

# Interjections and L2 Learning and Teaching

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## ***Saber viver a linguagem. Knowing how to live language***

This article is dedicated in honour to Prof. Maria da Graça Pinto  
with deep respect and warmest best regards!  
... Interjections help us to live language...

### ABSTRACT

INTERJECTIONS have been underestimated words in linguistics, and even more in linguodidactics. In recent years, interest in describing interjections has grown. The pragmatic approach is the most successful in their description. A comparative study of interjections and onomatopoeia in the Russian and Bulgarian languages has been carried out. Various theoretical frameworks and perspectives for describing interjections and onomatopoeias are proposed, but in this article they serve the goals of linguodidactics, teaching and learning a foreign language – L2. In our opinion, there is a need to study interjections at all stages of studying / teaching - from elementary to advanced, for greater expressiveness, communicative adequacy. Using so called “small words” in a suitable situation and context, we compensate for the lack of vocabulary and maintain communication, express our attitude to what is being reported. Interjections are associated with the mastery of speech etiquette as well, with the borrowing-internationalisms. Interjections are used in the comics, jokes, cartoons, videos; they are related to the emoticons, emoji. They are included in the lexicon, grammar; with suitable intonation and nonverbal behavior they are a part of L2 linguistic, socio-cultural, strategic, discourse competence. Interjections are also pragmatic and discursive markers, serving for successful communication, or may be a marker for code-switching in bilinguals.

### KEY WORDS

comparative study of interjections, L2 teaching and learning, applied aspects

Interjections are one of the most controversial, poorly studied, but at the same time and the most attractive and mysterious linguistic units. They are often out of linguists' focus of attention, “the universal yet neglected part of speech” (Ameka, 1992, p.101), even they figuratively called them “the outlaws of English” (Nordquist, 2012), “stepchildren of grammar” (Nitsolova,

2008). In recent decades, there is an increasing interest to study interjections. New linguistic approaches and created linguistic resources allow us for a fresh look at their semantic, pragmatic and functional characteristics. Their description is associated with different areas of the study of human communication: verbal and nonverbal components of communication, with a multi-layer sphere of conversation, with a complex interweaving of emotional and cognitive aspects in the process of generation and perception of speech, with the creation and use of electronic language resources, etc. A comprehensive semiotic and pragmatic approach prevails in their study. For a complex interdisciplinary study of interjections, some psycho- and sociolinguistic methods are used in the framework of a cognitive and anthropocentric approach to language.

The analysis of interjections is also important for teaching foreign languages, and that is the focus of the present work.

We carried out a comparative study of interjections and onomatopoeia in the Russian (Rus.) and Bulgarian (Bulg.) languages (Petrova, 2016). As a result of a multifaceted, integrated approach to interjections, we propose their classification based on the field principle, highlighting the prototypical core of emotional interjections (Rus./ Bulg. *O!*, *Ax!* *Oй!* *Ура!*, *Боже!* 'Oh!, Ah! Oh! Hooray!, God!', etc.), and a structured periphery of various units with interjectival character.

Interjections as part of speech are described in accordance with the basic principles of determining lexical and grammatical classes of words: a) semantic, b) morphological, c) derivational, g) syntactic, d) communicative. Interjections remain beyond the content and functional parts of speech according to the "residual principle" (Sharonov, 2004). The pragmatic, discursive, linguoculturological, linguodidactic, psycho- and sociolinguistic aspects of the study of interjections are briefly described.

In modern linguistics predominate pragmatically oriented definitions of **interjections** as uninflected words, "relatively conventionalized vocal gestures (or more generally, linguistic gestures) which express a speaker's mental state, action or attitude or reaction to a situation" (Ameka, 1992, p.106).

A comparative description of interjections and onomatopoeia in Russian and Bulgarian may be useful in studying the dynamics of changes in the

grammatical systems of both languages, in translation practice, in choosing situational and functional equivalents, in studying both language pictures of the world (worldviews), in teaching foreign languages, improving intercultural communication, etc.

Various cases of transposition (conversion) of interjections are considered. As interjections are grammatically non-inflected, non-changing units with highly generalized semantics, which depend on the context and situation, interjections are easily transposed in colloquial speech, while one interjection can go into several different parts of speech. A chain of successive transpositions is also possible. A lot of “homeless” units that exist in the language for the expression of subjective modality, which are difficult to part of speech classification, are located on the periphery of the words and expressions “with interjectional value” (Rus. *Вот как! Вот те на! Ну и ну!* = *Vot tak! Vot te na! Nu i nu!* – ‘Wow! Oh, really?, That’s it!’).

