a winged phrase obtaining a new meaning as a result of transformation is referred to by Clark (2010: 67) as 'resemiotisation', which "generates an element of unpredictability in the dialogic process". As illustrated in the above section of this chapter, the process of resemiotisation integrates a dialogue between two sign systems; this translates winged phrases from Soviet films into a contemporary sociocultural context by retaining a dialogic connection with the past.

9.5 Factors influencing the inclusion of winged phrases from Soviet films into contemporary Russian speakers' linguistic repertoires (Research question 3)

The third section of this chapter is aligned with research question 3: why are winged phrases from Soviet films incorporated into contemporary Russian language practice? This part of the chapter firstly refers to the top four answers to Question 6 in the online questionnaire (i.e. 'Why in your opinion are winged phrases from Soviet films being used in the speech of modern Russian speakers?').[37] Connections with findings across other data chapters have been identified and synthesised, resulting in an additional number of factors being included into the analysis. Relevant theory and research are also discussed in relation to these findings.

[37] As noted in §3.9.3 and in §5.5, the mean for reasons 3 and 4 was very close, with the difference of 0.01, compared to the difference of 0.19 between the reasons 1 and 3 and 0.44 between reasons 2 and 3. As a result, the decision was made to include the fourth reason into both data and discussion chapters.

9.5.1 The situation of verbal communication matches the situation in the film

As earlier discussed in §9.2, the perceptions of the online questionnaire respondents and the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum members were that winged phrases are used in situations similar to the ones in the film in question. In light of these perceptions, it is not surprising that amongst the nine reasons listed in the questionnaire for using winged phrases from Soviet films (see §5.5), the most important reason listed by respondents was:

> "The situation of verbal communication matches the situation in the film".

The most popular response was subjected to an additional control measure to ensure accuracy: after pilot study results showed it to be the most popular, this response was deliberately moved down the list of available reasons, to mitigate the risk of it having being chosen simply because it was first on the list. Despite the control shift, this choice remained the most popular based on the data collected amongst the online questionnaire respondents.

The fact that this was the primary choice for the questionnaire respondents supports the published literature in the field of winged phrases from Soviet films (Kozhevnikov 2001, Kudriavtseva 2008). Kozhevnikov (2001: 5-6) sheds light on how winged phrases are being used in situations similar to the ones in film:

> ...чаще всего использование цитаты носит чисто ассоциативный характер: сама ситуация, в условиях которой происходит речевое общение, или же произнесённая одним из говорящих фраза (а часто и отдельное слово) той или иной стороной совпадают или соотносятся с ситуацией, фразой и т.п. из первоисточника и, соответственно, становятся реальным стимулом, реакцией на который и является воспроизведение соответствующей цитаты.
>
> (…most often the usage of quotation is by association: the situation itself, in which a speech act takes place, or one phrase pronounced by the interlocutor (often it is a separate word) by one or another side match or correlate to the situation, the phrase from the primary source, and

> accordingly, become a real stimulus, the reaction to which in fact a reproduction of the corresponding quotation).

At the same time, findings across the online questionnaire responses, the *ЯПлакалъ* discussion forum and newspaper headings indicated that winged phrases from Soviet films are used in a number of situations different to the ones in the film (see §9.2), which illustrates the heteroglot nature of the language and society "orchestrating" at a given period of time (Bakhtin 1981: 331). While the situations of usage may remain similar, many of the Soviet realities referred to are now consigned to memory – they are no longer any part of lived modern Russian experience.

9.5.2 Cinema quotation as a verbal game

As discussed in §2.7.1, one of the ways winged phrases function in contemporary Russian practice is by verbal game – described by Kozhevnikov (2001: 6) as follows:

> Один из говорящих произносит какую-либо фразу из популярного фильма, обрывая её и явно ожидая, а точнее – провоцируя собеседника на продолжение, и в результате – завязывается целый диалог, целиком состоящий из цитат.

> (One of the speakers pronounces a phrase from a popular film, cutting it short and clearly expecting, or to be more exact – provoking the interlocutor to continue, and as a result, a whole dialogue starts, which consists entirely of quotations).

Thus, language games are another way of implementing winged phrases from Soviet films into contemporary Russian speakers' language repertoires. Exchanges of film quotations as a form of running dialogue described above by Kozhevnikov often occurred between "*Цитаты советского кино"* group members within the *ВКонтакте* social network.

Extract 9.1 below illustrates an example of such a verbal game.

Extract 9.1

Olesia Dobrich: Идите вы... в бухгалтерию!

Go to… your accounting department!

Irina Potekhina: Хорошие сапоги, надо брать.

Good boots, I'll buy them.

Anna Tereshkova: В молодости вы были гораздо талантливее, только я не знала, что вы творили под псевдонимом Пастернак.

In youth you seem to have been a lot more talented, I couldn't even imagine that your pen name was Pasternak.

Responses to a post with a winged phrase from "Служебный роман"

Date of the post: 10 August 2016

The fact that these winged phrases were not connected to each other may partly be explained by the technical nature of communication: when group members write their comments simultaneously, there is a delay in appearance on screen. However, the fact that the majority of winged phrases in the online communication within "*Цитаты советского кино"* did not relate to each other may serve as evidence of a verbal game.

The findings show that a verbal game in "*Цитаты советского кино"* in the form of winged phrase exchange can become a competition, to the extent that everyone is encouraged to provide even more quotations to reach a collective record, as in Extract 9.2 below:

Extract 9.2

Roza Kravchenko: Так что передать мой король? – Передай свой король мой пламенный привет.

So whadda I say my king? – Say your king my warm greetings.

Roza Kravchenko: !6 не хватает до 200, до рекорда!)))

!We are 6 short of 200, of the record!)))

Zhora Zhukov: Роза, а Кемска волост?

Roza, whaddabout Kemsk region?

Roza Kravchenko: Отдавайте! Я-то думал!

Give it! I thought it was something important!

Responses to a post with a photo made while shooting "Иван Васильевич меняет профессию"

Date of the post: 11 August 2016

Discussing the issue of "текст в тексте" ("text within a text") Lotman notes the moment of the game within a text and highlights its "игровой характер" ("game-like approach") and the "роль границ текста" ("role of text borders") (Lotman 1992: 155-156). Therefore, it can be argued that the structure of text borders, which separate the text within a text, will change. In the case in question this relates to film quotations from the general communication of "*Цитаты советского кино"* group members. The moment of "game-like approach" heightens when the film action steps from the screen into the everyday life of modern Russian speakers.

In addition to the verbal game described by Kozhevnikov (2001) and illustrated in Extracts 9.1 and 9.2 above, Norman (1999: 104-107) notes a game which is determined by the relaxation of language norms within the formal text of a film script and the repetition of such winged phrases in contemporary Russian (see §2.7.1).

The intentional corruption of phonetic norms in film scripts was replicated in spoken Russian or, in the case of this research, observed in the written form of spoken Russian. Let us illustrate this occurrence with the example of the usage of a common winged phrase *"Достаточно*

одной таблетки" from Gaidai's comedy *"Бриллиантовая рука"*, which appeared across three data sources: "*Цитаты советского кино"* group within *ВКонтакте* social network, online questionnaire and newspaper headings. In the film the phrase is pronounced by Liolik who, according to different linguists, speaks with either an Ukranian (Elistratov 2010) or Belarusian (Riashentsev 2000) accent. In dictionaries of winged phrases, the phrase is presented in accordance with modern spelling rules: *"Достаточно одной таблетки"* (Kozhevnikov 2001: 507; Elistratov 2010: 96). However, Elistratov adds a note on its pronunciation: "согласные перед передними гласными произносятся твёрдо: [таблэткы] (имитируется украинский акцент)" ("the consonants before the front vowels are being pronounced as hard consonants (a Ukranian accent is being imitated)") (Elistratov 2010: 96).

Such peculiarities of Liolik's pronunciation are highlighted by the "*Цитаты советского кино"* group member by spelling the noun *таблетка* with 'э' and capitalizing it in order to stress the attention on it (see Extract 9.3 below):

Extract 9.3

Armen Samson: Достаточно одной таблЭтки.

Responses to a post with a winged phrase from "Бриллиантовая рука"

Date of the post: 17 June 2016

The same winged phrase appeared in a transformed format in a newspaper heading: "*Недостаточно одной таблетки" ("One pill will not be enough")* (see §8.7.2), which shows how different speakers can offer a pre-existing winged phrase to others in the game not only by referring to it, but also by entering into polemics with it (Bakhtin 1979a: 247).

Similar examples of using modified spelling to emphasise the accent of the speaker in film are observed in the existing literature. In his book *"Игра на гранях языка"* Norman (2006: 98) calls this occurrence *"фонетическое гримасничанье" ("phonetic grimacing")* by providing a similar example in the form of a fragment of winged phrase from *"Бриллиантовая рука"* – "*дитям мороженое" ("the ice-cream is for the brats")*. Although this type of a verbal game

is not included into his own classification of verbal games (Norman 1999), it appears similar to the type described as "the artificial blurring of grammatical boundaries, the expansion of grammatical categories and the creation of occasional grammatical forms" (Norman 1999: 104) described in §2.7.1. Therefore, it seems reasonable to refer to the example in Extract 9.3 above as "the artificial blurring of orthoepic boundaries". Such examples can be primarily linked to the factors outlined by Norman (see §2.7.1) which encourage language games first in film scripts and then in spoken Russian. However, some caution is probably advisable, as the relaxation of literary norms in the usage of the above winged phrase does not seem to appear across all data sources.

A similar type of verbal game occurs in the winged phrase "*Эй, гражданина, ты туда не ходи, ты сюда ходи. А то снег башка попадёт, совсем мёртвый будешь" ("Hey, you citizen! You don't go that way. Go this way. Or the snow will fall on your head! And you'll be completely dead").* The phrase is pronounced in *"Джентльмены удачи"* by Vasilii Alibabaevich, whose accent is referred to by Elistratov (2010) as central Asian. While the script writers intentionally break literary norms in the dialogue of Vasilii Alibabaevich, this inquiry's focus was in the second part of the winged phrase "*снег башка попадёт" ("the snow will fall on your head");* it appears across three data sources of this study and can be described as an intentional corruption of verbal government.

This phrase was mentioned three times by the online questionnaire respondents in response to Question 4 (List winged phrases from Soviet films which are most popular from your point of view) and in Question 7.4 of the online questionnaire in response to a winged phrase *"А в тюрьме сейчас ужин. Макароны" ("It's suppertime at prison. Macaroni").* The abovementioned corruption of verbal government occurred in all responses, even in the comment in which the respondent indicated Radner Muratov's role as Vasilii Alibabaevich by describing him as follows (Comment 9.4):

> *Тот же, который "снег башка попадёт".*
>
> The same one, who said "the snow will fall on your head".
>
> **Comment 9.4, female respondent, 31-50 years old, teacher, answer to question 7 of the questionnaire.**

Regarding newspaper headings, the appearance of this winged phrase was contrary to that described above, with its artificial blurring of orthoepic boundaries. In the heading which deployed the transformed winged phrase *"Ты сюда не ходи – стена башка попадёт" ("Don't go this way – a wall will fall on your head")* the intentional corruption of a verbal government remained the same as in the film script.

The way in which this fragment of winged phrase was listed by a group member of the "*Цитаты советского кино"* group is of particular interest. As can be seen, another grammatical change is made to a phrase – which is the addition of a preposition *в*; nevertheless, the verbal government was still corrupted (Extract 9.4):

Extract 9.4

Yana Razina: Эй, гражданина!!! Ты туда не ходи! Ты сюда ходи, а то снег в башка попадёт! Совсем мёртвый будешь!

Responses to a post dedicated to Radner Muratov's birthday
Date of the post: 21 October 2015

One of the possible explanations for this might be the group member's additional emphasis on Vasilii Alibabaevich's accent, which is far from literary norms. As argued by Norman (1999: 107), one of the factors influencing the encouragement of language games is uncertainties over, or relaxation of, the literary norm:

> Language games have now become more widespread, more acceptable and less constrained. Formerly the domain of wits, or confined to private gatherings around the kitchen table, they have now burst out into the public arena – on to the streets, on to the pages of newspapers and into political speeches.

These representations of Russian speakers' usage of winged phrases from Soviet films illustrate "parallelism between individual consciousness, the text and culture as a whole" (Lotman 2005: 216). A winged phrase can be compared to an object, reflected in a mirror, which generates

different reflections in its fragments or different approaches to a language game by various users of a winged phrase (Lotman 2005: 216). A choice to repeat an intentional corruption of a language norm may be explained by a variety of reasons, but in any event, an element of a language or verbal game is prevalent.

9.5.3 A wish to entertain the interlocutor

A wish to entertain the interlocutor was the third most popular reason selected by the online questionnaire respondents as reasons for using winged phrases in their speech. The overriding finding in this study revealed that a wish to add humour into a discourse prompted the usage of winged phrases from Soviet films. When online questionnaire respondents were asked to list what were in their opinion the most popular winged phrases from Soviet films and situations of usage, 10% of respondents' comments (41 comments out of 411) referenced cognate words to the nouns *joke (шутка)* and *humour (юмор)* (see §5.4.8). The importance of humour as one of the reasons for using winged phrases from Soviet films in speech was highlighted explicitly (Comment 9.5):

> *Добавление юмора в разговор.*
> To add humour into a discourse.
> **Comment 9.5, female respondent, 31-50 years old, teacher, answer to question 6 of the questionnaire.**

Questionnaire respondents also used the adjective *шутливый (humorous)* when providing their own explanations of winged phrases suggested by the questionnaire in Question 7 (see §6.2.2). As illustrated by Comment 9.6 below, when commenting on the meaning of the winged phrase *"Я требую продолжения банкета!",* one of the respondents noted:

> *Шутливое требование продолжения какого-либо мероприятия, чаще – застолья.*
> Jocular demand to continue some event, more often than not food-related.
> **Comment 9.6, female respondent, 31-50 years old, teacher, answer to question 7 of the questionnaire.**

While being semantically proximate to the existing dictionary entry “давайте продолжим, давайте не останавливаться, продолжаем!” (“let’s continue, don’t stop, go on!”) (Elistratov 2010: 322), this explanation acknowledges the humorous aspect of the dialogue pronounced by the drunk Bunsha when he wants the feast to continue – and it also explains much of the phrase’s subsequent usage in contemporary Russian.

