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Предлагаемый читателям сборник статей подготовлен по итогам одноименной международной конференции, проведенной в сентябре 2021 г. факультетом иностранных языков СПбГУ. В сборнике представлены последние разработки ученых России, стран ближнего и дальнего зарубежья в исследовании актуальных лингвистических процессов, современной методики преподавания языка и перевода, рассмотрен широкий спектр актуальных вопросов изучения роли перевода в условиях глобализации, широкого информационного обмена, взаимодействия языков и культур. Сборник является отражением позиций современных лингвистов на развитие традиционных проблем языка и межязыковой коммуникации, звучание которых приобретает сегодня новые тона и оттенки.

Материалы сборника будут полезны всем исследователям в области лингвистики, перевода, межкультурной коммуникации, лингводидактики и методики преподавания иностранных языков для специальных целей, а также всем интересующимся современными тенденциями в этих областях.

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Synergy of Languages & Cultures 2021: Interdisciplinary Studies

Svetlana Rubtsova, Ivan Grigoriev, Tatyana Dobrova, Elena Rokhlina, Nella Trofimova (eds). The collection of articles *The Synergy of Languages and Cultures: Interdisciplinary Studies* is a peer-reviewed scholarly publication that presents the results of the international conference held in September 2021. The conference was organized by the Faculty of Modern Languages of St Petersburg University. The collection includes papers from Russia, Japan, Belorussia, Italy, and Spain. The collection reflects the position of modern linguists on the development of traditional problems of language and cross-cultural communication, the role of translation in the context of globalization, extensive information exchange, and the interaction of languages and cultures.

The collection may also attract the attention of researchers in intercultural communication, language methodology, particularly the methods of teaching foreign languages for special purposes, and of a wider audience interested in modern trends in these areas.

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CONTENTS

Akay O. M., Khashkhozheva Z. T. TRANSMITTING GRAMMATICAL MEANINGS OF CERTAIN GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES IN TRANSLATION: MAJOR FEATURES	7
Andreeva E. G. AND AGAIN, ABOUT <i>TRUTH</i> : DISTRIBUTION OF RUSSIAN <i>PRAVDA</i> AND <i>ISTINA</i> IN ENGLISH <i>TRUTH</i>	18
Auseichyk Yu. V. THE GRAMMATICALIZATION OF THE ITEM <i>OR</i> IN OLD AND MIDDLE FRENCH THROUGH THE CORPUS DATA.....	27
Avrutina A. S. TRAITS OF LITERARY TRANSLATION FROM THE EASTERN LANGUAGE FROM THE POINT OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION (ON THE EXAMPLE OF TURKISH — RUSSIAN TRANSLATION).....	36
Balakina K. D. FEATURES OF THE ITALIAN GASTRONOMIC DISCOURSE: TRANSLATION ASPECT	45
Balezin A. S. EXTRA-RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY OF MISSIONARIES IN AFRICA AND THE ENCOUNTER OF CULTURES: GERMAN MISSIONARIES IN THE 19 th — EARLY 20 th CENTURIES.....	56
Bashmakova A. Yu. THE SEMANTIZATION OF VOCABULARY IN MULTIMODAL DICTIONARIES....	69
Bogdanova-Beglarian N. V., Ryko A. I. XENO-MARKER AS AN INTERPRETER OF SILENCE OR SPEECH BEHAVIOR IN ORAL COMMUNICATION (DIFFICULTIES IN TRANSLATION AND TEACHING RUSSIAN AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE)	80
Bugreeva E. A. EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE FOR INTERPRETER'S SUSTAINABLE PROFESSIONAL SELF-DEVELOPMENT	90
Carter E. V. “BUY A PIG IN A POKE”: TRANSLATION METAMORPHOSES OF ZOOMORPHIC METAPHORS (BASED ON NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV'S DISCOURSE)	101
Chistova E. V. ECO-COGNITIVE MODEL OF TRANSLATION ACTIVITY: METHODOLOGICAL BOUNDARIES AND PERSPECTIVES.....	116
Dekterev S. B., Ryazanova E. V. MANIPULATION TECHNIQUES BASED ON COVID-19 VACCINE PREVENTION COVERAGE IN THE MEDIA.....	129
Doludenko E. A. TRANSLATION OF REGIONAL TOURISM ADVERTISING TEXTS: PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS	139
Dubinina N. A., Ptiushkin D. V. RUSSIAN LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT AND BILINGUALS.....	154
Eleftheriou E., Frantzi K. T. FEMINIST DISCOURSE IN MAYA ANGELOU'S LITERARY WORK: DOUBLE PREJUDICE & BLACK FEMINISM.....	168
Emelianova O. V. COGNITIVE OPPOSITION <i>FRIEND</i> — <i>FOE</i> / <i>OTHER</i> OR <i>US</i> VERSUS <i>THEM</i> IN SOVIET POSTER IMAGOLGY.....	181

Esquivel O. J. D.	
A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF TAGALOG PROFANITIES THROUGH VARIABLES: AGE, SEX, AND CONTEXT	189
Glukhova O. V.	
VACCINATION: FROM TERM TO CULTURAL CONCEPT	204
Golubev V. Yu., Teplyashina A. N.	
CONCEPTUALISING PROPER NOUNS IN THE RUSSIAN MEDIA COVERAGE OF KEY POLITICAL EVENTS IN THE UK.....	217
Golubeva S. L., Rokhlina E. K.	
ANTHROPOCENTRIC APPROACH AS A SCAFFOLDING INTO DISTANCE LEARNING.....	226
Goncharova E. A.	
SYNERGETIC POTENTIAL OF AUTHORIZATION MEANS IN THE GENRE OF MEMOIRS (BASED ON THE REMINISCENCES OF MODERN GERMAN POLITICIANS).....	237
Gorozhankina T. N.	
FEATURES OF PERSUASIVE COMMUNICATION IN TOURIST TEXTS AND ITS TRANSLATION FROM SPANISH INTO RUSSIAN.....	248
Gorokhova L. A.	
PRESERVING THE LITERARY SOUNDSCAPE IN TRANSLATION.....	259
Grigoriev I. V., Rubtsova S. Yu.	
APPROACHING THE TAXONOMY OF THE MOVE STRUCTURE OF ABSTRACTS THROUGH THE LENS OF CROSS-LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN MEDICAL ABSTRACTS.....	276
Klimovskaia A. Ia.	
THE IMAGE OF ITALY IN THE NOVELS OF ANITA BROOKNER.....	292
Koloskova E. M.	
MIDDLE EASTERN LITERARY AND RELIGIOUS ALLUSIONS IN AĤMAD MURĀD'S NOVEL "THE BLUE ELEPHANT".....	300
Latysheva S. I.	
RE-EVALUATING THE METHODS OF TEACHING RUSSIAN IN JAPANESE UNIVERSITIES	312
Likhanova N. A.	
REGIONAL CULTURE MODELLING BASED ON ETHNOLINGUISTIC SOURCES (THE VOCABULARY OF TRANSBAIKAL DIALECTS).....	322
Malakhovskaya M. L., Krashennnikova N. N.	
ACADEMIC AND DISCIPLINARY LITERACY IN THE CONTEXT OF INTERNATIONALIZATION: A CASE STUDY OF A TEACHER PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME AT A RUSSIAN PEDAGOGICAL UNIVERSITY	333
Minchenkov A. G.	
INTERPRETATION POTENTIAL OF THE ENGLISH LEXEME <i>UPPER CLASS</i>	345
Morozova E. B.	
"NEW" GESTURES OF GREETING ACROSS THE GLOBE DURING THE PANDEMIC OF THE COVID-19.....	353
Neudachina L. V., Rubtsova S. Yu., Tananykhina A. Yu.	
CONCEPT ANALYSIS METHOD IN ESP TEACHING (THE CASE OF LINGUACULTURAL CONCEPT 'AMERICAN DREAM').....	363
Orlova O. A., Guseva L. V.	
FUNCTIONING OF ACRONYMS IN GERMAN-LANGUAGE PANDEMIC DISCOURSE	375
Pumpian G. Z.	
CONTACTS AND MUTUAL INFLUENCES AS REFLECTED IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE WORK OF CHRISTIAN-ARABIC LITERATURE <i>THE TRAVELS OF MACARIUS, PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH</i>	384

Razumovskaya V. A.	EXPANDING TRANSLATION BORDERS: FROM MONO- TO POLYSEMIOTIC NATURE OF A SECONDARY TEXT	397
Rokhlina E. K., Golubeva S. L.	RATIONALE FOR ADAPTING SOME OF THE ESP MODULE TASKS TO ONLINE AND MIXED LEARNING.....	407
Rubtsova S. Yu., Dobrova T. E., Dudkina A. I., Grigoriev I. V.	PRECEDENT NAMES IN THE FORMATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE COMPETENCE OF FUTURE TRANSLATORS.....	417
Rumak N. G.	SOME FEATURES OF TRANSLATING MANGA AND ANIME BEING LITERARY WORKS TRANSLATION	434
Sakharov Y. A.	PRAGMATIC PECULIARITIES OF THE FRENCH TRANSLATION OF ELECTRIC VEHICLES AND ECOLOGICAL TERMS.....	442
Shcherbak N. F.	STRATEGIES OF CONTEMPORARY ANGLOPHONE WOMEN'S WRITING: EXAMPLE OF J. WINTERSON.....	449
Shustova S. V.	THE SPHERE OF "MIGRATION" CONCEPT IN THE GERMAN MIGRATION DISCOURSE	461
Silanteva V. G.	NARRATIVE STRATEGIES IN AN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE ART CRITICISM TEXT.	469
Solntseva E. S.	COHERENCE PRINCIPLE IN FAKE NEWS ANALYSIS.....	483
Stepanov E. S.	REALISATION OF CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR <i>IMMUNANTWORT IST KAMPF</i> IN GERMAN POPULAR SCIENCE MEDICAL DISCOURSE	494
Sytko A. W.	SUBJECT OF DEONTICS IN SCIENTIFIC AND POLITICAL DISCOURSE (BASED ON RUSSIAN AND GERMAN LANGUAGES).....	505
Tretyakova T. P.	SOCIAL DIAGNOSIS OF COGNITIVE EXPERIENCE IN DISCOURSE: THEORETICAL ASPECT.....	515
Trofimova N. A., Kiseleva S. V.	SEMIOTICS OF WOMAN'S SMELL IN LOVE DISCOURSE.....	522
Tsytsarkina N. N.	WAYS OF EXPRESSING IDEOLOGICAL MODALITY IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE POLITICAL MEDIA DISCOURSE: THE CASE OF OBJECTIFYING THE "ARMED CONFLICT" FRAME.....	534
Ubozhenko I. V., Lefanov D. S.	BLENDED PROCESSES IN TRANSLATION: MODELLING THE COGNITIVE MECHANISMS BEHIND TRANSLATION DECISION DIDACTICS	548
Varlamova E. V., Tarasova F. Kh., Garipova E. V.	NATIONAL IDENTITIES IN THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF THE MULTILINGUAL CITY	561
Zonina N. V.	THE EVOLUTION OF DIALOGUE SPEECH IN EARLY 17 th CENTURY ENGLISH DRAMA ON THE EXAMPLE OF B. JOHNSON'S "EPICENE, OR THE SILENT WOMAN"	576
Contributors	585

TRANSMITTING GRAMMATICAL MEANINGS OF CERTAIN GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES IN TRANSLATION: MAJOR FEATURES

The translation is recognized to be the transfer of conceptual and pragmatic meaning of a text, while formal literalness can be sacrificed (using the linguistic means available in the target language to adequately express the content). The author considers the variative cases of grammatical lacunar units elimination in the translation of texts with an artistic orientation. The purpose of the article is to observe and describe the manifestation of grammatical lacunarity in literature prose texts in the language pair English — Russian and find the optimal ways for transmitting the author's artistic intentions to other languages. Similarities and differences of equivalent categories in different languages are revealed by means of the comparative-typological method as a synchronic and fundamentally pragmatic method. Various literature sources, demonstrating grammatical lacunarity in written discourse are used as illustrative and study material. We analyse theoretical substantiation of grammatical lacunarity and show the ways of translating the patterns with void units. The problem solution required a comparison of the grammatical forms' semantics, pragma-semantic analysis of translational correspondences, taking into account the equivalence degree. Cultural discourse patterns are possible to be translated without dropping any contextual pragmatic colouring by means of various translating strategies, but in this case, formal literalness will be sacrificed. The findings of the article can be implemented in teaching theoretical and practical linguistic courses.

Keywords: grammar, translation, grammatical categories, elimination, gender, number, temporality, intercultural communication.

О. М. Акай, З. Т. Хашхожева

ОСОБЕННОСТИ ПЕРЕДАЧИ ПРАГМАТИЧЕСКИХ ЗНАЧЕНИЙ ПРИ ПЕРЕВОДЕ ГРАММАТИЧЕСКИХ КАТЕГОРИЙ

Перевод является проводником концептуального и прагматического смысла текста. В то же время формальная буквальность может быть принесена в жертву (использование языковых средств, доступных в языке перевода, для адекватного выражения содержания). Автор рас-

смачивает устранение различных грамматических лакун при переводе текстов художественной направленности. Цель статьи — наблюдение за проявлением грамматической лакунарности в литературных прозаических текстах в языковой паре английский — русский, ее описание и поиск оптимальных способов передачи художественных интенций автора на другие языки. Сходства и различия эквивалентных категорий в разных языках выявляются с помощью сравнительно-типологического метода как синхронного и принципиально прагматического. Различные литературные источники, демонстрирующие грамматическую лакунарность в письменном дискурсе, представлены в качестве иллюстративного материала исследования. Дано теоретическое обоснование грамматической лакунарности, представлены способы перевода структур с лакунарными единицами. Решение проблемы требует сопоставления семантики грамматических форм прагма-семантического анализа переводческих соответствий и степени эквивалентности. Культурные дискурсивные модели возможно перевести без потери контекстуальной прагматической окраски, используя различные переводческие стратегии, но в этом случае в жертву будет принесена формальная буквальность. Выводы статьи могут быть применимы в преподавании теоретических и практических лингвистических курсов.

Ключевые слова: грамматика, перевод, грамматические категории, элиминация, гендер, число, темпоральность, межкультурная коммуникация.

Introduction

Foundations of the scientific theory of translation (and comparative linguistics) have been developed explicitly since the middle of the 20th century. Accepted only by this time, it became clear that translation as a type of speech activity is a full-fledged object of linguistics, doubts about the possibility of studying translation by linguistic methods have disappeared. Translation was treated as a particular type of speech activity, within which linguistic units of translation are selected depending on the linguistic units of the original. Specialists in translation began to study the correlation between the linguistic units of the original and translated texts. It was clear that investigations in the field of translation theory and practice give new information about the use of language as a means of intercultural communication, can identify the most usual ways of encoding thought means different structural languages, help in comprehension proper formal and internal, cognitive aspects of the text and discourse. It became evident that the excellence of translation depends on high competence in the systemic structure of the two languages and on comprehensive knowledge of the corresponding cultures of their ethnic communities. The theory of translation and contrastive grammar emphasises the

general and the individual in mentality, in cultural and moral priorities, since only grammar obligatory in a language is considered extremely important in a particular lingual culture [Jespersen, 2002].

The main task of translation is actual communication, and grammatical lacunae should be investigated in this aspect whether different conceptions of lacunarities are acceptable in the translation field, for example, about the identification complexity determining lacunas due to the lack of a cultural element in the translation theory methodology. There is no complete correlation of the functional potential of even identical grammatical forms and categories in languages.

To be clear, a lacuna can be referred to when a cultural “code” is so distinctive that the “interlayer” of another culture is not achievable. The translation is impossible or only partially possible if the decoding sphere of the lingual culture associated with the translation does not include such semantic content, ensuring the element identification. In translation, the elimination of lacunas (de-lacunization) of a lacunized text can be interpreted as “decoding” the meanings of the units and then recoding them into the units of the target language, which are accompanied by elimination, de-lacunization.

Materials and Methods

The comparative-typological method was used for detecting and studying interlingual correspondences (similarities and differences of equivalent categories in different languages). In contrast to comparative analysis, the comparative approach aims to analyse linguistic phenomena in synchronicity. The comparative method is known to be “fundamentally pragmatic”; it is aimed at specific applied and practical goals, which by no means removes the theoretical aspect of the consideration of its problems. The experiential material included various text fragments demonstrating lacunas’ cognitive, pragmatic, lingua-cultural parameters and their elimination. The sources were predominantly selected from the relevant literature: the classical British, American, German, and Russian literature of the 20th–21st centuries. The choice is due to the presented patterns’ provision of a comprehensive understanding of the grammatical lacunarity in stable, pure, fixed national languages, without any linguistic deviations.

Discussion

Substandard units — slang, jargon, colloquialisms, phonetic deviations, which, in the presence of appropriate lacunar units in the recipient

language, maybe irretrievably lost, have always been problematic for the translation process. In this case, the interpreter compensates for the missing elements of the linguistic system with the available units, often reconstructing and modifying the entire structure of the utterance. It is impossible to translate the dialectal turns in Jim's speech in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* into Russian because of the rich use of the African-American dialect [Twain, 1984]:

“Well, den, I reck'n I did dream it, Huck; but dog my cats ef it ain't depowerfulest dream I ever see. En I hain't ever had no dream b'fo' dat's tired me like dis one”.

It is somewhat distant from the Russian mentality due to the absence of this sociocultural component in the Russian mentality. The impression that Jim speaks in a normative literary version is also wrong: it would create a false impression of the character.

All sorts of conversions: substitutions, transpositions, omissions, and additions are an inseparable part of translation work. In general terms, a grammatical transformation is understood as a sentence transformation (changing its structure) and all kinds of replacements of both syntactic and morphological order. The most challenging class of transformations is grammatical since there are often no “net” analogues of grammatical forms and categories in this or that pair of languages. Moreover, even similar types are unequal in different languages. In addition, it is probably the use of communicatively irrelevant categories in the original text, the content of which cannot be conveyed in the translation and the forced use in the translation of classes absent in the original. The grammatical discrepancies in the two languages and the resulting inability to formally render the meaning of a particular grammatical form are constantly compensated for using various grammatical transformations. In addition, the translator is obliged not to miss the cases where a grammatical form is a stylistically significant phenomenon, the effect of which can be ruined by a specific interpretation.

T. B. Radbil [Radbil, 2010] reviewed the irregularities in the structures of A. Platonov, whose texts are characterised by superfluous (and figurative) characterisation of the action/state of an uninspired item. To make the translation sound “Platonovian” in English, the tense form Continuous can be used instead of the normative Simple. In normative usage, the English Present / Past Continuous Tense is used only to predicate a subject that can be considered limited in time (the usual Present / Past Indefinite Tense forms are not marked in this regard). That is to say, and even the “strange-language” Platonov may well be adequately presented

to a foreign-language reader if the grammatical lacunas are eliminated with reliance on the specifics of the target language.

Therefore, the choice of the translation solution is influenced by pragmatic adaptation, that is, the creation of an equivalent, coherent, and understandable (for the speakers of the target language) text that corresponds to the original and represents its complete substitution. Thus, the choice of a translation solution is influenced by pragmatic adaptation, creating an equivalent, coherent and understandable (to the speakers of the target language) text, corresponding to the original, representing its full-fledged replacement. The replacement of inanimate nouns with one or another pronoun (he/she, his/her, his/hers, himself/herself) in English has as its source a personification through the nominative content of the grammatical meanings of masculine or feminine, which in turn is dictated by the semantics of the whole text. This personification can be uniformly implemented in English and the translated Russian texts:

“What a cruel practical joke old Nature played when she flung so many contradictory elements together and left the man face with a perplexing callousness of the universe” [Maugham, 2000].

Да, жестокою шутку сыграла старуха-природа, когда соединила в одном человеке столь противоречивые качества и столкнула его лицом к лицу с беспощадной и равнодушной вселенной.

Despite the complete parallelism of personifications in the two languages, it was carried out for different reasons. Although in Russian, where the gender of even inanimate nouns or nouns outside the category of animate (abstract) is not “semantically empty,” it specifies a symmetrical connection with the corresponding biological sex. Hence, embodiments in Russian are realised in close interaction with the semantics of gender/sex. Mythological associations influenced the choice of the feminine gender in English with the goddesses Diana (the patroness of animals and plants), Flora (the goddess of blooming flowers), Ceres (the goddess of fertility). As a result of the image of these goddesses, nature in fiction texts appears in a female form.

V. G. Gak writes about the influence of the grammatical gender of the characters' names in the fable: “Russian teachers have noted that despite the simplicity and transparency of the idea behind the fable “The Dragonfly and the Ant” when parsing it, the sympathy of students often lies with the “rash” dragonfly, rather than with the economic and prudent ant” [Gak, 1989, p. 760]. The plot of this story is borrowed from the French classic of the fable genre La Fontaine and la cigale and la fourmi; the words

of the feminine gender appear there. This fable illustrates two women: an ant, a neatly dressed hostess in a cap and apron, and a cicada, a young lady with a guitar. Since the Russian noun *ant* is masculine, the accents are reversed: it appears that the male ant refuses to help the defenceless dragonfly lady. Because of this, he is perceived not as industrious and prudent but as greedy and malicious. I. A. Krylov rejected the cicada because it was unknown to the Russian public before the victorious Russo-Turkish wars. In situations where personification performs a text-forming function and becomes the semantic centre of the plot (for example, in the genres of fairy tales and fables), gender associations are significant.

M. Eliferova analysed gender mismatches and the related semantic gaps in the original and translation of “The Book of Mowgli” by R. Kipling. Indeed, ignoring the foremost gender characteristic led to an ironic situation in the case of the translation by N. Darouzes. Bagheera is originally a male, Bageerah is a male name. As we are talking about a heroic warrior (contrasted with the treacherous Sher-Khan), this is not accidental: A black shadow dropped down into the circle. It was Bagheera the Black Panther, inky black all over, but with the panther, markings showing up in certain lights like the pattern of watered silk. Everybody knew Bagheera, and nobody cared to cross his pass, for he was as cunning as Tabaqua, as bold as the wild buffalo, and as reckless as the wounded elephant. However, he had a voice as soft as wild honey dripping from a tree and a skin softer than dawn.

Gender confusion is at odds with many plot lines, and even the text’s overall meaning changes significantly because of the gender transformations [Eliferova, 2010]. The fact is that in the original, the relationship between Bagheera and Mowgli has initially been a pure male friendship, not motherhood (the function of maternal care, as we know, was performed by the She-wolf). The reconciliation of the warring parties with a ransom for Mowgli is a male initiative. Further transformations of the Bagheera’s image in Russian mass culture are astonishing: in the popular animated film, after the panther acquired an accentuated femininity and talked in a languid contralto of actress Lyudmila Kasatkina, sipping flirtatiously at every remark, Bagheera became inseparable from the concept of female sexuality in the minds of Russians. Kipling would have been shocked by such a transformation.

One “prolonged gender confusion” is that the Russian noun *panther* is feminine. From the point of view of zoology, there is no discrepancy here (the leopard is the ancient name of the leopard, and the leopard and the panther are synonyms, almost doublets for zoologists). Perhaps the zoonyms *leopard* or *cheetah* should have been used. Since there is a mass

belief (erroneous) that the leopard is only a spotted leopard, it was possible to call Bagheera a “black leopard” several times in the text. And then the translation by N. Daruses, which has become canonical, would have been even closer to the original.

The grammatical structure of a language (as contrasted with the lexical basis) specifies those aspects of experience which are necessarily expressed in a particular language, i. e., are obligatory [Kibrik, 2008]. For an exact reproduction of an English phrase with a personal verb in Russian, as a rule, additional information is necessary (whether the action is completed or not, what gender the subject of the action is, since the translator has to choose the voice form of the verb and the gender form from the two correlated generic forms of the anthroponym. Of course, there are cases in Russian where a direct indication of gender (using the grammatical gender form) is irrelevant because gender is a privative opposition with an unmarked masculine gender (doctor, engineer, etc.). The unmarked masculine would be fine if the context implies a collective name and a standardised situation [Wierzbicka, 1997]. Nevertheless, even in this case, there are still units that do not allow such substitutions. It would never be used in Russian for an actress to be an actor, for a female singer to be a singer, for a female dancer to be a dancer. In these cases, the genitive marker is obligatory.

The pejorative inherent in many feminine non-sensual correlates may naturally be in demand in a fiction (including translated) text, see the example where a neutral lawyer turns into a “divorce specialist” in the target language:

“To keep the upper hand, she then mentioned her meeting with Jacqueline Hume, her new divorce lawyer, dropping the name as if it were a mortar round, then relaying for my benefit the self-serving opinions her mouthpiece had delivered” [Grisham, 2003].

“A divorce specialist who is famous for her ability to twist the poor spouse’s bottom with a twist” appears in the translation. It is clear that in such a pejorative context, a neutral (or marked as official-business) designation of a person by profession would be a foreign element, so the ironic “specialist” is introduced [Grisham, 2010].

It is a curious fact that female correlates of neologisms cannot be correlated with the former meaning of “wife by husband”: *brokersha*, *clipmeikersha*, *showvumensha*, *rieltorsha*, *narkodilersha*, *reketirsha*, *sutenersha*, *geimersha*, *spammersha*, *folloversha*, *fludersha*, *twittersha*, which are conceived exclusively as indicating the occupation, and not the marital status of the woman [Vlasenko, 2009]. These examples show that, in fact,

any borrowed masculine appellation easily forms a feminine correlative with the suffix *-sha*. It is even more interesting than all those female correlates highlight the new modern direction of introducing the borrowings from English because nearly all these occupations have emerged in the last decade. Moreover, suppose a female correlate of a noun determining a career is introduced from another language with the suffix *-sha*. In that case, the connotation of this correlate will be negative or even derogatory.

The linguistic personality of the author is revealed vividly in the ways of eliminating intralingual lacunas in literary texts. For example, A. I. Solzhenitsyn consistently uses feminine correlates, which shows a desire for the accurate nomination and, above all, a desire to escape from one of the characteristic features of the totalitarian language with its levelling of people. In A. I. Solzhenitsyn's works, we find eliminated lacunas even in the case of the nomination of military rank: Tonya from the acoustic laboratory in the novel "In the First Circle" is called a *lieutenant-ka* [Solzhenitsyn, 1998].

Results

The most topical eliminated lacunas, under their frequency, may change their status and turn into systemic formations corresponding to the general grammatical norm. However, for the most part, they remain outside of *usus* and appear not at all for the standard transmission of information but the expression of various kinds of pragmatic connotations.

The elimination of gender gaps in modern society often occurs under political correctness ideas. Over several decades, political correctness has evolved into a well-established mechanism of behaviour in various situations, which reflects well the widely declared observance of human rights and adherence to the principles of a liberal-democratic culture. Despite all its drawbacks, the overall goal of the political correctness movement was and remained the desire to end social and racial injustice, overcome the confrontation between different social strata and ethnic groups, and protect individual rights.

To comply with the ideas of political correctness, the desire to eliminate the so-called obsolete "sexist" vocabulary from the modern dictionaries of the English language and to replace it with "non-sexist" neutral equivalents, from the point of view of political correctness: in *nomina professionalae*, containing the morpheme *man*, the component person is gradually used. In other words, names with morphemes that have gender

semantics, first of all, names with a feminine suffix, are consistently ousted from the English lexicography. However, we noticed that such substitutions have limited effect: words with a “non-sexist” morpheme are unambiguously understood as indicating the female gender (since women, not men, are “sensitive” to “sexist” face designations).

