PRAGMATIC FEATURES OF NUMERICAL WORDS EXPRESSING THE MEANING OF MONEY

Achilova Noila Khamrokulovna
Bukhara State University, Second Year Master's Degree

Abstract
The article considers the pragmatic properties of numeral words expressing the meaning of money, and presents the results of a qualitative empirical study of spending cash at the theater box office in Tashkent. Based on the observation, a conclusion is made about the symbolic function and role of cash in everyday life, the unconsciousness of the functions used and the strategies for the meaning of money in the process of communication that arise in the natural rhythm of the daily life of theater visitors. It also emphasizes the loss of these symbols and roles when paying for their needs in a non-cash way using a card.

Keywords: pragmatic properties, cash, everyday life, conversion analysis, ethnomethodology, sociology of money, numerical words.

Introduction

Three early, mid-, and near-late XVII century philosophers used the simile between words and money: Bacon, Hobbes, and Leibniz, respectively. Although their texts in this respect are very similar, they employ this comparison to explain quite different theses on the nature and functions of language. This article attempts to bring out these differences, relating them to the different philosophies of language of these authors. It is also suggested that such differences may be symptomatic of the changes that, according to M. Foucault, took place during the 17th century at the level of the Western "episteme".

In the literature on word-formation, pragmatic facts start to be accounted for only gradual-ally and sparsely, first as a mere observation and description of extra features/meanings on reducible to denotational semantics and only later within theories and theoretical models centered on morphology as a specific field interfacing with pragmatics.

At the tag end of the period when radical pragmatics was in vogue, I consider an extremely radical analysis of number word expressions in natural languages according to which they do not provide sentences with either upper bounded semantics, lower bounded semantics, or exact semantics, but a general with respect to such readings. I failed to provide a precise idea of what the meaning of number expressions would be

on that theory, but concluded that it would not provide enough meaning to support mathematics. In its place I offered a reactionary solution according to which the number words lend expressions exact meanings; a sentence like I have two grandchildren would be true if I have exactly two grandchildren, and false otherwise. That would require both the lower bounded (at least two) and upper bounded interpretations (at most two) to be pragmatic weakening is of a strong sense. Jay Atlas criticized the reactionary view because nobody has yet produced anything like a full-fledged theory of pragmatic weakening. Atlas preferred an analysis according to which both the "at least", "at most" and "exactly" uses were to be explained as pragmatically induced pre-citification's of a noncommittal sense.

Carston has also endorsed the under specification theory, and on the other hand, Koenig 1991, Horn 1992, and Geurts 1998 accept, or are at least not uncomfortable with, the bilateral, upward and downward semantically bounded meanings for cardinal number expressions. My present thinking agrees with both Carston and with Atlas. But if the meaning of number words is non-committal with regard to semantic boundedness, what meaning do numerical adjectives have that provides a basis for arithmetic? Jay's solution was to say that every number expression is ambiguous between ordinary English words, which he disambiguates graphically by spelling the wordsout, and cardinal numbers, for which he uses Arabic numerals. Those numbers written as alphabetic words are underspecified, lacking upper and lower semantic bounds; those numbers written with numeric characters are precise, and therefore suitable for mathematical purposes. I don't find this a very satisfying solution. I would prefer a univocal account of all numerals and will offer one below.

There are languages with two number systems, one of which is usually inherited and the other borrowed. Japanese, Korean, and West Greenlandic Inuit are examples. In the last mentioned language, the native system is rarely used for numbers above twelve, and the borrowed system, based on the Danish number

(1) Native and borrowed number words in West Greenlandic Inuit:

Native	Borrowed
ataasey	en
marluk	to
pingasut	tre
sisamat	fire
tallimat	fem
arfineq	seks
arfineq marluk	syv
...	

system, is the one that almost exclusively is used in mathematical calculations of various kinds. The difference in usage is similar, but not identical to the two poles of the Atlasian ambiguity. However, there is a very big difference between the single English set of number words and the bifurcated Greenlandic vocabulary for them. There are separate terms for each system, the first seven of which are shown in 1.