Such results are not surprising given the explanation for one of the most popular winged phrases of this study *“Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят!”* in Elistratov’s (2001) dictionary: “шутливо-неодобрительно о ком-либо, кто живёт на широкую ногу, много тратит денег” (“jocular-disapproving about someone who lives in great style, spends a lot of money”) (Elistratov 2010: 170). Notably, the above winged phrase is used as a joke in contemporary Russian despite the passing in modern Russian society of that peculiarly Soviet lack of privacy and total State control implied in the phrase, aspects which have been discussed in §2.7.1.

Entertainment is often imbued with the winged phrase itself, as it appears in a film’s dialogue and as imparted by an actor’s personality. Thus, research findings show that Shurik’s lines from Gaidai’s comedies can be viewed as creating a contemporary version of Ivan-the-Fool (see § 9.3.6 above): his lines are almost never quoted with reference to serious matters. Similarly, the dialogue of villains in Gaidai’s films resounds as a joke in a variety of contemporary contexts.

Thus, the winged phrase *“Кто не работает, тот ест. Учись, студент!” (“Those who don’t work, get to eat. Take note, student!”)* directed to Shurik by Verzila in *“Операция "Ы" и другие приключения Шурика”* was popular amongst “*Цитаты советского кино”* group members and known by the majority of the online questionnaire respondents. Humour in the winged phrase can be explained by applying Coulson’s (2015) concept of space structuring. In the abovementioned example, a transformation can be viewed as a shift of frame, as Coulson (2015: 182) puts it:

> Frame-shifting seems to occur whenever it is necessary to represent the relationship between two or more objects, actions, or events. If the disjunctor, or frame-shifting trigger, cannot be sensibly incorporated into existing structure, the words that served to evoke that structure are re-analyze
>
> d to provide a coherent bridge between the initial and the revised representations. The relationship between the disjunctor and the connector can be suggested by grammatical clues, conceptual relationships, or a combination of the two.

Interpretation of the abovementioned winged phrase relies on knowledge of the well-known proverb "*Кто не работает, тот не ест" ("Those who don't work, don't eat").* The first clause of the winged phrase "*Кто не работает*" ("*Those who don't work")* evokes a model of people's necessity, of an obligation to work in order to obtain material goods, such as food, clothes, housing and other. The disjunctor *не ест* (*don't eat)* prompts the listener to revise a default and logical assumption of eating as a result of working. Therefore, as a result of frame-shifting a new super-frame is created which adapts the previously-created structure and turns it into a joke. This is in line with the existing literature, in which the achievement of comical effect in the phrase is determined by the fact that the winged phrase is a transformation of the saying "*Кто не работает, тот не ест"* (Karpechenkova 2012: 242).

Another unexpected shift of frame can be seen in the heading *"Налетай, не скупись, покупай Трампа живопись!"* – a phrase adapted from the same Gaidai's comedy. The transformed winged phrase already mentioned in §9.4.1 above includes the name of the famously transactional American entrepreneur-turned president and is a humorous call to buy his art. According to Coulson (2015: 171), "jokes are deliberately constructed to suggest one frame while evoking elements consistent with another".

When viewed from the Bakhtinian perspective of carnival, this heading can be seen as a "market cry": Bakhtin refers to similar structures in works of Rabelais as "street cries", evoking a time when "the city rang with these many voices" (Bakhtin 1984: 181-182). The original winged phrase *"Налетай, не скупись, покупай живопись!"* – while being a *"громкая реклама" ("loud advertisement")* of a merchant – is characterised by a *"ритмическая стихотворная форма" ("rhythmical poetic form")*. In his comedy Gaidai arguably refers to

the *"культура народного вульгарного языка" ("culture of people's vulgar language")* (Bakhtin 1965: 197). The phrase has intentional phonetical corruption of a noun *живопись (art)*, with the stress moved to the last vowel: *живопИсь*. Such change in stress as well as the allusion to President Donald Trump in the newspaper heading increases the comical effect. Therefore, while *"Налетай, не скупись, покупай Трампа живопись!"* heading is a transformed winged phrase from Gaidai's comedy, it creates a complex dialogic relationship between "the street cries", Gaidai's film script and the newspaper heading.

The humorous aspect of winged phrases has not been systematically described in the existing literature. Therefore, this study can be considered a valuable starting point towards studies in the area of winged phrases from Soviet films and humour.

9.5.4 Sense of belonging in a defined ethnocultural society

A sense of belonging between interlocutors in a defined ethnocultural society ranked fourth amongst the reasons for quoting Soviet films in online questionnaire responses. This result is especially notable because of the almost even distribution of the sample between residents of the former USSR republics (53%) and non-CIS countries and those who live in turns in the Russian Federation and another country (47% of the sample). In other words, by employing winged phrases from Soviet films in their speech, Russian speakers both within and outside what might be thought of as the core of the Russian language and culture environment feel connected to each other in language and culture by their knowledge of popular Soviet films and the ability to quote them.

This connection between winged phrases from Soviet films and contemporary Russian linguistic conceptualisation and its relative importance to culture is best illustrated by an online questionnaire respondent (Comment 9.7):

Использую в России с друзьями (эти и другие фразы часто, так как хочу окунуться в словесный русский поток).
I use in Russia with friends (these and other phrases) often, because I want to dip into the Russian verbal stream.
Comment 9.7, male respondent, 51-65 years old, teacher, answer to question 5 of the questionnaire.

Further, the popularity of "*Цитаты советского кино"* with over 75,000 members in 2016 (see §3.5.2) and other similar groups on social networking sites, cannot be ignored. This sense of using winged phrases from Soviet films as a means of connection to like-minded interlocutors without necessarily residing in a former USSR country supports a statement made by Elistratov (2010: 18) in the introduction to his dictionary of winged phrases from Russian cinema:

> Язык кинематографа, русский "Кинемалогос" – неотъемлемая часть народного фольклора XX века,.. фольклора, во многом отражающего специфику русского национального мышления.
>
> (The language of cinema, Russian 'Kinemalogos' is an inherent part of people's folklore of the XXth century, … folklore which in many ways captures the specifics of the Russian national way of thinking).

Thus, in contemporary Russian within a given society the appreciation of a winged phrase from a Soviet film occurs only when a recipient "понимает текст только потому, что знает его заранее" ("understands the text only because he knows it in advance"). Therefore, the members of such society are seen *"как единое "я"" ("unified 'self'")* (Lotman 1973b: 234). As a result, each winged phrase enters a dialogue with other semiotic objects within a defined ethnocultural society while being 'filtered' and 'translated' into contemporary Russian (Lotman 1992: 19). In this research such semiotic objects include social networking sites, colloquial speech, online discussion forums and newspaper headings. This makes it possible to explore the research questions that drive this study from different perspectives.

One unanticipated finding was that some winged phrases offered to respondents in the online questionnaire's Question 7 received comments which linked these phrases to a concept of national identity discussed in §2.2. Thus, the situation of the following dialogue "*Полюбить – так королеву, проиграть – так миллион!"* as pronounced by Liudmila in *"Москва слезам не верит"* was explained by one of the respondents as follows (Comment 9.8):

> *Непобедимое желание веры в чудо, русское "авось", или всё или ничего.*
> (it's the) Invincible wish to believe in a miracle, Russian 'may be', either all or nothing.
> **Comment 9.8, male respondent, 51-65 years old, teacher, answer to question 7 of the questionnaire.**

Sergeeva (2010: 81) classifies *"русское "авось"" ("Russian 'may be'")* as an ethnocultural stereotype, which is a generalised account of Russian national behaviour and manners. The phraseological locution *"на авось"* means "в расчёте на счастливую случайность, на счастливый исход; наудачу" ("with a view to a piece of luck, hopefully leading to a happy ending – the concept of 'hit or miss'") (Molotkov 1986: 29).

Even though this winged phrase is not included in Elistratov's (2010) or Diadechko's (2008) dictionaries of winged phrases, it is worthy of note, as the phrase encapsulates a widely-understood sense of Russian fatalism or risk-taking, as noted by the online questionnaire respondents.

From a Bakhtinian perspective, this respondent's attitude towards the winged phrase reflects his "specific points of view on the world, forms for conceptualizing the world in words, specific world views, each characterised by its own objects, meaning and values" (Bakhtin 1981: 291-292). These encounters reflect the respondents' understanding of the relationship between a winged phrase and a Russian national identity and his sense of belonging to a specific ethnocultural society.

9.5.5 Winged phrases from Soviet film as a separate folklore genre

The popularity of winged phrases from Soviet films amongst contemporary Russian language speakers, it would appear, goes hand in hand with the significance which Soviet films occupy in the entertainment of contemporary Russian speakers. Thus, the "*Цитаты советского кино"* group members within the *ВКонтакте* social network noted with reference to Soviet film-quotes *"Служебный роман" (Office Romance)* and *"Бриллиантовая рука"* that they "want to watch it again and again" and "it's a pity that now there are no such films". A comment from an online questionnaire respondent highlights repetitive viewing and enjoyment of Soviet films, which no doubt contributes to the fact that winged phrases from these films are fixed more prominently in viewers' memories (Comment 9.9):

> *Эти фильмы до сих пор любимы, их часто пересматривают, выражения легко запоминаются.*
> These films are still being liked, people go over them again, phrases are easily memorised.
> **Comment 9.9, female respondent, 31-50 years old, teacher, answer to question 6 of the questionnaire.**

While the attitude expressed above might be expected of a respondent who was born in the Soviet Union era, a similar sentiment offered by a 17-year old member of the "*Цитаты советского кино"* group illustrates the persistent popularity of Soviet films amongst those for whom the Soviet Union is rather an idea, or a chapter from a history book, but not a place of birth or lived experience (Extract 9.5):

> ***Extract 9.5***
> *Liza Pushchina:* Это классика))) она будет актуальна всегда))) мне 17 лет, а я с самого детства люблю советские фильмы)))
> It's classic))) it will be always relevant))) I am 17, and from a young age I liked Soviet films)))
> *Response to a post dedicated to Yurii Yakovlev*
> *Date of the post: 24 January 2016*

Naming Soviet films as 'classics' is not surprising as it confirms the literature on the Soviet films and on winged phrases. Elistratov (2010) makes an attempt to find a deep connection between the Soviet cinema of the XXth century and the preceding tradition of Russian culture, first of all classical literature and folklore. In doing so he notes an organic bond between these art forms of different eras and argues that the language of the cinema is an inherent part of the 20th century people's folklore (Elistratov 2010: 10, 15, 18).

Such close cinematic connection to folklore can be explained by a number of factors. On one hand, as noted in §2.6, there is a connection between Proppian (1968) folkloric types within the fairy tale – as outlined in *Morphology of the Folktale* – and Soviet film characters. Thus, the popularity of Soviet films in the modern culture can be explained by their "фольклорный тип эстетического восприятия" ("folkloric types of aesthetic perception") (Fedorov 2009: 103). As a result, the dialogue spoken by Shurik the modern 'Ivan-the-Fool' and Varvara Pliushch as a 'villain' relate to the main Proppian folkloric types: Proppian logic would suggest that these types remain unconsciously lodged in the consciousness of contemporary Russian speakers.

In addition, Fomin's (2012: 30) definition of folklore in his study dedicated to cinema and folklore depicts a sense of belonging between interlocutors in a defined ethnocultural society discussed in §9.5.4 above:

> В нашей отечественной науке фольклор принято понимать как коллективное творчество широких народных масс, отражающее взгляды, чаяния, миропонимание и мироощущение народного коллектива, его художественные вкусы. Отображая только то, что народному коллективу представляется в окружающем мире особенно важным, значимым, существенным, фольклор выражает именно такую точку зрения на мир, которая является общей и объединяет всех членов данной общности.
>
> (In our national science folklore is commonly understood as a collective creation of the broad masses of people, which reflects the views, aspirations, world outlook and attitudes of the people's collective and their artistic tastes. While showing only what seems to be especially important, significant, fundamental to the collective of people in the world that surrounds them,

folklore expresses precisely the point of view of the world that is common and unifying for all members of a given community).

On the other hand, it can equally be argued that repetitive viewing of Soviet films provides a 'code' in the form of winged phrases, a 'code' which preserves itself in the viewer's memory. Similarly then to the listener or to the reader of the fairy tale, the film viewer transforms "полученные им штампы в тексты своего сознания" ("received stamps into texts that exist in his or her mind") (Lotman 1973b: 243). It follows that winged phrases are perhaps so easily memorised partly because of the film makers' intentional 'programming' of a winged phrase to be memorised (Kudriavtseva 2008: 27) as well as a film dialogue's "aphoristic nature" – this is seen especially in Gaidai's films (Prokhorova 2016: 528). Lotman (1992: 150-151) argues that one of the characteristics of a mythologically oriented culture is that there is a 'text-code' between language and intermediate texts, which arranges the narrator's memory and suggests the limits of possible text variation (for further discussion on a notion of 'text-code' see §2.11.2).

Thus, it can be argued in relation to Soviet era cinema's enduring and transformable winged phrases that we are witnessing a new coding model, in which text-code in the form of winged phrases from a Soviet film, similarly to other folklore genres, is entering contemporary Russian. In a situation when a winged phrase is being pronounced or written, it is therefore understood because it is 'known' in advance. While Lotman notes such codes with reference to texts taken from Pushkin's poetry, parables, myths and sayings, he argues that cultural codes are the codes "концентрирующие в себе информацию о самом типе языка" ("concentrating in themselves information about the type of language itself") (Lotman 1973b: 239). Such views on the aphoristic nature of Russian language are summarised by one of the online questionnaire respondents (Comment 9.10):

Многовековая привычка русского народа к афористичности речи.

Centuries-long practice of Russian people towards aphoristic character of speech.

Comment 9.10, female respondent, 31-50 years old, teacher, answer to question 6 of the questionnaire.

While the above results confirm the existing literature in which a connection between Soviet cinema and Russian folklore was identified (Elistratov 2010, Fedorov 2009, Fomin 2012, Plamadiala 1985), they also provide rich future directions for scholarship in the field of winged phrases from Soviet films as a separate folklore genre. Such phrases remain an important part of the Russian folklore tradition, and, although they have a literary or cinematic source, can readily be aligned with other historical small folk genres, such as proverbs and sayings.

9.5.6 Other factors

The analysis of data collected for this research indicated a number of additional factors that influence contemporary Russian speakers to use winged phrases in their oral and written speech, which are outlined below.

Notably, the analysis of online interaction within the "*Цитаты советского кино"* group in *ВКонтакте* social network shows that there is a tendency towards using short winged phrases from Soviet films. A total of 67% of comments (1,126 comments out of 1,694) which were included into the study were no longer than one line. Veale, Brône & Feyaerts (2015: 1) comment on the ease with which certain phrases function in language from a point of view of human cognition:

> Language has a unifying power, one that allows us to condense a complex swirl of feelings and ideas into a single, highly evocative word or phrase. It allows us to construct a unified front around cognitive phenomena that are related but far from unified. This power, if unchecked by careful introspection and empirical analysis, can make essentialists of us all. Simplicity comes from having a single convenient word for a complex of related ideas, but simplicity also promotes over-simplification.