So called (de)verbal interjections (derived from verbs) are used in such areas of communication and genres as colloquial speech, comics, Internet chats, children’s literature, fairy tales, children’s speech (Rus. *И он БУХ в воду!* = *I on BUKH v vodu!* ‘And he Pow! <jumped / jumps> into the water’, Bulg. *Скок-подскок – Зайчо избяга.* = *Skok-podskok – Zayčo izbyaga.* ‘Jump-jump – Bunny ran away’.). Therefore, it is important to study verbal interjections at school, with children. When analyzing the material, the following tendency was revealed: the formation of occasional verbal interjections is more active and frequent in the Bulgarian compared with the Russian, especially in the comics book genre and in chat rooms. One can find such occasional examples even as a sign on the boot of a car: Bulg. *Не пун, щото ще има пяс!* ‘Don’t touch, ‘cause there will be slap!’. This individual formation is understandable for everyone, because it follows the well-known pattern.

There are a variety of derivational chains: 1) onomatopoeia > verb interjection > verb or 2) onomatopoeia > verb > verb interjection .

Most of verb interjections in Russian are formed by clipping the stem of the verb based on onomatopoeia (*скррр, хрясь, шмяк* = *skrrr, hrjas, shmjak* ‘scratch, Bang!, plump, drop noisily’ etc.). A similar model is implemented in the Bulgarian. However, verb interjections which are formed by clipping the verb stem from the verb without initial motivating onomatopoeia are

more productive in Bulgarian and often used in comics (*подуш, облиз, глът, кашлюк, каш, изплюв, цунк* = *podush, obliz, glut, kashkljuk, kash, izpljuv, tsunk* 'smell, lick, swallow, cough, spit, kiss', etc., see also <https://knigomania.bg/komiksi.html>, <https://www.detskiknigi.com/tag/komiksi/>) (Petrova, 2011).

The word-formation features of interjections are similar in both considered languages: according to their origin, interjections are divided into primary and secondary ones (derivatives). The transition of other parts of speech into interjections is possible. Verbal interjections are formed mostly by clipping the verbs, derived from onomatopoeia. The study of word-formation models, in which interjections and onomatopoeia are a motivating basis for the formation of new words, is very important for expanding not only the active, but also the passive vocabulary for students of L2 in order to improve their understanding in listening and reading.

Some word-formation models are realized in the formation of occasional forms (e.g., the most productive is the model with the initial *m-* Bulgarian *Тинтири-минтири* = *Tintiri-mintiri* 'bla-bla', *цигу-мигу* = *tsigu-migu* 'how the violin plays; classical music', etc.). We call such derived from onomatopoeia forms "expressive reduplicates". According to experts, they most likely appear under the influence of contact with the Turkic languages. Some of them are a linguistic phenomenon, a fact of language (used as stable linguistic units and recorded in dictionaries), others are occasional speech product, a manifestation of the language game and creativity, but they are understandable to everyone because they are built according to the well-known productive model. Thus, such forms are important for the study of linguistic contacts and the linguistic creativity of native speakers of a particular language.

Interjections and onomatopoeias in the child's speech are multifunctional, syncretic and may replace all parts of speech. They are widely used at the initial stages of development of children's vocabulary and grammar. When combined with gestures, in a particular communicative situation they acquire the status of a speech act and function as one-component statements. Such forms develop the imagination of children, their creativity to understand and to form potential words, expand knowledge of word-formation models of the language. These interjections also allow the kids to

use expressive uninflected proto-morphological forms, without knowing the necessary morphological categories and combination rules, while they are still not firmly mastered by children in their native or foreign language. In their use, psychologists and linguists find indirect confirmation of the idea of the onomatopoeic theory of the origin of the language and the hypothesis of “Ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny”.