New translations of the Bible have also come to the attention of proponents of political correctness in the early twenty-first century. The *Bibel in Gerechter Sprache* (2006), a Bible in a contemporary language, occupies a special place. We consider a project of the Protestant Church in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, in which 52 specialist interpreters (42 females and ten males) were involved. The main goal of this edition was to conform to modern language and modern thinking, that is, to the ideas of political correctness, to eliminate discrimination (male domination), and to establish justice (gender equality) through language. The “politically correct” suffix *-in* was widely introduced. In this Bible, along with the prophets, there appeared: prophetesses (*Prophetinnen*), teachers (*Lehrerinnen*), artisan women (*Handwerkerinnen*), Pharisees (*Pharisäerinnen*), Deaconesses (*Diakoninnen*), apostol females (*Apostelinnen*, *Jüngerinnen*). Considering that women rabbis were not born in orthodox Judaism until the 1970s, such formations violate historical accuracy and distort the text of the Bible beyond recognition. There are no female apostles in the Orthodox tradition: the Lord called only men to this challenging ministry. In Orthodoxy, the title “Holy Equal Apostleess” is equal to the apostles spreading the Christian doctrine. The use of the word *Apostelinnen* is fairly termed “vulgar feminist nonsense” [Akay, Kulikova, Belyaeva, 2020, p. 566].

Conclusion

Translation theory has moved from focusing exclusively on the linguistic component of the original text to consider the intentions of both the author and the recipients of the text, which, of course, is far more complicated. The translation process is no longer viewed exclusively as a purely technical process of renaming using a different sign system.

Translation in modern theoretical rationale is not considered other than considering national-cultural and lingual-pragmatic contexts. Accordingly, the essential criterion for the effectiveness of the translation activity is not the formal correspondence between the elements of the two sign systems but the communicative and functional differentness of the original text and its translation.

Searching for the ways of achieving equivalent transfer of grammatical meaning takes on particular importance in the theory and practice of

translation. To overcome translation problems, it is necessary to identify the pragmatic potential of the category in speech and choose the appropriate form of language translation to achieve equivalence. The solution of this problem requires a comparison of the grammatical forms' semantics pragma-semantic analysis of translational correspondences, taking into account the equivalence degree.

Thus, taking into consideration the concepts mentioned above, it is possible to draw the following conclusions:

- 1) a speech unit always belongs to a particular cultural context, is formed, and functions within that context; outside this cultural context, a word loses its specificity;
- 2) gender characteristics of characters expressed through names should not go unnoticed in a fiction text, as different languages have different associations and implications based on gender;
- 3) a wrong translating strategy of transmitting the gender category chosen by the interpreter may lead to gender shifts, affecting the adequate reception of the entire text;
- 4) when translating, a great danger of “axio-semantic interference,” i. e., the transfer of the emotional colouring inherent in one traditional image to an externally similar — in appearance and verbal denotation — the image of another culture, should be minimised by the interpreter;
- 5) intentional author's grammatical deviations are the most complicated patterns for translation. The solution here is to transfer the conceptual and pragmatic meaning of a text. At the same time, formal literalness can be sacrificed (using the linguistic means available in the target language to express the content adequately).

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AND AGAIN, ABOUT *TRUTH*: DISTRIBUTION OF RUSSIAN *PRAVDA* AND *ISTINA* IN ENGLISH *TRUTH*

The paper demonstrates preliminary steps in analyzing the distribution between *pravda* and *istina* that function as two Russian equivalents of the English “truth”. Though the concept of *pravda/istina* is of high importance for Russian culture, there are still no effective ways to differentiate them. So far, no analysis based on a parallel corpus has been conducted. The aim of the analysis carried out is to reveal semantic and/or combinatorial differences between the two Russian synonyms and is based on a variety of translation solutions. The underlying hypothesis is that an extensive array of examples can reveal tendencies/regularities in translators’ solutions. Material under scrutiny is drawn from the parallel sub-corpus of the Russian National Corpus, with statistics reflecting the usage of the Russian equivalents of English *truth*. Research methods include contrastive analysis, elements of quantitative techniques, contextual analysis of the phrases with *pravda* and *istina*, their derivatives and other ways to translate *truth* into Russian. The paper is illustrated with a number of authentic examples from the sub-corpus supplied with possible explanations and speculations. The tentative conclusions include the description of the following factors: general tendencies in the usage of *pravda/istina* (as lexical units corresponding to English *truth*); the importance of the context and/or style of the original; and the weight of translators’ preferences.

Keywords: parallel corpus, translation techniques, translation solution, context, lexical equivalent.

Е. Г. Андреева

И СНОВА О ПРАВДЕ И ИСТИНЕ: СООТНОШЕНИЕ РУССКИХ ПРАВДЫ И ИСТИНЫ В АНГЛИЙСКОЙ *TRUTH*

Статья описывает начальные этапы в анализе переводческих решений «асимметричных» единиц (*truth* и *pravda/istina*). Хотя значение этих концептов для русской культуры уже широко обсуждалось лингвистами и философами, анализа переводческих соответствий, проведенного на обширном языковом материале корпуса, представлено до сих пор не было. Цель работы — попытаться разграничить две русские лексемы, основываясь на вариантах, предложенных разными переводчиками в качестве возможных эквивалентов английской *truth*, тогда как непосредственная задача — это выявить основания для того или иного перевода

данной единицы на русский язык. Материал для проведенного анализа был почерпнут из параллельного корпуса в составе Национального корпуса русского языка. Рассмотрению подверглись более 1 500 примеров, отобранные из подкорпуса общим объемом свыше 18 млн словоупотреблений. Основные рабочие методы продиктованы работой с материалом двух языков, взятым из параллельного корпуса, и включают сопоставительный метод, статистический анализ и анализ контекстов *truth*, с одной стороны, и анализ сочетаемости *правды* и *истины* с разными лексемами — с другой. Рассмотрение переводческих решений подкрепляется рядом типичных примеров из отобранного массива и сопровождается комментариями. Наибольший интерес представляют те ситуации, где разграничить две лексемы представляется либо очень сложным, либо почти невозможным. Предварительные результаты позволяют сделать выводы о тенденциях при выборе конкретного русского эквивалента, о влиянии контекста и возможной вариативности, обусловленной как стилем всего произведения в целом, так и переводческим решением.

Ключевые слова: параллельный корпус, переводной эквивалент, переводческое решение, контекст.

Introduction

The paper centres around the so-called asymmetrical equivalents in Russian and English — *pravda/istina* and *truth*, while the analysis itself attempts to draw a “demarcation line” between them. These two Russian lexemes — *pravda* and *istina* — and their underlying concepts have long attracted the attention of specialists working not only in linguistics but also in cultural studies and philosophy. Not infrequently is the incongruity of *pravda* and *istina* mentioned in specialist literature, though the clear borderline between their semantic ranges has not been drawn yet. The sources state that “in everyday speech, the notions of *pravda* and *istina* are used interchangeably, and one of them can be indiscriminately used in place of the other” [Chernetsov, 1999, p. 169], with no answer to the question of why this happens. The hypothesis is that by applying the methods of corpus linguistics, it will become possible to find a solution to this problem. Being one of the promising new fields in present-day linguistic research, corpus linguistics makes massive arrays of linguistic information about living languages available to linguists and philologists.

Therefore, the paper aims to analyze the number of examples (*truth* — *pravda* — *istina*) drawn from a parallel corpus and to make an attempt to reveal any tendencies in the translation of English *truth* into Russian, while the immediate tasks to solve are to analyse minimal contexts in which *truth* occurs and to see whether they influence the choice of the equivalent used in translation.

Research methods and material

The methods used are corpus-driven quantitative methods, including the statistical techniques used in studying semantics and contextual analysis. They can safely be called state-of-the-art methods instrumental in learning synonymy in general and revealing differences in the semantic ranges of particular synonyms [Glynn, Robinson, 2014]. Since the presented research aims to differentiate such synonyms as *pravda* and *istina* and is based on the material from a parallel corpus, this set of methods is deemed effective in answering these questions and demonstrating the prevailing tendencies in the usage of these lexemes.

Various kinds of corpora are equipped with software enabling a practical analysis of the language, with the results applicable in a wide range of spheres. Parallel corpora composed of original texts in one language and their professional translations in another are instrumental in comparative and contrastive studies, theory, and translation practice. Compiling parallel texts and arranging them into a corpus is not easy, with the first step being alignment. Seemingly undemanding, alignment quite often turns into a long and puzzling process (for details see: [Sitchinava, 2013; 2015; Potemkin, 2012]), let alone designing concordancers and other utilities aimed at facilitating search of items.

The material for the analysis presented below was drawn from the Russian National Corpus (RNC), more precisely — from its parallel sub-corpus of English fiction and their culture-significant translations into Russian. This sub-corpus includes, among other literary works, Nabokov's writings of his Russian and American periods in the two languages. Under consideration were only authentic English texts (English originals) and their Russian translations of professional quality. The corpus is constantly enriched; for this reason, it should be noted that such an index with over 18 000 000-word usages was its feature at the moment when this work was at its start (namely, 2019).

The period of the texts in the sample extracted from the corpus covers the mid-18th century to the early 21st century. At the same time, their Russian translations belong to the interval between the 1900s and the 2000s. In some cases, the time gap between the English original and its Russian translation can be vast. For example, texts of the 1850s were translated a hundred years later, while the earliest of the texts dated from 1749 got their translation into Russian over two centuries later, in the second half of the 20th century.

The examples with the lexemes under consideration (*truth*, *pravda*, *istina*) were searched in a parallel sub-corpus of 173 documents, focus-

ing on phrases containing the word truth. This lexeme turned out to be a component of 1514 sentences (some of them representing more than one usage of it) in 133 documents. Search results in the parallel sub-corpus of RNC come out as a list of “parallel” aligned sentences, fragments of the original with *truth*, and their translations into Russian. At the same time, various filters to arrange the elements can be used. In our case — according to the publication date, the author, and the book’s title.

Due to specific features of the RNC’s structure and its working principles, it was impossible to download large arrays of text files in a format suitable for further textual analysis. Therefore, much of the data received from the RNC required time-consuming manual handling. The whole array of fragments with the truth was inserted into an Excel worksheet, which, to some extent, facilitated the process of arranging and filtering the sentences. However, the first steps in analysing the data revealed that the fragments in the array considerably vary in length and structure — along with complete sentences, there can be unfinished ones (parts of sentences) and groupings of several sentences. In some situations, the Russian translation seems either to be ultimately “lost” or to be a seriously contracted version of an original sentence, with no chance to identify whether it results from the software malfunctioning or from a deliberate translator’s decision to abridge an original phrase. Some examples are included in the sample several times, once within a sentence, then within a larger textual fragment. These differences in linear parameters and omissions of translation seriously impeded the processing of the phrases selected for examination.

Discussion

Philosophers and culture researchers tend to narrow down the differences between the two concepts (*pravda/istina*) to basic sememes, and, in their view, “the semantic range of *istina* centres around stability, continuance and permanency” [Chernetsov, 1999, p. 167] as well as to antinomies of some kind: “*pravda* originates from *istina* and can be considered as a speech form or discourse of *istina*” [Chernetsov, 1999, p.169] or “*istina* is an essence, while *pravda* is a norm” [Kotin, 2014, pp.35–40]. However, none of these is of great help to a practising translator. Somewhat more helpful are the ideas concerning *pravda* and *istina*, which are put forward by S. A. Lishaev and can be condensed into the following statements: “*istina* refers to the objective reality as such” whereas “*pravda* refers to the law that human beings should obey” [Lishaev, 2006, p.181]. To some extent, these views are also given by M. K. Golovanivskaya, who writes, “*pravda* is

a subjective reflection of the reality” [Golovanivskaya, 2019, p. 122], where “subjective reflection” unambiguously points to humans. Of more interest is how M. K. Golovanivskaya analyses collocations that personify *pravda* and *istina* and their equivalent in French [Ibid, p. 123].

A. Wierzbicka stresses that the concepts of *pravda* and *istina* are of special importance for the Russian culture: “The fact that Russian has not one word for truth but two — *pravda* and *istina* — reflects the salience of this general theme in Russian culture, and the frequent occurrence of *istina* in collocations with words like *iskat’* (to seek) and *poiski* (search [plural]) reflects the link between this theme and widely recognised ideals and values” [Wierzbicka, 2002, p. 407]. Such understanding, however, does not seem instrumental in translation, nor are monolingual dictionaries of Russian. As a rule, dictionary entries for *pravda* and *istina* represent “a vicious circle” if we use the Yu. D. Apresyan’s term, since the former lexeme is defined with the latter’s help and vice versa. The most productive approach to differentiation of synonyms, quasi-synonyms, and lexical duplets is given by Yu. D. Apresyan’s “Lexical Semantics” and “Integral Description of Language.” The principle he advances is based on considering several zones of the synonyms’ functioning, namely the zones of meanings, forms, constructions, and collocations (for more detail, see: [Apresyan, 1995, pp. 305–338]). Bilingual corpora are expected to help identify the zones in question, as they give lots of examples to analyse and think about. In the case of *pravda* and *istina* and their distribution in truth, such information can be found in a Russian-English parallel corpus.

Results

Therefore, the first step was to compile an array of English sentences with *truth* and their translations into Russian, which were then classified into several groups according to their Russian translations. The next stage consisted in examining the narrow context of *truth* with the hope to find out the typical “environment” of *pravda* and *istina*.

All the sentences of the array of samples fall into several groups (Diagram) — the largest being *pravda*, with *istina* appearing approximately four times less frequently, while their derivatives are characterised by 3% and 1% of occurrences respectively and “miscellaneous” translations — by 29%. The pie-chart shows that translators avoided using either *pravda* or *istina* or their derivatives in one-third of all the cases. Studying and analysing these examples poses a particular problem deserving thorough research, which may bring to some light the extent to which the context influences a translator’s choice and somehow explain it.

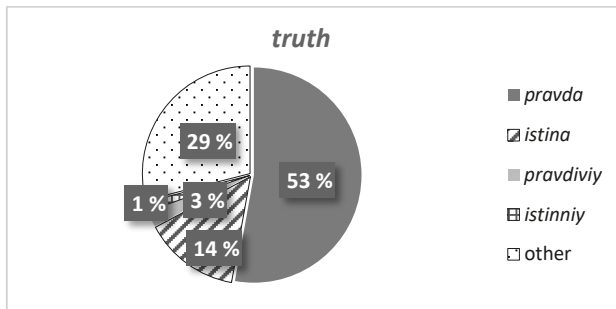


Diagram. Distribution of the Russian equivalents of *truth*

For example, the collocation in *truth* is translated into Russian in many ways, among which prevailing are phrases with various derivatives of *pravda*. However, it also gets translations with such meanings as, to tell the truth (*chestno govorya*), or frankly speaking (*otkrovenno*), or even fair enough (*spravedlivo*).

Therefore, it seemed reasonable to consider all forms and derivatives of *istina* (*istinno*, *istinniy*, *poistine*, etc.) as variations of this “title” lexeme and treat in the same way all forms of *pravda* (*pravdivo*, *pravdiviy*, *opravdyvat’*, *nepravda*, etc.). The statistics in the diagram reflect this distribution of the examples to the “title” groups. It should also be noted that the total number of usages of *truth* includes some proper names like the Ministry of Truth in George Orwell’s “Nineteen Eighty-Four” (15 times) and the newspaper “Truth” (“*Pravda*”/“*Istina*”) in the “Genius” by Theodore Dreiser (14 times).

Identifying typical contexts influencing and even dictating which Russian equivalent to choosing. A convenient tool applicable in analysing contexts (KWIC), available on the RNC’s website, gives good results for Russian data but cannot be used for parallel texts. In the present-day situation, comparing contexts in the original sentences and their translation has to be performed manually.

The preliminary results are related to statistics that characterise the functional value of the two Russian lexemes. It can be seen that over half of translations are based on *pravda* and its derivatives. Let’s leave aside all the other translation solutions (omissions and lexemes not related to *pravda* and *istina*). We see that *pravda* considerably outnumbers *istina*, with 77,8% and 22,2% of all the cases, respectively.

A bit deeper look at the examples reveals certain tendencies in choosing a particular Russian equivalent and shows the extent to which the context leads to one or another translation decision which can also be dictated

by combinatorial restrictions and fixed collocations typical of *pravda* and *istina*. For the latter reason, due to their phraseological character, some combinations are translated systematically in the same way. Among them are *the ultimate truth, a moment of truth, Angel of truth, old and new truth, possess the truth*, in which *truth* is invariably *istina*, or *to tell/speak/say the truth, truth is truth, to know the truth, artistic truth*, where *truth* is regularly *pravda* (although four entries of artistic truth characterise Nabokov's language exclusively).

According to lexicographic definitions, only *istina* can be used in the plural form (*istina*), meaning basic, fundamental, moral, scientific, philosophical, and other truths in Russian. Therefore, it would be safe to suppose that truths in the plural form will always be translated as *istiny*. This is partly proved by the data analysed, with 12 out of 24 sentences with *truths* translated as expected, for example, *I give the truths of tomorrow* — ‘Но я провозглашаю истины будущего’. However, in six cases, even though in Russian this noun is noncountable, we see *pravda* (*Thou speakest but sad truths* — ‘Ты говоришь правду’), while the other six phrases use neither *истина* nor *правда*. Statistically, such translation as *истины* appears two times more often than the others (50 to 25%), yet these figures deserve more severe and deeper speculation.

There are also collocations in which *istina* and *pravda* appear to be absolute synonyms, so the translator is free to choose either of them with no changes in the meaning of the sentence or its style and register. The brightest illustration of this situation is “to get at the truth”, which can be translated as both *poiski pravdy* and *poiski istiny*. However, it might be helpful to philosophise a little whether or not *poiski pravdy* and *poiski istiny* are always the same quests.

To some extent is puzzling that the usage of the definite/indefinite article with the lexeme in question also gives a mixed picture. Hypothetically, *truth* should not be translated as *istina*, for the latter is supposed to be definite and inviolable as in the collocation of the *final truth*. The corpus material does not support this assumption, and the *truth* gets both Russian words (*pravda* and *istina*). Of 21 examples, 8 were translated as *pravda*, 5 as *istina*, 7 in various other ways, and one omitted. A logical inference is that the indefinite article hardly influences a translation solution. It might also be determined by a broader context, style, and text message.

The conclusion drawn above is best illustrated by the examples in which *truth* is rendered neither into *pravda* nor into *istina* and even not into *chestno govorya*, but quite unpredictable words, such as *taina* in several models: *The precious truth is lost forever* — ‘Драгоценная тайна потеряна навсегда’.

Here the most “influential” factor in the choice of a word seems to be the plot itself rather than the grammatical form of truth or lexemes surrounding it. The story’s characters are striving to learn the truth, which is zealously concealed from them and, hence, becomes a secret, mystery, enigma. It is because of this, too, that when found, the truth is perceived as something precious, a treasure, сокровище in the Russian translation: *the keeper of a truth* — ‘Обладательница сокровища’.

The examples of antonymic translation did not come as a surprise since this transformation is regularly used in practical work to avoid producing a monotonous narrative resulting from the repetitive usage of the exact words. This desire can explain the following sentence: *His victims had spoken the truth* — ‘Его жертвы не лгали (говорили правду)’.

The critical role of the context, adjacent as well as more comprehensive, and of the register of the original can hardly be questioned in the three sentences below, or otherwise, they all would contain either *pravda* or *istina: the truth is* — ‘на самом-то деле, *let’s have the truth* — ‘лучше выкладывайте все начистоту’; *inescapable universal truth* — ‘то обстоятельство, что...’.

Not infrequently does one of the elements in a phrase become semantically dominant unequivocally, leading to a particular translation. The final example is to demonstrate this situation, with the word pang being such prevalent: *He felt a pang of truth in the statement* — ‘Как ни больно было ему это слышать, но Колер был прав’. The translation solution here is an excellent illustration of the translator’s skill and professional level, who manages to effectively put the sentence’s meaning across, with its emotional component successfully preserved.

Conclusion

The research presented is the first step in dealing with “asymmetrical equivalents” in two languages. It does not give a clear-cut answer to what influences translation solutions and how significant the role of context in choosing equivalents is. The novelty of the research carried out lies in the fact that in the literature available at the moment, there are no references to any corpus study of *truth* compared to *pravda/istina*. The preliminary conclusion is that much in translating depends on a particular translator, their understanding of the source-text, sometimes on their acquired moral principles, and even on their ideas of *pravda* and *istina*. In all probability, all the factors together take an equally important part. The analysis carried out above is based on the minimal context of a sentence, which turns out to be insufficient in the attempts to forecast and explain many

translation solutions. There is much likelihood that a broader context might become more fruitful and bring exciting results. However, this kind of research poses another severe problem since examining whole paragraphs of a large number of novels and stories is technically challenging to fulfil manually. At the same time, a narrow set of texts may not give valid and reliable results. We hope that thanks to the development of the Russian National Corpus, the evolution of its features, and the introduction of modern utilities and software, such analysis may become a reality, and a deeper look at the examples in a much broader context will elucidate this matter.

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THE GRAMMATICALIZATION OF THE ITEM *OR* IN OLD AND MIDDLE FRENCH THROUGH THE CORPUS DATA

The development of corpus linguistics stimulates interest in the processes of diachronic changes. This allows us to “catch” the regularity of the system due to a representative set of contexts. evolution. With all the variety of linguistic studies of the semantics and functioning of French coordinators, contemporary works rarely have a diachronic focus. However, a description of the functioning of link words in a modern language will not be entirely complete without understanding the changes that have occurred to them during the centuries-old language history. The purpose of the study is to determine the trajectory of the grammaticalization process of the French item *or* in the early period of language development (9th–16th centuries). The material for the research was collected from the Old and Middle French sub corpora of the French National Corpus Frantext. When comparing the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of the item *or* on two synchronous cuts distributive, functional-semantic, logical-semantic and contextual analysis of corpus data were used. The grammaticalization trajectory of a full-valued item *or* into the category of link words has been established, namely: the transition from a temporal deictic to a coordinator. Our findings about the gradual loss of temporal meaning and syntactic autonomy of *or* already in the old French period complement the previous scientific knowledge about the grammaticalization of the item with quantitative indicators. The proposed research methodology can be used to establish the categorical status of other linking words at different stages of French language development.

Keywords: coordinator, temporal deictic, grammaticalization, diachronic changes, corpus data, Old and Middle French.

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ГРАММАТИКАЛИЗАЦИЯ ЛЕКСЕМЫ *OR* В СТАРО- И СРЕДНЕФРАНЦУЗСКОМ ЯЗЫКАХ СКВОЗЬ ПРИЗМУ КОРПУСНЫХ ДАННЫХ

Развитие корпусной лингвистики стимулирует интерес к процессам диахронических изменений в системе языка, которые благодаря репрезентативному множеству контекстов позволяют «уловить» закономерности эволюции системы. При всем многообразии лингвистических исследований семантики и функционирования сочинительных союзов современные работы редко имеют диахроническую направленность.

Между тем описание функционирования связующих единиц в современном языке будет не совсем полным без понимания сути произошедших с ними изменений на протяжении многовековой истории становления языка. Исследование направлено на определение траектории процесса грамматикализации французской лексической единицы *or* в ранний период развития языка (IX–XVI вв.). Материалом для исследования послужили данные старо- и среднефранцузского подкорпусов Национального корпуса французского языка Frantext. При сопоставлении количественных и качественных характеристик лексической единицы *or* на двух синхронных срезах — в период старо- и среднефранцузского языков (IX–XVI вв.) применялись дистрибутивный, функционально-семантический, логико-семантический и контекстуальный виды анализа корпусных данных. Установлена траектория процесса грамматикализации полнозначной лексической единицы *or* в разряд служебных слов, а именно: переход от темпорального дейктика к сочинительному союзу. Результаты исследования позволили сделать выводы о постепенной утрате темпорального значения и потери синтаксической автономии единицы уже в старофранцузский период. Проведенный анализ дополняет предшествующие научные знания о процессе грамматикализации лексической единицы *or* в ранний период развития языка количественными показателями. Методика предпринятого исследования может быть использована для установления категориального статуса других связующих единиц на разных этапах развития французского языка.

Ключевые слова: сочинительный союз, темпоральный дейктик, грамматикализация, диахронические изменения, корпусные данные, старо- и среднефранцузский языки.

Introduction

In everyday life, human cognition moves from the reflection of observed relations in extra-linguistic reality to the review of abstractive links, which predetermines the use of items existing in the language system for a new function. These changes are prolonged, “grounded in cognitive processes and usage factors” [Bybee, 2015, p. 15]. So, the appearance of the item *or* ‘but, so, therefore, however’ (from now on *or*) in the French coordinator’s system results from longstanding grammaticalization of the lexicalised Latin temporal word combination *hāc horā*, [Nölke, 2006; Badiou-Monferran, 2003].

Studies note that the transition of a temporal deictic to a relational item is either established in the period of the Old French language [Librova, 2008, p. 5] or begins at the end of the Middle French [Badiou-Monferran, 2003, p. 229]. Whereas the grammaticalization process — “the development from lexical to grammatical forms and from grammatical to even more grammatical forms” [Kuteva, Heine, 2019, p. 3] — is grad-

ual [Lehmann, 2002], and the “complex or heterogeneous synchrony” [Marchello-Nizia, 2006, p. 22] of the Middle French language reflects the processes that began in the Old French language, we assume that the development of the logical-conjunctive meaning of *or* starts directly in the Old French language, since any lexical item “once grammaticalised, continue to develop new grammatical functions” [Hopper, Traugott, 2003, p. 187].

The study aims to determine the trajectory of the grammaticalization process of the item *or* in the early period of language history from the 9th century up to the 16th century).

This study is based on the data of the Old and Middle French subcorpus of the French National Corpus Frantext [Frantext]¹. Taking into account three written variants of the lexeme (*or*, *ore*, *ores*) and removed homonymy (*or*, n. m. ‘gold’), 4,494 and 8,045 contexts with the item *or* in the named subcorpus were selected, respectively.

From temporal deictic to a coordinator

The item *or* initially functioning as a temporal deictic begins to denote a logical consequence during its development. In lexicographic resources [*TLF*; *DMF*; Godefroy, 1881], the time of the first use of *or* is recorded to indicate both the current moment and “an important moment in the sequence of thought lining” [Ollier, 1995, p. 27]. The process of acquiring a logical-conjunctive meaning by the item covers three centuries and can be represented as follows:

or = *maintenant, alors* (10th cc.) → *or* = *donc* (1176–81) → *or* = *et assurément, et comme chacun sait* (1210) → *or* = *à la vérité, en réalité* (1286)

The following examples illustrate the temporal and non-temporal ways of using *or*. The item is used as a temporal adverb (ex. 1) and a linking word between two independent syntactic units, denoting the inference Q ‘lose a friend’, which the speaker makes based on the current state of things P ‘stay in another city’ (ex. 2):

- (1) *Et pour lors estoient les sciences chier tenues et prisiees plus qu’elles ne sont ores* (J. d’Arras. Mélusine, 1392–1393) [Frantext²].

¹ The Old and Middle French Frantext subcorpus include texts of different genres of the 11th–13th centuries and 14th–16th centuries: 59 documents with a total of 2,829,657 words and 339 papers with a total of 11,244,215 words, respectively (accessed: April 2021).

² Hereinafter, the examples are from the Frantext corpus, unless indicated otherwise.

- (2) *Il demeure a Escalot avec une damoisele que il ainme par amors. Or poons nos bien dire que je et vos l'avons perdu* (Ch. de Troyes. Chevalier au lion, 1230–35).