With regard to winged phrases' ability to be easily reconstructed, the analysis of the quantitative data from the online questionnaire indicated that attempting Questions 7 and 8 (i.e. 'To which films, characters and situations can you attribute the following winged phrases?' & 'Fill in the gaps in the following winged phrases') proved particularly popular and useful. On average, the majority (86%) of respondents attempted to reconstruct a winged phrase where

one word was missing and still answered the question correctly. While identifying the film character and the situation in which the phrase was used in film were less successful, comments provided by the online questionnaire respondents indicated the knowledge of a phrase, despite an inability to remember primary sources. The following comment was provided by a respondent who could remember neither the situation in the film, nor the character who pronounces it (Comment 9.11):

Но фразу знаю.

But I know the phrase.

Comment 9.11, female respondent, 31-50 years old, teacher, answer to question 7 of the questionnaire.

Another comment was provided by a participant who stressed the popularity of the phrase, but indicated that she could not remember the name of the film (Comment 9.12):

Известная фраза, но не помню фильм.

Well-known phrase, but I don't remember the film.

Comment 9.12, female respondent, 31-50 years old, teacher, answer to question 7 of the questionnaire.

It is not uncommon for a contemporary Russian speaker not to know the film-source or situation in which the winged phrase was used in the original. Kozhevnikov (2001: 7) notes when he refers to winged phrases from Soviet and Russian cinema that "цитирование в устной речи обычно не сопровождается указанием на первоисточник" ("quoting in oral speech does not come with the reference to the primary source"). Also, as previously noted in §3.11, a generation born in the late 1970s – early 1980s (a generation Kozhevnikov refers to as his students in the 2001 edition of his dictionary of winged phrases), made the discovery that a winged phrase is not merely a joke of their parents or older acquaintances, but in fact connects itself to a film which they might have recently watched. Even after making such a discovery, younger generations can often connect a winged phrase to the person from whom we most often hear it (Kozhevnikov 2001: 7).

The results obtained through the questionnaire and newspaper headings illustrate that the appearances of winged phrases from Soviet films were not accompanied by their sources. None of the online questionnaire respondents supplied the film-source when listing their most popular winged phrases. The same tendency occurred in the discourse of newspapers, when winged phrases were used by journalists in newspaper headings. As for the "*Цитаты советского кино"* group within the *ВКонтакте* social network, verbal games between interlocutors often consisted of winged phrases from different films, with no reference attempted as to their sources. The only exceptions occurred in the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum, where members had to follow copyright laws and, therefore, a total of 9% of comments by forum members separated film quotations from their own speech by supplying the source.

As previously discussed in §2.11.2 and in §9.5.5 above, from Lotman's perspective of semiotics, each winged phrase from Soviet films can possibly be interpreted as a text-code between a language and intermediate texts (Lotman 1992: 150-151). Therefore, in order to implement a winged phrase successfully into contemporary context, the code in a form of the winged phrase is recalled from the narrator's memory. It seems that while the accuracy with which such codes are being reproduced varies, the codes are being reproduced in an isolated way, without reproduction of their source. As Kozhevnikov puts it: "цитируемый фрагмент в буквальном смысле слова органично "вплетается" в речь цитирующего, ассимилирует с ней" ("a quoted fragment literally organically 'interweaves' into the speech of the one quoting, and assimilates within it") (Kozhevnikov 2001: 7).

It can be argued that journalists appeal to the existence of such text-code in the memory of the reader when they use winged phrases from Soviet films in their writings. The degree of winged phrase knowledge varies, making it either easier or more difficult for individual readers to comprehend. While 'pure' or 'isolated' winged phrases from Soviet films are rather easily recalled in reader's minds, phrases which were transformed by a more associative method may offer more appeal to a reader of a specific age with a specific knowledge of Soviet cinema.

9.6 Quotations not in Kozhevnikov's dictionary

Following the difference in the capacity of a quotation and a winged phrase noted in §3.5.2, Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary was chosen as a reference point in order to narrow down large volumes of data for inclusion into this research. While this dictionary is considered to be the most comprehensive amongst other dictionaries of winged phrases from Soviet films (Karpechenkova 2012; Metelkina 2012; Rozhkova 2015; Sadullaeva 2012; Shulezhkova 2003), research findings from the current study suggest that a number of quotations from El′dar Riazanov's films as well as film titles and lines from songs in Soviet films were not present in the dictionary. A comparative evaluation of the existing dictionaries of winged phrases was never a goal of this inquiry, but such occurrences appear to be present across all data sources and, therefore, cannot be ignored.

Data from newspaper headings illustrated that not all of the song lines from *фильмы-цитатники* (see §2.6) which are frequently being used in journalistic writing appear in Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary ("*Постой, паровоз, не стучите, колёса. Кондуктор, нажми на тормоза...", "Им бы понедельники взять и отменить...", "Вот и стало обручальным нам Садовое кольцо").* Data from the "*Цитаты советского кино"* group have shown that the dialogue from Riazanov's films *"Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!"* and *"Служебный роман"* is quoted by group members, but is not included into Kozhevnikov's dictionary. Similarly, quotations from the later Riazanov films *"Гараж" (The Garage)* and *"Вокзал для двоих"* which appeared in the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum were also not present in the dictionary. Thus, Riazanov's films are underestimated in terms of winged phrase appearances in contemporary dictionaries. This would benefit from rectification in future dictionary editions.

9.7 Translation of winged phrases from Soviet films into other languages

Winged phrases from films of the past as part of contemporary culture and language are a very strong, if not exclusive feature of Russian practice. Perhaps for this reason they have not resulted in widespread translation and certainly no foreign language dictionaries of this Russian phenomenon exist. As a result, especially when humour was involved, this study's own

translations of winged phrases into English proved at times problematic; this may raise questions as to why the English rendering may not possess the complexity of semantic, morphological and phonetic applications expressed in a given winged phrase in the original Russian. At times, through the process of translation, winged phrases obtained new nuances (e.g. *"Чует моё сердце, что мы накануне грандиозного шухера" / "My heart tells me that the revolution is just about to begin"* – in this phrase, the Russian word *шухер* translates to the English *revolution* in subtitles).

In selecting the translation for each winged phrase included into this study, the first points of reference were the official *Mosfilm*, *Lenfilm* and *Sovietmoviesonline* websites where Soviet films with English subtitles are displayed. Trusted, well-known production companies such as "*Крупный план"* and *RUSCICO* were also used. However, there were cases when one winged phrase was translated in different ways as part of subtitling, whereas for most of the films there were no English subtitles available. In such cases the author employed her own judgement in order to select the most appropriate translation and interpretation of a winged phrase (as evidenced in the example given in the preceding paragraph, above). The world of winged phrases is complex, subtle and often expects much of the reader or listener. It is important for future research that the challenges posed by translating winged phrases into foreign languages for academic research purposes are not underestimated.

9.8 Chapter summary

Based on the analysis and discussion presented in this chapter, the contexts of winged phrase usage from Soviet film in contemporary spoken and written Russian reveal a wide variety of new situational contexts which often differ from those of the films.

How is one to resolve the observable fact that winged phrases can be used in both contexts similar to the original and in new contexts? It would appear, that in keeping with the theories of Bakhtin, Lotman and Propp, the language of the winged phrase can serve multiple purposes: when deployed in contemporary speech in contexts close to that of the Soviet film, the film acts as a binding mechanism between modern speakers and the Soviet past. At the same time,

winged phrases can take on new meanings, perhaps reflecting new contexts. This complexity of contexts has been interpreted through Bakhtin's theory of dialogism, which highlights the heteroglossic quality of the language. Whether used in the one form or the other, the winged phrase appears to be acting in a manner that allows culture to adapt and move over time while retaining a cultural resonance with the past.

The findings allowed the author to provide a first estimate across four data sources of a frequency of winged phrases usage illustrating the usage of winged phrases from Soviet films at least several times a week by those Russian speakers who live abroad. Moreover, the study presented an insight into the significance of an actor's verbal personality, the types of characters being quoted most often, the most popular directors and the periods in the history of Soviet cinema as factors influencing the popularity and persistence of winged phrases in contemporary Russian. To offer a summary of these matters, a list of the top nine winged phrases from Soviet films used in both spoken and written modern Russian has also been presented. The list could be employed as a teaching aid in the RFL classroom, where the particular focus of education is on Russian history and culture.

This study has also led to a number of new findings. For example, film dialogue was quoted most often in both spoken and written Russian rather than film titles and names or lines from songs used in a film; this is of interest, noting that in her dictionary of winged phrases, Shulezhkova emphasises film titles and lines from songs within films (Shulezhkova 2011). In addition, new transformation types of winged phrases from the Soviet films have been discovered and identified; these are seen as a *change of phonetic norms* and as *lexical* and *associative* transformations. They underline the overwhelming plasticity of winged phrases and the ability of modern Russian language to accommodate new and heavily modified forms of such phrases in contemporary Russian communicative practice.

Among other results that have not previously been described in the literature is the presence of verbal games using winged phrases, which take place in online communication and consist exclusively of a string of quotations from Soviet films. Also, the prominent usage of quotations from the Soviet director Riazanov's films was not reflected in dictionaries of winged phrases to date. Their prevalence in this research suggests they warrant future inclusion in academic

dictionaries of winged phrases owing to their popularity, which may have increased since existing dictionary editions were last edited.

This discussion presented an analysis of the usage of winged phrases from Soviet cinema using Mikhail Bakhtin's (1965, 1975, 1979a, 1979b, 1981, 1984, 1996, 2002) theory of dialogism, Yurii Lotman's (1973a, 1973b, 1990, 1992, 2005) writings on semiotics, Wilma Clark's (2010) extension of the theory of semiosphere and Vladimir Propp's (1968) writings dedicated to Russian fairy tales. These theories have enabled a critical re-examination of the use and dynamics of winged phrases from Soviet films. Humour in winged phrases has been approached with reference to Coulson's (2015) space structuring model. The current inquiry has also collated and listed areas which warrant further investigation.

Finally, key conclusions, the significance of the study, suggestions for further research and reflections on the current study will be outlined in the following concluding chapter.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

10.1 Introduction

The aim of this study was to present the first detailed description of the use and dynamics of winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary spoken and written Russian. A secondary aim was to develop a theoretical structure in order to understand the significance of this prominent Russian cultural and linguistic phenomenon.

The conclusion follows the research questions and their subsequent analysis from several perspectives; it offers key findings in three areas: 1) the contexts in which winged phrases from Soviet films are incorporated into contemporary Russian language practice; 2) the main patterns in winged phrases from Soviet films usage and transformations of such phrases; 3) the main reasons for quoting Soviet films in contemporary Russian.

The chapter provides conclusions drawn from each of this study's key findings. The significance of the research, including its contribution into the field of winged phrases from Soviet films, reflections on the study, recommendations and prospective future directions are then discussed. The chapter ends with a final reflection on this study.

10.2 Key conclusions

This is the first study of its kind to provide a single detailed description of the state of winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary Russian. While this work confirmed some of the previous conclusions as outlined in the existing literature (for example, similar contexts for winged phrase usage between Soviet films and contemporary Russian), some important new observations were made and conclusions established, such as new types of transformations of winged phrases, key patterns of their usage in internet communication and the value of

considering such phrases from a cultural perspective as a new genre of Russian folklore – a means of Russian national culture sustaining its heritage and developing itself anew.

One of the key findings of this study was that while contemporary Russian speakers continue employing winged phrases in similar contexts to those in the respective Soviet films from which they were sourced (an observation which reinforces existing scholarship in this field (e.g. Kozhevnikov 2001, Kudriavtseva 2008), for high-frequency winged phrases new contexts for usage are being introduced. Thus, the winged phrase *"Гюльчатай! Открой личико, а" ("Giul'chatai! Show your face, huh")* from *"Белое солнце пустыни" (The White Sun of the Desert)* resounds in a variety of communicative situations as both pure and transformed phrase across the different data sources analysed.

Just like any other texts, winged phrases are multi-voiced. As a result, in addition to their usage in situations similar to the ones in film, "contextual overtones" are, as Bakhtin notes, inevitable (Bakhtin 1981: 293). The presence of transformation in winged phrase adaptions suggests that as winged phrases from Soviet films travel through time and space, they cross the "semiotic border" (Lotman 2005: 205); in this sense they resound in a "socially charged life" (Bakhtin 1981: 293). For these reasons, the theoretical insights offered by Lotman's studies of semiotics and Bakhtin's writings on dialogism enrich our understanding of the variety of contexts for the usage of Soviet era cinematic winged phrases in contemporary Russian language and culture.

The study concluded that there are specific discernible patterns of usage of winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary Russian. Amongst the most notable of these, there is a tendency for the most popular phrases to exhibit the qualities of humour, aphorism, language game and an ability to be transformed yet remain recognisable: they are also far more likely to be drawn from the dialogue of a film than from film titles or songs, as dialogue connects more readily to contemporary spoken intercourse. Beyond this, the period of the 1970s and the films of director Leonid Gaidai are at the centre of winged phrase popularity.

These patterns are significant, as the elements they exhibit conform readily to key Russian and Soviet linguistic and cultural theories concerning the continuity of Russian language, culture and folklore across time and space: this suggests that winged phrases from Soviet films are facilitating a dialogue between contemporary Russian and the Soviet past.

Thus, in a similar way to other folk genres, popular quotations from Soviet films can be seen to constitute a cultural 'text-code' (Lotman 1992: 150-151) travelling through time and maintained most strongly through spoken language. Within the main sources for winged phrases, such as film dialogue, film titles and the name or line from a song used in a film, it is film dialogue which is the dominant supplier of winged phrases. This finding emphasises the powerful influence of the aphoristic nature of much dialogue in Soviet-era films, as seen in *фильмы-цитатники (film-quotations)*.

The study revealed a number of high-frequency winged phrases repeated across multiple data sources. In this research they are referred to as "most popular" (see Appendix 19) or "successful" (see Appendix 20). Such examples of winged phrases from Soviet films in modern Russian might best be referred to as "tone-setting" (Bakhtin 1979a: 268).