There are some areas of overlap in the use of these two systems, but sup-pose there weren't. Suppose the native language system were used exactly in those cases where Atlas would say the under specified, ordinary language forms would be used, and the borrowed system was employed exactly where his exact numbers would be used. Would that be an argument supporting the postulation of an ambiguity in the English system and others where there is terminology for all uses?

Thus, cash is a symbolic resource that provides social actions and interactions, it provides opportunities for the development of communication and dialogue between subjects. While non-cash money of these functions and symbols is completely deprived. Possession of cash (cash) is proof of wealth. According to economists' forecasts, the amount of non-cash money will increase, but the amount of money withdrawn from ATMs does not fall. This suggests that the symbolic function of cash is more significant than convenience, security, comfort.

Money can be a criterion and condition for economic claims arising in society under the influence of economic sanctions, market relations and social reproduction in general. This is described in more detail in the works of the author.

In sociology, cash is considered as an elementary sign system. The research of the American expert in the field of economic sociology V. Zelitser showed that social practices affect the circulation of money, "personifying and differentiating initially identical monetary forms".

In our work, we relied on the study of the pragmatic properties of numerative words expressing the meaning of money.

T. Parsons characterizes money as a specialized language, "a generalized means of communication through symbols", which allows expressing the intentions and proposals of market participants. Y. Habermas, reworking the theory of Parsons, defines money as "an interaction oriented towards mutual understanding." He comprehends the symbolism of money, when symbolic means replace or reduce linguistic communication, thereby limiting the possibility of a free exchange of information. Drawing a linguistic analogy, J. Habermas develops a sender-receiver model, where money exchange is seen as a communicative act built according to certain rules that limit it. Money is used to express economic value, to show preference, or to show agreement.

Money acquires a symbolic meaning due to the legitimacy that the state gives it. Cash is not only a mode of interaction; it is also a part of culture and history. At the same time, cash situationally acquires new meanings that are not fixed in culture and history. The empirical nature of the study of the communicative function of cash should expand Habermas' "linguistic analogy" and reveal situational meanings.

We believe that the norms for the use of money are inscribed in cultural and social contexts. We tried to trace the features of storage, transfer and receipt of cash in the course of interpersonal interaction. However, it is also worth considering the differentiation of the meaning of cash depending on the transformation of the context of use, the practice of application.

Following the researchers, we can also note three properties of money. First, cash acquires a pragmatic meaning that is not related to the "cultural matrix". Secondly, this value has constant properties (cost). Third, the use of money is controlled by loose, situational rules. So, the cost can be halved within a specific context.

For example, during the experiment, it was considered: in December 2018 - January 2019, observation was established at the box office in the drama theater of the city of Tashkent. There were cameras behind the ticket sellers and computers in front of them; information about the prices of entrance tickets was indicated on the wall in front of the ticket office window and on a special poster (ticket price varies from 50 000 to 500 000 soums). When patrons ordered tickets, the box office employee would enter the data into the computer, print out the tickets, and thereby initiate the payment.

If the visitors did not specify which ticket and at what price they would like to purchase, the cashier offered a more expensive ticket closer to the stage. The cashier talked about the price only for expensive tickets.

Cards were placed at the main entrance and at the reception desk notifying that a scientific study was currently being carried out, detailed information about which can be obtained upon request. A small number of visitors (12 people) asked about the study, but no one asked for more information.

All dialogues were transcribed. The data were systematized using conversion analysis and ethnomethodologically approach. The analytical task was formulated as follows: to determine how the participants in the social action "work" with the communicative function of cash when buying a ticket. This involved two aspects: studying how patrons dispense cash and how the theater box office staff accepts it.