Based on the distributive, functional-semantic and logical-semantic analyses, the results of a quantitative comparison of the corpus data of two periods allow us to conclude that in the early period of the French language history, there is a tendency towards the transition from a full-valued lexical item *or* into the category of functional words, which is accompanied by (i) phonetic reduction (prevalence of the monosyllabic form *or*), (ii) gradual loss of syntagmatic autonomy (predominance of the initial position), (iii) multifunctionality (use of *or* as a coordinator, adverb, particle) and (iv) restriction of the semantic content (loss of temporal and acquisition of logical-conjunctive meaning).

Let us consider the process of grammaticalization in Old and Middle French.

Prevalence of the monosyllabic form “or”

In the early period of language history, three written variants of the item are recorded in lexicographic resources — *or/ore/ores* [TLF; DMF; Godefroy, 1881]. Comparison of quantitative indicators of the occurrence of *or/ore/ores* in subcorpus demonstrates an increase in the use of the monosyllabic form *or* from 45.34 % to 78.57 %, which indicates phonetic reduction (see Table 1).

Table 1. The dynamics of the usage of or three variants in the early language history

Written variants	<i>or</i>	<i>ore</i>	<i>ores</i>
Old French subcorpus	45.34 %	29.53 %	25.13 %
Middle French subcorpus	78.57 %	14.29 %	7.14 %

The predominance of the initial position

Since the Old French language period, the loss of syntagmatic autonomy for the three graphic variants *or/ore/ores* represents the multidirectional process of lexicalization vs grammaticalization. Linguists agree that the short, monosyllabic form *or* develops a grammatical meaning when used at the beginning of an utterance [Nølke, 2006; Ollier, 1995, 2000a]. The two-syllable form *ore/ores* can be included in various tempo-

ral adverbs as a word-forming morpheme. For example, modern temporal adverbs *lors*, *alors* < *or*; *dorénavant* < *dès or en avant*, *d'or en avant*, *d'or à jà*; *désormais* < *dès or mais* [TLF] (for more detail see [Badiou-Monferran, 2003]).

The predominance of the initial position observed by French linguists [Guillot, 2008; Ollier, 2000c] in the Middle French language is confirmed by the results of our research. It has been found that there was a significant increase in contexts with *or* forms as an independent sentence, following immediately after strong punctuation marks, from 47.31 % to 83.27 % of the total number of occurrences of the item in subcorpus, respectively.

In the Old and Middle French, in most cases, the scope of *or* is the prepositive or postpositive use in a verb group. The predominance of *or* preposition to the verb group was established compared to the postposition to the verb group in two subcorpus (3,290 occurrences, or 73.21 %, and 5,908 occurrences, or 73.41 % of the number of events in subcorpus, respectively).

Furthermore, the context in which monosyllabic and two-syllable forms of *or* are used simultaneously (ex. 3) is indicative. Their semantic and functional differentiation is evident: the monosyllabic *or* in preposition to the verb in the imperative mood connects the utterance with the previous context, and the two-syllable *ore* in postposition to the verb indicates the current moment:

- (3) *Or ne mèn parlez ore plus, Car jèn feray tant, sanz plus dire, Qu'il vous devra assez souffire* (Miracle de l'abbesse grosse, 1340).

Thus, the change in the distributive properties of *or* (an increase in its usage after a strong punctuation mark, regular use in a preposition to a verb group) reflects a change in its semantic and functional properties, indicating a gradual process of transition from a full-valued adverb to a relational word.

Use of “or” as a coordinator, adverb, particle

In works devoted to the functioning of *or* in the early period of language history, it is argued that in the role of an adverb, the item used in postposition to the verb fully retains its temporal meaning [Antoine, 1959; Nølke, 2006], while in preposition it is used as a coordinator or particle [Librova, 2008]. It is necessary to consider the modal-temporal frame of the utterance to differentiate these two modes of use because the item under consideration is used as an intensive particle before imperative and subjunctive verbs according to [Ollier, 2000b]. Respectively, as

a coordinator, connect two predicative units after punctuation marks in preposition to the indicative verbs. As a result of a series of corpus studies, taking into account, the distributive properties of the item *or* its use as a coordinator, adverb and particle in the indicated periods was compared (see Table 2).

Table 2. The dynamics of *or* used as a coordinator, particle and adverb

Functions	Subcorpus			
	Old French		Middle French	
	number of occurrences	%	number of occurrences	%
<i>or</i> (adverb)	1,157	25.75	1,159	14.41
<i>or</i> (particle)	1,363	30.33	2,063	25.64
<i>or</i> (coordinator)	1,974	43.93	4,283	53.24
Total	4,494	100	8,045	100

As follows from the Table, in the Middle French language, there is a tendency to reduce the use of *or* in the role of an adverb and a particle, which is accompanied by the general use of the lexeme *or* as a coordinator on two synchronous cuts (43.93 % vs 53.24 %, respectively).

Loss of temporal meaning and acquisition of logical-conjunctive meaning

The evidence for the temporal meaning loss of *or* is provided by contexts in which other temporal markers are used in addition to the lexical item. The simultaneous use of two material things in one context coincides with the formation of several temporal adverbs derived from the two-syllable forms *ore* and *ores*. During the Old French period, the simultaneous use of the temporal adverb *maintenant* in the meaning *aussitôt* ‘immediately’ (<lat. *manu tenendo*, first written fixation — 1135 r.) [TLF] in contexts with *or* is revealed. In the Middle French period, in contexts with *or* without other post-verbal temporal markers, such as *est à present temps de...*, *est ja temps de...*, or *est temps de...* etc.).

The simultaneous use of two temporal markers with the meaning ‘now’ in one sentence, especially the lexemes *maintenant* and *or*, is considered redundant [Nølke, 2006; Ollier, 2000b], since the correlation with the current moment is indicated by the personal forms of the verb in the

present and future tense. In the subcorpus of the Middle French language, *or* prevails in preposition to verbs in the indicative (72.5 % of 5,908), in 68 % of contexts of which the present tense is used.

A review of studies on the units *or* and *maintenant* with a similar meaning of “pointing to the current moment” [Ollier, 2000a], as well as a functional-semantic analysis of 722 contexts with *or* and *maintenant* from the Old French subcorpus, made it possible to establish the correlation between the temporal meaning and syntagmatic conditions:

- a) complete implementation of the secular meaning ‘now’ of *or* in postposition to the verb, while the adverb *maintenant* indicates the immediate future or recent past in the purpose ‘at present’ or ‘immediately’ (ex. 4);
 - b) partial loss of the temporal meaning of *or* in the word combination *or maintenant* (no more than 1.5 % of 722), since the adverb *maintenant* in postposition to *or* serves to specify it (ex. 5);
 - c) complete loss of the temporal meaning of *or* in preposition to the verb in the imperative, which denotes, according to M. Ollier [Ollier, 1995], ‘a break’, while *maintenant* means ‘immediately’ (the utterance is related to the future) (ex. 6).
- (4) *Lors remist l'espee ou fuerre et la coucha la ou vos la veez **ore**, et **maintenant** oirent une voiz...* (Queste del Saint Graal, 1220).
- (5) *Sire, fait ele, cui g'enbras, Mes pere estes **or maintenant*** (J. Renart. Escoufle, 1200–1202).
- (6) ***Ore** m'atendes chi, et je revenrai **maintenant*** (Suite du roman de Merlin, 1235).

The initial use of *or* demonstrates the gradual bleaching of the temporal value of *or*. Some linguists believe that the correlation of the temporal adverb *or* with the time of the narrator or reader served as the basis for the expression of a logical relationship in Old and Middle French [Antoine, 1959; Ollier, 2000a; Librova, 2008, Guillot, 2008].

Our results show that the development of the logical-conjunctive meaning of *or* begins as early as in Old French. It is seen in an extract from the famous epic poem “Song of Roland” (fr. *La Chanson de Roland*). So, *or* combines two independent sentences (ex. 7), between which the following connection is observed: based on his knowledge of the world around him, the speaker deduces a conclusion Q ‘fight enemies about the current event’ and P ‘enemies are advancing’.

- (7) *A Rollant rendent un estur fort e pesme* [P]. / *Or ad li quens endreit sei asez que faire* [Q] [La Chanson de Roland].

During the Middle French Period, the further functioning of *or* is “a product of context-induced reinterpretation” [Heine, 2002, p. 87] and is accompanied by the expansion of the contexts not only to indicate a connection of a solid relationship between successive actions, events, states, but also a logical connection between two independent sentences.

For example, the item designates an improperly causal relationship between propositions (*P* or *Q*), formed by two independent syntactic units. As a link word, *or* marks a cognitive operation of inference based on what was said, seen, observed in an iconic sequence of events, introducing the conclusion *Q* ‘return the former glory to the abbey’, which the speaker makes based on his idea of the current situation *P* ‘father’s death’ (ex. 8).

- (8) *Chier pere, veulliez moy pardonner vostre yre, et je vous jure que je feray refaire l’abbaye plus belle et plus riche qu’elle ne fut oncques, ... Par foy, dist Remond, tout ce se puet bien faire, mais aux mors ne povez vous rendre la vie* [P]. *Ores il ne puet autrement estre* [Q] (E. Deschamps. *L’art de dictier*, 1392).

Conclusion

Based on the above, we conclude that the transition of a full-valued lexical item *or* into the category of link words begins in the Old French period. As a result of the grammaticalization process of the object under study, which is accompanied by a gradual loss of syntagmatic autonomy (fixation of the initial position), phonetic reduction (preservation of the monosyllabic form), restriction of semantic content (loss of temporal meaning), as well as the expansion of contexts of use (use as a coordinator, adverb and particle), the formation of a future highly specialised item *or* occurs, which signals the presence of a connection between two independent sentences.

Outlined in the Old French language, the tendency to use a lexeme to designate a visual-effective connection between two independent predicative units, based on the interpretation of the current situation, subsequently leads to the use of the item to indicate a verbal-logical connection.

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TRAITS OF LITERARY TRANSLATION FROM THE EASTERN LANGUAGE FROM THE POINT OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION (on the example of Turkish — Russian translation)

The article is devoted to the peculiarities of literary “Turkish — Russian” translation in the light of the theory of intercultural communication. The process of literary, as well as oral translation from Eastern languages, has cultural features, which make it different from the process of translation from European languages. The purpose of this study is to show several special communicative situations and/or textual features that determine the nature of intercultural communication in literary prose and poetry translation from Turkish into Russian. The author gives examples from translations both poetry and prose, which demonstrate that while working on a text, the aim of the translator goes beyond the usual process of translating a foreign text. As a result, the article shows the features of intercultural communication in a literary text and demonstrates how intercultural communication affects the quality and the process of translation itself. The analysis demonstrates that translation techniques used in this way contribute to meaningful intercultural education and progressive learning of the reader. Thus, the educational and upbringing function of the translated text is enhanced. The erroneous transfer of the realities of Turkish Muslim culture to the realities of European culture, ignorance of the realities of Muslim culture leads to the emergence of unnecessary associations among readers.

Keywords: intercultural communication, Middle Eastern Studies, languages of the countries of Asia and Africa, literary translation, poetic translation, prosaic translation, Turkish language, Turkish literature.

A. С. Аврутина

ОСОБЕННОСТИ ХУДОЖЕСТВЕННОГО ПЕРЕВОДА С ВОСТОЧНОГО ЯЗЫКА С ТОЧКИ ЗРЕНИЯ ПРОЦЕССА МЕЖКУЛЬТУРНОЙ КОММУНИКАЦИИ (на примере пары турецкий-русский)

Статья посвящена особенностям художественного «турецко-русского» перевода в свете теории межкультурной коммуникации. Процесс литературного, как и устного, перевода с восточных языков имеет культурологические особенности, отличающие его от процесса перевода с европейских языков. Целью данного исследования является показать несколько особых коммуникативных ситуаций и/или особенностей

текста, определяющих характер межкультурной коммуникации в художественном переводе прозы и поэзии с турецкого на русский язык. Автор приводит примеры из переводов как поэзии, так и прозы, которые демонстрируют, что при работе над текстом цель переводчика выходит за рамки обычного процесса перевода иностранного текста. В результате в статье представлены особенности межкультурной коммуникации в художественном тексте и показано, как межкультурная коммуникация влияет на качество и сам процесс перевода. Анализ показывает, что используемые таким образом приемы перевода способствуют осмысленному межкультурному образованию и прогрессивному обучению читателя. Таким образом, усиливается образовательная и воспитательная функции переведенного текста. Ошибочный перенос реалий турецкой мусульманской культуры на реалии европейской культуры, незнание реалий мусульманской культуры приводит к возникновению у читателей ненужных ассоциаций.

Ключевые слова: межкультурная коммуникация, ближневосточные исследования, языки стран Азии и Африки, художественный перевод, поэтический перевод, прозаический перевод, турецкий язык, турецкая литература.

Introduction

The question that not only oral, but also written, namely, literary translation is especially closely related to the process of intercultural communication has been resolved among scholars long time ago [Aksyonova & Akhtambaev, 2014]. At the same time, some of the features of this process of intercultural communication are determined by the type of translation: oral or written.

V. B. Kasevich in his article “Semantics and Translation” draws attention to the differences that exist between oral and written translation: if oral interpretation is a set of speech acts, then written translation consists of four speech acts (namely, the generation of the T1 text in the L1 language, the perception of this text translator, translation of text T1 into language L2, resulting in T2, and, finally, perception of T2) [Kasevich, 2011, p. 461], in other words, translation is a more complex process that requires an integrated approach.

The everyday practice of an translator, a specialist in Middle Eastern studies, shows that the matter is not limited to a simple generation of speech acts (oral or written): often novice translators have difficulties with representatives of a particular Eastern culture, discussing a problem or a phenomenon, and do not have the opportunity to name it, because such a phenomenon do not exist in the “target language” and the culture

and, accordingly, there is no lexeme representing it. More often, there are situations when they cannot or do not know how to speak directly about the problem, since such a topic is not welcomed from the point of view of etiquette or is completely absent from the culture.

Thus, in the process of translation, problems of ethical, psychological nature arise [Eco, 2006, p. 193], which should be solved not just by a translator, but by a specialist with interdisciplinary training — a specialist in intercultural communication.

The process of literary (poetic and prosaic written), as well as oral (consecutive and simultaneous) translation from Eastern languages has great features, not only technical, but also cultural, which make it significantly different from the process of translation from European languages. M. Kavalir and G. Chudoba note the fact that poetry is especially difficult in translation [Kavalir & Chudoba, 2020], and not so much because of the form, but because poetry is usually a “crystallization of culture” (this is an expression of [Al-Jabri, 2013, p. 445]).

In addition, the task of an translator, a specialist in Middle Eastern studies, sometimes goes not so much on the way of translation, but also plays an educational role: due to the differences in upbringing, educational, religious, ideological traditions in the cultures represented by the source and target text.

Translation of works of fiction always carries a paradox — with its apparent lightness (after all, there are no terms or highly specialized subjects), it is quite difficult to create a really high-quality literary translation. Its specificity is fundamentally different in relation to other types of translation: work on a scientific, official-business or journalistic translation belongs to the field of scientific knowledge (this is done by linguistics, translation studies and other sciences). In fiction, language performs not only a communicative and informative function, but also carries a special aesthetic charge. Therefore, the translation of fiction is carried out within the framework of creative knowledge of the world, that is, it belongs to art. In addition, high-quality literary translation involves not only using the knowledge of native and foreign languages, but also taking into account the system of cultural values reflected both in the source and in the target text. Consequently, literary translation is not only a linguistic act, but also a cultural one, in other words, an act of communication at the junction of cultures [Belik, 2013, p. 290].

Also, due to the grammatical features of some languages (for example, Turkish, which is agglutinating and has a special sentence structure that is very different from the “Indo-European” structure), the task is also added to this task to take into account the structural differences of lan-

guages, which often determine significant differences in the “picture the world” (for more details see [Kasevich 1996, p. 156–157]).

The purpose of this study is to show several special communicative situations and/or textual features that determine the nature of intercultural communication in literary prosaic and poetic translation from Turkish into Russian.

Discussion

In “Misery and Splendour of Translation” Ortega y Gasset argues that it is not true that any language can express anything [Ortega y Gasset, 1991, p. 521–522]. In the absence of the required lexemes in the language or the taboo concept, the translator must resort to a descriptive method of translation. This does not contradict the translation rules; from the point of view of the theory of intercultural communication, translation compares not only two languages, but also two cultures in the broad sense of the word, and the situational context of communication is perceived as part of a different culture [Belik, 2013, p. 290].

Let’s consider several important details of the process of intercultural communication that exist when translating from Turkish into Russian; which often affect the quality of translation, work with which in the text is a full-fledged process of intercultural communication.

Orhan Pamuk often compares the process of reading or writing a book to watching an imaginary film — he often talks about that in his interviews; he writes about that in the collection of essays “Other Colors” [Pamuk, 2007, p. 3–10]. This fully applies to the work of a translator: you should always watch an imaginary film while working. The power of imagination not only helps to understand the author’s intention, mentally visit the place where the author was, walk it along the way, but is also able to save the translator from the author’s logical mistakes, which the reader will surely ascribe to the translator. An example of such a mistake is a scene from the novel “Madonna in a Fur Coat” by the Turkish writer Sabahattin Ali.

The main character (a Turk called Raif) escorts the heroine (called Maria) home, they agree to meet the next day and say goodbye. Maria pulls out her keys and walks to the front door while Raif turns to leave. At this moment, Maria decides to call out to him: she remembered that they had not agreed on the place and time of the meeting. Raif returns. This is followed by the phrase: “I looked at her from the bottom up, and in the darkness I could hardly see her face” [Ali, 2001, p. 81]. What happened to the hero? He fell? Crouched down? It turns out that the heroine

is standing on the top step of the porch. Since these steps have not been mentioned anywhere before, their appearance is perceived as strange in translation. But if the translator “sees” this scene, like a movie scene, in all its details, he “draws” a stepped porch at the very beginning — after all, it is impossible, when approaching the house, not to notice such a large architectural detail. One should not be afraid of some deviations from the literal translation of the original.

Analyzing this scene, it should be noted that the structure of a sentence in an agglutinative language (namely in Turkish) presupposes a word order according to which the subject of the sentence appears at the very beginning, and the predicate at the very end, before the point. Semantically, a predicate usually communicates new information about the subject, more precisely, a predicate is a constitutive member of a judgment — something new that is expressed (affirmed or denied) about the subject (see: [Linguistic Encyclopedic Dictionary]).

In other words, in the Turkish proposal, all new and important information that the new proposal communicates always appears at the end of this proposal.

We can say that such a syntactic structure is reflected in the way of thinking of a Turkish speaker and, as a result, in everyday communication situations. A Turkish speaker will most likely state everything important for the sake of which the conversation began at the end of the conversation. We often observe the same situation in Turkish texts, which is clearly seen in the example of the above scene from the novel of Sabahattin Ali: the author often cites important details of a particular scene at its very end.

A similar situation is often observed in poetry. When translating into Russian from Turkish, if the stanza consisted of one whole sentence, including the subject and the predicate, the translator had to carry out positional replacement and transfer the last line to the place of the first, and so on, in fact bringing the predicative model [Guzev, Avrutina, 2013, p. 27] to the Russian norm. Below is our translation of the poem “Her şey şiirdir” (“Everything is a poetry”) by the famous Turkish poet A. Behramoğlu into Russian, together with the original, which illustrates the described situation (see, for example, 3, 4 and 6 quatrains).

Often, working with the text, representatives of any Eastern cultural tradition (let us say Middle Eastern one) try to describe European cultural realities, but since they are absent in their discourse, they are called erroneously, as they themselves and their society understand these realities. In such situations, many translators, experiencing false reverence for literary works, transfer author’s mistakes into the translation, which makes the translation look careless.

Ataol Behramoğlu
HER ŞEY ŞİİRDİR

Атаол Бехрамоглу
ВСЕ В МИРЕ — СТИХ

Her şey şiidir, uğultusu rüzgarın
Bir ırmağa usulcacık yağan kar
Her gece okunan bir dua çocuklukta
Göküzünde bölük bölük turnalar

Все в мире — стих; как ветра стон,
Как снег, припорошивший берег;
Как детская молитва перед сном,
Как крики журавлиных стай, что
в небе реют.

Her şey şiidir, sevinç ve keder
Dünyada olmak duygusu
Kıyıdaı ıssız kayalıklarda
Kendi başına ışıldayan su

Все в мире — стих, восторг и грусть;
Все в мире — радость полной жизни;
На берегу, у тихих скал
В воде сияют солнца брызги.

Her şey şiidir, şimdi, şu anda
Ak kağıt üstünde dolanan elin
Karşiki avluda salınan söğüt
Yandaki odada uyuyan bebeğim

Все в мире — стих, — как здесь, сейчас
Твоя рука, что бродит по бумаге,
Как ветви ивы во дворе напротив нас,
Как сны моей дочки в спальне
рядом.

Her şey şiidir ve imgeler ki
Sancılı ve karmakarışıklılar
Bir elden bir başka ele geçen duyum
İki ırmak gibi birleşen dudaklar

Все в мире — стих и знаки, и они
День ото дня — запутанней, больше.
Тепло твоей протянутой руки,
И губы — реки, слившись, ставшие
полнее.

Her şey şiidir, çağrısı aşkın
Bahar toprağından yükselen tütsü
Umut ve acı, başlayan ve biten
Yağmurun ve akıp giden hayatın türküsü

Все в мире — стих, призыв любви,
Как пар, встающий над весенней
пашней
Надежда и страданье — что они,
Как не начало и конец дождя, что льется
лишь однажды?

Her şey şiidir ve bir gün belki
İlk aşkım, ilk göz ağrım şiiir
Koynunda ona yazdığım mektuplar
Bir yerlerden çıkıp gelecektir

Все в мире — стих, и будет день
Когда на песнь прошедшей жизни
Раздастся отклик: и любви былой
томительную тень
Навеят спетые поэтом письма.

(Gösteri, 1981)

(Гестери, 19981)
пер. с турецкого А. Аврутина

The most striking and often found example in fiction is associated with the Prophet Abraham (in Islam, the Prophet Ibrahim). The Holy Quran tells the story of the Prophet Abraham and describes the moment when he sacrificed his son. In the Bible, these events are localized in the Syrian desert, in the proto-Muslim tradition — in Arabia. The entire ritual of the Muslim Hajj is connected with the fact that it was in Mecca that the drama of Abraham's sacrifice of his son took place, from which he was eventually rescued and sacrificed a lamb. At the same time, in the biblical tradition, Abraham sacrifices his son from his wife Sarah, Isaac, and in the

Muslim tradition, Ishmael, born of the slave woman Hagar (Hajar in the Muslim tradition). And if Isaac is the ancestor of the Jews, then Ismail is the ancestor of the Arabs. The famous holiday of sacrifice in Islam is a tribute to this great event when God, having tested the faithfulness of Abraham (Ibrahim) at the last minute, replaces the boy with a lamb. Many authors in their revelations, and with them the Nobel laureate Orhan Pamuk in his famous novel “Museum of Innocence” mistakenly calls the painting by Caravaggio from the Uffizi gallery “The Sacrifice of Isaac” as “The Sacrifice of Ishmael” [Pamuk, 2008, p.554]. The same fate often haunts the paintings of other European artists on this topic, for example, Rembrandt.

Translation of texts about the East, the Near or the Far, is impossible without knowledge of the cultural characteristics of the region. The history of Soviet translated literature knows many examples when translators of the old Soviet school, whose texts are rightfully considered examples of translations of the highest level, often made cultural mistakes in their works, caused by the inability to learn about a particular cultural object or process (due to compelling political reasons). Another famous example of an erroneous translation from the field of Turkish literature is that, in the translation of the “Black Book” by Orhan Pamuk, made by the Turkologist Vera Borisovna Feonova (1940–2003) at the highest level, you can read about the lyceum named after Imam Khatib. The translator did not know that there are special religious schools in Turkey, where future imams are trained — the heads of the Muslim community, who will have the right to read the Friday sermon, the khutba.

It is important to mention the mental kinship of the speakers of the Russian and Turkish languages, which is reflected in the spoken vocabulary and phraseology, in those areas of the language that express the self-awareness of the people. Examples of the most popular sayings: *her işte bir hayır vardır* — ‘нет худа без добра’, *sabah ola, hayır ola* — ‘утро вечера мудренее’, *gün doğmadan neler doğar* — ‘с глаз долой — из сердца вон’, *gözden irak olan gönülden de irak olur, iyi iş altı ayda biter* — ‘хорошо быстро не бывает’, *tatlı tatlı söyler acı acı sokar* — ‘мягко стелет да жестко спат’, *bir işi hasır altı etmek* — ‘отложить дело в долгий ящик’.

Another striking example of the mental closeness of Russian and Turkish cultures is the concept of “Russian melancholy” that exists in Russian culture. Pushkin wrote about Russian melancholy: “Like an English spleen, but simpler Russian melancholy”, and besides him Chaadaev. Chekhov wrote about Russian melancholy, although melancholy in his works is associated with the decline of society, future uncertainty, personal decay of the heroes, it is a longing for oppressive reality, longing for the higher meaning of life. This concept has something in common with the concept of

hüzün, widespread in Turkish literature and especially replicated in Orhan Pamuk's memoirs "İstanbul: Memories and the City".

Russia and Turkey are united by the middle position of both countries between East and West. Turkey is not the East in its purest form, but it is still considered an eastern country, although there is a lot of European in Turkey. Russia, also located between East and West, has never been an eastern country, but it has never been a European country in the full sense of the word either. Just like in Turkey, European customs and traditions in Russia seemed alien (both Peter the Great and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk forced people on pain of execution to wear European clothes, read books and lead a European way of life), and in the national Russian mentality there has always been more oriental features than European ones. Today, both countries are considered in the context of the development of the Eurasian civilization.

All this allows us to assume that some historical, or rather, social or cultural situations in Russia seem to be a mirror image (it is difficult to say how distorted) the situations in Turkey.

Let's give an example from literature: in Orhan Pamuk's novel "New Life" — the image of "Coca-Cola" as everything Western, alien, and Turkish mineral water, which the hero drinks — "Budak" — a symbol of purity and even eternal life. In Russia, a commercial slogan for the *kvass* drink "No colonization, *kvass* is the health of the nation" which was shown on TV.

Conclusion

The main goal of the study was to study the features of intercultural communication in a literary text when translating from Turkish into Russian and to demonstrate how intercultural communication affects the quality and the process of translation itself. The translation techniques used in this process contribute to meaningful intercultural education and progressive learning of the reader. Thus, the educational and upbringing function of the translated text is enhanced.

The research material allows us to draw the following conclusions. The structure of the Turkish syntactic construction influences the picture of the world of a Turkish speaker. The "reverse" word order, in which "refinement" is before "specified", determines the whole character of the Turkish phrase. In other words, all new and important information, "refined", follows after the clarification, that is, at the end of the phrase, and ultimately at the end of the entire communicative situation. This must be taken into account in the process of interpretation and translation in the Turkish-Russian pair, paying special attention to both the end of the sentence and the end of the artistic scene.

The erroneous transfer of the realities of Turkish Muslim culture to the realities of European culture, ignorance of the realities of Muslim culture and history leads to the emergence of unnecessary associations among the participants in the act of communication or among readers.

Existence of exact phraseological correspondences in the pair “Turkish — Russian”, brilliant possession of them allows you to once again see the mental commonality of Turks and Russians, express it in the process of translation and significantly improve the process of intercultural communication.