This research also revealed the strong value that is placed on the notions of carnival humour and the grotesque in culture. In this way, the comedic films of Soviet director Leonid Gaidai and films of the 1970s were found to be by far the most-quoted across data sets analysed in this study: Gaidai's film dialogue equates to carnival laughter, whereby aspects of Soviet life which otherwise might be viewed as terrifying or depressing are rendered comical, so that "all that was terrifying becomes grotesque" (Bakhtin 1984: 91). This factor appears to have made Gaidai's films particularly appealing for use as sources of quotations from the time of the Soviet Union's existence through to contemporary times; their enduring popularity would appear to support the contention that winged phrases from Soviet films are acting as a text-code for Russian culture over time.

The study also reinforced connections between the verbal personality of an actor and the lines from the film pronounced by this actor. This helps to illustrate how "the authoritative word", acknowledging the power and individuality of the actor enters contemporary Russian practice (Bakhtin 1981: 342). Strong connections were also observed between specific winged phrases and the times of the year in which they are quoted, particularly as the times relate to major events or celebrations in the Russian calendar.

Thus, particular directors, eras of film creation and the verbal personalities of particular actors are all evidently significant influences in the process of a winged phrase evolving from a Soviet film into a cultural code.

Another finding of this research was that like other precedent texts, the majority of winged phrases from Soviet films were transformed in both spoken and written Russian most commonly by reduction (as demonstrated by the online questionnaire responses) or by substitution (newspaper headings). As a contribution to the study of winged phrases from Soviet films, the research presented three new distinct observable types of transformations of winged phrases: *change of phonetic norms; lexical* and *associative* transformations. The main conclusion that can be drawn from this finding is that winged phrases from Soviet films are durable: they exhibit the capacity to undergo modifications, yet retain relevance to their modern audience. From the theoretical perspective, a related conclusion is that as winged phrases from Soviet films enter into a dialogic process of translation of information across semiotic borders (Lotman 1992:17), this constitutes the 'resemiotisation' (Clark 2010: 67) of a winged phrase as a form of transformation occurs.

The evidence of this study demonstrates that there are four main reasons for Russian speakers quoting Soviet films. Firstly, the situation of verbal exchange at hand often matches the situation in the film, making the winged phrase an apt choice. Therefore, although winged phrases might enter new contexts, the scene in the film in which the winged phrase was used originally remains the first point of reference for the Russian speaker. Secondly, winged phrases from Soviet films appear to constitute part of a verbal game between interlocutors and readers. In this sense the study reinforces a phenomenon already identified by other scholars (Kozhevnikov 2001, Norman 1999).

Thirdly, less well documented in the existing literature is the value of a winged phrase as a means of entertainment employed by the interlocutor. This humorous aspect of winged phrases deserves to be highlighted. In this study it was approached from the perspective of cognitive linguistics, by applying Coulson's (2015) space structuring model. This model offered the insight that the meaning of a winged phrase is constructed as a result of shared background knowledge between interlocutors, leading to creative combinations.

Fourthly, winged phrases from Soviet films are quoted by members of a defined ethnocultural society with links to the Soviet past, despite many other factors of modern life and Russian society separating them from that same past. In this sense, there is a form of kinship observable in the act of quoting Soviet films which communicates a sense of belonging to the specific shared ethnocultural society represented in these phrases and their films and, perhaps, in the society from which they emerged. Such phrases might in this sense be viewed as valuable, coded elements of national identity; they offer a sense of belonging and understanding to people from a specific ethnocultural society.

In addition, the study's analysis presents new challenges for accepted understandings of what are the most popular winged phrases from Soviet films. There were several evidently popular quotations in the study's various data sources which nevertheless had not been included into Kozhevnikov's (2001) dictionary *"Большой словарь. Крылатые фразы отечественного кино" (Bol'shoi slovar'. Krylatye frazy otechestvennogo kino),* which is considered one of the most comprehensive dictionaries of winged phrases from Soviet and Russian cinema. Examples include *"Войско взбунтовалось! Говорят, царь – ненастоящий!" ("A mutiny in the army! They say that the tsar is not real!")* from Gaidai's *"Иван Васильевич меняет профессию" (Ivan Vasilievich Changes Profession),* "*Да рожи-то у нас всех..." ("Yeah, we've all got (ugly) faces…")* from Seryi's *"Джентльмены удачи"(Gentlemen of Fortune), "Мы перестали лазить в окна к любимым женщинам" ("We no longer climb through windows to see our loved ones")* from Riazanov's *"Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!"(Irony of Fate, or Have a Good Sauna!).* Therefore, it can be concluded that Russian lexicography does not yet possess a dictionary that fully accounts for high-frequency film quotations from Soviet films. In fairness, noting the tendency for phrases to be adapted and transformed over time, it may be that a comprehensive picture of this phenomenon may not prove entirely practical to achieve.

The methodological contribution of this study is also worthy of attention – it may be that it offers a contemporary model for other researchers engaged in the field of Russian precedent texts to follow. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected in sequential order from four heterogeneous sources in order to present an up-to-date picture of winged phrase usage in modern Russian. Some of the data gathering procedures, such as establishing the popularity of a winged phrase by collecting the number of 'likes' amongst social network users, have not been done before in this field of study.

It is important to highlight that overall, this study found winged phrases from Soviet films to be figurative, adroit, often humorous expressions, employed in both spoken and written Russian in a variety of contexts while remaining in dialogic relations to their film-source. Like other precedent texts, they have the ability to be transformed yet remain recognisable to Russian speakers even if only one word from the winged phrase is reproduced accurately in the transformation (e.g. *"Сосны пермские, лапник тамбовский, ели заморские нормандские").* In this sense, winged phrases can be seen as a cultural text-code passed through generations. As such, they can rightly be viewed as a new folklore genre in Russian language and culture.

10.3 Significance of study

This study was the first attempt to analyse different aspects of winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary spoken and written Russian language practice across a range of data sources, with its focus on the transformations of such phrases, the wide geographic coverage of respondents and an empirical assessment of winged phrase usage in modern Russian Internet communication. In addition, this is the first study in the field of winged phrases from Soviet films to view winged phrases through the prism of Bakhtin's theory of dialogism, Lotman's theory of semiotics and a Russian folk tradition outlined in a model of a fairy tale by Propp (1968). As winged phrases are spoken, they are used to mask a number of situations. Therefore, this study opens up new ways of understanding the dynamics of such phrases and of exploring the teaching and learning of such phrases in contemporary educational settings.

10.4 Reflections on the study

Despite drawing upon four types of data as outlined in Chapters 4 – 8, an examination of spontaneous spoken Russian was not included in this study. This can be seen as a limitation of the analysis. While various forms of contemporary Russian – both spoken and written – have been analysed in this study, these forms are not equivalent to spontaneously occurring spoken interaction. As noted in the existing literature, spontaneous spoken interaction is unprepared, it is an improvisation which is being created during the act of communication, at the same time as it is being pronounced (Zemskaia 2014: 324). Examining the usage of winged phrases in spontaneous spoken interaction would be possible through interviews with native Russian speakers, thereby opening up prospective new pathways for further research into the study of winged phrases from Soviet films.

10.5 Recommendations and future directions

Recommendations and future research directions offered in this chapter are based on the findings, analysis and conclusions of this study. The recommendations that follow are for: 1) Russian language instructors; 2) compilers of dictionaries in which winged phrases from Soviet films are included; and 3) recommendations for further research.

10.5.1 Recommendations for Russian language instructors

Winged phrases have been shown to be an inherent part of native Russian speakers' linguistic repertoire and they form an element of modern Russian national identity, which can be viewed as a new Russian folklore genre. For this reason, a greater emphasis should be placed on teaching winged phrases to both native and non-native students who study Russian and especially its culture. While Soviet films much loved by several generations of Russians may appear dated to other non-Russian viewers and, thus, may no longer elicit the response at times expected by teachers in the RFL classroom, the use of such films in teaching can contribute materially to the development of Russian media, linguistic and cultural competence in foreign students (Kabiak 2018a: 91).

Winged phrases “have direct relevance in daily Russian life” and “can introduce students to a much higher level of speech and grammar in an enjoyable way” (Kabiak 2016a: 296). The first steps in this direction have already been made (Kabiak 2016a, 2016b, 2018a, 2019; Kudriavtseva 2008, Karpechenkova 2012, Krupenko 2015, *Lingvostranovedcheskii slovar' Rossiia* 2019). However, winged phrases from Soviet films are not yet included within any compulsory programme for students preparing for RFL exams at levels B2 – C2, where a list of 146 phraseological locutions and idioms is offered for compulsory learning (Andriushina 2009: 159-160). Language instructors could profit from focussing a small element of their teaching materials on this field, introducing students to a wider range of winged phrases from Soviet films, the contexts for their usage and transformations of such phrases.

10.5.2 Recommendations for dictionary compilers

This study suggests that dictionary compilers who plan to include winged phrases from Soviet films into their dictionaries should focus on:

1) High-frequency winged phrases from Soviet films which are used in contemporary Russian as both pure and transformed phrases, but which are not included into Kozhevnikov’s (2001) dictionary;

2) A variety of contexts of winged phrases from Soviet films usage;

3) Transformations of winged phrases from Soviet films.

In addition, an inclusion of winged phrases from Soviet films for students studying RFL at level B2 and higher is required, similar to the abovementioned list provided in the *Leksicheskii minimum po russkomu iazyku kak inostrannomu. Vtoroi sertifikatsionnyi uroven'. Obshchee vladenie* (Andriushina 2009). Russian-English (and other language) dictionaries of winged phrases from Soviet films are also in need as the latest Russian-English dictionary of winged phrases which includes such phrases from Soviet films was compiled in the 1980s (Uolsh & Berkov 1984).

10.5.3 Recommendations for further research

Owing to time and resource restrictions within this study, the author recommends further research to be conducted on a larger scale in order to provide a more comprehensive description of the use and dynamics of winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary Russian language practice.

In light of the above, the following general recommendations should be considered by researchers in the field of winged phrases from Soviet films:

1) An examination of spontaneous oral speech should be conducted focused on the overall frequency of winged phrase usage, transformations of such phrases and humour;

2) A further similar study on a larger scale should be undertaken within the *ЯПлакалъ* online discussion forum and other online forums as well as prominent Russian newspapers, with a particular focus on surveying what might be considered a less-informed and educated audience on winged phrases so as to offer a better understanding about how winged phrases might be operating across modern Russian society.

Researchers in the field of winged phrases from Soviet films should also consider a number of more specific points. Firstly, as far as research of newspapers is concerned, further research might include not only newspaper headings, but also whole articles and reader comments posted online following each newspaper article. In addition, analysis of the verbal personalities of actors pronouncing high-frequency winged phrases in Soviet films, identifying types of character quoted most often and taking a more detailed approach to winged phrase transformations all appear fruitful avenues of inquiry.

Finally, this study has asserted that winged phrases are an important and living part of the Russian folkloric tradition. For this reason, an analysis of the dynamics of such winged phrases and comparison to the dynamics of proverbs and sayings in the folkloric tradition is also highly recommended as a potentially rich area of further research.

10.6 Author reflections

Just as Gaidai's Bunsha signalled his intentions by demanding *"Я требую продолжения банкета!" ("I demand continuation of the feast!"),* the author is looking forward to continuing research in this rich and stimulating field in the coming years. The findings discussed in this study represent the starting point of a number of research projects, all of which would be aimed at filling the gaps which resulted from this study's unavoidable limitations in scope and depth of inquiry into such a rich field. The author intends to continue to collect data in the form of speech fragments, online discussion forum posts, newspaper headings and articles as well as comments posted by readers in response to newspaper articles, modern literary text and modern film script fragments that include winged phrases from Soviet films. In particular, it is hoped that this ongoing research effort will lead to the inclusion of winged phrases from Soviet films into a dictionary for students who learn RFL, as well as to their inclusion into a learning guide to such winged phrases for those who study Russian language and culture.

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Appendix 1

A summary of the preliminary data set

A summary of the preliminary data set consists of ten popular *фильмы-цитатники (film-quotations): "Джентльмены удачи" (Gentlemen of Fortune, Mosfilm, 1971), "Бриллиантовая рука" (The Diamond Arm, Mosfilm, 1968), "Иван Васильевич меняет профессию" (Ivan Vasilievich Changes Profession* or *Ivan Vasilievich: Back to the Future, Mosfilm, 1973), "Покровские ворота" (Pokrov Gates* or *The Pokrovsky Gates, Mosfilm, 1982), "Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика" (The Prisoner of the Caucasus or Shurik's New Adventures, Mosfilm, 1966), "Свадьба в Малиновке" (Wedding in Malinovka, Lenfilm, 1967), "Служебный роман" (Office Romance, Mosfilm, 1977), "Белое солнце пустыни" (The White Sun of the Desert, Mosfilm, Lenfilm, 1970), "Операция "Ы" и другие приключения Шурика" (Operation "Y" and Shurik's Other Adventures, Mosfilm, 1965)* and *"Москва слезам не верит" (Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears, Mosfilm, 1979).*

FILM	NUMBER / PRESENCE OF WINGED PHRASES							
	Kozhevnikov	Titova	Elistratov	vot-status.jimdo.com	vothouse.ru	kquote.ru	podskazok.net	adme.ru
Джентльмены удачи	255	150	+	27	58	116	1	1
Бриллиантовая рука	206	141	+	39	67	80	24	2
Иван Васильевич меняет профессию	162	139	+	27	67	120	11	9
Покровские ворота	122	88	+	+	+	61	-	+
Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика	110	97	+	+	+	72	+	-
Свадьба в Малиновке	106	94	+	+	-	60	+	+
Служебный роман	88	73	+	+	+	57	+	+
Белое солнце пустыни	69	64	+	+	+	60	-	+
Операция "Ы" и другие приключения Шурика	68	55	+	+	+	57	+	+
Москва слезам не верит	62	58	+	+	+	54	+	+

Appendix 2

***ВКонтакте*: Percent of visitors and rank in country (Alexa 2017c)**

COUNTRY	PERCENT OF VISITORS (%)	RANK IN COUNTRY
Russia	54.4	1
Ukraine	7.6	2
Germany	4.1	14
Kazakhstan	3.8	3
Belarus	2.8	1

Appendix 3

Ranking and user activity of social network sites in Russia (Alexa 2017a; Alexa 2017b; Alexa 2017c; Brand Analytics 2017b)

SOCIAL NETWORK SERVICE	RANK IN RUSSIA	DAILY TIME ON SITE (MM:SS)	MESSAGES PER MONTH
ВКонтакте (vk.com)	1	11:43	494 059 517
Одноклассники (ok.ru)	5	5:31	24 400 638
Инстаграм (instagram.com)	11	5:40	193 471 362

Appendix 4

The list of gestures and explanations of gesture meanings of dialogue between Gorbunkov and Volodia from *"Бриллиантовая рука"* (Russian National Corpus 2017)