For the semantic characteristics of interjections the interaction between the external form and the content is extremely important. Variability of interjections reflects functional, verbal dynamism. Considering their external plan (including the components of the “non-canonical” phonetics), other components are also involved, such as gestures, emoticons, punctuation, and context. The phonetic and intonation forms of interjections affect their semantics (Bulg. *Тя-мю-мю...*, *Цъ!* ..., *Тс!* ‘Oh no!, Gosh! What a pity!’ – inspiratory clicking sound that is absent in the phonetic system of Bulgarian can express denial, rejection, doubt, perplexity, delight, etc.). For situational and contextual disambiguation interjections need the analysis of both verbal and nonverbal components.

Analyzing phonograms of speech segments containing vocal gestures (the oral form of interjections), Elena Graf demonstrates how their meaning and functions can also be modified, depending on implementation of prosodic properties (such as duration, pitch of the tonal register) and on reduplication of interjections (Graph, 2007, pp. 311– 312). She analyzes multiple meanings of vocal gestures in a famous animated Soviet, later Russian cartoon about the rabbit and wolf „Ну погоди!“ – Well, Just You Wait!. It is a very productive idea to look for typical prosodic realizations in cartoons for kids, because they are clear and salient, representative, national-specific, typical for the language and culture. There are some cartoons both for children and adults which rely mostly on typical verbal and nonverbal gestures, without any words (e.g. Bulg. „Тримата глупаци“ – The Three Fools). This situation also contains rich material for further analysis.

The development of metaphorical meanings in onomatopoeia, their use as euphemisms, the detection of cross-language asymmetry in these processes improves the sociocultural competence of students, their ability to intercultural communication.

Differences in the development of figurative and metaphorical meanings

of interjections were found. In Bulgarian some interjections develop a figurative meaning, acting as a euphemism with the meaning 'crazy' (about a person) (for example, Bulg. *тра-ла-ла, ку-ку, кукуругу, кудкудяк* = *tra-la-la, ku-ku, kukurigu s, kudkudyak* 'Cuckoo, Cock-a-doodle-doo, cluck, chukle'. etc.). They serve as a productive motivating base stem for many derived words with similar meanings. The semantic neology of some onomatopoeia (for example, Rus., Bulg. *тра-ла-ла, бла-бла-бла* = *Tra-la-la, bla-bla-bla*) and phraseological units are played out in the language (Rus. *ни бе, ни ме, ни кукареку* = *Ni be, ni me, ni kukareku* = *Neither baa (sheep bleats), nor maa (goat bleats), nor Cock-a-doodle-doo* 'Somebody knows nothing, does not say a word'). Their illustration with a gesture is also culturally specific and needs a special description, studying and teaching to recreate the sociocultural competence of students of a foreign language. For example, a 'crazy person' can be represented by the gesture "twisting with the index finger at the temple" in both Russian and Bulgarian linguistic cultures, but only for the speakers of Bulgarian there is a gesture of "twist your hand with outstretched fingers at face level". The interaction of the two systems -verbal and nonverbal - plays an important role in meaning construction and disambiguation of interjections. The location of interjections on the periphery of the linguistic system and their similarity with paralinguistic means is reflected in the definition of interjections as "language gestures" or "vocal gestures" in modern linguistic science.

Among the syntactic features of interjections, their ability to form independent sentences is the most important. This feature sometimes becomes the only criterion for distinguishing between interjections and other parts of speech, for example, particles. Therefore, some authors, including of textbooks for secondary schools in Bulgaria, attribute to the interjections the status of a morphosyntactic category.

Interjections are important in the study of a foreign language, since they participate in the actual and communicative organisation of the sentence, break the sentence in the place of emotional or logical focus, they can introduce the topic of the sentence (Rus. *Вхожу и – ах!* – *кого я вижу!* = *Vhozhu i – ah!* – *kogo ja vizhu!* 'I enter and - **oh!** - whom I see!').

Within the framework of the 'Meaning – Text' theory, interjections and "signalatives" are related to signaling means, with their help "the speaker

signals - but does not inform!" what he experiences, feels, and therefore "a transition is made to the logically non-discrete way of transferring linguistic information" (Iordanskaja, Melchuk, 2007, p.353). In traditional linguistics, such units are interpreted as expressives, through which the speaker signals his internal state, and within the text they function as discursive markers. This theoretical description clarifies the functions of interjection units in the communication process.