Of the 250 people who bought tickets directly at the Zagurdsky Musical Theater box office, 70% used cash to purchase tickets.

Because of observation, we were able to identify several functions of cash.

Cash can be used to project expected actions and thereby demonstrate the intentions of the participants in the transaction. Cash does not just participate in the transaction, but defines and organizes it. In this case, the denomination of money is of fundamental importance.

Example 1. A visitor takes out 50,000 soums and puts it on the registration desk and the cashier understands that he wants to buy the cheapest ticket for the last row.

Through cash payment, the visitor demonstrated his desire to purchase a ticket to the last rows. In addition, the visitor expected a clear action from the cashier - the issuance of this particular ticket. At the same time, he did not verbally indicate his goal in any way. The cash desk employee also understood the desire of the visitor without words.

Example 2. The visitor takes out 50,000 soums and puts it on the registrar's table, holding the banknotes with his fingers, while continuing to look at ticket prices. After - putting 50,000 soums rubles, he says - "wait" and takes out another 100,000 soums and buys a ticket for 150,000 soums. The cashier also understands without words what kind of ticket the visitor wants and gives him the desired one.

Example 3. Two visitors enter the cash register. One takes out 100,000 soums from his wallet and asks for two tickets. The cashier understands that the customers want two cheap tickets for 50,000 sum and gives them to them. At this time, the second visitor opens his wallet, takes one 100,000 soum banknote from there, then looks into the bag and takes out two more banknotes of one hundred and fifty soums and hands them to the first visitor, who waves his head and shows a stop sign (palm up) . The second visitor shrugs (physical action), grunts (verbally, but without words), visually (look at the prices and at the first visitor) and puts all three bills in the wallet.

Example 4. Two visitors enter the cash register. One takes out 500,000 soums from his wallet and looks questioningly at the second; the second one opens his wallet without a word and takes out 300,000 soums from there. The cashier is watching. In addition, after that, the first one gives a total of a thousand rubles and asks for two tickets. The cashier without a word issues two tickets for 400,000 soums.

Example 5. A visitor enters the cashier. Carefully studies ticket prices. He takes out 500,000 soums, then after a little thought, he takes out another 500,000 soums and asks for two tickets. The cashier understands without a word that the visitor is asking for two expensive tickets in the front rows.

Thus, in the first and second examples, cash transactions are not related to the cultural or historical significance of money, but only reflects his understanding of a particular situation. In these cases, cash is a pragmatic tool to achieve their goals. This allows cash to be a condition of social action. In this example, instead of using linguistic

communication, the participants decide the outcome of the situation with the help of the movement of material resources of cash.

In the third example, money acts as a symbol of the relationship between the first visitor and the second, allowing him to express his point of view and intentions without words. In the fourth example, cash becomes a shared resource for two visitors. In the fifth - the amount of money received by the cashier, the study of prices and the time spent on it - allows the cashier to make an unambiguous conclusion.

In the process of communication, cash is an important interaction factor. A banknote initially has quality, value. When one of the parties takes money out of the wallet, the other participants in the transaction can already understand the intentions of this party only by one denomination of the bill. The presence of a face value creates an opportunity for strategic action: providing the right amount allows you to express the choice of goods. In the case of bank cards that do not have a face value, the other party would have a situation of uncertainty and would require additional comments. Thus, cards have less symbolic potential than cash.

Due to the communicative function, cash can be socially useful: they express the mental state of its owner, show his intentions and future actions. The symbolic meaning of cash is situational, temporary and depends on the specific situation.

Observation has shown that cash is a tool by which social and economic issues are articulated and resolved. By the way they take out, hold, put, move and remove cash, one can judge the intentions and train of thought of the participants in the transaction (the examples given are the most vivid images that allow one to typify all cash purchases at the theater box office). These actions are often unconscious and are expressed independently of the actual thoughts of the participants in the transaction. In this sense, one can speak of cash as objects that denote actions.

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