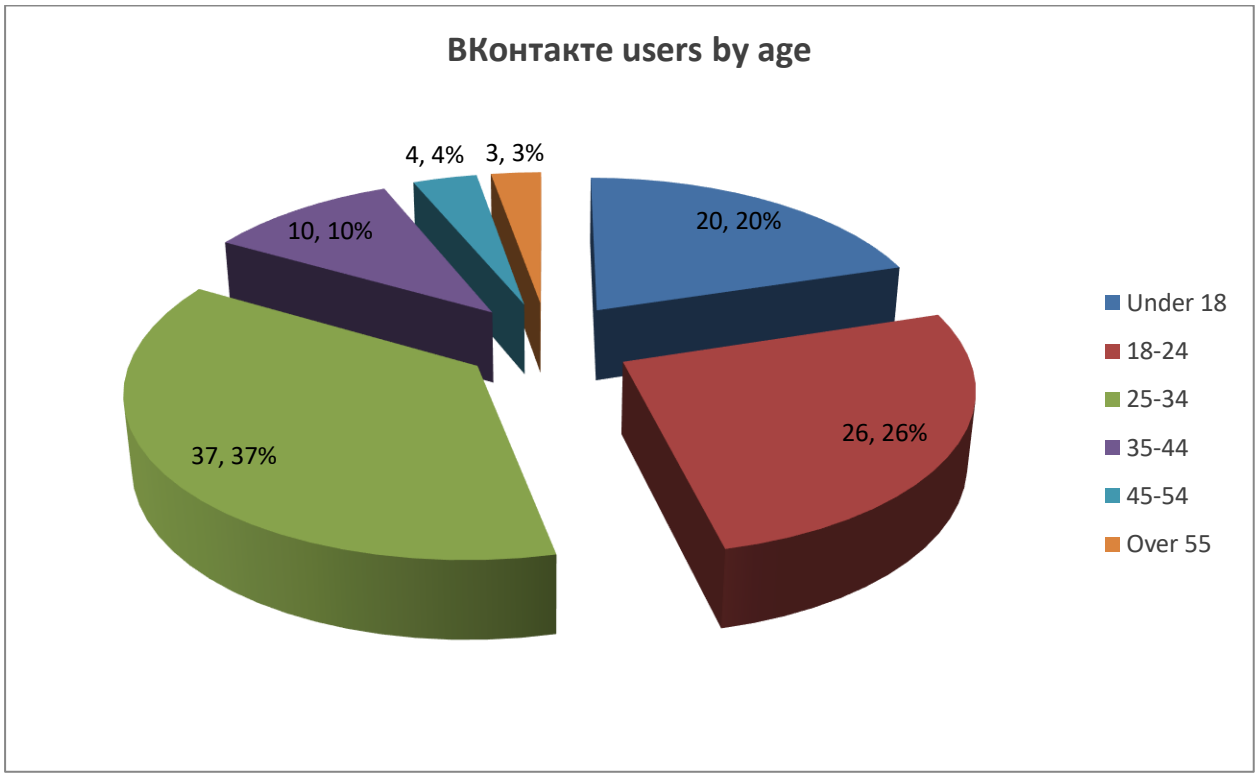
NAME	ACTIVE PART OF THE BODY	GESTURE NAME	GESTURE MEANING
Юрий Никулин	рука	отмахнуться	отказ
Юрий Никулин	голова	сжать губы	задуматься
Юрий Никулин	голова	посмотреть вдаль	задуматься
Владимир Гуляев	руки	развести руками	дистанцирование
Владимир Гуляев	рука	пристукнуть по чему-либо	фиксация объекта
Владимир Гуляев	голова	склонить голову набок	дистанцирование
Владимир Гуляев	голова	отвернуться	раздражение
Владимир Гуляев	голова	качать головой	критические замечания
Владимир Гуляев	голова	поднять брови	дистанцирование

Dialogue between *Володя (Volodia)* and *Горбунков (Gorbunkov) ("Бриллиантовая рука" / The Diamond Arm, Mosfilm, 1968):*

Володя: Естественно, у вас будут расходы. Вот, возьмите.
Горбунков: Нет-нет. Не надо. Я сам.
Володя: Семён Семёныч, ну давайте без самодеятельности. Вот здесь пятьсот рублей.
Горбунков: Новыми?
Володя: Ой!

Appendix 5

***ВКонтакте* users by age (Brand Analytics 2017c)**



Appendix 6

Winged phrases for the online questionnaire selection process

WINGED PHRASE	PRESENCE ON THE LIST OF THE TEN FILM-QUOTATIONS	PRESENCE IN ELISTRATOV'S OR DIADECHKO'S DICTIONARIES	MORE THAN 300 'LIKES' IN 'QUOTATIONS FROM SOVIET CINEMA'	PRESENCE IN THE RUSSIAN NATIONAL CORPUS	PRESENCE ON THE LIST OF THE 10 MOST POPULAR QUOTATIONS IN INTERNET POLL (BAKANOV 2005)
Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят. *Our tenants don't go to the baker's in a taxi.*	Yes - the winged phrase is from *The Diamond Arm*	Elistratov 2010: 170 Diadechko 2008: 431	Post with the winged phrase on 25.12.2015 had 346 'likes'	Present	Number 3 in the poll
Я требую продолжения банкета! *I demand continuation of the feast!*	Yes - the winged phrase is from *Ivan Vasilievich Changes Profession*	Elistratov 2010: 322	Not present	Present	Number 1 in the poll
Полюбить – так королеву, проиграть – так миллион! *To love no less than a queen, to lose no less than a million!*	Yes - the winged phrase is from *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears*	Not present	Post with the winged phrase on 8.03.2016 had 377 'likes'	Present	Not present
А в тюрьме сейчас ужин. Макароны. *It's chowtime at the camp. Macaroni.*	Yes - the winged phrase is from *Gentlemen of Fortune*	Elistratov 2010: 25	Not present	Present	Not present
- *Как вам моя причёска?* - *Умереть – не встать!* - *What do you think about my hairdo?* - *A real stunner!*	Yes - the winged phrase is from *Office Romance*	Not present	Post with the winged phrase on 8.04.2016 had 563 'likes'	Present	Not present

Гюльчатай! Открой личико, а. *Giul'chatai! Show your face, huh.*	Yes - the winged phrase is from *The White Sun of the Desert*	Elistratov 2010: 86 Diadechko 2008: 160-161	Post with the winged phrase on 20.10.2015 had 142 'likes'	Present	Not present
- Жить, как говорится, хорошо! *- А хорошо жить – ещё лучше!* *- To live, so to say, is good!* *- But to live well is even better!*	Yes - the winged phrase is from *The Prisoner of the Caucasus or Shurik's New Adventures*	Elistratov 2010: 105 Diadechko 2008: 236-237	Post with the winged phrase on 16.03.2016 had 296 'likes'	Present	Not present
Руссо туристо, облико морале, феритейн?! *Russo turista, capito, moralita! Verstehen?*	Yes - the winged phrase is from *The Diamond Arm*	Elistratov 2010: 230	Not present	Present	Not present
Ларису Ивановну хочу. *I want Larisa Ivanovna.*	No - the winged phrase is from *Mimino,* which is not on the list of film-quotations	Elistratov 2010: 143 Diadechko 2008: 350	Not present	Present	Number 9 in the poll
Какая гадость, какая гадость эта ваша заливная рыба! *Oh, how terrible, how terrible this jellied fish of yours!*	No - the winged phrase is from *Irony of Fate, or Have a Good Sauna!'*	Elistratov 2010: 126-127 Diadechko 2008: 291	Post with the winged phrase on 26.09.2015 had 764 'likes'	Present	Not present
Оставь меня, старушка, я в печали. *Leave me alone, old woman, I'm being sad.*	Yes - the winged phrase is from *Ivan Vasilievich Changes Profession*	Not present	Post with the winged phrase on 15.06.2015 had 330 'likes'	Present	Not present
Если человек идиот, то это надолго! *Once a halfwit always a halfwit!*	Yes - the winged phrase is from *The Diamond Arm*	Elistratov 2010: 102 Diadechko 2008: 214	Post with the winged phrase on 17.06.2016 had 1312 'likes'	Present	Not present
С бумагой в стране напряжёнка! *There's a paper shortage in the country!*	Yes - the winged phrase is from *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears*	Diadechko 2008: 611-612	Not present	Present	Not present

Кто не работает, тот ест. Учись, студент! *Who doesn't work – that eats. Study it student!*	Yes - the winged phrase is from *Operation "Y" and Shurik's Other Adventures*	Elistratov 2010: 139	Post with 9 winged phrases from *Operation "Y"* including this winged phrase on 31.01.2016 had 375 'likes'	Present	Number 5 in the poll
Так выпьем за то, чтобы наши желания совпадали с нашими возможностями. *Lets drink to our wishes always matching our means.*	Yes - the winged phrase is from *The Prisoner of the Caucasus or Shurik's New Adventures*	Elistratov 2010: 254	Post with quotation that includes this winged phrase on 3.08.2016 had 642 'likes'	Present	Not present
Кто ж его посадит?!.. Он же памятник! *How could the poor guy sit down? An iron monument like that!*	Yes - the winged phrase is from *Gentlemen of Fortune*	Elistratov 2010: 138-139	Not present	Present	Number 6 in the poll
Это я удачно зашёл! *How lucky for me to drop by!*	Yes - the winged phrase is from *Ivan Vasilievich Changes Profession*	Elistratov 2010: 308	Post with the winged phrase on 16.01.2015 had 473 'likes'	Present	Not present
Я мзду не беру. Мне за державу обидно! *I don't accept graft. It is what is done to the Great State that insults me!*	Yes - the winged phrase is from *The White Sun of the Desert*	Elistratov 2010: 153 Diadechko 2008: 240-241	Post with the winged phrase on 5.02.2016 had 389 'likes'	Present	Not present
Ну, граждане алкоголики, хулиганы, тунеядцы, кто хочет сегодня поработать? *All right, citizens alcoholics, parasites, hooligans. Who wants to work today?*	Yes - the winged phrase is from *Operation 'Y' and Shurik's Other Adventures*	Elistratov 2010: 84 (partly present)	Post with the winged phrase generated on 1.12.2015 had 341 'likes'	Present	Not present
На тебе сто миллионов! Слушай, возьми всё, я себе ещё нарисую. *Take one hundred million! Listen, take everything, I will draw more for myself.*	Yes - the winged phrase is from *The Wedding in Malinovka*	Elistratov 2010: 64	Post with quotation that includes this winged phrase on 22.03.2016 had 514 'likes'	Present	Not present

Appendix 7

Questionnaire: original Russian version

КРЫЛАТЫЕ ВЫРАЖЕНИЯ ИЗ СОВЕТСКИХ КИНОФИЛЬМОВ
АНКЕТА УЧАСТНИКА ЛИНГВИСТИЧЕСКОГО ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

Целью данного исследования является расширить понимание бытования крылатых фраз из советских кинофильмов в современном разговорном русском языке. Анкета предлагается лицам старше 18 лет, родным языком которых является русский и которым знакомы популярные советские фильмы. Если Вы соответствуете данным требованиям, мы были бы признательны, если бы Вы смогли заполнить предлагаемую анкету.

Участие в исследовании является добровольным. Вы можете отказаться от участия в любое время. Если это произойдёт, то все необработанные данные будут уничтожены. Процесс сбора данных проводится в соответствии с политикой конфиденциальности платформы SurveyMonkey. Собранные ответы будут храниться на защищённом паролем жёстком диске на факультете языков и лингвистики Мельбурнского университета, к которому будут иметь доступ только исследователи, участвующие в проекте. Все данные будут уничтожены через пять лет после завершения проекта аспирантом.

Предполагается, что опрос займёт не более 15 минут.

* 1. Я даю согласие на участие в опросе:

- ◯ да
- ◯ нет

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* 2. Как часто Вы используете в речи крылатые выражения из советских кинофильмов?

- ○ несколько раз в день
- ○ несколько раз в неделю
- ○ несколько раз в месяц
- ○ никогда
- ○ другое:

* 3. Вы преимущественно цитируете:

- ○ советские фильмы, созданные до 1930 года
- ○ советские фильмы, созданные в 1930-1950-е годы
- ○ советские фильмы, созданные в 1960-1970-е годы
- ○ советские фильмы, созданные в 1970-1980-е годы
- ○ российские фильмы, созданные в 1990-2010-е годы
- ○ советские и российские фильмы вне зависимости от времени создания
- ○ другое:

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* 4. Назовите наиболее популярные, с Вашей точки зрения, крылатые выражения из советских кинофильмов.

1)
2)
3)
4)
5)

* 5. В каких ситуациях употребляются вышеперечисленные крылатые выражения?

1)
2)
3)
4)
5)

КРЫЛАТЫЕ ВЫРАЖЕНИЯ ИЗ СОВЕТСКИХ КИНОФИЛЬМОВ
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* 6. Почему, на Ваш взгляд, крылатые выражения из советских кинофильмов употребляются в речи современными носителями русского языка? Из предлагаемых ниже причин выберите пять и пронумеруйте их по степени важности:
1 – главная причина
5 – незначительная причина.

	1	2	3	4	5
смена атмосферы общения	○	○	○	○	○
уход от нежелательного разговора	○	○	○	○	○
заполнение возникшей в разговоре паузы	○	○	○	○	○
демонстрация эрудиции говорящего	○	○	○	○	○
желание развлечь собеседника	○	○	○	○	○
киноцитата является частью языковой игры	○	○	○	○	○
ситуация речевого общения совпадает с ситуацией в фильме	○	○	○	○	○
ностальгия по советскому прошлому	○	○	○	○	○
принадлежность собеседников к определённому этнокультурному социуму	○	○	○	○	○

другое:

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* 7. С какими фильмами, героями и ситуациями вы можете соотнести следующие крылатые выражения?

1) Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят.

фильм

герой

ситуация

2) Я требую продолжения банкета!

фильм

герой

ситуация

3) Полюбить – так королеву, проиграть – так миллион!

фильм

герой

ситуация

4) А в тюрьме сейчас ужин. Макароны.

фильм

герой

ситуация

5) - Как вам моя причёска?
- Умереть – не встать!

фильм

герой

ситуация

6) Гюльчатай! Открой личико, а?

фильм

герой

ситуация

7) - Жить, как говорится, хорошо!
- А хорошо жить – ещё лучше!

фильм

герой

ситуация

8) Руссо туристо, облико морале, ферштейн?!

фильм

герой

ситуация

9) Ларису Ивановну хочу.