Interjections as discourse and pragmatic markers regulate the communication process: in dialog they function as a switching signal for the turn-taking, the participant in communication wants to take the floor, confirms understanding, sends feedback signals in order to maintain communication, expresses emotional and cognitive attitude to what have been reported, or to the other speaker's words, etc. Interjections also may serve as means of filling hesitation pauses, so as the vocal gestures they help to regulate communication (Rus. / Bulg. *ммммм, аааааа, эээээ, нууу, тааааа* = *mmmmm, aaaaaa, eeeee, nuuu, taaak* 'Hum, Um, Well, I see',..., Bulg. *ъъъъ...[эээ]* 'Errr', etc.; see Petrova, 2013).

An analysis of the speech of Russian-Bulgarian bilinguals led us to the conclusion that interjections and particles of the native language are sprinkled, interspersed in foreign language speech (for example, in a speech by a Russian resident in Bulgaria: *Ой, пойду на кухня* <Rus.> *манджа* <BG.> *посмотрю* <Rus.>, *дали готова* <BG.>. 'Oh, I'll go to the kitchen and have a look if the meal is ready'). Interjections become markers for code switching, and usually belong to mother tongue. Different situations have been registered: when the switching lasts that moment while the interjection is pronounced, or when the speaker continues communication in his native language after such a marker. Thus, interjections are markers of linguistic (ethnic) identity and can serve as a "key" in switching the language and cultural code, or as an indicator that a foreigner cannot completely switch to another language code, or can give an emotional "respite", rest during strict self-control while speaking a foreign language. Interjections can replace the magical action (Rus. *тьфу-тьфу-тьфу!* = *tjfu-tjfu-tjfu* 'Pah-pah-pah!') - spit three times over the shoulder when the black cat crosses the road (in Russian culture this is considered as a bad sign, unlike the English, where the black cat brings good luck). Equivalent interjection (Bulg. *ну – ну – ну* = *пу – пу –*

*pu*) is pronounced as a spell against evil eye and evil in different situation, especially when Bulgarians meet a small kid. Just like English *toi, toi, toi* pronounced in the theater or in the opera - "A superstitious expression of encouragement prior to a performance. Synonyms: *break a leg* (theatre), good luck (considered to bring misfortune if used in the theatre)" ([https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/toi,\\_toi,\\_toi#English](https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/toi,_toi,_toi#English))

Examples like these raise many questions in connection with the storage of such words in the mental lexicon, semantic memory of a person, and especially bilingual, about the cognitive and affective mechanisms of their processing, about the strength and degree of control of consciousness over such emotional units.

Analysis of Russian and Bulgarian web-chat sessions confirmed our initial assumption that this genre of communication uses a significant number of acronyms, interjections, emoticons. Although this communication takes place in writing it is as close as possible to spontaneous speech. It goes in real time and the "talking" participants should express themselves as quickly as possible, briefly and expressively. This contributes to the abundance of interjections, abbreviations and emoticons and their appropriate use in electronic communication. To use pre-made emoticons, pictures and exclamations on smart phone, one needs to understand their meaning and relevance of use (e.g. snoring is represented in English by *zzz*, in Bulgarian – verb *хъркам* > onomatopoeia *хър-хър, хррр*, in Russian – *хрюкает* > *хрю-хрю, хрррр*). So non-English speakers have to be prepared for intercultural communication, or rely on picture, on emoji.

Syncretism, capacity, and vivid expressiveness of interjections make them a favorite means of expressing emotions in jokes. This class of words acts as indicators of emotional speech, as a means of expressing a personal attitude to the situation or to the message. They also often contribute to the speech portrait of a joke character. Onomatopoeia are an important part of the joke: for example, in Bulgarian joke a dog barks, but also meows as an indicator of foreign language skills; a snake barks, meows after taking the drug, and, returning to its normal state, hisses; the programmer teaches his son that the cat meows, the dog barks, and the mouse says *click-click*, etc. Borrowed interjections can be a nationality identification marker: in jokes about the Armenian radio when Turkish radio intervenes in the Bulgarian

joke (Bulg. *Попитали радио Ереван, как една пълна жена да отслабне. - С диета, гимнастика... - Вай, вай, сакън, не разваляйте хубавата жена! - намесило се радио Истанбул.* = Radio Yerevan was asked how a fat, corpulent woman can lose weight. - Diet, gymnastics... "Vai, vai, Sakun, Wow, wow, God forbid! Don't spoil the beautiful woman!" - Radio Istanbul intervened). Interjection can serve as an indicator of the national, social, group, age of the character (Bulg. *вай, вах; сакън, машалла; ъес! уау! ъоу!* 'Oh, Vai, Mashalla; Yes! Wow! Yo!').