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FEATURES OF THE ITALIAN GASTRONOMIC DISCOURSE: TRANSLATION ASPECT

This article deals with gastronomic discourse and, in particular, studies such a genre of gastronomic texts as the menu. The article also discusses specificities of gastronomic texts translation from Italian into Russian. The purpose of this study is to analyze the menu language and to identify the main features characterizing the Italian gastronomic discourse, as well as to suggest possible approaches to translating gastronomic texts from Italian into Russian. The analysis presented in this paper focuses on the menu translations, produced within a special educational project carried out at the University of Bologna. The project was designed for undergraduate and graduate students studying translation and it aimed at preparing a translation of the restaurant menu of the Artusi Food Festival from Italian into six languages, including Russian. The analysis showed that at the lexical level, most of the translation difficulties are connected to such features of the Italian gastronomic discourse as a wide range of culinary names and broad distribution of geosynonyms, dialectisms, toponyms, and neologisms, as well as the presence of loanwords and barbarisms in the menu. The study discusses the choice of a translation strategy in resolving linguacultural issues, namely, the problem of choosing between such polar strategies as domestication and foreignization. Finally, the work provides examples that characterize the Italian menu at the morphological and syntactic levels.

Keywords: gastronomic discourse, menu translation, realia, translation difficulties, translation strategies, forenization, translation transformations.

К. Д. Балакина

ОСОБЕННОСТИ ИТАЛЬЯНСКОГО ГАСТРОНОМИЧЕСКОГО ДИСКУРСА: ПЕРЕВОДЧЕСКИЙ АСПЕКТ

Данная статья посвящена гастрономическому дискурсу и в особенности такому жанру гастрономических текстов, как меню, а точнее, проблемам его перевода с итальянского на русский язык. Цель данного исследования — выявить на примере меню особенности итальянского гастрономического дискурса, а также предложить возможные подходы к выполнению перевода гастрономических текстов с итальянского на русский язык. В данной статье представлен анализ переводов, выполненных в рамках особого учебного проекта, реализованного в Болонском университете. Проект был разработан для студентов, изучающих перевод на курсах бакалавриата и магистратуры, и ставил конечной целью подготовку перевода ресторанных меню Артузианского фести-

вая итальянской еды с итальянского на шесть языков, включая русский. Проведенный анализ показал, что на лексическом уровне большинство переводческих трудностей вызваны такими особенностями итальянского гастрономического дискурса, как большое разнообразие кулинарных наименований и широкое распространение геосинонимов, диалектизмов, топонимов и неологизмов, а также присутствие в меню заимствований и варваризмов. В исследовании поднимается вопрос выбора стратегии перевода при разрешении лингвокультурологических вопросов, а именно обсуждается проблема выбора между такими полярными стратегиями, как доместикация и форенизация. Наконец, в работе приводятся примеры, характеризующие итальянское меню на морфологическом и синтаксическом уровнях.

Ключевые слова: гастрономический дискурс, перевод меню, реалии, переводческие трудности, стратегии перевода, форенизация, переводческие трансформации.

Introduction

Gastronomic discourse is one of the promising areas of linguistic research, as evidenced by many scientific works published in recent decades both in Russia (see, for example, articles by A. Oljanič, N. Golovnickaja, A. Zemskova, E. Rufova, M. Undricova) and abroad (see, for instance, [Beccaria, Stella, Vignuzzi, 2005; Hoskings, 2009; Gerhardt, Frobenius, Ley, 2013; Jurafsky, 2014]). Gluttonous (gastronomic) discourse can be defined as “a special type of communication associated with the state of food resources and the ways of their processing and consumption” [Olyanič, 2003, p. 168, translation is mine]. In Edouard Glissant’s opinion, “If food satisfies an essential human need, it is also an essential ingredient of cultural identity” [Glissant, 1987, p. 3]. The cuisine, like the language, is a vivid reflection of the national culture. The gluttonous discourse “contains a large set of extralinguistic properties” [Undricova, 2012, p. 87] and abounds with realia closely related to the daily life, traditions, and history, which translates gastronomic texts a challenging task.

This study focuses on such a broad genre of gastronomic texts as the menu, or rather, on the problems of its translation from Italian into Russian. The menu is a particular type of gluttonous discourse in food establishments, in which the employee acts as the addressee, and the client becomes the recipient that studies the menu to have a meal [Undricova, 2014]. One of the essential functions of the menu, undoubtedly, is the function of persuasion, which brings this type of text closer to advertising discourse. Indeed, when creating a menu, various language strategies are used to ensure that it has a specific effect on the reader and makes

the right expectations and images that would justify the prices before the dishes appear on the table [Bonazzi, 2009].

Background and objectives of the study

The analysis presented in this paper was inspired by a unique educational project¹, which was carried out by the Department of Translation and Interpretation at the University of Bologna in August 2021 and timed to coincide with the 25th Artusi Italian Food and Wine Festival². The festival aims at preserving the memory of the outstanding culinary specialist and writer P. Artusi and is held annually in his hometown, Forlimpopoli. Local restaurants participating in the festival include recipes from P. Artusi's most famous cookbook 3 in their menus and strive to showcase the diversity of home cooking and the richness of Italian culinary tradition.

The project saw the participation of Italian undergraduate and graduate students studying translation and a group of translation teachers. Within the project framework, seminars were held on the techniques of gastronomic texts translation. It aimed at producing a translation of the restaurant menus of the Artusi festival into six languages, including Russian. Thus, the students performed an inverse translation into a non-native language (that is, the foreign language they are studying), which has subsequently undergone revision by the department's teachers. The examples cited later in the article were taken from the menus translated within the above-described project.

This study aims to identify the distinguishing features of the Italian menus and suggest possible approaches to overcoming translation difficulties when translating Italian menus into Russian.

Results and discussion

According to academician Giovanna Frosini [Frosini, 2014], the following characteristics can be attributed to the main features of the Italian gastronomic discourse: an extraordinary variety of names of dishes and ingredients, an abundance of regional synonyms (synonyms), vocabulary replenishment with dialectisms, a large number of barbarisms and a significant continuity of culinary traditions. All these and many other

¹ More information about the project can be found on the website: <https://myartusiana.it/index.php/it/benvenuti/>

² More information about the festival can be found on the website: <http://www.festartusiana.it/>

features are well traced in the analysed menus and constitute a source of translation difficulties.

First of all, it is essential to emphasise that most of the difficulties in translating menus from Italian relate to the lexical level. “The vocabulary is all Italian”, as Maureen Fant writes [Fant, 2009, p. 114], and no one can compete with Italians in their ability to invent a wide variety of names for dishes and products. As an example, it can be mentioned that in the Atlas of Typical Products of Italy, published in 2004, the volume dedicated exclusively to the varieties of Italian pasta counts 522 pages³.

The need to translate many names such as *piadina*, *tagliatelle*, *Tortelli*, *squacquerone*, *salsiccia*, *Zuppa Inglese*, etc. that have no equivalents in Russian, inevitably makes the translator choose one of the two polar translation strategies formulated back in the 19th century by Schleiermacher [Schleiermacher, 2000], which we will call “domestication” and “foreignisation”, following the terms used by L. Venuti (1995). In the case of the domestication strategy, the translator distances from the original, resorting to an adaptation of the target language text, replacing concepts with similar ones or simply omitting elements that require clarification, thereby making the translation as close as possible to the reader and “bringing the author back home”; in case of the organisation strategy, on the contrary, the translator leaves untranslated foreign elements in the target text, explaining them to the reader as much as possible, thus bringing it closer to the original and “sending the reader abroad” [Venuti, 1995, p. 20]. In other words, foreignization is an alienating translation of the original text, aimed at emphasising the features of the original text, that doesn’t try to hide the “presence of the translator” [Shelestyuk, Gricenko, 2016].

When translating the menu of the Artusi festival, it was decided to follow a monetisation strategy to allow the Russian-speaking visitors of the festival to plunge into the world of Italian cuisine fully. The choice of the foreignization process aims at achieving the following goals as well:

- to popularise and promote the Italian culinary tradition;
- to facilitate mutual understanding between the guest, reading the menu, and the restaurateur: the presence of original Italian names in the translation of the menu becomes especially important if there is no numbering and no images of dishes in it;
- to preserve in the target text the “appetising” attractiveness of the offered dishes.

³ Zanini de Vita O. (ed.) *Pasta, atlante dei prodotti tipici*. Athens; Turin, 2004.

Since the strategy of foreignization in translation requires more significant reader effort and exposure to foreign-language realia, it was decided to create a glossary explaining the names of Italian dishes and typical products that guests of the restaurant can use by clicking on the special links on the menu website.

Thus, when translating realias, we used such a type of formal lexical transformation as transcription (hereinafter, the classification of translation transformations by V.N. Komissarov is used [Komissarov, 2011, p. 158–166]):

- (1) *Piadina frita* — *Žarenaja p'jadina* [Жареная пьядина]
- (2) *Salsiccia coll'uva* — *Salsičča s vinogradom* [Сальсичча с виноградом]
- (3) *Tortelli in crema di parmigiano* — *Tortelli v kreme iz parmezana* [Тортелли в креме из пармезана]
- (4) *Squacquerone D. O. P.* — *Syr "skuakquerone" so znakom kačestva D. O. P.* [Сыр "скауаккероне" со знаком качества D. O. P.]
- (5) *Zuppa Inglese* — *Desert "Dzuppa inglese"* [Десерт "Дзуппа инглезе"]
- (6) *Pollo porchettato* — *Kurica, zapečennaja v porkette* [Курица, запеченная в поркетте]

As can be seen from the examples (1–6), most of the realia are transcribed, reflecting the actual pronunciation of Italian words; however, there are also such terms that have already become widespread in Russian in a different form: for example, the word *parmезan* [пармезан] in the example (3) reflects the French pronunciation. Example (6) demonstrates calquing, in which only a part of the original word, the participle *porchettato*, is transcribed in the translation. Examples (4–5) also show an essential technique of explicitation, which is used along with the transcription of realia and consists in adding to them a short explanation, usually containing a hyperonym.

It is interesting to note that example (5) demonstrates the case when a literal, word-by-word translation of the dessert *Zuppa Inglese* — *Angljskij sup* [Английский суп] is practically impossible, since it cannot evoke expectations, even remotely related to the biscuit-creamy sweet that this dessert represents.

When translating the names of dishes and local products, the whole variety of lexical-semantic replacements and lexical-grammatical transformations can be applied, for example:

- (7) Generalization: *Tagliatelle col Prosciutto* — *Tal'jatelle s vetčinoj* [Тальятелле с ветчиной]
- (8) Specification: *Risotto al sapore di mare* — *Rizotto s moreproduktami* [Ризотто с морепродуктами]
- (9) Adaptation: *Gateau di patate* — *Kartofel'naja zapekanka* [Картофельная запеканка]
- (10) Foreign word adaptation and omission: *Sformato di zucchini passati* — *Puding iz cukini* [Пудинг из цукини]
- (11) Adaptation based on foreign words: *Guançiale* — *Bekon "guançale"* [Бекон "гуанчале"]
- (12) Descriptive translation: *Giardiniera* — *Marinovannye ovošči* [Маринованные овощи]
- (13) Descriptive translation: *Tagliatelle al ragu* — *Tal'jatelle s mjasnym sousom* [Тальятелле с мясным соусом]
- (14) Addition (explicitation): *Bianco mangiare* — *Moločno-mindal'nyj desert "B'janko mandžare"* [Молочно-миндальный десерт "Бьянко манджаре"]

The vocabulary of Italian menus is replete with dialectisms, which is since there are still many household objects and dishes that don't have a unique name used by all Italians [Beccaria, Stella, Vignuzzi, 2005, p. 12]. The wide use of dialectisms also emphasises that the restaurant uses only local ingredients and carefully preserves traditional recipes or even adds particular positive connotations to the dishes, thus pursuing purely commercial purposes [Sergio, 2017]. In the menu of the Artusi festival, a variety of Romagnol dialectisms was found, for example:

- (15) *Le Lovarie* — *Lakomstva* [Лакомства]
- (16) *Curzul* — *Domašnjaja pasta "Curzul"* [Домашняя паста "Курзул"]
- (17) *Stregchette bolognesi* — *Obžarennye v masle lepěšički* [Обжаренные в масле лепёшечки]

The word *curzul* in Romagnol means "laces" and serves as a name for "lace-like" fresh pasta. Still, this detail was not reflected in the translation, especially since not every Italian knows the meaning of this dialect word.

On the other hand, another important phenomenon that characterises contemporary Italian gastronomic discourse is the widespread foreign loanwords and barbarisms (see, for example, [Frosini, 2014; Sergio, 2017]), primarily from French and English. For instance, in the sentence

(18), one can observe how the Japanese term *wagyu*, meaning a special kind of marbled beef, is transcribed in the target language and is accompanied by an untranslated English label *Beeferent*, referring to the fact that cows are kept on free grazing. Example (19) demonstrates that the sources of loanwords are not limited to English and French, which indicates a greater openness of Italian cuisine to new trends.

(18) *Battuta di Wagyu “Beeferent” — Tartar iz Vagju “Beeferent” [Тартар из Вагю “Beeferent”]*

(19) *Pad Thai Pak: Noodles di riso saltati con verdure — Pad Taj Pak: risovaja lapša s ovoščami [Пад Таї Пак: рисовая лапша с овощами]*

Toponyms are also widespread in the names of dishes, for example:

(20) *Pomodoro San Marzano — Pomidory San-Marcano [Помидоры Сан-Марцано]*

(21) *Olive taggiasche — Tadžasskie olivki [Таджасские оливки]*

(22) *Passatelli all'uso di Romagna — Passatelli po-romanòl'ski [Пассателли по-романьольски]*

(23) *Gnocchi alla romana — Nòkki po-rimski [Ньокки по-римски]*

Except when the toponym is transcribed as shown in example (20), it can be translated through grammatical substitution of the part of speech, in which the toponym forms the basis for an adjective, as in example (21), or becomes an adverb, samples (22–23).

In addition to the difficulties translating realia, specific culinary vocabulary is widely represented in Italian menus. Also, it needs special attention to get an accurate translation, for example:

(24) *scaglie di grana padano — крупно натёртыj сыр “grana padano” [крупно натёртыj сыр “грана падано”]*

(25) *polvere di crudo — stružka prošutto [стружка прошутто]*

(26) *cialde di parmigiano — korzinočki iz žarenoga parmezana [корзиночки из жареного пармезана]*

Finally, the most difficult to translate were the original names of the dishes, containing a wordplay, a metaphor, or a joke, for example:

(27) *Quinto quarto di zucchini — Pjataja četvertinka cukini [Пятая четвертинка цукини]*

The name of the dish from example (27) contains the specific expression *quinto quarto*, which literally means “fifth quarter” and is usually applied to meat dishes, denoting by-products that remain after cutting the meat. Concerning the *zucchini*, this expression creates a certain intrigue, also preserved in the translation.

There are frequent cases of metaphors in the names of dishes: example (28) illustrates how the metaphor is adapted in translation. Namely, the word *princ* [принц] is replaced by the word *korol'* [король].

(28) *Il principe dei primi — Korol' pervyh bljud* [Король первых блюд]

In example (29), you can see an even more curious case of dialogic in the menu, in which the restaurateur starts a playful dialogue with the visitor, inviting him to drink some “good wine” or “better wine” and, finally, wants to shame the visitor if he suddenly wants to order some water:

(29) *Vino buono: caraffa 10 EUR / Vino migliore: bottiglia 12 EUR / Acqua: vergognati*
Horošee vino: grafin 10 evro / Vino polučše: butylka 12 evro / Voda: vam ne stydno?
[Хорошее вино: графин 10 евро / Вино получше: бутылка 12 евро / Вода: вам не стыдно?]

At the morphological level, it's worth noticing the increasing use of the Italian nominalisation suffix *-eria* for the formation of nouns neologisms, that, as a rule, designate an establishment specialising in the preparation of only one dish or the sale of a specific product (see, for example [Sergio 2017]). Such neologisms were found in the menu titles of the restaurants participating in the festival, for example: *cappelletteria*, *passattelleria*, *tagliattelleria*, etc. The word *cappelletteria*, in this case, denotes a menu that presents different variations of the first dish based on the *cappelletti* pasta. These headers with the suffix *-eria* were translated by adding the pronoun “our” to the base noun, through which the following underlying idea was conveyed: “all the variants of this dish that we can offer you”: *Cappelletteria — Naši cappelletti* [Наши каннеллетти], *Passattelleria — Naši passattelli* [Наши пассаттелли] etc. Exceptions to this were examples where a noun in *-eria* was used as a separate menu item; in this case, the suffix was ignored in translation, for example: *biscotteria — pečen'e* [печенье].

At the syntactic level, the language of Italian menus differs in that it consists almost entirely of nominal syntagmas. At the same time, the names of dishes and the ingredients are often listed without commas and any prepositions:

- (30) *Tortelli ricotta e spinaci al ragù* — *Tortelli s rikottoj, špinatom i mjasnut sousom* [Тортелли с рикоттой, шпинатом и мясным соусом]
- (31) *Piadina prosciutto crudo, squaquerone e rucola* — *P'jadina s prošutto, syrom "skuakquerone" i rukkolaj* [Пьядина с прошутто, сыром "скуаккероне" и рукколой]
- (32) *Prosciutto stagionatura 24 mesi al sale di Cervia* — *Syrovjalenaja vetčina, vyderžannaja 24 mesjaca v soli Červii* [Сыровяленая ветчина, выдержанная 24 месяца в соли Червии]

The examples show how the omitted prepositions were added in the translation (30–31) and how the syntactic links were restored, for example, by adding a complete participle phrase (32).

The consequence of the fact that there are practically no predicates in the menu is the frequent use of substantivised participle forms ("tagliata", "spianata", "battuta"). They can often be found in the names of dishes and partly compensate for the absence of verb, making the phrase more dynamic (see, e.g., [Bonazzi, 2009]):

- (33) *Tagliata di manzo* — *Tal'jata iz govjadiny* [Тальята из говядины]
- (34) *Spianata bolognese* — *Bolonskaja lepěška "Sp'janata"* [Болонская лепёшка "Спяната"]
- (35) *Battuta di Wagyu* — *Tartar iz vagju* [Тартар из вагю]

When translating these participles, such transformations as transcription (33–34), explanation (34), and adaptation (35) were carried out.

Let us conclude this analysis with the words of M. Undricova [Undricova, 2012, translation is mine], who emphasises that when translating gastronomic texts, "...it is not easy for translators to convey all the details without loss. All this happens due to the discrepancy of the linguistic pictures of the world. The research of these issues is fundamental and should be part of the training of a competent translator".

Conclusion

Several specific features were identified in this study, making Italian menus problematic for translation into a foreign language. That is why we believe that it is essential that gastronomic texts are included in the training program as a valuable resource, inducing students to face a variety of translation difficulties and master translation strategies and techniques. Despite its complexity for the students, the above-mentioned educational

project of menu translation has received very positive feedback. Students confirmed its extreme usefulness for the development of translation skills and competence.

To conclude, let us cite the words of Giovanna Frosini. She states that “The image of Italy abroad, among foreigners, is closely and very deeply connected with the idea of Italian cuisine: one can even get an impression that in this regard food surpasses art, the beauty of the nature, cinema, literature” [Frosini, 2014, p. 29, translation is mine]. The motto of the Artusi festival, “*Cultura a Tavola*” (literally “culture on the table”), also reminds us that exploring Italian cuisine is exploring its unique culture. Translation is thus the most important way of spreading knowledge that allows broadcasting into a foreign language environment all the richness of the Italian culinary tradition.

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EXTRA-RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY OF MISSIONARIES IN AFRICA AND THE ENCOUNTER OF CULTURES: GERMAN MISSIONARIES IN THE 19th — EARLY 20th CENTURIES

When discussing the postcolonial discourse, the activity of European missionaries in Tropical and Southern Africa in the 19th — early 20th centuries is of great interest. Missionaries are known to play a big role in the spread of Christianity. However, the role of their activities on the Black Continent was much broader. The purpose of the article is to show, on the example of German missionaries whose activities in Africa were quite representative, that from the very beginning they taught their flock not only the basics of the Christian religion but also various crafts, farming in a European way, wearing European clothes, building European houses. As for religion, many of the converts did not abandon the traditional religious practice. The research is based on archival documents from Europe and Africa, in particular, on the materials of the Archive of the Berlin Missionary Society, the Federal Archive of Germany and the National Archive of Namibia. These materials, which shed light, especially in complex, have not been widely used by the authors of modern studies of missionary activity in Africa, and they allow us to see missionary activity from a new perspective. The author claims that German missionaries in Black Africa have made a great contribution to the process of encounter of European and African cultures. By teaching the Africans the basics of European knowledge and skills, the missionaries learned from them themselves — not only their languages and customs, but also some practical things, first of all — ways of survival in the tropics. Moreover, they were the first to spread knowledge about African cultures in Europe. All this was more or less typical of all European missionaries in Africa. Thus, the role of missionaries in the encounter of European and African cultures cannot be overestimated.

Keywords: German missionaries, African converts, extra-religious activities, literacy and crafts training, encounter of cultures.

A. С. Балезин

ЭКСТРАРЕЛИГИОЗНАЯ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТЬ МИССИОНЕРОВ В АФРИКЕ И ВСТРЕЧА КУЛЬТУР: НЕМЕЦКИЕ МИССИОНЕРЫ В XIX — НАЧАЛЕ XX ВВ.

В связи с современными дискуссиями о постколониальном дискурсе деятельность европейских миссионеров в Тропической и Южной Африке в XIX — начале XX вв. как одна из его предтеч представляет большой интерес. Известно, что миссионеры сыграли большую роль в рас-

пространении христианства. Однако роль их деятельности на Черном континенте была значительно шире. Задача статьи показать, на примере немецких миссионеров, деятельность которых в Африке была достаточно репрезентативной, что с самого начала они обучали свою паству не только основам христианской религии, но и различным ремеслам ведению сельского хозяйства по-европейски, ношению европейской одежды, строительству европейских домов и т. д. Что касается религии, то многие из новообращенных не отказывались от традиционной религиозной практики. Исследование сделано на основе архивных документов из Европы и Африки, в частности на материалах Архива Берлинского миссионерского общества, Федерального архива Германии и Национального архива Намибии. Эти материалы, особенно в совокупности, не привлекались широко авторами современных исследований миссионерской деятельности в Африке, в то время как они позволяют увидеть ее в новом ракурсе. Автор утверждает, что немецкие миссионеры в Черной Африке внесли большой вклад в процесс встречи европейской и африканской культур. Обучая африканцев основам европейских знаний и навыков, миссионеры учились у них и сами — не только их языкам и обычаям, но и некоторым практическим вещам, в первую очередь — способам выживания в тропиках. Более того, они первыми распространили в Европе знания об африканских культурах. Все это в той или иной степени было характерно для всех европейских миссионеров в Африке. Таким образом, роль миссионеров во встрече европейской и африканской культур трудно переоценить.

Ключевые слова: немецкие миссионеры, африканские новообращенные, экстаррелигиозная деятельность, обучение грамоте и ремеслам, встреча культур.

How many reproaches have been put forward by historians against missionaries! In Soviet historiography, they were regarded exclusively as the vanguard of European colonialism. And not only in the Soviet one. At the end of the twentieth century, I happened to participate in a conference in Berlin called “Mission and Violence” with the basic idea that missionaries forcibly imposed Christianity on “native” peoples. Not without accusations of their role in the colonial partition of Africa. Leftist youth dominated there. I was embarrassed to hear this, not only because the hall was decorated with various pictures from missionary activities in Africa, but mainly because the same missionaries were invited as guests. And I was the only one who rushed to protect these older adults who had spent decades in the African hinterland, sometimes under challenging conditions

It was only in the new millennium that they began to pay attention to some particular aspects of the participation of missionaries in the process of the encounter of cultures, which has been one of the topics of my research work for several years [Balezin, 2015]. Scholars of the 21st-century

stress, for example, missionary education [Crisholm, 2017], missionaries' attitude to traditional authorities [Chrisholm, 2017; Ritter, 2012], and local customs (in particular initiations) [Pakendorf, 2011], even about photographs taken by missionaries in Africa [Jenkins, 1993].

The role of missionaries' activities in Africa was much more significant. My ideas on this matter are based on archival sources — materials of the Archive of the Berlin Missionary Society (Berliner Missionswerk — BMW), the Federal Archive of Germany (Bundesarchiv — BA) and the National Archives of Namibian (NAN).

In Africa, missionary activity became noticeably more intense by the mid 19th century. The French Lyon Missionary Society, the Orders of the White Fathers and White Sisters, the Order of the Holy Spirit, the English Church Missionary Society, the German Berlin, Leipzig, Hermansberg and Rhine missionary societies, the Belgian Order of the Immaculate Heart of Mary and the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), and many others have launched work there.

In those years, missionaries penetrated deeper and deeper into the Black Continent, often to places utterly unknown to Europeans. As a rule, mission stations were established in settlements that were commercial or political centres for local peoples.

A church and a school were built in each station. The missionaries tried to attract as many Africans as possible to the church service. To do this, they had to do a tremendous job: they learned the languages of local peoples and preached in these languages as soon as possible. Thus, the Rhine missionary F. Kolbe wrote back in 1849, shortly after he arrived in South-West Africa:

“We will undoubtedly achieve a lot if we can reach people's hearts because language is such an amazing thread that influences more effectively and opens hearts better than all other evidence of friendship and gifts. The Hereros are proud that we are learning their language and call it “returning to their language” (NAN. Quellen zur Geschichte Südwestafrikas. 28-A. S. 10).

Primary mission schools were called upon to play a significant role in converting Africans to Christianity. After all, to become familiar with church books, it was necessary to master reading and writing. Missionary schools remained the basis of primary education in the colonies for a long time. Public schools became a natural alternative, as a rule, only several decades later — by the 20s — 30s of the 20th century.

The mission school became a place where little Africans first came into close contact with overseas culture. In missionary schools, African

children were taught not only and not so much the Law of God — they were given the same knowledge as their peers in primary schools in Europe, although to a lesser extent. But they were intensively taught various crafts — carpentry, sewing, printing and others. This is how, for example, one day of first-graders looked like at the German missionary school of the Berlin Botshabelo Society in South Africa in the early 80s of the 19th century:

from 7: 00 to 8: 00 AM — Bible story
from 8:00 to 9:00 AM — Old Testament
from 9: 00 to 10: 00 AM — free time
11:00 AM — Dogmatics
from 11: 00 AM to 12: 00 PM — Catechism
from 12: 00 to 13: 00 — manual labour
from 13:00 to 14:00 — free time
from 14: 00 to 15: 00 — arithmetic
from 15:00 to 16:00 — German language
from 16:00 to 17:00 — singing
from 17:00 to 18:30 — manual labour
(BMW. Abt. III, Fach IV, Nr. 6, Bd. 2, Bl. 287)

As seen from the list of subjects, religion itself did not dominate teaching in missionary schools. The main place was occupied by practical knowledge and skills — reading and writing in native and European languages, arithmetic, mastering crafts. Rather than Christian dogmas, this knowledge and skills most likely made missionary schools attractive to young Africans and their parents. Baptism was not a prerequisite for attending missionary schools. Thus, in the missionary schools of the North German Society in Togo and on the Gold Coast in 1898, out of 979 people, 376 were baptised, i. e., 38.4% [Ustorf, 1989, p. 132–133].