фильм

герой

ситуация

10) Какая гадость, какая гадость эта ваша заливная рыба!

фильм

герой

ситуация

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* 8. Заполните пропуски в следующих крылатых выражениях.

1) Оставь меня, старушка, я

2) Если человек идиот, то это

3) _____ в стране напряжёнка!

4) Кто не работает, тот _____ . Учись, студент!

5) Так выпьем за то, чтобы наши желания совпадали с нашими

6) Кто ж его посадит?!.. Он же

7) Это я удачно

8) Я мзду не беру. Мне за державу

9) Ну, граждане алкоголики, хулиганы, тунеядцы, кто хочет сегодня

10) На тебе сто миллионов! Слушай, возьми всё, я себе ещё

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Информация об участниках исследования

* 9. Пол:

- ○ мужской
- ○ женский

* 10. Возраст:

- ○ 18-30 лет
- ○ 31-50 лет
- ○ 51-65 лет
- ○ старше 65 лет

* 11. Образование:

- ○ среднее
- ○ незаконченное высшее
- ○ высшее
- ○ другое:

* 12. Род деятельности:

* 13. Вы проживаете:

- ○ постоянно в РФ
- ○ постоянно вне РФ (в СНГ)
- ○ постоянно вне РФ (в бывших республиках СССР)
- ○ постоянно вне РФ (в странах дальнего зарубежья)
- ○ вы проживаете попеременно в нескольких странах (в РФ и другой стране)

14. Если Вы переехали из РФ (стран СНГ, республик бывшего СССР) на ПМЖ в иную страну, то сколько лет назад:

Appendix 8

Questionnaire: Translation into English

WINGED PHRASES FROM SOVIET FILMS
LINGUISTIC RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

The aim of this research is to further our understanding about the usage of winged phrases from Soviet films in contemporary spoken Russian. The questionnaire is offered to those over 18, who speak Russian as a mother tongue and are familiar with popular Soviet films. If you meet these requirements, we would be very grateful if you could complete the survey.

The participation in this research is voluntary. You are free to withdraw from this study at any time. Should this occur, then any unprocessed data will be destroyed. The process of data collection will be in accordance with *SurveyMonkey* privacy policy. Once the data has been collected, it will be stored on a password-protected hard drive at the School of Languages and Linguistics at the University of Melbourne, to which only the researchers will have access. All data will be destroyed in 5 years after completion of the student's project.

It is estimated that this survey will take no more than 15 minutes.

1. I consent to participating in the survey:

☐ yes
☐ no

2. How often do you use in speech winged phrases from Soviet films?

☐ several times a day

☐ several times a week

☐ several times a month

☐ never

☐ other _____

3. You predominantly quote:

☐ Soviet films made before 1930

☐ Soviet films made in 1930-1950s

☐ Soviet films made in 1960-1970s

☐ Soviet films made in 1970-1980s

☐ Russian films made in 1990-2010s

☐ Soviet and Russian films regardless of creation time

☐ other _____

4. List winged phrases from Soviet films which are most popular from your point of view.

1) _____
2) _____
3) _____
4) _____
5) _____

5. In which situations are the abovementioned winged phrases being used?

1) _____
2) _____
3) _____
4) _____
5) _____

6. Why in your opinion are winged phrases from Soviet films being used in the speech of modern Russian speakers? Choose five answers, numbering them according to their importance:

1 – most important

5 – least important

☐ to change the atmosphere of intercourse

☐ to avoid unwanted conversation

☐ to fill in the pause in conversation

☐ demonstration of speaker's erudition

☐ a wish to entertain the interlocutor

☐ cinema quotation is a part of a verbal game

☐ situation of verbal communication matches the situation in the film

☐ nostalgia for the Soviet past

☐ sense of belonging between interlocutors in a defined ethnocultural society

☐ other _____

7. To which films, characters and situations can you attribute the following winged phrases?

1) Our tenants don't go to the baker's in a taxi!

*film*_____*character*_____

situation _____

2) I demand continuation of the feast!

*film*_____*character*_____

situation _____

3) To love no less than a queen, to lose no less than a million!

*film*_____*character*_____

situation _____

4) It's chowtime at the camp. Macaroni.

*film*_____*character*_____*situation*

_____

5) – What do you think about my hairdo?

– A real stunner!

*film*_____*character*_____

situation _____

6) Giul'chatai! Show your face, huh.

*film*_____*character*_____

situation _____

7) – To live, so to say, is good!

– But to live well is even better!

*film*_____*character*_____

situation _____

8) Russo turista, capito, moralita! Verstehen?

*film*_____*character*_____

situation _____

9) I want Larisa Ivanovna.

*film*_____*character*_____

situation _____

10) How horrible, how horrible is this jellied fish of yours!

*film*_____*character*_____

situation _____

8. Fill in the gaps in the following winged phrases.

1) Leave me alone, old woman, I am _____.

2) Once a halfwit _____ a halfwit!

3) There is a _____ shortage in the country!

4) Who doesn't work – that _____. Study it student!

5) Let's drink to our wishes always matching our_____.

6) How could the poor guy sit down? _____ like that!

7) How lucky for me_____.

8) I don't accept graft. It is what is done to the Great State that_____!

9) All right, citizens alcoholics, parasites, hooligans. Who wants _____ today?

10) Take one hundred million! Listen, take everything, I will _____ more for myself.

Information about research participants.

9. Gender:

☐ male

☐ female

10. Age:

☐ 18-30

☐ 31-50

☐ 51-65

☐ over 65

11. Education:

☐ secondary

☐ not complete tertiary education

☐ tertiary education

☐ other _____

12. Occupation: _____

13. You reside:

☐ permanently in the Russian Federation

☐ permanently outside the Russian Federation (Commonwealth of Independent States or CIS)

☐ permanently outside the Russian Federation (in former USSR republics)

☐ permanently outside the Russian Federation (in non-CIS countries)

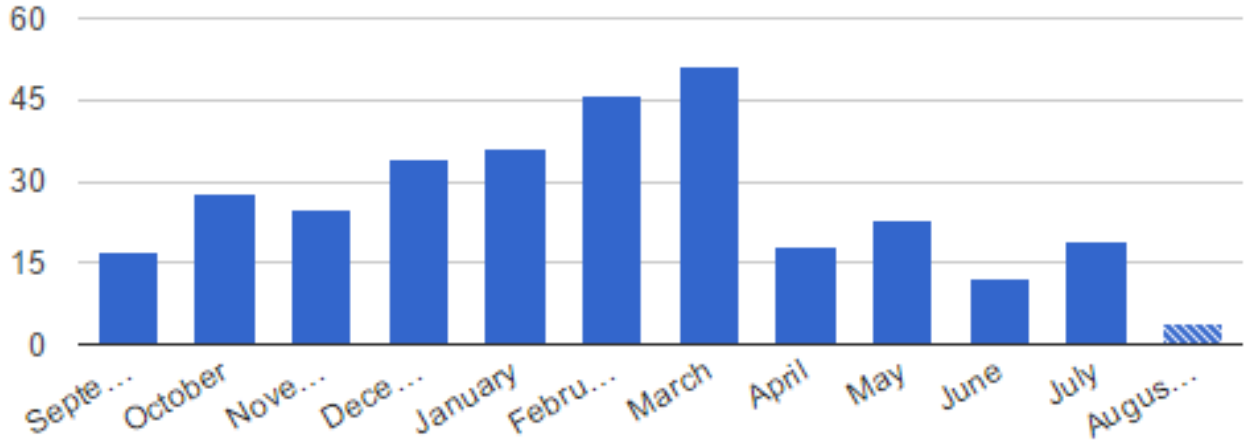
☐ by turns in several countries (in the Russian Federation and in another country).

14. If you have permanently moved abroad outside of the Russian Federation, how many years ago? _____.

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATION!

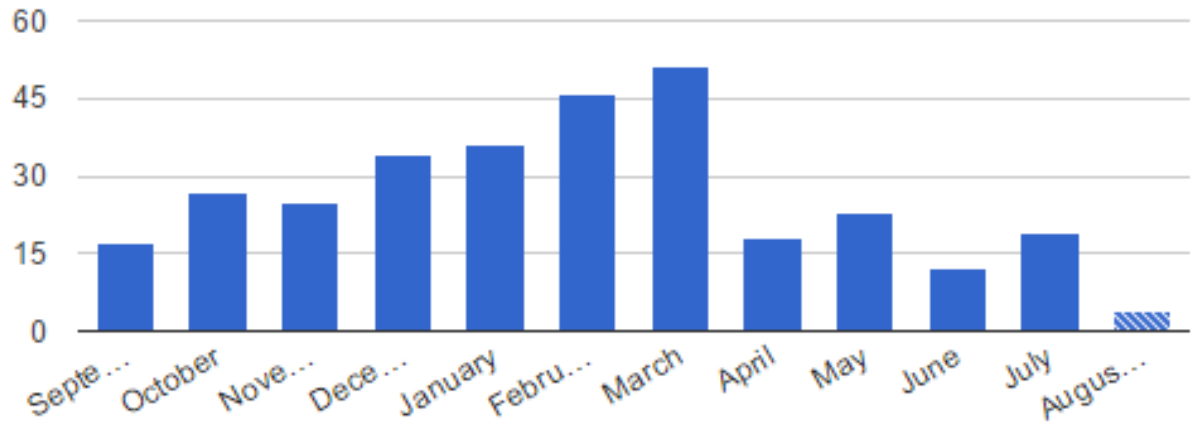
Appendix 9

Bilingual-online monthly posts (Bilingual-online 2016)



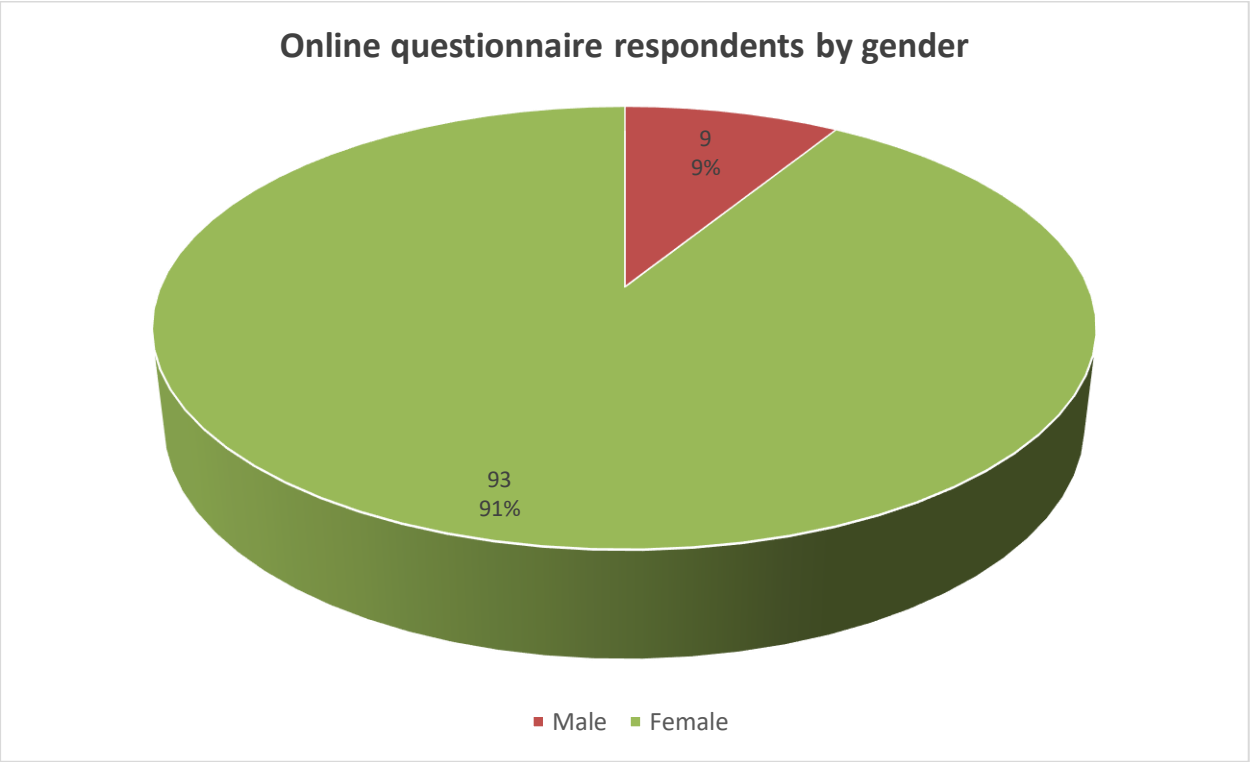
Appendix 10

Bilingual-online monthly topics by number (Bilingual-online 2016)