Interjections and onomatopoeia can play main pragmatic role to create a humorous effect in the punch-line, replacing a whole utterance of technical description with illustrative onomatopoeia: Bulg. *Теоретичен изпит на курс за шофьори. Комисията пита блондинка. - Опишете работата на двигателя. - Може ли със мои думи? - Разбира се! - Рррр, рррр, рррр, рррр...* (vicove.gbg.bg) = 'Theoretical exam for a driver's license. The commission asks a blonde. - Describe the operation of the engine. - May I use my own words? - Of course! - Rrrr, rrrr, rrrr, rrrr,...'). Often interjection interacts with some paralinguistic means (intonation, tone, gesture), and this complex creates a comic effect in a joke, but very often it is impossible to translate a joke into a foreign language.

A paradoxical grotesque is an attempt to retell a whole film, or story, or even famous classical novel using only several interjections and onomatopoeia in Russian, illustrated by a snapshot from the film or from the book: 1) "Титаник": *Чмок-чмок! Хрясь! Буль-буль* :( = "Titanic": *Smack, smack! / Kiss-kiss! Crash! Bubble-bubble*, 2) к/ф "Челюсти": — *Ням-ням. Ням-ням. Ням-ням...* - "JAWS":- *Ут-ут. Ут-ут....* ... 3) "Царевна лягушка" — *Ква-ква! — Чмок-чмок.* "The Frog Princess" — *Croak-croak! - Smack, smack.* ... 4) "Терминатор" *ХРАСЬ! ХРАСЬ! ХРАСЬ! БДЫШЬ! БДЫШЬ! БДЫШЬ! урс...* "Terminator" *Crash! Smash! ... Bang! Boom! oops* ... 5) "Преступление и наказание" -*Тук-тук-тук. —Кто там? — Хрясь* — "Crime and Punishment"-*Кnock-knock-knock. —Who's there? - Bang!* 6) "Анна Каренина" —*Ту-туууу! Хрясь!* - "Anna Karenina" - *Tu-tuuuu! (the train) Crash!* ... 15 examples – (<https://www.obozrevatel.com/news/2008/2/15/218078.htm>). Even if you don't like these jokes at least this manner of expression helps you to memorize some interjections or onomatopoeia in Russian ;-).

Very important for L2 learning and teaching are multi-word idiomatic expressions with interjectival character so called “communicatives” (e.g. Rus. *Вот оно что!*, *Ну и ну!*, *Вот так вот!*, *Вот те на!*, *Еще бы!* ‘So that’s it, Wow!, Really?, That is all!, Here we go!’). Their meaning highly depends on the context, situation and intonation. They are considered as part of speech etiquette; they make the communication more natural-like, more expressive, they help to develop communicative strategies from elementary and basic to the most advanced levels and to achieve adequate communicative and speech competence in L2 training. On the other hand, we propose the study of such units at the intersection of morphology, syntax, phraseology, pragmatics, corpus linguistics. Functional equivalents of the original units should be extracted from lexicographic sources and parallel corpora of two languages.

Interjections and onomatopoeia contribute to the realization of the communicative, expressive, aesthetic and game functions of the language, so they can be used in language games (puns) at different levels of the language. The analysis of huge corpora of examples shows that interjections as part of speech does not form a closed group, including a limited number of units (as it is often assumed in linguistic works). Most often, examples of a language game involving interjections are observed in colloquial speech, electronic mediated communication (e-mail, Internet chat rooms, forums, blogs, etc.), mass media, modern fiction, etc. Mixing of various elements from different languages in the word-formation systems of Russian and Bulgarian reflects active processes of intercultural communication. In the considered examples - from English, Russian, Bulgarian - for example, *bb* = *bye-bye* – *бай-байочки*, Russian diminutive suffix is added to English stem.