A generally new behavioural model characterised the graduates of the missionary schools. And it's not just about following Christian rites because, as already mentioned, not all students of missionary schools were baptised. An example from the questionnaire of the Berlin Missionary Society, distributed in 1911 among the teachers of the schools of this mission, is characteristic in this sense. A teacher from the Dar es Salaam school wrote as follows:

“Question: How do students use the acquired knowledge in their later life, and how do they differ in behaviour from those natives who did not attend school?

Answer: The adult Wasukuma who attended school differed from their fellow tribe members. They look better and neater, and it is also pos-

sible to note an improvement in the lifestyle of some of them in general” (BMW, Abt. IV, Fach II J, Nr. 1, Bd. 1, Bl. 221–222).

It is a well-known fact that the missionaries became the founders of the written tradition in many African languages, making the first translations of the foundations of the Holy Scriptures. This applies not only to languages that were by that time unwritten: missionaries translated into Latin the most significant written languages of Tropical Africa — Swahili and Hausa (respectively from the Arabic alphabet and the Ajami script created on its basis). The significance of these facts for the development of African cultures can hardly be overestimated.

However, it is less well known that the missionaries developed the first ABC books and other textbooks for elementary school. For example, in the schools of the Rhenish Society in German Southwest Africa, the usual primer for German schools was initially used, and by 1900 a special primer that corresponded to local conditions was developed. Missionary K. Wandres, in his review, particularly emphasised that “the ABC will meet one of our long-expressed wishes — to have a manual with lighter expressions corresponding to the mind of our natives” (BA, R1001 — Reichskolonialamt, Nr. 1949, Bl. 168).

Thus, the missionaries laid the foundations for teaching European knowledge to Africans in their native languages. It should be noted that the colonial authorities did not approve this trend in some cases. Here is what, for example, the governor of the German “model colony” Togo Zech wrote to Berlin about this in 1906:

“I am not ready to admit that Christian education in local languages meets the interests of the colony and the colonial administration... The elevation of the local language to the level of written certainly *awakens the national feeling* of the native, ... the unfair, chimaera-based, previously native concepts of the meaning *of their nation*, their tribe. In Togo, even individual small tribes, scattered by languages, are artificially united because they are provided with a local written language” [Sebald, 1988, p. 497].

Thus, the German colonial official noticed the far consequences of the development of local languages as written it contributed to the growth of the self-determination of Africans.

On the other hand, Africans did not all and did not always attend missionary schools willingly. For example, in the archive of the Berlin mission, there is a document telling about a small drama that took place in a village in German East Africa at the beginning of the 20th century. A teacher from the town of Kitonga, Johana, wrote in Swahili to the missionary Klamroth in Dar es Salaam:

“...One day at two o'clock in the afternoon, one child wanted to be stabbed with a knife. The reason for this was school, and this child's name is Myimagala. So, I hit the drum, and all the kids came to study, but he didn't come. I followed him, grabbed his hand and said, “Let's go study,” and he replied, “I don't want to.” I grabbed his hand again, and he broke away and ran into the house and there he wanted to kill himself with a knife...” (BMW, Abt IV, Fach II, J Nr. 1, Bd. 21, Bl. 136/RS).

And yet the general trend was the opposite — the attendance of missionary schools was growing, as evidenced by extensive missionary statistics. It should be borne in mind that even after the end of the colonial partition of Africa and its redistribution as a result of the First World War, missionaries operated not only in “their” colonies but also in the possessions of other European powers. For example, after the transition of German East Africa into the hands of Great Britain, German missionaries not only did not stop but also expanded their activities there. So, in 1929, only one Lupembe station with branches was subordinate to 22 missionary schools, in which 577 children studied, 43 teachers taught, and all teachers were Africans (BMW, Abt. III, Fach IX, Nr. 1, Bd. 2, O. Bl.).

But Africans received European practical knowledge and skills from missionaries, not only in schools. The foundation of the mission station meant, at the same time, the construction of a house for the missionary and the establishment of a household.

The Christian community was formed around the missionary's house. The “inner” community was the missionary's family and numerous domestic servants: maids, cooks, gardeners, shepherds. Missionaries willingly took African girls and boys into their families as domestic servants. Either they were orphans or, on the contrary, children are given by wealthy Africans to be raised by missionaries. The girls who grew up in missionaries' homes learned to run a household in a European way. Then they were married off to young Christian men who became teachers and preachers after completing the appropriate course of study. Such married couples became associates of missionaries in their activities, helped to found new missionary stations, etc.

The “external” community meant the inhabitants of the African villages that arose around the missionary stations. Sometimes such an external community was quite numerous. For example, in Equatorial Africa, missionaries intercepted with the help of military detachments large batches of enslaved people from slave traders. They settled them in compact villages around the missionary stations. In Bagamoyo, the first village of formerly enslaved people in modern Tanzania was created at the Catholic mission. In 1879, this Village of Freedom, as it was called, had

more than 60 houses, had its elected head, and own skilled artisans [Henschel, p. 11].

The German Rhine missionary Hugo Hahn, who worked for many years in South-West Africa (Namibia), wrote that missionaries

“have a double task: first, to convert pagans to their faith, for which any means should be sought that can help them comprehend Christian teaching, and secondly, to allow the newly-converted to live in a Christian way, i. e. to instil Christian customs in them” (NAN, Quellen... 30-A, S. 31–32).

He also noted that “up to 9/10 of the missionary time is spent on activities unrelated to religion” (NAN, Quellen... 30-A, S. 31–32).

What kind of activity was it? Here are some excerpts from the diaries of the Rhenish missionary in South West Africa (now Namibia) in the mid-19th century, just a few years after the beginning of their activities in that country:

F. Kolbe, missionary station Neu-Barmen:

“This year, our garden has supplied our table with lettuce, carrots, radish, beets and melons, especially watermelons; potatoes are growing again, and soon we will reap the harvest. Tobacco grows very well here; there are also orange trees, date palms and cotton in our garden” (NAN, Quellen, 28-A, S. 10).

Hugo Khan about the Okahandya station:

“The beautiful meadow was fresh and green. In a pond filled with clear water, many wild ducks were frolicking. The banks were fortified with a certain variety of reeds” [Mossolow, 1966, S. 17].

Missionaries did much of the above and much more with their own hands. After all, at least, to begin with, Africans needed to be shown how to do this or that operation to construct a house, cultivate unfamiliar crops in Africa, etc.

The Rhine missionary Beiderbeke, who founded the Otjozonjupa station in the north of South-West Africa at the end of 1873, taught the Hereros. They lived in this hilly area terraced agriculture and cultivated new crops for them — wheat, corn and pumpkins [Köhler, 1959, p. 30].

The other Rhine missionary in South-West Africa, Jacob Irle, stressed: “I had to teach people like little children, sow wheat for them and hold the plough until they learned how to make a straight furrow [Irle, 1906, S. 286].

But gradually, the missionaries used more and more the work of their flock. The houses at the mission stations, the fields and vegetable gardens there resulted from many days of work by many pairs of hands of Africans. Africans also worked in various craft workshops at the missionary stations. For example, the Catholic mission in Dar es Salaam, by the beginning of the 20th century, had its carpentry workshop, laundry, and even a printing house (BM, Abt. IV, Fach II J, Nr. 1, Bd. 2, Bl. 22).

At the Ngambo missionary station in German East Africa near Dar es, Salaam, by 1909, about 3.500 palm trees had taken root there, lands have been cleared for planting another 3–4 thousand palm seedlings and 1–2 thousand oil palms from Togo and Cameroon. The hands of Africans did all this from the Wasukuma people, who planted traditional cassava in the gaps between the palm trees and cultivated the land for both crops. The missionary Diedrich Buk emphasises that he abandoned the original idea of developing the soil with a plough — the Wasukuma cultivated the land for traditional crops and, at the same time, palm trees with the old methods — a hoe (BMW, Abt. IV, Fach II J, Nr. 1, Bd. 1, Bl. 173–175).

Thus, the Africans learned from the missionaries a lot of purely practical knowledge and skills that changed their everyday life, making their existence more convenient and diverse. The Rhine missionary Johannes Opp, who worked for many years in South-West Africa among the Herero, wrote in 1914:

“Pagans who went naked before 1863, learned to wear clothes, bought themselves ploughs, carts, shovels, buckets, and all other household utensils, learned to earn a cab for white and copper mines. They learned how to make bricks out of clay, build European houses out of them and live in them; they bought tables, chairs, boxes, doors, windows and built a church and a school building in Otjimbingwe with their own hands and at their own expense in 1867” [Olp, 1914, S. 7].

It should be stressed that the possibility of obtaining practical skills, rather than studying Christian dogmas, attracted Africans to the missionary stations in the first place. One of the most striking examples from the diary of a missionary in South West Africa follows:

“Shortly after we settled here, several Damara families appeared. They were followed by others so that now there are already twenty of their houses. Later, Kahichene, one of the main leaders of the Owaherero, who is very rich in cattle, came and pitched his tents here. So, we do not lack people. Unfortunately, however, he is not eager to hear the Word of God. Of the huge number of pagans living around us, no more than eight dozen people come to God Service, and of the numerous children run-

ning around, only 20–30 attend school. Our participants in the service are almost exclusively POOR people” (NAN, Quellen zur Geschichte Südwestafrikas. 28-A. S. 11–12).

The fact that missions primarily attracted poor people can be explained by missionaries allowing them to earn money or at least get food.

However, this was not the case everywhere. For example, in the north of South-West Africa, a particular desire to attend a school opened in the mid-1870s at the Otjonzjupa mission was expressed in the mid-70s by the children of Kambazembi, the head of the Herero chiefdom formatted there [Köhler, 1959, p. 30].

So, the missionary stations were not only and not so much the propagators of the Christian religion, as centres where Africans learned to live sedentary, build houses and farm in a European way. At the same time, they had to abandon several traditional habits and institutions, as it is emphasised, for example, in the report of the Berlin Society mission in Dar es Salaam for 1909:

“<...> to our joy, even some of those living in Ngambo Wasukuma moved to our newly built village there, although they had to behave within the framework of the order adopted by us: compulsory school attendance for children bans on drinking, dancing, pagan hocus-pocus, work on Sundays, etc.” (BMW, Abt. III, Fach X, Nr. 1, Bd. 1, O. Bl).

The Rhine missionary in South-West Africa K. G. Buettner wrote described the behaviour of Africans changed during missions in 1885 as follows:

“The ability to read and write, the knowledge of arithmetic and the Dutch language has spread widely, and even German is no longer completely unknown to Hottentots and Hereros. The natives have awakened the need for clothes, utensils, tools and other products of European industry from sulfur matches to batteries and, what is not at all small, there are people at each station whose reliability and belonging to Christianity gives a fairly sure guarantee that the good name of Christians will remain so before the whole world” [Büttner, 1885, S. 256].

Thus, the members of the Christian community, formed around the missions, sharply broke out of the usual way of life and the circle of ideas of the peoples of Africa. They wore European clothes, ate with a fork and knife, and did not forget to wash their hands before eating. However, curious cases were also connected with European clothing. So, one of the leaders of the Herero people, Kambazembi, gladly began to wear European clothes, but his bulls did not recognise him in this form. Then he hung these clothes in the kraal so that the bulls would get used to them. But the

bulls lifted them on her horns and tore to shreds. As a result, Kambazembi refused to wear a European dress [Köhler, 1959, p. 30].

But the main thing is that Africans have learned from missionaries to do many valuable things with their hands, do a lot of useful items, and write letters! For many peoples of Africa who had no written language before, it was an absolute miracle.

The newly converted Christians no longer fit into the traditional African social structure. This means that they no longer obeyed their elders; in some cases, the role of such elders for them began to be played by missionaries who led their entire daily life.

In each case, one cannot determine whether a converted person or community has abandoned the traditional religious practice. Lucy Mair, a British ethnologist who had lived many years among the Baganda, one of the most “Christianised” peoples of colonial Africa, witnessed in mid 1930th that the converted asked for help from their traditional Gods [Mair, 1965, p.258]. And not always the European skills and techniques were preferred to traditional ones by the Africans — the example of the hoe and the plough de the missionary Buck demonstrates this. As well as the example of the teacher Yohana shows that the Africans were not always willing to go to school.

But this was not the case for African teachers educated in missionary schools. Their appearance meant the rapid development of education in breadth, and even through “their own”, more understandable for children. The missionary archives contain, among other things, the biographies of such teachers. Here are excerpts from the autobiography of one of them, the South African H. Greef, written personally in 1950:

“I was born on December 6, 1897, in Adams Hope in the Free State. I was baptised on January 2, 1898, by Reverend R. Brun. I clearly remember my parents going to church on Sundays in Cape Coast. <...> In January 1910, I went to school, where I was enrolled by the Reverend E. Muller, its director. In the same year, I graduated from the preparatory department, and in 1911, I moved to the first class. I successfully passed the exams every year and graduated from the teacher’s course in 1919. In 1920 I started my career as a teacher. I was a sickly boy as a child, and walking the distance of about six miles from home to school every day was a serious challenge for me. I was the only one in the whole school from living far away who managed to finish it” (BMW, Abt. I, Fach V, Nr. 81, Bd. 1, o. Bl).

There are many similar examples. The fate of H. Greef is characterised by perseverance in studies and work — at the time of writing, his teaching experience was 30 years, and, despite many diseases, he continued to teach.

African missionary teachers, who became the living personification of the encounter of cultures, taught their students spiritual, secular knowledge and practical skills. Their purely pedagogical workload was very high: for example, in Togo, in the missionary schools of the North German Society, it was up to 22 hours a week back in the 70s of the 19th century, not to count the preparation of textbooks and demonstration materials [Ustorf, 1989, p. 135].

They started their activities, as a rule, very young and “from scratch”. Enoch Madondo from South Africa became a teacher at the age of nineteen. This is how he recalls it in his autobiography:

“...It was tough to start. I had to work hard collecting children for school. I worked and prayed, and our heavenly Father heard my prayers. In 1921 (in the third year of work. — A. B.), we already had more than thirty children at school. We didn't have a building for a school, and I worked hard to build a wooden house covered with grass. Several men helped me, as well as women and children. <...> My life was not easy, I often faced difficulties, suffered hard spiritually and physically and almost lost hope of recovery, but the Lord helped me survive” (BMW, Abt. I, Fach VI, Nr. 81, Bd. 2, o. Bl).

It should be emphasised that the Africans, taking a variety of knowledge and skills from the missionaries, did not lose anything that their traditional society taught them. As a result, a kind of synthesis of the old and the new took place in their heads.

One of the clearest examples of this synthesis is the so-called Afro-Christian churches — creeds that combined elements of Christianity with African religious and moral, and ethical ideas. In particular, it is believed that Jesus Christ was black, and often in African churches, you can see a beautiful image of the black Mother of God with a black baby in her arms. Afro-Christian churches go far beyond the scope of this article.

But the encounter of cultures is a “two-way street”. It is much more challenging to establish what the missionaries received from the Africans, but it is still possible to talk about some indisputable facts.

First, the missionaries learned African languages. For them, it was an “industrial necessity”, but while studying languages, the missionaries simultaneously comprehended some peculiarities of the thinking of Africans.

Secondly, they gained knowledge on the history and ethnography of African peoples. Many missionary practitioners have become authors of classical works in this field. Thus, they were the first to disseminate European knowledge about African cultures.

The Rhine missionary Olpp, who has already been mentioned, stressed: “It was the missionaries who mainly studied the languages and life views of the natives, their good and bad customs and mores” [Olpp, 1914, S. 9]. However, he forgot to mention that the missionaries studied all this with the help of those “natives”.

Other missionaries wrote about it directly. For example, the Berlin missionary B. Wegel, who worked in South Africa:

“It is to Tsungu [Helek Tsungu — a local African pastor. — A. B.] that I am indebted for the fact that in the first difficult years of my work here in Christianenburg, when I did not know the language of the natives, nor their customs and morals, but had to do the work..., somehow I succeeded, and the work went on” (BMW, Abt. I, Fach V, Nr. 81, Bd. 2, o. Bl).

In addition, missionaries learned from Africans the art of surviving in the tropics. For example, a German missionary in South West Africa, Dr K. G. Büttner, wrote that when choosing a place for a future house, they used not only European but local criteria and often local building materials [Büttner, 1887, S. 18 ff].

This article focuses on the role of German missionaries in encountering European and African cultures. But its ideas are valid for the missionaries of other Christian confessions. In Africa, missionaries were the first Europeans to start in the late 19th — early 20th centuries. The actors of this process and their cultures were steadily and typologically different, which could not but complicate this process. But significantly since the role of missionaries in the encounter of European and African cultures can hardly be overestimated.

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THE SEMANTIZATION OF VOCABULARY IN MULTIMODAL DICTIONARIES

Modern teaching techniques and computer tools are widely used in foreign language teaching and therefore become the key factor in the successful development of language skills and cultural competence. One of such technological solutions can be a computer dictionary. The article aims to identify the basic principles of the semantization of vocabulary in multimodal online dictionaries and conduct a comparative analysis of their advantages and disadvantages. The article provides a brief literature review in the field of computer lexicography from the linguodidactic perspective and describes the principles of multimodal information representation in the dictionary. The data examined represent the vocabulary from the thematic field “Образование”/“Education”. It was taken from the existing multimodal online dictionaries of the Russian and English languages, such as *Fine Dictionary*, *Visual Thesaurus*, *Karta slov*, and *Ru WordNet*. The results of the analysis prove that as a part of foreign language learning a multimodal dictionary acts not only as a linguistic reference book but also as a multifunctional educational means that provides sufficient information about the history and culture of the native speakers' country. It is assumed that the use of multimodal dictionaries in foreign languages teaching contributes to a deeper immersion into the culture and the successful mastering of linguistic competence.

Keywords: computer lexicography, online dictionary, thesaurus, comparative analysis, multimodality, foreign language teaching.

А. Ю. Башмакова

ОСОБЕННОСТИ СЕМАНТИЗАЦИИ ЛЕКСИКИ В МУЛЬТИМОДАЛЬНЫХ СЛОВАРЯХ

Применение современных методик и инструментов в преподавании иностранных языков становится основным фактором успешного овладения языковыми компетенциями и изучения культуры стран носителей языка. Одним из таких технологических решений может стать компьютерный словарь. В статье рассматриваются существующие мультимодальные онлайн-словари русского и английского языков на материале лексики тематического поля «Образование»/«Education» с целью выявления базовых принципов семантизации лексики и проведения сравнительного анализа достоинств и недостатков. В статье представлен краткий обзор литературы в области компьютерной лексикографии с точки зрения лингводидактики, а также описаны принципы мультимодального представления информации в словаре. Мультимо-

дальный словарь в процессе изучения иностранного языка выступает не только в роли лингвистического справочника, но также и как многофункциональное средство обучения и освоения знаний об истории и культуре стран изучаемого языка. Предполагается, что использование мультимодальных словарей в преподавании иностранных языков способствует более глубокому погружению в культуру стран их носителей и успешному овладению языковыми компетенциями.

Ключевые слова: компьютерная лексикография, онлайн-словарь, тезаурус, сравнительный анализ, мультимодальность, обучение иностранным языкам.

Introduction

As a good part of the modern world, computers impact all spheres of everyday life, including education and foreign language teaching (FLT). Moreover, teachers of a foreign language aim not only to develop the linguistic communicative competence of their students through classroom activities but also to teach them how to use information resources independently, such as computer dictionaries. Apart from that, while learning a foreign language, it is crucial to understand that the differences between languages can be related to the peculiarities in the history and culture of their native speakers' countries. Therefore, it is also essential for lexicographers working on foreign language learners' dictionaries to consider such cultural and historical information while developing a dictionary entry to make the dictionary a linguistic reference book and a full-fledged educational resource. This article will explore the role of a foreign language learner's dictionary in the educational process and describe the features of the semantization of vocabulary in multimodal dictionaries.

Methods

Acquisition of new foreign language vocabulary is one of the most critical parts of developing a foreign language communicative competence. The central databases and tools for learning new words are dictionaries in various types and forms. That is why one of the modern computational lexicography objectives is to create an optimal computer foreign language learner's dictionary that can facilitate the process of new vocabulary acquisition. Such a dictionary should include multimodal resources to reach as many learners' receptors (visual and auditory) as possible for the successful learning process. As a term, **multimodality** is associated and actively used in the field of communication theory and social semiotics, where it is defined as "a description of general laws and rules of inter-

action of verbal and non-verbal signs in a communicative act, a combination of various codes for presenting information” [Sorokina, 2017, p. 168].

On the other hand, I. P. Khutyz notes that *multimodality*, as a symbiosis of traditional modalities with new digital means, is increasingly used in the educational environment and teaching aids, including dictionaries, for example, when a student does several activities simultaneously, such as reading a text, looking at a graphic object (static or moving) and listening to a lecture [Khutyz, 2016, p. 91]. From the lexicographic point of view, *multimodality* is the principle of word meaning representation in a dictionary entry. In this context, researchers distinguish two primary modalities: **verbal** and **non-verbal**. *The verbal modality* includes the written dictionary definition of a lexeme, as well as its audio presentation, which makes it possible not only to hear the authentic pronunciation of the word but also carries information about the prosodic characteristics of speech, such as stress, rhythm and intonation [Lew, 2010, p. 296]. In addition, text in a dictionary entry has graphic resources such as font, size, style (bold, italic, underlined), spacing, punctuation marks, layout, blocks or frames, and colour [Kress, 2010, p. 79]. The second essential component in a dictionary entry is the *non-verbal modality*, which can consist of one or a combination of several of the following elements: an audio recording of non-linguistic sounds (onomatopoeic words); graphic illustrations (static); photos; graphics; animation; video clips [Lew, 2010, p. 297–303]. It is expected that such a multimodal structure can attract a dictionary user more and facilitate better vocabulary understanding and language learning.

The term **semantization** comprises the features of a word definition in the dictionary and new vocabulary explanation and learning during a foreign language lesson with a teacher. Using *semantization*, the learner acquires the meaning of a new word; it becomes a meaningful linguistic unit, which can later be used in speech [Kuzmina, 2019, p. 172]. The process of *semantization*, as the researchers note, includes **two phases**: *the first* assumes the identification of the denotative meaning of the word, *the second* explains the national-cultural component of its semantics [Müller, 1994, p. 58]. In general, linguists distinguish two **ways of semantization**: *semantization through translation* (one-word translation of a word into the native language or translation with an additional explanation of the meaning) and *non-translation semantization* (use of verbal means of a foreign language or other non-verbal tools). Our study focuses on monolingual dictionaries with multimodal resources; therefore, the non-translation way is preferable. Summarising the various classifications of researchers, the following **methods** of non-translation semantization can be distinguished: *descriptive verbal definition of a word in a foreign lan-*

guage; visualisation (using images, collages, videos, animations, demonstration of natural objects, gestures and movements, etc.); *morphological analysis of a word*; *etymological analysis*; *contextual analysis*; *word/semantic relationships* (lexical-semantic and thematic groups, synonyms and antonyms, synsets, derivatives); *linguistic and cultural information* [Protsik, 2007; Dakukina, 2015; Yusupova, 2017; Kuzmina, 2019]. It is also important to note that the choice of the non-translation semantization methods described above depends on some factors, both linguistic (individual characteristics of a word, its form and meaning) and psychological and pedagogical, such as age, level of foreign language proficiency, as well as the internal motivation of the student.

Discussion

Moving forward, we will analyse a group of the Russian and English language online dictionaries to study the vocabulary semantization features and the usage of multimodal tools. We chose the online thesaurus *Karta Slov* (Word Map) and the *RuWordNet* thesaurus among the Russian-language computer lexicographic resources. The English-language computer multimodal lexicographic resources are also primarily based on WordNet technology, so that we will consider two dictionaries with different interfaces: the interactive thesaurus *The Visual Thesaurus* and the *Fine Dictionary*.

The *Karta Slov* (Word Map) dictionary is an online thesaurus in the format of a semantic network. The user can search for synonyms, collocations and word associations, view examples of the word usage in context and quotations from literary works, word definitions and set expressions, and the analysed morphemic structure of the word. The online thesaurus *Karta Slov* contains several fields (Fig. 1): *толкование / interpretation*;

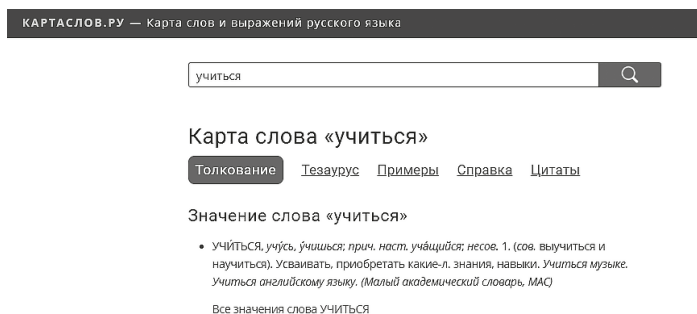


Fig. 1. Karta Slov

УЧИТЬСЯ глагол

УЧИТЬСЯ учиться, обучаться

Синсет

1 ВЫУЧИТЬСЯ, ДОУЧИВАТЬСЯ, ДОУЧИТЬСЯ, НАУЧАТЬСЯ, НАУЧИТЬСЯ, ОБУЧАТЬСЯ, ОБУЧИТЬСЯ, ПОУЧИТЬСЯ, ПРОУЧИТЬСЯ, **УЧИТЬСЯ**

[Понятие Рутес: учиться, обучаться]

однокоренные слова

1 ИЗУЧИТЬ, УЧИТЬ, ПОУЧИТЬ, ВЫУЧИТЬСЯ, ДОУЧИВАТЬСЯ, ДОУЧИТЬСЯ, НАУЧИТЬСЯ, ОБУЧИТЬСЯ, ПРОУЧИТЬСЯ, ПОУЧИТЬСЯ, ВЫУЧИВАНИЕ, ОБУЧИТЬ, ВЫУЧИТЬ, НАУЧИТЬ, УЧИТЬ, ДОУЧИВАТЬ, ПОУЧИТЬ, ПОДУЧИТЬСЯ, ПОДУЧИВАТЬСЯ, РАЗУЧИТЬСЯ, РАЗУЧИВАТЬСЯ, ОТУЧИТЬСЯ, ОТУЧИВАТЬСЯ

Interlingual Index

1 i24750 learn.v.01 (learn, larn, acquire)

[Определение Wordnet: gain knowledge or skills]

домен

1 НАРОДНОЕ ОБРАЗОВАНИЕ, ОБЛАСТЬ ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ, ОБЛАСТЬ ПРОСВЕЩЕНИЯ, ОБРАЗОВАНИЕ, ОБРАЗОВАТЕЛЬНАЯ ОБЛАСТЬ, ОБРАЗОВАТЕЛЬНАЯ СИСТЕМА, ОБРАЗОВАТЕЛЬНАЯ СФЕРА, ПРОСВЕЩЕНИЕ, СИСТЕМА ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ, СФЕРА ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ, СФЕРА ПРОСВЕЩЕНИЯ

[Понятие Рутес: сфера образования]

гипероним

1 ПОЗНАВАТЬ, ПОЗНАТЬ, ПОЛУЧИТЬ ЗНАНИЯ, ПОЛУЧИТЬ НОВОЕ ЗНАНИЕ, ПРИОБРЕСТИ ЗНАНИЕ, ПРИОБРЕТАТЬ ЗНАНИЕ

[Понятие Рутес: познать, приобрести знание]

2 ОСВАИВАТЬ, ОСВОИТЬ, ОСВОИТЬСЯ, УСВАИВАТЬ, УСВАИВАТЬ ИНФОРМАЦИЮ, УСВАИВАТЬСЯ, УСВОИТЬ, УСВОИТЬ ИНФОРМАЦИЮ, УСВОИТЬСЯ

[Понятие Рутес: усвоить информации]

гипоним

1 НАБИТЬ РУКУ, НАВОСТРИТЬСЯ, НАЛОВИТЬСЯ, НАСОБАЧИВАТЬСЯ, НАСОБАЧИТЬСЯ, НАТОРЕТЬ, НАТОРЕТЬ В СВОЕМ ДЕЛЕ, ПОДНАТОРЕТЬ, ПРИОБРЕСТИ НАВЫК

[Понятие Рутес: наловчиться, приобрести навык]

2 НАТРЕНИРОВАТЬСЯ, ПОТРЕНИРОВАТЬСЯ, ТРЕНИРОВАТЬСЯ

[Понятие Рутес: тренироваться]

3 УСПЕВАТЬ, УСПЕВАТЬ В УЧЕБЕ

[Понятие Рутес: успевать в учебе]

4 ИЗУЧАТЬ, ИЗУЧИТЬ, ПОИЗУЧАТЬ, ПОУЧИТЬ, УЧИТЬ

[Понятие Рутес: изучать, постигать учением]

5 САМООБРАЗОВАТЬСЯ, САМООБРАЗОВЫВАТЬСЯ, САМООБУЧАТЬСЯ

[Понятие Рутес: самообучение]

частеречная синонимия

1 УЧЕБА, УЧЕНИЕ, УЧЕНЫЕ

[Понятие Рутес: учиться, обучаться]

следовательно

1 ГРЫЗТЬ ГРАНИТ НАУКИ, ПРЕПОДАВАТЬСЯ

[Понятие Рутес: обучение, учебная деятельность]

Fig. 2. RuWordNet

тезаурус / thesaurus; примеры / examples; справка / reference; цитаты / quotes. Such a set of information can be useful for students studying Russian as a foreign language and for schoolchildren who are the Russian language native speakers. In addition, a beta version of the contextual Russian-English-Russian dictionary is available for registered users on the website.