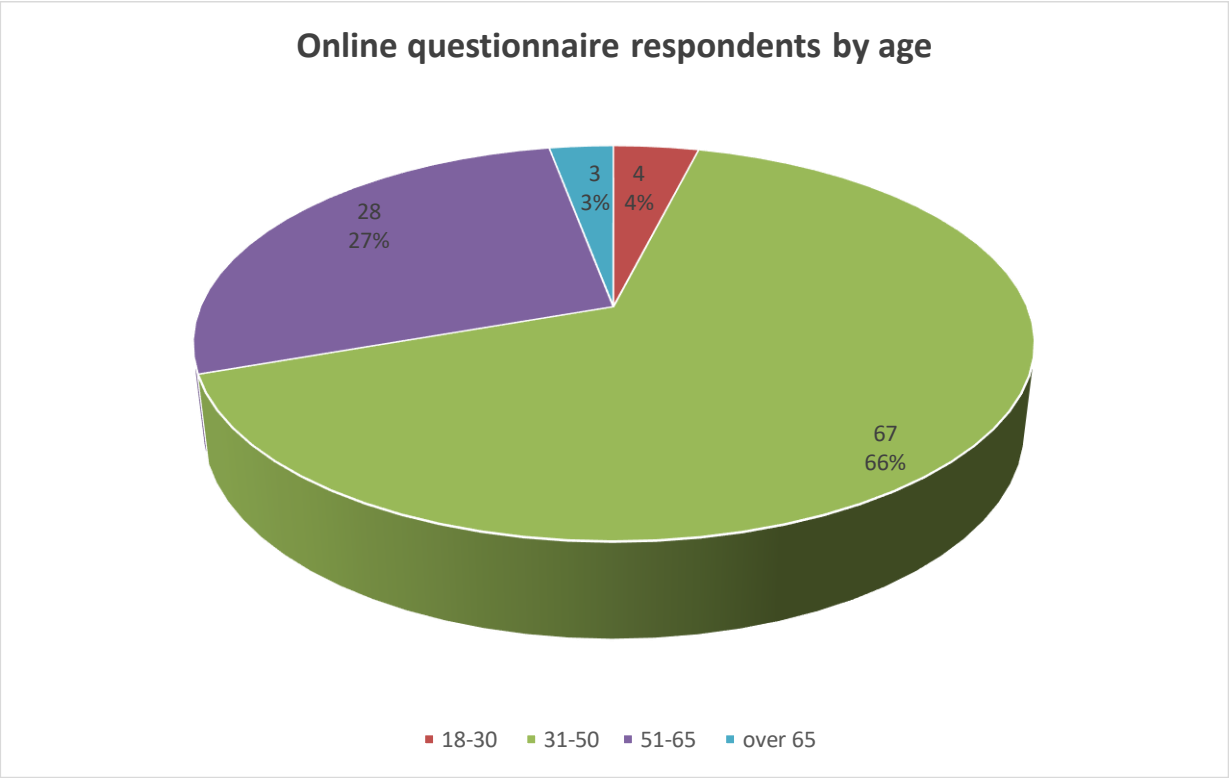
Appendix 11

Online questionnaire respondents by gender



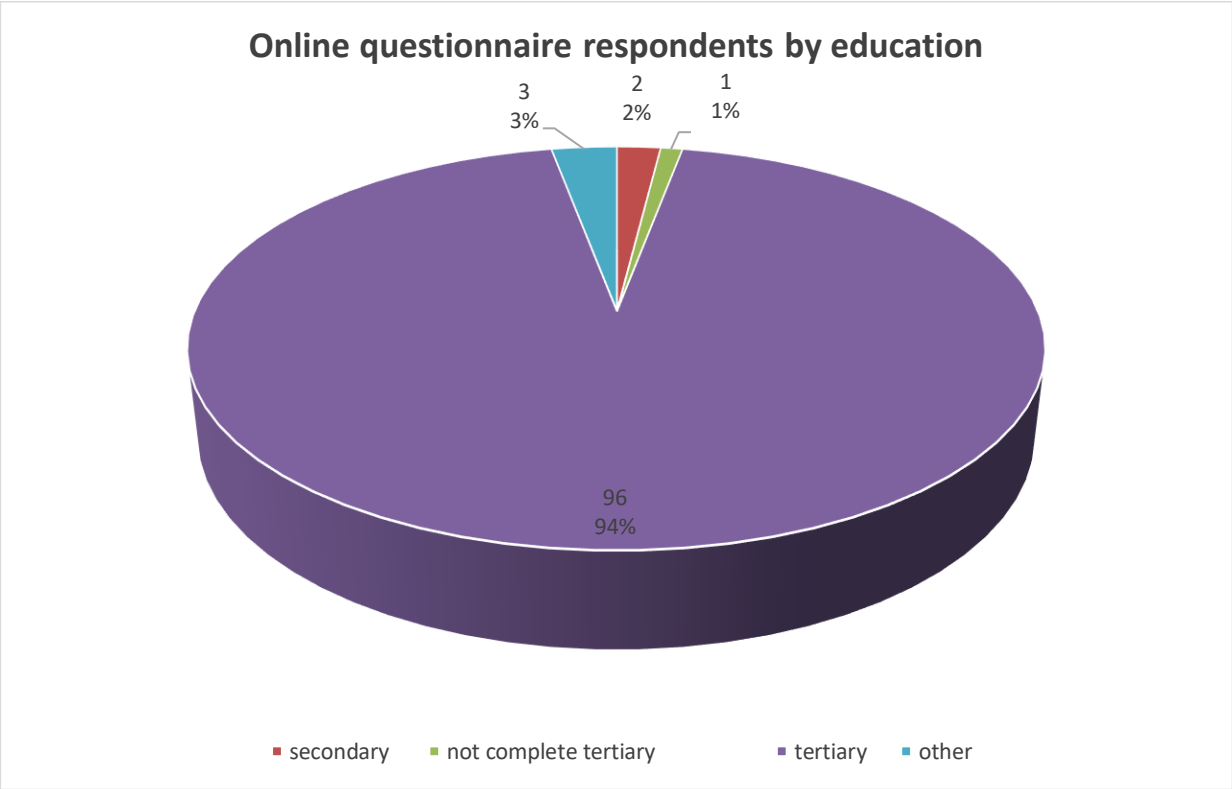
Appendix 12

Online questionnaire respondents by age



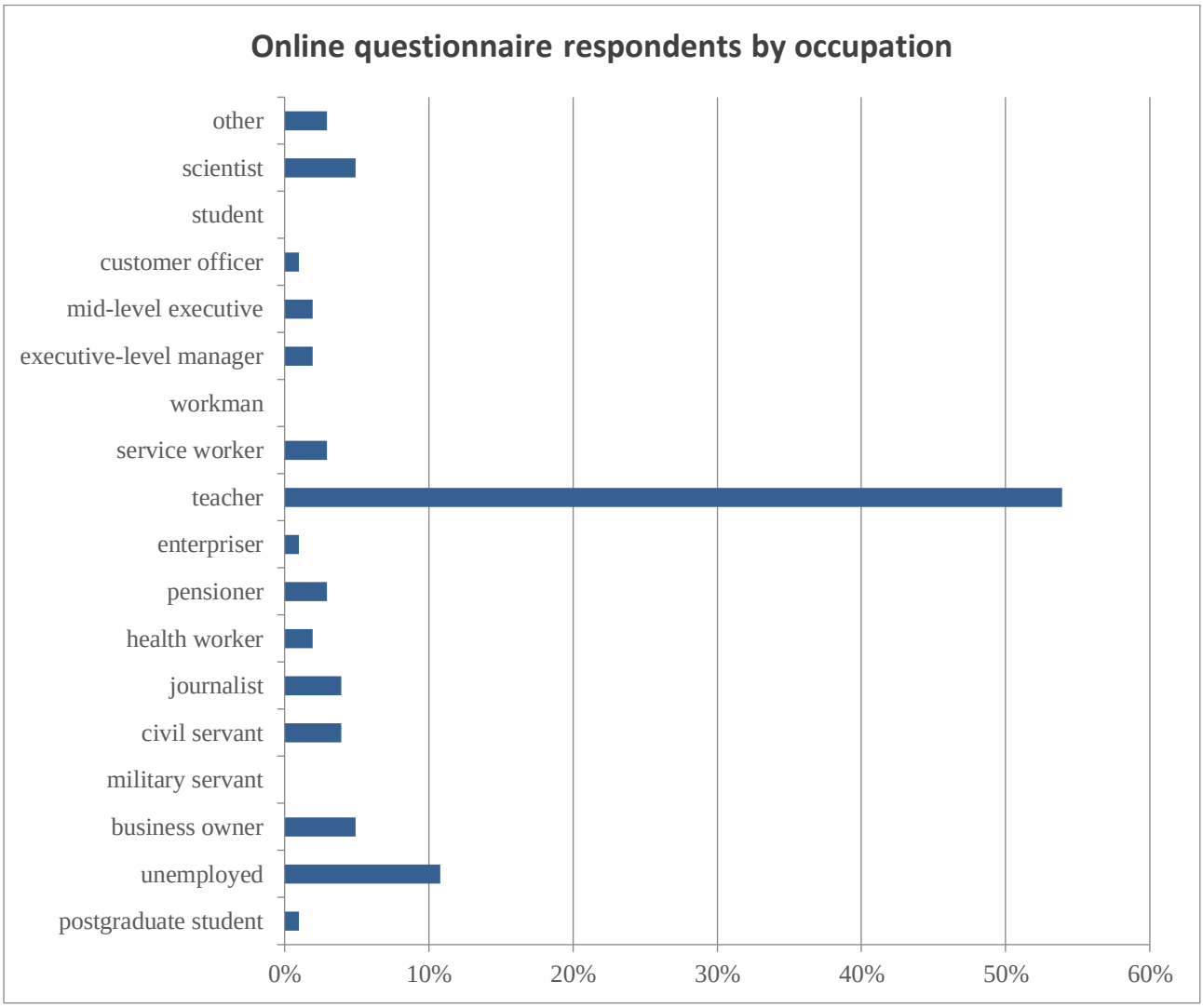
Appendix 13

Online questionnaire respondents by education



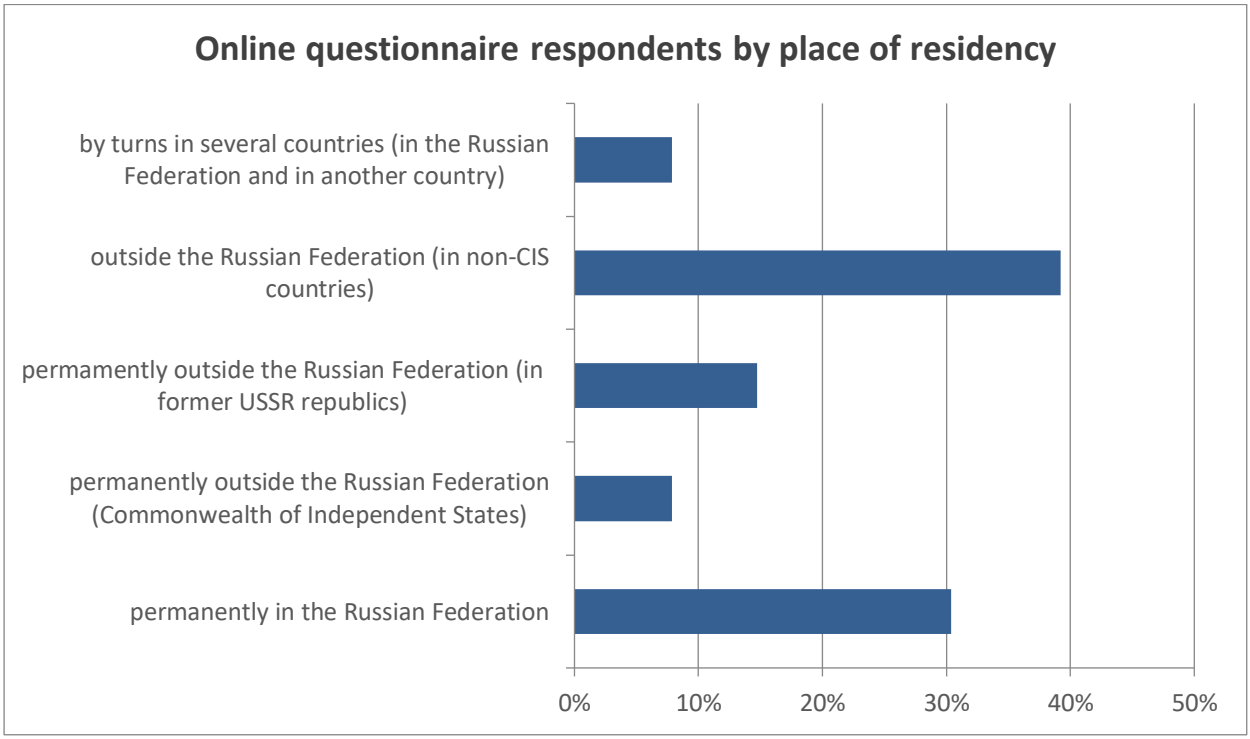
Appendix 14

Online questionnaire respondents by occupation



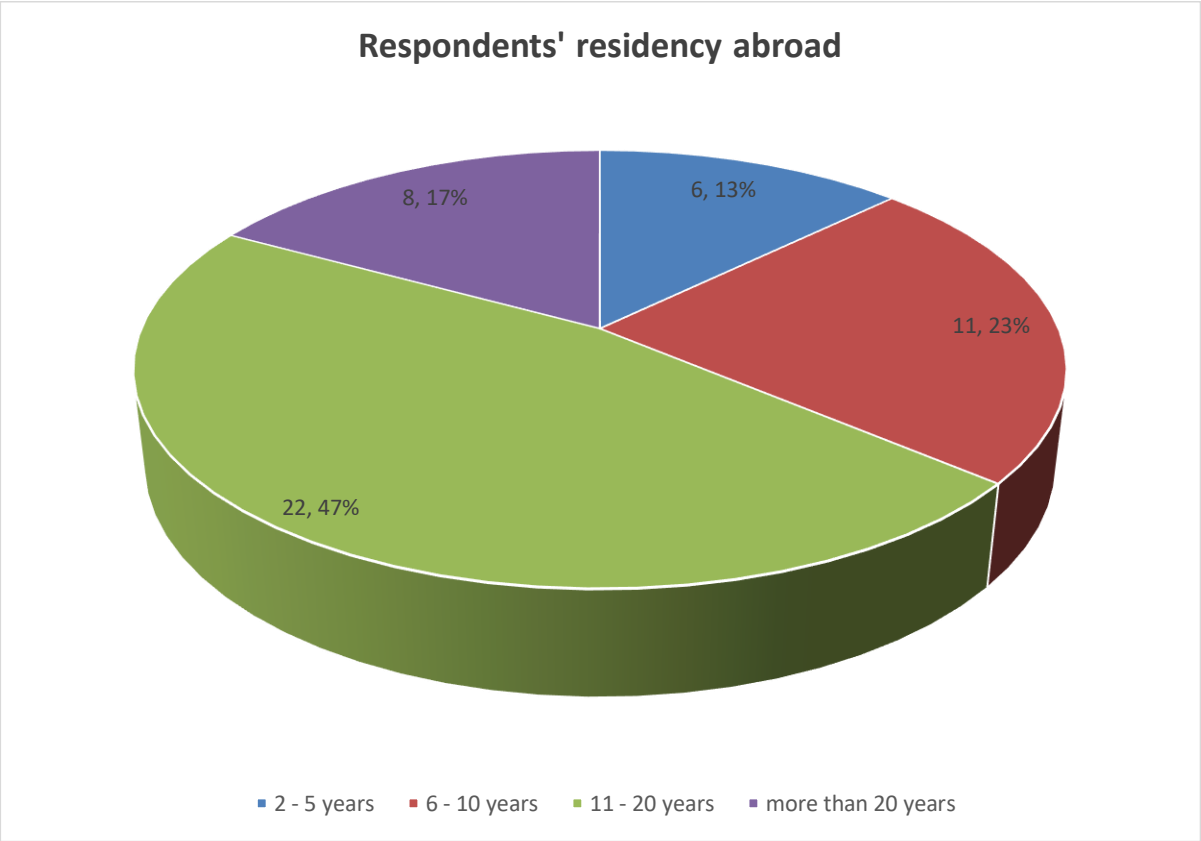
Appendix 15

Online questionnaire respondents by place of residency



Appendix 16

Respondents' residency abroad by number of years



Appendix 17

Topics included into the *ЯПлакалъ* data analysis

1) *В какой период СССР вы б хотели попасть? (Which period of the USSR would you like to experience?)*;