We decided to find out the most frequent and most actively used interjections presented in the dictionaries of free association norms of Russian and Bulgarian (Slavic Association Dictionary, 2004). Data have shown that the associative-verbal fields include approximately 25 Bulgarian and 45 Russian units. Contrary to our preliminary expectations, interjections registered in the dictionary do not coincide with the primary prototypical emotional interjections. Interjections found in the reactions turned out to be very heterogeneous and most often are single reactions. In associative data, the unity S (stimulus) → R (reaction) is considered by us as a “mini speech

act". Data confirmed characteristics identified in other linguistic sources: interjections are syncretic, compressive for the whole situation, they reflect the speaker's emotions, contain appraisal, estimation, could serve as euphemism, etc. Interjections may reflect emotional and cognitive response of the subject to the stimulus S, carry the connotation of a marker belonging to a social group or subculture (cf., for example, greeting of rappers *Yo!*). Borrowed (mainly from English) interjections perform a euphemistic function (replace invectives in native language), participate in a language game, pun, wordplay, serve as discursive markers: (S à R) Rus. *хорошо* 'good' à *OK*; Bulg. *успявам* à *Yes! супер е!* 'It's super!'; *губя* 'lose' à *fuck!*; *мръсен* 'dirty' à *shit*). Using foreign "bad words" is less reprehensible, blameworthy, than using ones from the mother tongue, or even could be somehow trendy and super cool for youngsters. Thus, the most actively used units are identified as a product of our linguistic consciousness, national linguistic personality, or a secondary linguistic personality formed during the acquisition of a foreign language (in the terminology of Karaulov, 1994).

The accumulation of translation equivalents and contexts available in parallel corpora of both languages can modify or supplement the meanings and definitions of interjections already described in lexicographic sources, as well as serve as a source for studying and describing the paralinguistic context that accompanies interjections. Parallel corpora are a powerful modern means of representing a variety of examples that can be used for comparative and intercultural analysis. Based on them, one can study individual translation strategies, increase the range of functional and pragmatic equivalents; use them as a source of illustrative material for dictionaries (e.g. [http://rbcorpus.com/index\\_rus.php](http://rbcorpus.com/index_rus.php)). National corpora of Bulgarian (<http://dcl.bas.bg/bulnc/>) and of Russian (<https://ruscorpora.ru/>) could be very useful in studying interjections, especially their sub-corpora for transcribed oral speech (<https://ruscorpora.ru/new/search-spoken.html>), or multimodal corpus, where one can observe all information channels in communication (<https://ruscorpora.ru/new/search-murco.html>).

Interjections are widely used in advertising because of their brevity, expressiveness, emotionality, and high influence (e.g. SILK shampoo is a tempting with "Wow effect" – "Вай-эффект" in Russian / "Уай ефект" in Bulgarian; etc.). Here in the example we can see different strategies

of adaptation of loan interjection *Wow* in both languages. Sometimes an advertising strategy aims at modifying borrowed interjections or replacing them with “home” interjections according to the target group or to the “degree of adoption” of the interjection (as in later edited versions of Bulgarian TV advertisement for Danone yoghurt for children - *WOW! - Yay! - Ay! = Waw! Au!*). Some companies show good policy for national specific adaptations of the products (e.g. <https://www.nivea.bg/> often uses interjections in ads), or even brands and slogans are translated, and ads’ faces, portraits, participants are changed with own popular public persons (<http://www.nivea.ru/>). Specific for each country popular fairy tales are used in ads for kids’ cosmetics. Different games and charity actions are offered on the web-site of the company: gain a book or a toy with your bill, and give them to Foster home or Orphanage - in Bulgaria; send photos with our cosmetics and we will build a skating-rink in the area you live - in Russia. These are good examples of intercultural communication.

The analysis of the linguistic, linguodidactic and methodological aspects of interjections has shown that their teaching and learning is possible and necessary in “appropriate doses” at all stages of mastering a foreign language. On the one hand, the use of emotional words is characteristic of a high level of knowledge of a foreign language. On the other hand, the adequate use of “small” words, like particles and interjections, compensates for the lack of rich vocabulary in the early stages of language acquisition and can make communication successful and effective. Their use will improve sociocultural and discourse competence, which will lead to an increase in communicative competence and readiness for intercultural and multicultural communication, which is the main goal of modern study and teaching of L2.

Applied aspects of the interjections’ analysis can be used in translation, cultural or anthropological linguistics, didactics and teaching foreign languages, lexicography, computational linguistics, psycho- and sociolinguistics, advertising, etc.

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