The **RuWordNet**, developed by a research team led by N. V. Loukachevitch, is a thesaurus of the Russian language created in the format of well-known English thesaurus WordNet that uses synsets (sets of synonyms) [Loukachevitch et al., 2016]. Considering the visualisation of the search query results of the lexeme “study” in the *RuWordNet* thesaurus (Fig. 2), which is a part of the thematic field “Образование” for the Russian language, we can see a clearly expressed relations structure between synsets: *домен / domain, однокоренные слова / derivatives, гипероним / hyperonym, гипоним / hyponym, частеречная синонимия / POS-synonymy*, etc. There is also a link to an English-language lexeme (*interlingual index*). It is important to note that most words are hyperlinks that allow users to move from one word to another in the database, going one level higher or lower in the synset. Unfortunately, this resource does not have an attractive user interface and additional multimodal resources. However, despite this drawback, the *RuWordNet* thesaurus is a unique resource that provides valuable information about semantic relationships in the Russian language.

The **Visual Thesaurus** is an online dictionary that also uses WordNet technology. This resource is an interactive ideographic dictionary that creates word maps. The user can search for a word, and the thesaurus will create a web-like scheme to other terms associated with it. The user interface (Fig. 3) consists of several essential elements: the main *window*, which displays words and related meanings; a *toolbar* that allows navigation, search history view and settings; a *word meaning field* representing morphological and grammatical information about a word, as well as a set of definitions depending on the part of speech. The innovation of this resource lies in the fact that the user can switch between tokens interactively, thereby going deeper into the semantic network and making new word maps, where any word from the periphery of the initial search query can become the main one. In addition, there are pop-up tools that allow the user to listen to the pronunciation of a word and look for images or any additional information about a comment on the Internet. The developers of this resource believe that this approach stimulates motivation to learn English. In contrast to a paper dictionary, the *Visual Thesaurus* allows the user to explore the semantic features of vocabulary in a non-linear way,

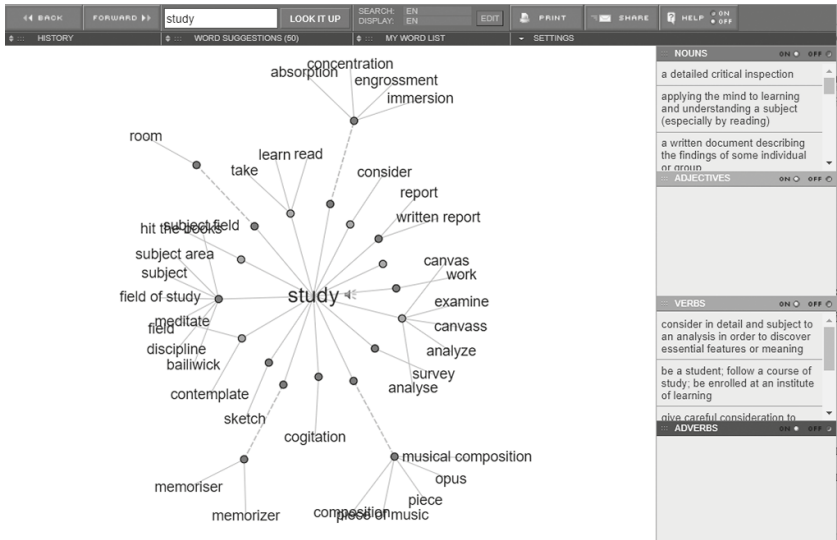


Fig. 3. Visual Thesaurus

intuitively moving from word to word, and building associations that contribute to successful new vocabulary learning.

Finally, we will study the online **Fine Dictionary**. The dictionary contains several different sections that define words and provide other cultural information. The search result for any word (Fig. 4) is presented in the form of a long web page, consisting of sections: the *definition* of a word, including *illustrations*, photographs and *interesting facts*; *quotations*; *idioms*; *etymology*; the word *usage*; *related words*. This resource allows not only to study the definitions of the word but also to expand knowledge about the culture of the native speakers' country. Multiple examples, providing the context, reveal different areas of word usage and quotations, showing that the word is used in the living language. Pictures are used as a visualisation tool; additional information expands the semantic network of associations and allows users to create their word maps. This dictionary does not have many interactive tools. Still, it provides extensive and versatile information about the word, including a cultural background, which can be especially useful for learners of English as a foreign language.

Results

Considering all the information presented above, we can conclude that a good foreign language learner's dictionary can help students

Study

Definitions

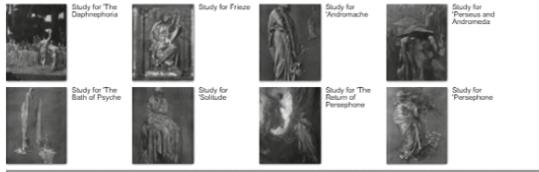


WordNet 3.6

1. (v) **study** be a student of a certain subject "She is reading for the bar exam"
2. (v) **study** learn by reading books; I must hit the books now "He is studying geology in his room", "I have an exam next week"
3. (v) **study** be a student; follow a course of study; be enrolled at an institute of learning
4. (v) **study** consider in detail and subject to an analysis in order to discover essential features or meaning "analyze a sonnet by Shakespeare", "analyze the evidence in a criminal trial", "analyze your real motives"
5. (v) **study** think intently and at length, as for spiritual purposes "He is meditating in his study"
6. (v) **study** give careful consideration to "consider the possibility of moving"
7. (n) **study** a detailed critical inspection
8. (n) **study** preliminary drawing for later elaboration "he made several studies before starting to paint"
9. (n) **study** a room used for reading and writing and studying "he knocked lightly on the closed door of the study"
10. (n) **study** a state of deep mental absorption "she is in a deep study"
11. (n) **study** applying the mind to learning and understanding a subject (especially by reading) "mastering a second language requires a lot of work", "no schools offer graduate study in interior design"
12. (n) **study** attentive consideration and meditation "after much cogitation he rejected the offer"
13. (n) **study** a branch of knowledge "in what discipline is his doctorate?", "teachers should be well trained in their subjects", "anthropology is the study of human beings"
14. (n) **study** a composition intended to develop one aspect of the performer's technique "a study in spiccato bowing"
15. (n) **study** a written document describing the findings of some individual or group "this accords with the recent study by Hill and Dale"
16. (n) **study** someone who memorizes quickly and easily (as the lines for a part in a play) "he is a quick study"

* * *

Additional illustrations & photos:



Quotations

	"Study men, not historians."		"The Jews have always been students, and their greatest study is themselves."
	"Study the past if you would divine the future."		"If you employed study, thinking, and planning time daily, you could develop and use the power that can change the course of your destiny."
	"Realists do not fear the results of their study."		"The true science and study of man, is man himself."

Etymology

Webster's Revised Unabridged Dictionary
 OE *studie*, L. *studium*, akin to *studere*, to study; possibly akin to Gr. *haste*, zeal, to hasten; cf. OF *estudie*, *estude*, F. *étude*, Cf. *Etude Student Studio Study* (v. 1.)

Usage

In literature:

Coates, "said he. "I wish you'd come to my study and help me choose half a dozen trout-flies, there's a good fellow. Dig and I will get a study after Christmas."
And above all, study, study, study!
The study of men's skulls then is a study which is strictly physical, a study of facts over which the will of man has no direct control.
Early in February a study circle was formed, under the leadership of Mrs. Simon Litman, for the study of post-Biblical Jewish history.

"The Willoughby Captains" by Talbot Baines Reed
 "The Master of the Shell" by Talbot Baines Reed
 "Pushing to the Front" by Orvas Sweet Marden
 "Harvard Classics Volume 25" by Various
 "The Menorah Journal, Volume 1, 1915" by Various

Fig. 4. Fine Dictionary

systematise knowledge about the language and further explore the word in other contexts, motivating them to form their word maps semantic networks. Based on that, we can highlight the main features that a modern computer-based learner's dictionary for FLT classroom should have:

- present a structure that seeks to show conceptual relationships between words in the format of semantic networks and word maps;
- provide grammatical information about declensions, conjugations of verbs, etc.;
- provide information about the use of words with prepositions, collocations and phrases;
- help the student to decode new words encountered with contextual clues;
- provide additional information that helps the student to immerse into the context of the word usage with its historical and cultural peculiarities;
- motivate the student to further language study and build their word maps and semantic nets.

For the analysis, we tried to choose multimodal computer lexicographic resources for the Russian and English languages, which differ in the information representation principle, the volume of linguistic data and the user interface. You can see a summary table of multimodal resources used in the dictionaries analysed below (Table 1). The multimodality of dictionaries was considered as the presence of the following modes: *text* (verbal component), *graphics* (use of graphic resources: font, size, style, spacing), *colour*, *audio*, *image*, *related words* (semantic networks, collocations, examples), *interactivity* (hyperlinks). The presence of a multimodal resource in some degree or another is indicated in the table with a “+” sign and the absence with a “-” symbol.

As shown in Table 1, English-language computer dictionaries combine a more considerable number of multimodal resources. Thus, the *Visual Thesaurus* lacks only the presence of images-illustrations, but, if necessary, the user can access an external query through the built-in search engine in the dictionary interface. The *Fine Dictionary*, in its turn, lacks audio materials, which is a significant disadvantage for a foreign language learner. In general, it can be noted that Russian-language resources combine fewer multimodal resources. The *RuWordNet* has the least attractive user interface, which is why the search for a word is not always intuitive and can be difficult for both native speakers and foreigners, therefore;

Table 1. Multimodal resources of the dictionaries analysed

Dictionary Mode	Karta Slov (Word Map)	RuWordNet	Visual Thesaurus	Fine Dictionary
Text	+	+	+	+
Graphics	+	-	+	+
Colour	-	-	+	+
Audio	+	-	+	-
Image	-	-	-	+
Related words	+	+	+	+
Interactivity	+	+	+	+

therefore, in this regard, the *Karta Slov* dictionary has significant advantages compared to the *RuWordNet*.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is essential to note that nowadays, the development of computer dictionaries is a promising and actively developing area of modern learners' lexicography. The expansion of a learner's computer dictionary, which includes various modalities for data representation (text, visuals, audio, video) based on linguistic corpora, allows us to talk about the lexicon of the future, which is in demand in modern education theory because multimodal resources are essential tools for the non-translation semantization of vocabulary. In our opinion, multimodal computer learners' dictionaries can effectively teach Russian or English as a foreign language.

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XENO-MARKER AS AN INTERPRETER OF SILENCE OR SPEECH BEHAVIOR IN ORAL COMMUNICATION (difficulties in translation and teaching Russian as a foreign language)

On the edge of the growing interest of modern linguistics in everyday speech, it is becoming more and more important to study various functional units used in natural communication. Pragmatic markers under investigation have lost their original lexical meaning in the process of pragmaticalization and perform only a certain function in oral discourse. The article examines one of the varieties of such units — pragmatic xeno-markers (PMXs), more specifically those introducing the oral narration not real someone else's speech, but someone else's "speaking" silence or "speaking" behavior: *majachit mne / ja / deskat' / zhenikha privedu*. This class in our speech is growing noticeably and has not yet been practically described. The study is based on the material of the oral subcorpus of the RNC and the speech corpus "One Day of Speech". Set of units for analysis was collected using the criteria from the dictionary of pragmatic markers (2021). Contextual analysis showed that PMXs are often polyfunctional and structurally variable (*tipa — tipa togo — tipa togo chto; vrode — vrode togo — vrode togo chto*), homonymous not only to their significant prototypes but often to each other. In context, these markers tend to interconnect into sequences. All this makes it extremely difficult to mark them during the annotation of speech corpora and sets new tasks for teachers of Russian as a foreign language, as well as in the practice of translating into other languages Russian literary texts containing such colloquial elements.

Keywords: pragmatic marker, xeno-marker, another's speech, other's presence, pragmaticalization.

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КСЕНОПОКАЗАТЕЛЬ КАК МАРКЕР-ИНТЕРПРЕТАТОР МОЛЧАНИЯ ИЛИ ПОВЕДЕНИЯ В УСТНОЙ КОММУНИКАЦИИ (трудности перевода и преподавания РКИ)

В статье рассматривается одна разновидность прагматических маркеров-ксенопоказателей (ПМК) современной русской повседневной речи — те единицы, которые вводят в устное повествование не реальную чужую речь, а чужое "говорящее" молчание или "говорящее"

поведение: *маячит мне / я / дескать / жениха приведу; молчит / вот так / знаешь / типа / мол / не твоё дело; лицо такое делает / типа я тупая;* и т. д. Как и большинство русских прагматических маркеров, ПМК часто полифункциональны и структурно вариативны (*типа — типа того — типа того что, вроде — вроде того — вроде того что*), омонимичны не только знаменательным единицам языка, от которых они произошли в процессе прагматикализации, но часто и друг другу. В контексте такие маркеры склонны выстраиваться в цепочки, иногда довольно протяженные. Специфика этих единиц крайне затрудняет их вычленение в ходе аннотирования речевых корпусов и ставит новые задачи перед преподавателями русского языка как иностранного, а также в практике перевода на другие языки русских художественных текстов, содержащих подобные, весьма частотные, разговорные элементы.

Ключевые слова: прагматический маркер, ксенопоказатель, чужая речь, присутствие Другого, прагматикализация.

Introduction

One of the obstacles to the successful translation or teaching of the Russian language to a foreign audience is the presence in our everyday speech (and, of course, in its imitations in a literary text) of special functional units belonging to the class of pragmatic markers (PM). PMs are distinguished by an extremely high frequency of use in speech originating from quite significant language units (they result from a process of pragmaticalization, which is very active in living speech). Still, in actual use, they lose or significantly weaken their lexical and sometimes grammatical meaning and begin to perform in oral communication exclusively certain functions (for more details about pragmaticalization in the proposed sense and about pragmatic markers of everyday Russian speech in all their diversity, see, for example: [Pragmatic Markers of Russian Everyday Speech, 2021]). This feature of the PMs (loss of the original semantics) creates serious communicative obstacles for a translator or an international student.

See, for example, the form *ne znaju* in the following contexts:

- (1) *ta govorit / vy znaete govorit / ja tam ne znaju nikakoj Mariny / nikakoj Nadi / *S i tak dalee* (ORD);
- (2) *Ja ne znaju / komu ona ne vygodna dolzhna byt' / na moj vzglad / ona vsem dolzhna byt' vygodna* (OS);
- (3) *ja dazhe ne znaju kuda... / *N ne vspomnit' nu da (...)/ nu eto davno bylo / mozhet togda jeshcho ne bylo raskhozhim* (ORD);
- (4) *vot nu chto khorosho chto ja tam (...) nu ne znaju / pozagoraju / pokupajus' // otdokhnu* (ORD).

It can be seen that the practical uses of this construction are different. For the most part, these are literary, codified uses: a component of a phrase with a dependent case form (underlined in the example) (1); the predicative basis of the main sentence in the structure of a complex sentence with an explanatory subordinate clause (emphasised in the model) (2); a predicative stem with a dependent union word, without a subordinate clause (underlined in the example) (3). However, in the last example (4), it is no longer a verb with the meaning of not knowing something, but a verbal hesitation, marking the speaker's hesitations his difficulties in constructing a statement.

Or some more examples:

- (5) *vchera Oles'a% jego nozhom ts... tsapanula // *P ja govor'u / **kak eto** sluchilos'-to?* (ORD);
- (6) ***kak eto** ona ne pol'zuyets'a ? ona pol'zuyets'a l'gotami Igor'a% !* (ORD);
- (7) *sejchas ona kak tebe / **kak eto** / za ruku khav-khav* (ORD).

In the context (5), we have the usual construction <interrogative adverb + demonstrative pronoun> *kak eto* (*sluchilos'-to*), fixed by all explanatory dictionaries (see, for example: [MAS, 1986, p. 16]) and which does not cause difficulties either in translation or in perception by foreigners.

In context (6), an exclamation particle is used *kak eto* ?! [MAS, 1986, p. 16], which is also codified in Russian and does not lead to a communicative obstacle.

But in the latter context (7), the same outwardly unit goes beyond the usual parts of speech. In this case, it is a typical pragmatic marker — a verbal search hesitation (about the PM typology in Russian, see below, in section 2).

It is this homonymy of significant and pragmatic units that creates communication obstacles. It is this pragmatic meaning of the above units: *ne znaju* (4) and *kak eto* (7) — and the translator must grasp, and not only catch, feel for himself, but also select the appropriate analogue in the language into which the translation is carried out; this is how a foreigner should perceive him — for the correct understanding of what he has heard.

Xeno-marker as a pragmatic marker

The class of pragmatic markers of Russian spoken language is extensive and diverse; there are ten different categories in it:

- hesitant — fill the pauses of the hesitation: *eto samoe, kak jejo (jejo, ikh), ili tam, nu vot*;
- reflexive — express the speaker's reaction to his speech behaviour, particularly to the performed hesitation search, as well as an assessment of the degree of adequacy of the found unit to the original intention: *tak skazhem, ili kak eto? ili kak tam? ili chto*;
- metacommunicatives — help the speaker to comprehend what was said himself, as well as to establish and then maintain contact with the interlocutor, often contain a metalinguistic commentary of both the spoken text (“text about the text”) and the very process of generating speech (“communication about communication”): *znaesh', ponimaesh', da, (ja) ne znaju, predstav'*;
- boundary markers — mark the beginning of a replica or monologue text (starting), the end of a replica or monologue text (final), changing a topic or communicative strategy, moving a speech (monologue) forward (navigation): *nu vot, znachit, koroche, tak*;
- self-correction markers — mark the speaker's self-correction: *eto, eto samoe, tak skazat'*;
- deictic markers — contain three deictic elements in a row, according to the model like *vot (...) vot: vot tak vot, vot tuda vot, vot takoj vot*;
- approximators — show the speaker's uncertainty about what he is talking about: *kak by, vrode, tipa*;
- replacement markers — are used instead of someone else's speech, several enumerations or parts of it: the speaker's worth in what he says: *bla-bla-bla, (i) vs'o takoe (prochee), (i) vs'akoe takoe, (i) vse dela*;
- rhythm-forming markers — allow you to create a harmony of rhythmic groups in the speech stream: *vot, tam, tak, koroche*;
- xeno-markers — indicate someone else's speech (citation): *grit / gru / grim, takoj/aya/ie, tipa (togo chto), vrode (togo chto), vot, tak*.

Already from the above examples, it can be seen that PMs are predominantly multifunctional (especially such as *vot, eto, eto samoe, koroche*, and so on), which further increases the difficulties on the way of annotating (isolating) them in the corpus material, as well as adequate translation or understanding in the course of oral communication (more about this, see: [Pragmatic Markers of Russian Everyday Speech, 2021]). Among the pragmatic markers of everyday Russian speech, there is also

a class of xeno-markers (PMX), the function of which is, as noted above, to introduce someone else's speech (SES) into the narrative — in the broadest sense of this term: this is indeed the speech of the Other and his thoughts (including speech planned for future), and the speech or opinions of the speaker himself, and even — which is especially important for this study — someone else's (Other's presence) or one's own "speaking" behaviour (see for more details: [Arutyunova, 2000; Levontina, 2020; Bogdanova-Beglarian, 2021a; 2021b]).

Usually, the transmission of SES is spoken of within the framework of the category of evidentiality, which is "a set of grammatical or lexical meanings expressing an explicit indication of the source of the speaker's information about the situation he is reporting" [Plungyan, 2003, p. 321] (see also: [Yakobson, 1972; Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology, 1986; Plungyan, 2008]). In Russian, this category is not grammatical; therefore, evidential meaning is expressed lexically or syntactically. Xeno-markers can be attributed to the lexical means of expressing this category (for doubts about the validity of this assignment, see: [Plungyan, 2008]).

Research material and its analysis

The source of material for the analysis of PMX in their different "looks" was two speech corpora: the oral subcorpus (OP) of the Russian National Corpus and the corpus of everyday Russian speech "One Day of Speech" (ORD) (to get more details about the ORD, see: [Russian Language of Everyday Communication..., 2016; Bogdanova-Beglarian et al., 2019; Pragmatic Markers of Russian Everyday Speech, 2021]). In the examples below, you can see precisely how the PMX is used, introducing into the narrative not real someone else's speech, but someone else's "speaking" silence or "speaking" behaviour.

*Nu / ona [nrzb] kogda otvechaju / to v okno smotrit tam / to litso takoe delaet / **tipa** ja tupaya* (OS).

"Speaking" action in context (1): *litso takoe delaet*, SES — *ja tupaya*, PMX — *tipa*. An additional function of this marker in this context is an approximation (the polyfunctionality of the PM is evident): the speaker demonstrates with its help that he only expresses his assumption about the meaning of the facial expression of the person he is talking about.

*I on vs'o / poshol tipa zalezat' v mashinu. **Tipa** "Idi s'uda / pojekhali!"* (OS)

“Speaking” action in context (2): *poshol tipa zalezat’ v mashinu*, SES: “*Idi s’uda / pojekhali!*”, PMX — again the unit *tipa*. This marker also has an approximation function as an additional function. It is important to note that the first *tipa* in this context is a pure (single-functional) marker-approximator, which gives rise to the homonymy of the PM not only with the original full-valued unit (noun, preposition, union) (see definition above) but also with other PM, which further complicates the task of annotating them in the corpus material of oral speech.

Eto Lusio / tsentral’nyj zashchitnik / i pokazyvaet [nrzb] / chto / mol / deskat’ / davaj vybivaj tuda v pole podal’she (OS).

In context (3), the role of the PMX is played by a chain of “classical”, codified, xeno-markers, *mol* and *deskat’*, which are considered as particles in traditional grammar. “Speaking” action in this case: *pokazyvaet*; unspoken SES: *davaj vybivaj tuda v pole podal’she*.

K Nad’ke podkhozhu i govor’u / “Nad’ / pochemu tak proizoshlo?” / molchit / vot tak / znaesh’ / tipa / mol / ne tvojo delo (OS).

In example (4), we see the PMX chain, this time of 4 units, including the “classical” *mol*, as well as the contact verb *znaesh’*, which is usually a metacommunicative marker in our speech, but in this context, being among other xeno-markers (being drawn into their functional field), begins to perform their function as well (again, the polyfunctionality of the PM is evident) (see more details about the marker *znaesh’*: [Pragmatic markers of Russian Everyday Speech, 2021, pp. 177–184]). PMX, in this context, marks exactly silence (*molchit*), the meaning of which the speaker interprets as *ne tvojo delo*.

*i tut zvonok v dver’ // stoit etot muzhik // *P tipa togo chto blin / davajte obshchat’sa!* (ORD)

In context (5), the role of PMX is a construction *tipa togo chto* what a structural, extended, variant of PMX *tipa*, which allows us to conclude that PMs in our oral speech is not only polyfunctional but also very variable is. “Speaking” action in this case: *stoit*, supposed SES: *let’s communicate!* The word *blin* in this context can be attributed both to the beginning of someone else’s speech and to a pragmatic marker: a construction *tipa togo chto blin* as a xeno-marker is quite frequent in our speech [Pragmatic markers of Russian Everyday Speech, 2021, p.403]. Such variability of interpretation is, to a significant extent, characteristic of the material of spontaneous oral speech. In linguistics, one can find the assertion that such diffuseness, uncertainty, “unkempt” of oral narration is just interest-

ing because it can serve as an additional source of information not only for a linguist but also, for example, for a historian of everyday life, since it allows identifying “often semi-conscious, hidden meanings that speech itself gives out” [Thompson, 2003, p. 277].

In examples (6)–(8) below, you can also see the use of pragmatic xeno-markers by speakers, which introduce someone else’s unspoken speech into the narrative and interpret someone else’s “speaking” behaviour: *makhali ladoshechkami, majachit, zakhodit*:

*Reka Ural ili Zhajyk / ona schitalas’ pograničnoj rekoj / to jest’ / jesli ugonals’a skot i vs’a zh... e... zhivnost’ / vs’o dobro perekhodilo za etu reku / to i / kak goits’a / “Izvinite” / dazhe makhali inogda ladoshechkami / **deskat’** / “vs’o rebata / otdykhajte / eto uzhe bylo vashe / stalo nashe” (OS);*

*Prikhodit odin raz iz kluba... i... majachit mne / ja / **deskat’** / zhenikha privedu (OS);*

*i tut z... zvonok v dver’ / i Valdemar% zakhodit / **tipa togo chto kto takaya?** (ORD)*

Conclusion

Analysis of the corpus material showed that the range of xeno-markers in everyday Russian speech is extensive; in the scientific literature, it was not possible to find such a complete list of them: at least 15 different units have been established on our material [Pragmatic markers of Russian Everyday Speech, 2021, p. 403]. As a rule, all such features are poly-functional and tend to form chains, sometimes very long ones. The only exception is that the PMX *jakoby* (*tot zhe Bill Gejts / **jakoby** obrazovavshij kompaniu “Majkrosoft” / kotoryj samyj bogatyj chelovek ...*), but in the considered function of the marker of “speaking” silence or behaviour, this unit was not found (see more details about this PM: [Pragmatic Markers of Russian Everyday Speech, 2021, pp. 458–462]).

The material analysis also demonstrates the “separation” of the PMX from the speaking verbs (compare: *mol, de, deskat’*), which further complicates their translation and understanding in a conversation. The *grit/gru/grim* units are an exception, but in the considered function of the marker of “speaking” silence or behaviour, such PMXs were not found either. There is no doubt that literal translation or literal perception of such units of oral speech can make it challenging to understand the text, which poses the task of not only establishing a complete inventory of PM and creating a unique dictionary of such markers (for the Russian language it has already been created, see: [Pragmatic markers of Russian Everyday

Speech, 2021]) but also the search for good markers in other languages (see a similar study on Russian-Chinese material: [Sun Xiaoli, 2021a; 2021b]). This seems to be the relevance of this study.