2) *Из колонии в Пермском крае сбежал заключённый (A prisoner from a prison camp in the Perm Region escaped);*

3) *Сделал велосипед сыну (I made a bicycle for my son);*

4) *Что должен мужчина иметь к 30 годам (What a man should have by the time he turns 30);*

5) *Знаменитости, которых погубил лишний вес (Celebrities who were destroyed by their excess weight);*

6) *О жёнах-бездельницах и домашнем рабстве (About wives who do nothing and home slavery);*

7) *Вот такой вот сервис (That is the service);*

8) *СССР, Россия, деньги и колбаса (USSR, Russia, money and the sausage);*

9) *В Беларуси вратарь забил гол ударом через всё поле (In Belarus a goal-keeper scored a goal by kicking across the field);*

10) *Такая "страшная" русская кухня: заворот мозгов для иностранцев (Such 'terrible' Russian cuisine: a brain-twist for foreigners);*

11) *В Петербурге уходивший от погони водитель сбил четверых пешеходов (In Petersburg a driver who was fleeing pursuers hit four pedestrians);*

12) *Как вы боретесь с потливостью (How do you fight sweatiness);*

13) *В Абакане установили памятник котам, ворующим сосиски (There is a monument in Abakan dedicated to cats who steal sausages);*

14) *Польша требует дополнительного расследования обстоятельств гибели своего воинского подразделения зимой 1613 года (Poland requests an additional investigation into the case of loss of its war unit in winter 1613);*

15) *США приостанавливают выдачу неиммиграционных виз по всей России (USA suspends issuing of non-immigration visas throughout Russia).*

Appendix 18

Sample of a coded entry for a winged phrase from each data source

"Цитаты советского кино" group on the *ВКонтакте* social network

1. Winged phrase included into a wall post

WINGED PHRASE	FILM	YEAR	KOZHEVNIKOV'S DICTIONARY	DATE	LIKES	REPOSTS	COMMENTS	TRANSFORMED	TYPE OF TRANSFORMATION	ADDITIONAL COMMENTS	LINK TO VK.COM
Копают все!	*Иван Васильевич меняет профессию*	1973	Танцуют все!	7.06.2016	208	24	19	Yes	Substitution	Substitution by a word with a different meaning, time of year, culturally specific elements.	https://vk.com/kinosovetov?z=photo-40082741_420900743%2Falbum-40082741_00%2Frev

2. Winged phrases included into a comment by a group member

WINGED PHRASE	FILM	YEAR	KOZHEVNIKOV'S DICTIONARY	WALL POST	DATE	THEME	ADDITIONAL COMMENT
Достаточно одной таблЭтки.	*Бриллиантовая рука*	1968	Достаточно одной таблетки.	Wall post with a winged phrase from *Бриллиантовая рука*.	17.06.2016	Phonetic appearance	Liolik's accent is imitated by capitalizing the hard pronunciation of a consonant.

3. Comment by a group member

COMMENT	WALL POST	DATE	CODE	ADDITIONAL COMMENT
Это классика))) она будет актуальна всегда))) мне 17 лет, а я с самого детства люблю советские фильмы)))	Wall post dedicated to Yurii Yakovlev.	24.01.2016	Reasons for quoting	Soviet film is referred to as 'classics'.

Online questionnaire

Winged phrase and its context in questions 4-5 of the questionnaire.

WINGED PHRASE	FILM	YEAR	KOZHEVNIKOV'S DICTIONARY	DIRECTOR	TRANSFORMED	TYPE OF TRANSFORMATION	CONTEXTS OF USAGE	ADDITIONAL COMMENTS
Надо, Вася, надо!	*Операция "Ы"*	1965	Надо, Федя, надо!	Гайдай	Yes	Substitution	Когда не хочется что-то делать.	Similar communicative context: film - respondent. Substitution of a proper name.

ЯПлакалъ **online discussion forum**

WINGED PHRASE	FILM	YEAR	KOZHEVNIKOV'S DICTIONARY	ACTIVE TOPIC	DATE	DIRECTOR	SOURCE WITHIN A FILM	TRANSFORMED	TYPE OF TRANSFORMATION	CONTEXTS OF USAGE	ADDITIONAL COMMENTS
Какая отвратительная рожа!	*Джентльмены удачи*	1971	Какая отвратительная рожа!	Из колонии в Пермском крае сбежал заключённый	18.07.2017	Серый	Film dialogue	No	N/a	Reaction to a photo of a prison camp escapee.	Similar communicative context: film - forum.

Newspaper headings of "Комсомольская правда – Москва", "Известия" and "Литературная газета"

WINGED PHRASE	FILM	YEAR	KOZHEVNIKOV'S DICTIONARY	NEWSPAPER	DATE	DIRECTOR	SOURCE WITHIN A FILM	TRANSFORMED	TYPE OF TRANSFORMATION	CONTEXTS OF USAGE	ADDITIONAL COMMENTS
В бой идут одни пенсионеры.	*В бой идут одни старики*	1973	В бой идут одни старики.	*Комсомольская правда – Москва*	04.10.2017	Быков	Film title	Yes	Substitution	Boxing championship: George Foreman vs Steven Seagal.	Substitution by a synonym.

Appendix 19

Most popular winged phrases

WINGED PHRASE		FILM	DATA SOURCE		
			QUOTATIONS FROM SOVIET CINEMA	ONLINE QUESTINNAIRE	NEWSPAPER HEADINGS
1	*Налетай, торопись, покупай живопись!* *Hurry! Be smart! Buy fine art!*	*Операция "Ы" и другие приключения Шурика*	x		x
2	*Птичку жалко!..* *I'm sorry for the bird!..*	*Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика*		x	x
3	*Студентка, комсомолка, спортсменка, наконец, она просто красавица.* *A student, a Young Communist, an athlete, and last but not least, a beauty.*	*Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика*		x	x
4	*Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят!* *Our tenants don't go to the baker's in a taxi!*	*Бриллиантовая рука*		x	x
5	*Кто же его посадит?!.. Он же памятник!* *How could the poor guy sit down? An iron monument like that!*	*Джентльмены удачи*		x	x
6	*Танцуют все!* *Everybody dance!*	*Иван Васильевич меняет профессию*		x	x
7	*И тебя вылечат, и тебя тоже вылечат... и меня вылечат.* *You'll be cured. And you'll be cured. And I'll be cured, too.*	*Иван Васильевич меняет профессию*		x	x
8	*Какая гадость, какая гадость эта ваша заливная рыба!* *How horrible, how horrible is this jellied fish of yours!*	*Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!*	x	x	
9	*Ой, тёпленькая пошла!* *Oh, it's getting warmer!*	*Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!*		x	x

Appendix 20

Successful winged phrases

WINGED PHRASE		FILM	DATA SOURCE			
			QUOTATIONS FROM SOVIET CINEMA	ONLINE QUESTINNAIRE	YAPLAKAL FORUM	NEWSPAPER HEADINGS
1	*Кто не работает, тот ест. Учись, студент!*	*Операция "Ы" и другие приключения Шурика*	x	x		x
2	*Птичку жалко!..*	*Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика*	x	x		x
3	*Студентка, комсомолка, спортсменка, наконец, она просто красавица.*	*Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика*	x	x		x
4	*Бриллиантовая рука.*	*Бриллиантовая рука*	x	x		x
5	*Поскользнулся, упал,закрытый перелом, потерял сознание, очнулся – гипс.*	*Бриллиантовая рука*	x	x		x
6	*Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят!*	*Бриллиантовая рука*	x	x	x	x
7	*А если не будут брать, отключим газ.*	*Бриллиантовая рука*	x	x	x	
8	*Достаточно одной таблетки.*	*Бриллиантовая рука*	x	x		x
9	*Гюльчатай! Открой личико, а.*	*Белое солнце пустыни*	x	x		x
10	*Я мзду не беру. Мне за державу обидно!*	*Белое солнце пустыни*	x	x		x
11	*А в тюрьме сейчас ужин. Макароны.*	*Джентльмены удачи*	x	x	x	

12	*Кушать подано, садитесь жрать, пожалуйста!*	*Джентльмены удачи*	x	x		x
13	*Эй, гражданина, ты туда не ходи, ты сюда ходи. А то снег башка попадёт, совсем мёртвый будешь.*	*Джентльмены удачи*	x	x		x
14	*Кто же его посадит?!.. Он же памятник!*	*Джентльмены удачи*	x	x		x
15	*Иван Васильевич меняет профессию.*	*Иван Васильевич меняет профессию*	x	x		x
16	*Всё, всё, что нажил непосильным трудом, всё же погибло.*	*Иван Васильевич меняет профессию*	x	x		x
17	*Ох, красота-то какая! Лепота!*	*Иван Васильевич меняет профессию*	x	x		x
18	*Танцуют все!*	*Иван Васильевич меняет профессию*	x	x		x
19	*И тебя вылечат, и тебя тоже вылечат... и меня вылечат.*	*Иван Васильевич меняет профессию*		x		x
20	*Штирлиц! А вас я попрошу остаться.*	*Семнадцать мгновений весны*	x	x		x
21	*Ой, тёпленькая пошла!*	*Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!*	x	x		x
22	*Бабочка крылышками бяк-бяк-бяк, а за ней воробушек прыг-прыг-прыг, он её голубушку шмяк-шмяк-шмяк, ам-ням-ням да и шмыг-шмыг-шмыг!*	*Обыкновенное чудо*	x	x		x
23	*Москва слезам не верит.*	*Москва слезам не верит*	x	x		x
24	*В сорок лет жизнь только начинается, это уж я теперь точно знаю.*	*Москва слезам не верит*	x	x		x
25	*Георгий Иванович, он же Гога, он же Гоша, он же Юрий, он же Жора здесь проживает?*	*Москва слезам не верит*	x	x		x

Appendix 21

A summary of transformation types of winged phrases from Soviet films

TRANSFORMED WINGED PHRASE	KOZHEVNIKOV'S DICTIONARY	DATA SOURCE	TRANSFORMATION TYPES									
			SUBSTITUTION	REDUCTION	ADDITION	BLEND	HYPERTHESIS	CHANGE OF INTONATIONAL CONTOUR	CHANGE OF GRAMMATICAL FORM	CHANGE OF PHONETIC NORMS	LEXICAL	ASSOCIATIVE
Копают все!	*Танцуют все!*	Quotations from Soviet cinema	x									
Нажито непосильным трудом.	*Это же всё же, всё же, что нажито непосильным трудом, всё погибло.*	Yaplakal		x								
Бриллиантовая рука закона.	*Бриллиантовая рука.*	Newspaper headings			x							
Птичек жалко.	*Птичку жалко!..*	Newspaper headings							x			
Активистка, комсомолка и просто красавица.	*Студентка, комсомолка, спортсменка, наконец, она просто красавица.*	Online questionnaire	x	x								

Ольга Голодец: сдвиньте парты, сдвиньте в круг.	*Встаньте, дети, встаньте в круг, встаньте в круг, встаньте в круг.*	Newspaper headings	x	x	x							
Кто заказывал лабутены на "Дубровке" ?	*Кто заказывал такси на Дубровку?*	Newspaper headings	x						x			
Упала, потеряла сознание, очнулась – 690 тысяч рублей.	*Поскользнулся, упал,закрытый перелом, потерял сознание, очнулся – гипс.*	Newspaper headings	x	x					x			
Тут Бах нечаянно нагрянул…	*Любовь нечаянно нагрянет, когда её совсем не ждёшь…*	Newspaper headings	x	x	x				x			
И не друг, и не враг. А как?	*Если друг оказался вдруг и не друг, и не враг, а так…*	Newspaper headings	x	x				x				
Пить будем сильно, но аккуратно!	*Буду бить аккуратно, но сильно.*	Newspaper headings	x				x					
В то время, как... бороздят просторы Большого театра.	*В то время, как наши космические корабли бороздят просторы вселенной...*	Online questionnaire	x			x						

	Давай, бухти мне, как космические корабли бороздят Большой театр, а я посплю.											
Она виновата. Но она не виновата…	*Он, конечно, виноват, но он... не виноват. Пожалейте его, товарищи судьи.*	Newspaper headings		x					x			
Садитесь ржать, пожалуйста!	*Кушать подано, садитесь жрать, пожалуйста!*	Newspaper headings		x			x					
Добро пожаловать или вход воспрещён?	*Добро пожаловать, или Посторонним вход воспрещён.*	Newspaper headlines		x				x				
Вагончик тронулся?	*Вагончик тронется, перрон останется.*	Newspaper headings		x				x	x			
Леди и джентльмены у дачи.	*Джентльмены удачи.*	Newspaper headings			x				x			
Это ж памятник, кто его посодит!	*Кто же его посадит?!.. Он же памятник!*	Online questionnaire		x						x		

Сосны пермские, лапник тамбовский, ели заморские нормандские.	*Икра чёрная, икра красная, икра заморская, баклажанная.*	Newspaper headings									x	
Казань брали? Нет, торговали!	*Казань брал, Астрахань брал, Ревель брал... Шпака не брал.*	Newspaper headings										x

Appendix 22

Guidelines for establishing inter-coder reliability and training procedure (adopted from Mohd Noor 2014)

General guidelines

Step 1: It was explained to the coder that a variety of 'themes' were identified from the studies in 'winged phrases' from Soviet films. It was further explained that the 'themes' appear in four different data sets and that each data set should be treated separately.

Step 2: It was explained that the identification process should be cross-checked with the coder to ensure that this process can be followed in a straightforward manner by other researchers.

Training procedures

1) Introduce the research briefly (including background, objectives, methodology);

2) Introduce and discuss the relevant concepts;

3) Introduce and discuss the data;

4) Introduce and discuss previously identified items;

5) Provide the instructions for coding to the coder;

6) Encourage questions and comments;

7) Code and discuss a few cases together;

8) Code a few test cases individually;

9) Compare results – item by item;

10) Discuss any disagreement;

11) Clarify coding approach;

12) Code a few more test cases individually;

13) Compare and discuss any disagreement;

14) If necessary, continue until agreement is ‘satisfactory’ (not perfectly but as closely as possible);

15) Assign coding work to be undertaken independently;

16) Meet coder again to compare results;

17) Revise the identification criteria, if necessary.

Guidelines for coder

1) Read the examples (of winged phrases) provided;

2) Code the examples using the codes provided;

3) Look out for and note new items (potentially new ‘themes’).