A complete list of PMXs, including those interpreting “speaking” silence or behaviour, in addition to theoretical significance for colloquialisms (theory of colloquial speech), can be helpful in a variety of applied aspects of linguistics, such as teaching RFL, translation practice, linguistic expertise, automatic speech processing, linguistic forensics. The study once again showed that living oral speech is rich and diverse. An attentive attitude to its units and their behaviour in discourse can soften the usual negativism concerning many purely speech phenomena and see behind them the negligence of our speaking, but also linguistic evolution. Or even “flaws in the dictionary” [Issers, 2012, p.8]. The results of the study can also help “update the vocabulary space” [Bogdanova, 2017, p.7], the necessity of which has long been written by linguists, noting that “the life of a word in its real use is not always reflected and fixed by dictionaries” [Bogdanova, 2017, p.7–8] that there is a well-known “inconsistency in the definition of a word and its real use in the speech of an ordinary native speaker” [Bogdanova, 2012, p.65] that today, in the “period of the lexicographic renaissance of the late 20th — early 21st century and the emergence of new lexicographic technologies”, “the need for scientific understanding of new objects or a more in-depth study of objects, previously not lexicographically described” [Priyemysheva, 2020, p.58]. Pragmatic xeno-markers, especially in those specific functions described in this article, are among just such new linguistic objects.

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EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE FOR INTERPRETER'S SUSTAINABLE PROFESSIONAL SELF-DEVELOPMENT

The article considers the role of emotional intelligence in interpreting. The author regards the interpreter's emotional intelligence as an ability to adjust his/her trait emotional intelligence to multiple professional situations and contexts to decode and control his/her own emotions and understand the emotions, intentions, and motifs of other people. This ability will help the interpreter address practical challenges and boost his or her sustainable professional self-development. A survey carried out within the research showed that most interpreters are unaware of any strategic behaviours in many critical situations in their professional life. The key objective of the research is to work out guidelines that will help interpreters involve emotional intelligence tools in their psychological and physical self-preparation for professional challenges. This study uses observation, surveying, and case study methods which revealed a need in practising emotional intelligence tools in interpreters' training and professional life. This interdisciplinary study shows that the systematic development of emotional intelligence as a skillset can contribute to an interpreter's psychological and physical readiness for challenges of the profession. The author suggests some guidelines for developing emotional intelligence skills in both beginners and professionals. Further research could include approbation of a system of exercises installed into interpreters' training and its assessment. Another promising challenge is designing an app for drilling some of the typical tricky scenarios in interpreting.

Keywords: interpreter, emotion, emotional intelligence, sustainable professional self-development.

E. A. Бугреева

ЭМОЦИОНАЛЬНЫЙ ИНТЕЛЛЕКТ КАК ОДИН ИЗ ИНСТРУМЕНТОВ УСТОЙЧИВОГО ПРОФЕССИОНАЛЬНОГО САМОРАЗВИТИЯ УСТНОГО ПЕРЕВОДЧИКА

В данной статье рассматривается значение эмоционального интеллекта в работе устного переводчика. Эмоциональный интеллект устного переводчика определяется как его способность распознавать и контролировать свои собственные эмоции, а также понимать эмоции, намерения и мотивы других людей в целях решения практических задач, а также

для профессионального саморазвития. Опрос, проведенный в рамках исследования, показал, что большинство переводчиков не владеют стратегическими сценариями поведения во многих типичных затруднительных ситуациях устного перевода. Одной из основных задач исследования является разработка серии рекомендаций, которые позволили бы переводчикам использовать инструментарий эмоционального интеллекта для их более успешной психофизической подготовки к вызовам профессии. В ходе исследования использовались методы наблюдения, опроса и метод кейсов. Лонгитюдное наблюдение автора явилось причиной данного исследования, опрос переводчиков доказал его необходимость, а метод кейсов показал возможность и важность отработки навыков эмоционального интеллекта в подготовке устного переводчика к практике перевода. Данное междисциплинарное исследование показало, что планомерное развитие эмоционального интеллекта как суммы навыков устного переводчика может способствовать его успешному устойчивому профессиональному саморазвитию. Автор иллюстрирует основные положения примерами из переводческой практики и предлагает методические пути развития эмоционального интеллекта переводчика. Серия рекомендаций, некоторые из которых представлены в статье, может сделать поведение переводчика во многих профессиональных ситуациях стратегическим. Перспективами исследования является апробация системы упражнений, интегрированной в процесс обучения переводчиков, и оценка ее эффективности. Другим перспективным направлением может стать разработка электронного приложения для отработки некоторых типичных сценариев, отражающих затруднительные ситуации в практике устного перевода.

Ключевые слова: переводчик, эмоция, эмоциональный интеллект, устойчивое профессиональное саморазвитие.

Introduction

Life is full of emotions and feelings, but few people can monitor, assess and control them to better their personal and professional lives. There are two competing approaches to emotional intelligence (EI) in psychology: ability EI and trait EI. On the one hand, Peter Salovey and John D. Mayer define EI as “an ability to process emotional information, including recognition of one’s own emotions and emotions of other people, expression of emotions and adaptive regulation of emotions, which ultimately provides a more effective solution of applied life problems” [Salovey, Mayer, 1990]. On the other hand, Kostantinos Petrides promotes trait EI theory, also known as trait emotional self-efficacy, which “concerns emotion-related self-perceptions measured via self-report” [Petrides, 2011].

In general, the conception of EI claims that people with high EI can manage their emotions, which means that they are more flexible with oth-

er people and can reach their goals faster. On the contrary, people with a lower EI fail more often and burn out in the profession. EI is applied to multiple aspects of human life, including organizational (job performance), clinical, health, educational, and social settings [Petrides, 2011, p.666–669].

For interpreters' self-training, it makes sense to consider EI *to adjust one's trait EI to multiple professional situations and contexts*, and suggest that enhancing this ability in translators/interpreters could contribute to their sustainable professional self-development. Thus, this research has two propositions.

Hypothesis 1: EI could help an interpreter's sustainable professional self-development and, as a result, more efficient performance.

Hypothesis 2: A set of methodical guidelines could help develop EI in beginners and professional interpreters.

Research into EI in translation studies (TS)

Furthering research into EI as an interdisciplinary competence of a translator/interpreter is necessary due to an interest of today's employers in their employees' soft skills. Professional standards for translators/interpreters consider their interpersonal skills and flexibility in multiple situations in their work as the critical skills of a specialist in translation and interpretation (National Occupational Standards in Translation, 2007¹; Professional Standard for Specialists in Translation, 2021²). The European Commission Directorate-General for Translation³ also acknowledges the need for competent, sensitive and culturally aware translators. In their published list of essential competencies for professional translators, several interpersonal and intercultural skills are included, such as adaptability to new situations, ability to self-evaluate and knowing how to interact with different communities [Hubscher-Davidson, 2013, p.333]. Nataliia Zakharova considers stress resistance, creativity, intuition, flexible perception, and sociability among EI skills relevant for a translator/interpreter [Zakharova, 2014, p.144]; Olga Sorokina uses the term "social and psychological readiness" [Sorokina, 2008, p.12].

Still, EI is underestimated in interdisciplinary translation studies. The majority of studies "are concerned with the translation of emotional mate-

¹ Available at: <https://instructus-skills.org/wp-content/uploads/Translation.pdf> (accessed: 10.10.2021).

² Available at: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/603354689> (accessed: 10.10.2021).

³ Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/info/resources-partners/european-masters-translation-emt/european-masters-translation-emt-explained_en (accessed: 10.10.2021).

rial or emotive language, with only a handful addressing the personalities or emotions of translators and interpreters. Yet, there are increasing calls within the TS community to study the behaviours of these mediators and to raise awareness to their working processes” [Hubscher-Davidson, 2013, p. 325].

Materials and methods

K. V. Petrides mentions studies that have uncovered differences in the trait EI profiles of students from different academic domains. For example, Pérez and Castejón (2005) found that students in education-related majors scored higher in global trait EI than those in technical studies. Similarly, Sanchez-Ruiz et al. (2010) reported higher scores on the emotionality factor of trait EI among arts and social sciences students than among technical studies students” [Petrides et al., 2018, p.67]. As many interpreters come into translation from other professions, it is disputable that their performance in translation depends on the level of their EI. My *longitude observations* show that interpreters who came into translation from, for example, technical studies may become as successful as or even more productive than those who initially enrolled in linguistic studies. However, this suggestion needs further research and validation.

From 2019 to 2021, I conducted a *survey* among 14 interpreters of different ages and with different professional backgrounds who took my seminar for translators and interpreters. More and less experienced people, active, optimistic, extraverted and introverted, sociable and reserved, were there. The survey showed that neither was aware of strategically tackling stress or conflicts in professional situations. Thus, they were interested in a series of guidelines on coping with stress before, during, and after interpretation.

They also considered doing a series of *case studies* to discuss possible stressful situations and professional, ethical conflicts as necessary and essential for their performance. An example of such a case is “You are an interpreter. You are interpreting a report of your boss. He suddenly interrupts you and sharply corrects you with the terms you mistranslated. What will you do?” Again, most participants did not know any strategic behaviours in this situation. First, we acted out this scenario. Ten out of 14 participants were confused and paused after the interruption. One participant began to argue the variants with the “boss”. Only three participants understood that their “boss” was right, immediately corrected the mistake, and continued interpretation. Then, we analysed all the behaviours and stated the win-win scenario: if a correction is correct, an

interpreter should accept it, replace their previous variant, and continue interpreting.

Based on the above, I do not think measuring a translator/interpreter's EI is necessary. Of importance how an interpreter can use and develop their EI for their sustainable professional development. EI is invaluable for successful teamwork, interpreting in public, tackling intercultural conflicts, working under stress or pressure, working with an editor or a client, and more. Hence, an interpreter needs a set of guidelines on using EI to self-develop sustainably.

Thus, the dependence of the interpreters' job performance on the level of their EI is disputable. However, it is necessary to develop some EI features for tackling stress and working out inner self-confidence on the way to a more successful interpretation (hypothesis 1). In addition, interpreters need a series of guidelines as a toolkit to operationalize their sustainable self-development in this direction (view 2).

Discussion: EI for translators/interpreters' emotions

EI underpins some of the critical integral elements of a translator/interpreter's professional competence. Interpretation is stressful as it is limited in time, and only the interpreter is responsible for the result (so-called "*professional loneliness*").

Another element of an interpreter's competence is their well-trained *working memory*, which can grasp a piece of information and keep it in memory until it is translated. Nadezhda Annenkova described an experiment when the researchers invited some participants to memorise information or pictures. Before that, the experimenters comforted some of the participants with compliments and presented to please them and negatively treated the other participants. Then, the experimenters assessed their level of memorising. As a result, those who were pleased and cheerful memorised more effectively than those who were stressed or anxious [Annenkova, 2020]. Thus, EI turned out to influence the interpreter's working memory.

Unbiased interpretation is one of the key requirements for an interpreter. However, there are situations when an interpreter may fail to hide their attitude towards the text they interpret and reveal their disgust or strong rejection, which is impermissible in professional interpretation. For example, at the Nuremberg Trial, young female interpreters did not want to translate rude expressions or preferred to use euphemisms. Telford Taylor described a situation when a young woman refused to translate the idiom "Don't throw out the baby with the bathwater": "...Miss

Dmitrieva ... blushed to the roots of her hair and declared severely, "I weel not translate that; it eez not nice." Hazard explained the figure of speech in Russian to Colonel Pokrovsky's satisfaction, but the lady still seemed troubled by this vision of a naked baby tumbling out of a tub"⁴.

Multiple stressful situations in the interpreter's work are critical reasons for learning EI. Kirill Kozakov believes that every translator/interpreter has their reasons for *stress*. "Many are too concentrated on themselves. They may consider me as an impostor. They may consider me as an amateur. They will never invite me again. In this case, focus on what you are doing for others." Kirill Kozakov advises realising that interpretation, even if it is imperfect, helps other people. "It is important to understand what causes stress in you. A career in interpretation, like in any other field, is a trip to one's inner confidence"⁵ [Kazakov, 2019].

An example of a stressful situation is when someone from *the audience corrects an interpreter* (it may be a sharp remark) or blames the wrong interpretation (in many cases, unreasonably). Vilen Komissarov recollected his work at one of Sakharov Readings. He was interpreting a famous Soviet physicist. The speaker had a written text of his speech translated by someone beforehand. He was speaking Russian simultaneously, comparing the translation he had before him to Komissarov's interpretation, and made a fuss every time he spotted a difference⁶.

Criticism can demotivate and provoke a conflict and even a neurotic walkout in protest. When interpreting a 'difficult' speaker, among other guidelines, Ivan Abramov suggests that interpreters should not reveal their lack of self-confidence. "However, stressed is an interpreter with the speed or disorganised speech, they should stay calm, speak loudly, and make sense pauses between sentences. These may smooth possible mistakes. In contrast, a trembling voice or stumbling and mumbling will make the audience doubt the reliability of the translation"⁷ [Abramov, 2017]. Suppressing negative emotions is thought to be correct. In contrast, an interpreter could turn negative emotions into a driver that will add confidence and help perform better. However, it is only possible if an interpreter can monitor, manage, and control their emotions and sustainably develops these skills in him/herself.

⁴ Taylor T. *The Anatomy of the Nuremberg Trials*. New York, 1992. P. 100-102. Cit. ex: Nolan J. *Interpretation: Techniques and Exercises*. Clevendon; Buffalo; Toronto, 2005.

⁵ The author's translation.

⁶ Komissarov V. N. "Translation is an important part of my life" // Mosty. *Translators and Interpreters' Journal*. 2004. No. 3. P. 9. (In Russian)

⁷ The author's translation.

Other reasons for stress may be long-term work under stress or pressure, a sense of strong responsibility, or impermissibility of a mistake. Interpretation at a hospital or a court may appear stressful for an underprepared or beginning interpreter. However, “stress is less destructive if we control stress factors and focus on the zone of our influence” [Annenkova, 2020].

Results: A methodology of applying EI to interpretation practice

An interpreter willingly or unwillingly influences the atmosphere and sometimes the outcomes of negotiations. An intelligent and positive look, and ability to endear and conciliate other people, clear and concise language, and proper intonation are part of an interpreter’s work. On the contrary, paraphonemic sounds, overuse of filler words, pauses and hesitation, too slow or too fast speaking, or unpleasant voice quality may become obstacles in communication. All these features and skills need ongoing practice. In regular classes, any criticism may evoke negative emotions in students. *Real project work* raises the awareness of sustainable professional self-development in budding interpreters. “Students clearly understand the need to correct individual features such as slow speaking, unclear or lose articulation, a quiet voice, inability to work in a team, fleeing from responsibility productively, lack of intercultural tolerance, or inaccurate editing — everything that students consider as unreasonable criticism in traditional learning becomes inevitable within a real project” [Novikova, 2019].

Real project work could also help apply EI tools to translation/interpretation practice teamwork. A translation project implies collaborating with a group of translators, editors, and technical staff. As well, interpreters usually work in pairs in a booth. It is essential to work in harmony with the other co-workers: understand the pace and manner of your colleague’s work, and learn how to help or not to distract them.

Real project work will provide a translation student with multiple scenarios of intercultural and interpersonal collaborations and intrapersonal dilemmas. Within project work, translation students can apply a series of guidelines to deal with their own emotions and other people’s emotions. The following section presents some approaches to deal with situations similar to those mentioned above.

Guidelines for tackling stress, conflicts, and gaining more self-confidence in interpretation

Everybody knows how to tackle stress through doing yoga, breathing exercises, massage, acupuncture, a healthy lifestyle, and a healthy diet. However, it may be challenging if an interpreter feels stressed *before* an interpretation task. Considering two mindsets suggested by Carol S. Dweck could help deal with stress before doing a job: *a fixed mindset* and *a growth mindset*. “In a fixed mindset, students believe their basic abilities, intelligence, and talents are just fixed traits. They have a certain amount, and that is that, and then their goal becomes to look smart all the time and never look dumb. Students understand that their talents and abilities can be developed through effort, good teaching, and persistence in a growth mindset. They do not necessarily think everyone is the same or anyone can be an Einstein, but they believe everyone can get smarter if they work at it” [Carol S. Dweck, 2007]. Thus, using a growth mindset before a translation/interpretation task is more efficient.

To cope with *stress here and now*, an interpreter can use physical approaches to manage emotions. Emotions influence the human body: when we change our physical state, we change our emotional state. Biological techniques include tactical and strategic ones. Tactical approaches help recognize and name an emotion in three to ten seconds. If you manage to call your feeling that hurts, you can change your emotional state.

To cope with anger, insult, or annoyance, an interpreter can use *consciousness relaxation*: ask yourself what part of your body is strained and try to ease this part in the mind’s eye. The “*square of breath*” method helps to cope with nervousness and anger: count to four and breathe in, count to four and pause, count to four and breathe out, and count to four and break. You will reach balance in two or three rounds.

The strategic approach implies doing sports, meditation, and walking. Once a day, relax your body, balance your breath, and try to get rid of toxic thoughts: *practice mindfulness*, which helps control emotions [Annenkova, 2020].

Jin Shin Jyutsu, an ancient Japanese art, philosophy and powerful alternative health practice, suggests powerful five-minute hand exercise for an instant energy boost and emotional balance. An example is: for mental calmness, press down with the thumb of the opposite hand, angling towards the middle finger and hold for one to two minutes: when pressed, the palm can offer full-body nourishment⁸.

⁸ *Westside DBT*. Dialectical Behavioral Therapy. Available at: <https://westsidedbt.com>

Another approach is *HeartMath technology*, an innovative approach to improving emotional wellbeing. An example is *Heart Breathing*: focus your attention on your heart area, and breathe a little deeper than usual, in for five or six seconds and out five or six seconds⁹.

The “if” *technique* may help a beginner: imagine you are a successful professional, feel the drive of translation/interpretation, get excited, and work on. Douglas Robinson suggests *pretending to be a translator* to become a translator [Robinson, 2003].

Andrei Besedin advises interpreters to take an *acting technique course*, which could help them to learn how: to recognize emotions; to get rid of a fear of speaking in public; to deal with one’s attention, influence, contact; to perceive, assess, and translate information, and more [Besedin, 2016].

To tackle conflicts with their colleagues, managers, or clients, a translator/interpreter should learn at least multiple *techniques for tackling anger*. Two examples are:

“Overestimation” involves phrases such as “It is essential that you have brought this to my attention” or “Thank you. This is a good idea. Let’s discuss it right away”.

“Body support”. In humans, mirror neurons help understand what another person feels and reflect their emotion (this is what we call empathy). If you are relaxed and balanced and breathe calmly, the other person who sees you also relaxes and calms down. It becomes easier to negotiate and manage the interlocutor’s emotions [Annenkova, 2020].

In addition, Aleksei Kozulyaev warns about emotional burning out, which may hurt both translators and interpreters, and suggests ‘*psychological hygiene*’ for translators/interpreters [Kozulyaev, 2018]. *Optimistic rituals* could help cope with stress and prevent emotional burning out. An example is a *diary of achievements*: fix three achievements in your professional field every day. It is easier to overcome difficulties and further your skills if you focus on positive things that you are good at [Annenkova, 2020].

Conclusion

Research into EI as an interdisciplinary competence of a translator/interpreter is necessary due to a growing interest in soft skills in different industries, which is reflected in professional standards for translators/interpreters.

⁹ *HeartMath*. Available at: <https://www.heartmath.com/> (accessed: 10.10.2021).

The concept of emotional intelligence (EI) has almost a one-century history. There are two approaches to EI in psychology: ability EI and trait EI. EI applies to multiple aspects of human life. For interpreters' self-training, it makes sense to redefine EI as an ability to adjust one's trait EI to numerous professional situations and contexts.

EI underpins some of the critical integral elements of the interpreter's professional competence such as "professional loneliness", an awareness of responsibility for adequate translation; working memory; unbiased interpretation; coping with stressful professional situations; tackling professional ethical and intercultural conflicts; tolerating negative experience and failures, and preventing professional burning out.

Direct dependence of translators/interpreters' job performance on the level of their EI is still disputable. However, EI could contribute to the interpreter's sustainable professional self-development and, as a result, more efficient performance. A series of methodical guidelines could help interpreters prepare for a professional task in their psychological and physical preparation. Research methods such as observation, case study, and surveying helped prove the propositions of this research.

A methodology of applying EI to interpretation practice includes real project work for translation students and a series of guidelines for beginning and professional interpreters as part of their sustainable professional self-development. Further research could consist of approbation and assessment of a system of EI exercises in new and professional interpreters' training. Another promising task is designing an app for drilling typical scenarios in interpreting.

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**“BUY A PIG IN A POKE”: TRANSLATION
METAMORPHOSES OF ZOOMORPHIC METAPHORS
(based on Nikita Khrushchev’s discourse)**

The group of zoomorphic phraseological units constitutes a significant lexical layer of languages reflecting universal, as well as nationally specific categories of culture. It is frequently functioning in various modes of communication. Though some research has been devoted to the use of different metaphors in political discourse, we have not found yet any study specifically focused on the issue of translation metamorphoses of zoomorphic paremias. The paper provides a comparative analysis of Russian animalistic metaphors employed in Nikita Khrushchev’s public speeches, memoirs, and their English translations. We also explored the etymology and cultural connotations of idioms. The possible linguistic counterparts are scrutinized, thus identifying the translation metamorphoses in the target text. The corpus linguistics methodology is used to identify zoomorphic expressions. Conceptual Metaphor Theory is adopted as the framework for the analysis. The selected animalistic metaphors are investigated in the parallel corpus containing Russian original texts of political discourse and their renditions into English. The findings reveal several differences between animalistic metaphorical concepts in the languages compared, identify the main methods of transferring the selected paremias, as well as highlight the challenges caused by linguistic and cultural differences while rendering idioms from one language and culture to another. The issues discussed in the article are important from the point of view of the study of phraseology, as well as for the practice of translation, and they certainly demand further attention.

Keywords: metamorphosis, Nikita Khrushchev, political discourse, translation, zoomorphic metaphor.

E. V. Картер

**“ПОКУПАТЬ КОТА В МЕШКЕ”: ПЕРЕВОДЧЕСКИЕ
МЕТАМОРФОЗЫ ЗООМОРФНЫХ МЕТАФОР
(на материале политического дискурса
Никиты Хрущева)**

Группа зоонимных фразеологизмов составляет важный пласт лексики языков, отражающий общечеловеческие и национально-специфические категории культуры, и активно функционирует в разных видах коммуникации. В ряде исследований была затронута проблематика использо-

вания метафор в политическом дискурсе, но в аспекте переводческих метаморфоз зооморфных паремий еще не рассматривалась. Данная статья посвящена сравнительному анализу русских зооморфных метафор, актуализированных в публичных выступлениях и мемуарах Никиты Хрущева, и их английских переводов. Предпринимается попытка историко-этимологического комментирования. Рассматриваются лингвокультурологические особенности идиом. Анализируются возможные языковые соответствия, выявляются переводческие метаморфозы в переводном тексте. Для выявления зоонимных выражений используется методология корпусной лингвистики. Теория концептуальной метафоры является основой для анализа. Отобранные зооморфные метафоры исследуются в параллельном корпусе, состоящем из русских оригинальных текстов политического дискурса и их переводов на английский язык. Полученные результаты обнаруживают ряд отличий между зооморфными метафорическими концептами в рассматриваемых языках, выявляют основные способы перевода и трудности передачи анализируемых паремий с одного языка на другой, вызванные лингвистическим и культурными особенностями. Обсуждаемые в статье вопросы являются важными как с точки зрения изучения фразеологии, так и для практики перевода и заслуживают дальнейшего внимания.

Ключевые слова: метаморфоза, Никита Хрущев, политический дискурс, перевод, зооморфная метафора.

Introduction

One of the main directions in the study of phraseology is the investigation of national and cultural peculiarities of phraseological resources of languages, which are considered as specific units representing the cultural potential of people and reflecting the differences of languages and cultures. It is generally recognised that comparative research contributes to solving the issues dealing with the identification of standard and unique for the languages in question and the description of various translation challenges.

The group of animalistic phraseological units seems interesting in this respect since it represents a considerable linguistic stratum revealing commonalities and dissimilarities of idioms in different cultures. It has been noticed that while transferring zoomorphic metaphors from one language to another, a variety of translation animalistic metamorphoses may occur.

The word “metamorphosis” (from Greek *morphe*, viz. “form,” “structure”) “indicates a change of shape, leading to a loss of the initial form, which is replaced by a new one” [Bruguière, Perru, Charles, 2018, p. 114]. “The transformations that characterize metamorphosis can affect form (morphological and anatomic transformations) or function (physiological transformations)” [Bruguière, Perru, Charles, 2018, p. 117].

The phraseological system of any language expresses the people's cultural worldview concepts representing complex ideas in the form of images that can be modified in case of translation if they are not shared by the languages compared. Interpreters "should be crafty enough to identify aspects related to concepts and culture" [Adiel & Ahmed, 2016, p. 46] and handle the issue of metaphorical transformations, i. e., modifications when the transferred images are metamorphosed, but their meanings are not undergone changes.

It is noteworthy that the images of phraseological units of the group under discussion correlate with the zoomorphic code of culture, that is, a set of culture-conditioned stereotypical ideas about the properties, characteristics, or behavioural features of animals, which act as a source of human understanding of the world, and, in addition to their natural traits of character, carry the meanings that are functionally significant for culture.

Methods and Materials

In the present study, zoomorphic premiums were investigated in the parallel corpus, i. e., "a corpus that contains source texts and their translations" [McEnery & Xiao, 2007, p. 20], which includes Nikita Khrushchev's public speeches delivered during his official visits to the USA in 1959–1960 [Khrushchev, 1960; 1961], as well as his recollections [Khrushchev, 2016a; 2016b], along with their translations in the English language [Khrushchev in America, 1960; Khrushchev in New York, 1960; *Memoirs of Nikita Khrushchev*, 2004; 2006; 2007]. As McEnery and Xiao (2007) point out, "such corpora can give new insights into the languages compared — insights that are not likely to be noticed in studies of monolingual corpora" (p. 18). They can be utilised for a range of comparative purposes and can increase our knowledge of language-specific, typological and cultural dissimilarities. Furthermore, they can be employed for several practical applications, such as language teaching and translation.

After compiling a parallel corpus, the original texts and their translations were searched for the target zoomorphic paremias. Then the subcorpus of text excerpts with the phraseological forming element was compiled. Each case was analyzed in terms of conceptual metaphors and their possible linguistic counterparts, identifying the translation metamorphoses in the target language.

Discussion

Metaphors are verbal signs that accumulate and transfer the people's cultural legacy from generation to generation. They manifest the features

of the national language and express the spirit and the originality of the nation uniquely. The semantics of idioms represent national and cultural traditions, the perception of the environment, and the expression of the people's original view of the world.

Phraseological imagery is one of the essential characteristics of idioms as verbal signs. Imagery can give rise to expressiveness in a phraseological unit.

Figurative bases of idioms represent themselves in different ways depending on the "quality" of the image. In this case, it is common to draw attention to the transparency/opacity of the image. Phraseological units with transparent figurativeness include expressions whose images can be presented, imprinted in the minds of native speakers. The main feature of phraseological units with "darkened" imagery is the inability to give a visual and sensual "picture." It is assumed that the variety of types of proverbial figurative foundations can be explained because images in phraseological units are not a direct reflection of reality. When using idioms, native speakers know that the figurative basis is metaphorical, that "when using a phraseological unit, the mode of fictitiousness 'as if' is always actualised" [Teliya, 1996, p. 7]. Hence, there is similarity with the situations that are possible and occurring in real life, but also with the unreal, fictional cases. The figurativeness of the phraseological sign is a powerful incentive to use it in speech.

Metaphor translatability and transfer methods have been thoroughly researched within Translation Studies [Komissarov, 2002; Newmark, 1988]. The cognitive approach [Lakoff & Johnson, 2003] highlights the importance of proper encoding and decoding of the employed metaphors, the significance of the context in which they are used, and the connection between translatability and the conceptual systems of the source culture and the target one. Indeed, "metaphor translation poses the challenges of approaching the text culturally, linguistically or even conceptually" [Adiel & Ahmed, 2016, p. 46]. It is a common claim that in case translators have to deal with the idioms having "different mapping conditions" [Adiel & Ahmed, 2016, p. 47] in the languages in question (viz. conceptualising a particular notion by different metaphors because of cultural dissimilarities), it makes the process of rendition even more complicated.

Animals have been part of human life as prey and animal husbandry for many centuries. Because animals have been vital for people's survival, human beings have learned a lot of them to catch and use them and observe animals' behaviour and understand their social interaction.

There are plenty of proverbs about human-like actions and characteristics of animals that are the primary source of metaphors in proverb

lore. As it appears, “any animal named in proverbs fills with specific human meaning and affirms a situational state of facts or a traditional field of collective experience of life” [Cristea, 2016, p.180]. Moreover, “there are both local and worldwide features in animal imagery used in proverbs” [Lauhakangas, 2019, p.583].

Animalistic metaphors are a significant rhetorical force widely utilised in political discourse. Existing studies indicate that several English-speaking public figures and Soviet/Russian leaders were/are masterful employers of metaphorical sayings in their political speeches and writings [Meščerskij, 1981; Mieder, 2018; Zhu, 2021]. While Nikita Khrushchev’s compelling preoccupation with paremias has been noticed and paid some attention to [Dautova, 2011; Fursenko & Naftali, 2006], there are relatively few studies that address his contextual application of proverbial sayings [Carter, 2016; 2019]). There does not seem to be any research devoted explicitly to the issue of translation modifications of zoomorphic metaphors. Thus, the present study is aimed at filling this gap.

The paper deals with the comparative analysis of the proverbial Russian sayings with zoomorphic components employed in Nikita Khrushchev’s public speeches (made in America in the 1950) and his memoirs with their English translations. The etymology and cultural connotations of the phraseological units are explored as well. Special attention is paid to discussing differences of the analysed metaphors in the languages in question.

The comparative analysis of the contextual examples of rendering the Russian zoomorphic metaphors into English shows that the primary method of interpreting idiomatic expressions characterising people is the selection of phraseological counterparts with a different animal element. The idioms with a quantitative meaning are translated through relative equivalents lacking in imagery. The phraseological units making the emotive evaluation of human behaviour and characterising a situation are rendered by English metaphors based on the images of the material world. Of particular interest are the cases when the adequacy of transferring emotive overtones in specific contexts seems questionable.

Results

Premiums with Mammals

It is impossible to list thousands of paremias about canines being widely different in different languages. Many of them have been coined anonymously or by some famous people letting us know their attitude to this animal [El Fadl, 2008; Hatalová, 2007; Waśniewska, 2018].

The proverbial Russian expression *собаку съел* (lit. “One has eaten a dog”) is seemingly transparent: one who is very tired and hungry could eat a hound from hunger. Its etymology, however, has not been established. It can be assumed that it is based on the ancient mythological idea that the devil can turn into a dog. The devil is known to be the embodiment of cold reason and rationality. To eat the devil meant to acquire superhuman knowledge, thus becoming omniscient. Although in some European languages (for example, in German and French) there are phraseological units with a similar image, English has an analogue “the ins and outs” [Whiting, 1989, p. 338] that is lacking in animalistic imagery. It appears in the translation of Khrushchev’s speech “Reply on Disarmament” made at the United Nations General Assembly on October 11, 1960:

However, they themselves are the kind of propaganda-makers who know all the ins and outs, so to speak, when it comes to making propaganda in support of their own views [Khrushchev in New York, 1960, p. 193].

Но сами они такие пропагандисты, которые, как говорят, собаку съели на пропаганде своих взглядов [Khrushchev, 1961, p. 469].

Concerning metaphors on domestic animals, there is a view that “despite unfathomable preferences for dogs or cats in real life, there are more proverbs related to dogs than cats” [Čermák, 2014, p. 187]. Moreover, many feline idioms are not shared by some languages. The Russian idiom *кот заплакал* (lit. “A cat has cried”) is one of them.

The image of this proverbial saying is based on observing the behaviour of a domestic animal, a cat, which has long been known in traditional cultures and reflects the stereotypical idea that this mammal cannot cry. There is a view that the meaning of this Russian unit has arisen “based on a folk song about a poor crying she-cat walking from the kitchen” [Golubenko, 2016, p. 22], thus verbalising “an unreal phenomenon” [Milovanova, 2018, p. 342]. The paremia refers to situations when there is no sufficient amount of anything: objects, products, substances, experience, or, as in our case, military arms. As it turns out, the image of the Russian feline mammal “disappears” in the English translation of the memoirs, and, as a result, there is a loss of expressiveness. However, a controversial emotive evaluation seems to be added:

And actually, those submarines are of precious little importance [Memoirs of Nikita Khrushchev, 2006, p. 385].

Да и этих подводных лодок кот заплакал [Khrushchev, 2016a, p. 760].

The history of the paremia *покупать ко́та в мешке* (lit. “buy a cat in a sack”) is interpreted differently by folklorists and linguists. Some trace it to a specific source — the story of Thiel Ulenspiegel, who sold a cat sewn into dog fur to a furrier. Others, recognising such an anecdote famous in medieval Europe as the source of the saying, attribute it not specifically to Ulenspiegel but also to other clever fraudsters who tried to sell a cat in a sack instead of a hare or a rabbit. There is an assumption that the saying could have arisen based on the professional speech of furriers since they evaluated cats at the lowest price. According to Mokienko (2017), “the facts from East Slavic folklore refute the interpretation of the saying about a cat and a sack as a calque from other European languages” (p. 175), where the corresponding metaphoric images are very diverse. A proverbial phrase is the product of an ancient oral culture linking the mythological consciousness of different peoples even in the preliterate period.

In his speech delivered at the United Nations on September 23, 1960, Nikita Khrushchev argued against Henry Lodge’s allegation that the Soviet proposals concerning the disarmament problem were obscure and unrealistic and cited this proverbial saying. The Russian leader implicitly criticised the American official for his “political blindness” because of his reluctance to recognise the value of the initiative taken by the Soviet Union. As can be seen, the metaphorical Russian cat was “transformed” into an idiomatic English pig:

*Nevertheless Mr. Lodge, the US representative in the United Nations Disarmament commission, alleged that the Soviet Union was **proposing a pig in a poke** [Khrushchev in New York, 1960, p. 44].*

*Между тем, представитель США в ООН по разоружению господин Лодж заявил, будто бы советский Союз предлагает “**купить ко́та в мешке**” [Khrushchev, 1961, p. 319].*

The phraseological unit *доказывать, что ты не верблюд* (lit. “try to prove that you are not a camel”) means to prove apparent facts. This paremia goes back to the Persian sources of the 12th–13th centuries. A political anecdote with this final proverbial phrase already existed in pre-revolutionary Russia. As asserted by Dushenko (2018), “the anecdote about camels and a hare was unknown in the West but circulated in the countries of the socialist camp” (p. 149). This is probably why there are no English equivalents or adequate analogues of this proverbial Russian expression. As the material shows, the animal modification occurs: the humped mammal turns into an unidentified alien creature in the English translation:

If Medvedev had started trying to prove that he was not some alien creature, not an enemy of their people, but an honest person, that would have aroused suspicion against him [Memoirs of Nikita Khrushchev, 2004, p. 146].

Если бы Медведев стал доказывать, что он не верблюд, не враг народа, а честный человек, то навлек бы на себя подозрение [Khrushchev, 2016a, p. 125].

The proverbial phrase *медвежья услуга* (lit. “the bear’s service”) can be traced back to Ivan Krylov’s fable “The Hermit and the Bear.” The fable has arisen based on a humorous folk story about a hermit and a bear that kills a mosquito trying to help the man. The image of this phraseological unit correlates with the zoomorphic code of culture in which the bear (one of the most polysemantic characters of East Slavic mythology) occupies an important place being a totemic beast. It is reflected in Russian folklore, where the animal acts as the master of the forest. The bear is symbolically associated with savagery, rudeness, clumsiness, indelicacy. The Russian idiomatic expression serves as a standard of an inappropriate and awkward attempt to help someone. In the West, it can be applied to a “bad-tempered person” [Goatly, 2006, p. 26]. Khrushchev employed this saying in his memoirs (when it comes to the signing of a peace treaty with Japan and the role of Molotov in this situation). But since the mammal metaphor “disappeared” in translation, the image of the proverbial Russian phrase was not transferred into English:

He was such an experienced diplomat, we thought, and yet here he was doing our country a disservice [Memoirs of Nikita Khrushchev, 2004, p. 689].

Когда такой опытный дипломат, каким мы его считали, и вдруг оказал нашей стране медвежью услугу [Khrushchev, 2016a, p. 496].

The Russian adage *Чья бы корова мычала, а твоя бы молчала* that is “Better let other’s cow’s bellow and your’s keep still” [Mertvago, 1995, p. 363] conveys contempt and sarcasm. It is “used as a reply to criticism or accusations made by someone who happens to have a tarnished reputation and has no moral right to judge the case” [Kuzmin & Shadrin, 1989, p. 300]. To try to disarm his opponent, a representative of the USA, in the debate on the question of democracy in the capitalist and socialist countries (October 1, 1960), Premier Nikita Khrushchev applied this famous Russian proverb that was translated by the English analogue “He who lives in a glass house should not throw stones” [Mieder, Kingsbury, Harder, 1992, p. 253] with but a small change, however, still lacking in an animalistic image:

And the United States representative designs to smear the truly democratic regime of the People's Republic of China, which is building socialism. In our country, we have a saying in such cases which runs somewhat like this: "He who lives in a glass house should not throw stones" [Khrushchev in New York, 1960, p. 124].

А представитель США берет на себя смелость клеветать на действительно демократический режим Китайской Народной Республики, которая строит социализм. У нас говорят в таких случаях: "Чья бы корова мычала, а твоя молчала" [Khrushchev, 1961, p. 403].

Ornithological Proverbial Sayings

Birds are a rich source of metaphors in paremias. In his memoir manuscript, Nikita Khrushchev remembers the beginning of his official visit to the United States in 1959 and the people's attitude to the representatives of the Soviet delegation. The metaphor *гусь лапчатый* (lit. "a goose with paws"), i. e., a roguish, quirky man, is employed by the politician for expression of irony to characterise himself from the viewpoint of the Americans. As it appears, the animalistic metamorphosis is taken place in the rendition of the cited metaphor: a goose turns into a sly fox, though the literal translation (probably for those representatives of the English-speaking world who are interested in receiving not only information but also want to understand the image of the Russian saying and evaluate the accompanying overtones) is given as well:

The Americans seemed to take a tolerant attitude toward us, as though to say: "We'll see how things turn out. Let's see what kind of sly fox [literally "goose with paws"] it is who heads their government." It was interesting for them to take a look and listen to this strange creature [Memoirs of Nikita Khrushchev, 2007, p. 106].

Видимо, американцы относились к нам с терпением: посмотрим, что выйдет, что это за такой-сякой гусь лапчатый, возглавляющий их правительство, интересно взглянуть на него или услышать [Khrushchev, 2016b, p. 480].

"Some birds personify masculinity. Others align themselves with the social realm of women" [Dederen & Mokakabye, 2018, p. 92]. The third category is more ambiguous to nature and seems to defy simple binary classification. The canaries are small finches of the Canary Islands that are usually greenish to yellow and kept as sage birds and singers. The proverbial comparison *вырядиться, как канарейки* (lit. "dress up like canaries") is said about people who are wearing any clothes of bright yellow

or canary. Though the lexeme *канарейка* (canary) is of feminine gender in Russian, in the analysed situation, it serves to criticise military men wearing shoulder boards and epaulettes, as well as stripes down the sides of uniform trousers. It is interesting to note that we can observe an avian metamorphosis in the English translation. Namely, canaries turn into peacocks. It might raise a question about the adequacy of translation because a canary metaphor and a peacock metaphor do not match in Russian.

But now we've dressed ourselves up like peacocks [Memoirs of Nikita Khrushchev, 2007, p. 405].

А сейчас вырядились, как какие-то канарейки [Khrushchev, 2016b, p. 22].

The Russian paremia *Всяк кулик свое болото хвалит* (lit. “Every sandpiper praises its own swamp”) is of interest as well. The bird’s attachment to the swamp is reflected in the proverbs of other Slavic languages, although a similar model presented by different images is quite standard in many languages. The proverbial English analogue “Every peddler praises his own pack” [Wilkinson, 1993, p. 12] lacks of animal imagery. In his speech at the luncheon given by Robert Wagner, the mayor of New York, on September 17, 1959, the Kremlin ruler employed this adage to add folkloric spice to his political rhetoric, as well as to vividly remind the American listeners of the proverbial evident truth related to the issue of comparing different political systems. Even though the Russian and English metaphors differ in their images (the names of bird species), there is no doubt that both proverbs are almost identical in their meaning.

The Russians have a proverb that says that every snipe praises its bog. You extol the capitalist bog: as for us, I shall not, naturally, say that socialism is a bog, but you can, of course, speak of our system much as I speak of yours [Khrushchev in America, 1960, p. 48].

У русских есть такая пословица: “Всяк кулик свое болото хвалит”. Вы хвалите капиталистическое болото, что же касается нас, то я, конечно, не скажу, что социализм — это болото, но вы можете, конечно, отозваться о нашей системе так же, как я говорю о вашей [Khrushchev, 1960, p. 123].

Paremia with an aquatic animal

The proverbial comparison *подпрыгивать, как карась на горячей сковородке* (lit. “jump like a carp on a hot tin”) is about a person who is in “an extremely uncomfortable, difficult psychological and stressful situ-

ation, being in a state of complete helplessness” [Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008, p.247]. Although in the English translation, the aquatic animal (a carp) metamorphoses into a mammal, namely, a cat, there is no doubt that the receptors can adequately decipher the emotive-and-evaluative content of the Russian metaphor and comprehend it because of the vivid image of any creature’s sufferings while being on a hot surface:

*As he listened to her, Ehrenburg was **jumping around like a cat on a hot tin roof*** [Memoirs of Nikita Khrushchev, 2006, p.558].

Он слушал ее, буквально, как карась на горячей сковороде подпрыгивал [Khrushchev, 2016a, p.890].

Proverbial Comparison with a Reptile Component

The proverbial comparison *парализован, как кролик удавом* (lit. “be paralysed like a rabbit by a boa constrictor”) is about a man who is “extremely frightened, domed, desperately pitiful in anticipation of imminent reprisal, punishment from someone’s glance” [Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008, p.310]. This model (the polar world structured by binary oppositions) is built on the principle of “communicating vessels” [Vasilyeva-Shalneva, 2018, p.90] since the existence of rabbits and boas (viz. victims and executioners) is interdependent. In the English rendition of Khrushchev’s recollections (the description of Stalin’s psychological state in the first days of the war), the replacement of a species concept with a generic one is observed: the boa constrictor “shrinks” and turns into just a snake. It might raise a question about the relevant mental schema of the metaphor being activated in the minds of the readers of the English-speaking world:

*Yet he was paralysed by Hitler **like a rabbit by a snake*** [Memoirs of Nikita Khrushchev, 2006, p.161].

*Но он был **парализован** Гитлером, как кролик — удавом* [Khrushchev, 2016a, p.613].

Idioms with an insect constituent element

The Russian idiom *под мухой* (lit. “under a fly”) means to be tipsy. It is associated with ancient mythological concepts. According to which, “madness or strong intoxication can be caused by an insect flying into the ear, mouth, or nose of a sleeping person” [Mokienko, 2018, p.237]. There are different ways of rendering this Russian proverbial saying into English,

for example, “be under the influence,” “be under the weather,” or “be a bit in liquor” [Kuzmin, 2004, p. 215]. Still, all of them are the analogues lacking in zoomorphic imagery. As can be seen, the translator has chosen the second variant to describe the people being in a state of slight intoxication and struggling to find their way home because of the similar appearance of houses in the Soviet Union:

Later, many jokes sprang up about people coming home slightly “under the weather” and not being able to find which neighbourhood or which building was theirs [Memoirs of Nikita Khrushchev, 2006, p. 277].

Поэтому возникло много острот по поводу того, как человек, возвращаясь слегка “под мухой”, не может поздним вечером найти свой квартал, свой дом [Khrushchev, 2016a, p. 688].

The Russian metaphor *слышен был полет мухи* (lit. “the flight of a fly was heard”) characterises the situation when there is deathly silence. The following passage referred to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party when Khrushchev denounced Stalin in “The Secret Speech.” The premium describes the people’s reaction to what they heard in the report. Because of the absence of a zoomorphic counterpart, the translator of the memoirs has opted for an English metaphor based on the image of the material world:

*The congress listened to me in silence. As the saying goes, you could have **heard a pin drop** [Memoirs of Nikita Khrushchev, 2006, p. 212].*

*Съезд выслушал меня молча. Как говорится, **слышен был полет мухи** [Khrushchev, 2016a, p. 645].*

Conclusion

Thus, the selected Russian zoomorphic paremias were examined semantically and functionally and compared with their English counterparts. In general, the images of phraseological units reflect zoomorphic metaphors: people’s appearance, actions and deeds are likened to the ones corresponding to the stereotypical images of animals.

The contrastive analysis of the contextual examples of Khrushchev’s public speeches and memoirs in languages in question reveals that the primary method of interpreting idiomatic expressions characterising people (their appearance, manners, behaviour, state, etc.) is the selection of phraseological analogues with a different component-zoonym. The proverbial sayings with a quantitative meaning are translated through relative equivalents lacking in imagery. The zoomorphic idioms making the

emotive evaluation of human behaviour and characterising a situation are rendered by English metaphors based on the images of the material world.

It should be admitted that the transfer of the considered Russian paremias using the English counterparts leads to the loss of the national identity of the idioms. However, the semantic, stylistic and functional adequacy remains. As the analysis shows, the modification of imagery when translating the proverbial Russian expressions results in a marked emotional and expressive “insufficiency” and, unfortunately, in some distortion of the author’s idiostyle, thereby clearly demonstrating the challenges of transferring phraseological units from one language to another. Because metaphors that have different mapping conditions in other languages call for specific treatment in translation, they certainly require more attention in future research.

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ECO-COGNITIVE MODEL OF TRANSLATION ACTIVITY: METHODOLOGICAL BOUNDARIES AND PERSPECTIVES

The rapid development of project activities resulted in great changes in the translation model and hence the need to adjust it to the nowadays practices. Now the model also includes modern technological tools and artificial intelligence as its components. The paper proposes an eco-cognitive model of translation activity on the basis of an externalist approach to language and cognition, postulating the distributed nature of the location of human cognition. Heuristic potential of the distributed, dynamic, situated and other rhizomorphically conjugated types of cognition allows a deeper understanding of the mechanism for developing translation decisions in modern technogenic conditions. The author uses content analysis of scientific literature and social media information to form the model of translation activity by the categorical method "Universal Interaction Scheme". Distinctive features of the model include both the autonomous subject of translation and material objects of the environment (computer, specialized programs), as well as the participants of the translation project and the target audience able to influence the translation quality. The proposed scheme shows functioning of all the elements of an integrated cognitive system uniting mental operations of all interacting objects and subjects. It also enables developing methods for extracting new procedural knowledge being formed at the subconscious level of a translator. Besides, the model promotes creating new ways for studying translation activities, working more effectively than a comparative analysis of the source text and the translation text.

Keywords: translation theory, ecolinguistics, eco-translatology, distributed cognition, translation model, translation decision.

Е. В. Чистова

ЭКОКОГНИТИВНАЯ МОДЕЛЬ ПЕРЕВОДА: МЕТОДОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ ГРАНИЦЫ И ПЕРСПЕКТИВЫ

В статье формулируются новые теоретические положения, основанные на трансформации производственных процессов в сфере перевода и, соответственно, модификации когнитивной деятельности современного переводчика. По причине включения в процесс перевода различных технологических средств и продуктов искусственного интеллекта, а также в связи с активным развитием проектной деятельности, модель перевода подверглась значительным изменениям и требует теоретического переосмысления. На базе экстерналистского подхода к языку и когниции, по-

стилирующего о распределенном характере локации человеческой когниции, в статье предложена экокognитивная модель переводческой деятельности. Отличительные черты модели заключаются во включении в нее не только автономного субъекта перевода, но и материальных объектов окружающей среды (компьютер, специализированные программы), а также всех участников переводческого проекта и реципиентов перевода, способных влиять на качество конечного продукта. В предложенной универсальной схеме взаимодействия показано функционирование всех элементов единой когнитивной системы, объединяющей ментальные пространства всех взаимодействующих объектов и субъектов познания. Эвристический потенциал разделенной динамической ситуативной и других ризоморфно сопряженных видов когниции позволяет глубже понять механизм выработки переводческих решений в современных техногенных условиях, а также разработать методы извлечения нового процедурного знания, формирующегося на подсознательном уровне у переводчика, и методы исследования переводческой деятельности, значительно расширяющие резульативный диапазон, возможный при сравнительном анализе исходного текста и текста перевода.

Ключевые слова: теория перевода, эколингвистика, экологичная когниция, модель перевода, переводческое решение.

Introduction

Digital technologies, specialised software and artificial intelligence significantly affect the production processes of the modern translation industry. Specialists in translation need to master new automated translation tools with a reasonably high frequency and regularly optimise production processes. Unfortunately, translators lacking technological competence are now becoming outsiders in the labour market.

Changes in working conditions and the formation of new quality standards inevitably lead to the transformation of the cognitive activity of a specialist. Translators adapting to new production processes are indeed forced to change the cognitive patterns of their actions. Developed mechanisms and algorithms for making translation decisions in a new production environment should have theoretical consideration and be described in the didactic literature for subsequent training of the specialists planning to enter the labour market and be competitive enough without getting additional training.

As a rule, shifts in understanding translation processes are reflected in models. Previous translation models can be conditionally divided into text-centric, based on comparing the source text and the target text in the analysis of translation decisions, and procedural, demonstrating decision-making in dynamics, i. e., using more comprehensive contextual capture

than language structures. Owing to the text-centric models, we understand the mechanisms of language transformations necessary to achieve the adequacy of translation texts and their compliance with lexical, grammatical and stylistic norms. Thanks to the procedural models, we understand cognitive mechanisms of mental operations that explain certain translation decisions made in given conditions and with certain types of messages. Despite the expansion of research assuming the construction of new models, it can be argued that they are all developed within the framework of an internalist approach to cognition and language, therefore meaning that human understanding is “located” in one’s brain and does not extend beyond it.

The purpose of the paper is to present a model of translation activity reflecting the actual participants of the process within their interaction with each other and the surrounding social and material environment.

Theoretical Framework

According to the available translation models, it is possible to trace the evolution of Translation Studies, which developed from the linguistic theory of translation to a multidisciplinary approach, when research integrates resources of several sciences borrowing their methods. The transdisciplinary approach has been seen as the trend of recent years. A functional methodological synthesis characterises it. It allows scholars to push the research boundaries even wider, namely to show that the internalist worldview contradicts the true nature of human cognition. Sociologists and psychologists prove that awareness goes beyond the human brain and forms externalist concepts [Clark, Chalmers, 1998; Clark, 1998; Damasio, 1999; Hutchins, 1995, etc.].

Various types of human cognition function within a human mental activity, namely *embodied* [Damasio, 1999; Borgo, 2012] — our body is a conductor of feelings; *distributed* [Clark, 1998; Borgo, 2012] — a person can download information from the environment via speech interaction; *dynamic* [Garner, 2005] — each new context is unique; *extended* [Clark, 1998; Clark, Chalmers, 1998; Risku, Windhager, 2013] — autonomous information processing is unproductive, so human cognition works online, i. e. in interaction with other people and artefacts; *situated* [Risku, 2000; Risku, Rogl, Milosevic, 2017] — algorithm for solving cognitive tasks adapts each time to a given communicative situation; *shared* [Liu, Wei Cai, 2013] — mutual understanding of people is based on the common characteristics of cognitive experience which is enriched with each new interaction of the participants in the communication process, etc.

Interaction of different cognition types has a rhizomorphic character that does not show a clear hierarchy and, accordingly, does not proclaim the dominant position of any of them. However, understanding their influence on human cognitive activity gives us reasons to believe that language implements the biological function of the human adaptation to the environment. Consequently, there is an obvious need to develop a new eco-approach to language and mental activity [Hutchins, 2000; Halliday, 2003; Garner, 2005; Cowley, 2016; Love, 2017; Steffensen, 2017; Kravchenko, 2019; Kolmogorova, 2020, etc.].

Eco-approach in Translation Studies is currently developing in two key directions. Within the framework of the so-called Translation Ecology, scientists continue making text-centric studies aimed at the ecological perception of translation products in an alien environment [Kushnina, Pylaeva, 2014] as well as an increase of the coverage area of translation activities about the languages of small nations [Ivanova, 2020]. Within the framework of another concept — Eco-Translatology, developed by Chinese scientists, the translator occupies a dominant position, and their activity is analysed considering macro-and micro strategies [Hu Gengshen, 2008]. The innovative element of this direction is accounting for the so-called eco-environment of the translator where they do not act separately but under the influence of the customer, editor, sponsor and other participants of the translation project. Unfortunately, such advanced theoretical rethinking of the cognitive activity of the translator currently has no proper practical application in the works of the Chinese colleagues; translation decisions are still made using the comparative analysis of the source text and the target text.

Such theoretical and practical mismatch lies in the absence of research methodology corresponding to the externalist views. I propose considering the eco-cognitive model of translation activity as the most relevant modern reality.

Methodology

I use the categorical method “Universal Interaction Scheme” to develop the model. The scheme was designed to represent ecological systems, especially those with people, settlements and equipment included. Later, the project was used to study different types of systems. Any object can be described via the interaction of its elements. Any process can be reflected via a universal categorical scheme with the allocation of the unlimited number of factors in it, the sequence and the number of stages forming a certain standard. The universal interaction scheme of the object

elements allows scholars to identify the way a particular resource (energy) and the elemental composition of the object affect the process of their interaction and the result of exchange as well as the effect on the thing itself, its external environment and other objects [Boush, Razumov, 2020].

Content and logic of the method provide:

- 1) allocation of a resource (energy) which is an external incentive triggering the system into a state of change;
- 2) selection of elements forming the content of the process;
- 3) identification of the interaction or reaction the elements have;
- 4) identification of the result or product obtained within the framework of interaction;
- 5) identification of the effect the result has on the object and its environment.

The heuristics of the method lies in forming the model of interaction of two or more elements in the object, considering the resources required and the result specified. The technique allows scholars to analyse various scenarios for the development of the system in its functioning, and the consequences are given. Using this method, it is possible to trace self-regulation mechanisms in the research object by adding feedback.

Results

Having analysed the modern production process of the translation industry using theoretical conceptualisation, I managed to develop a universal interaction scheme of elements in the functional system of translation services (Fig. 1). This scheme reflects the model of modern translation activity in the eco-approach to language and cognition.

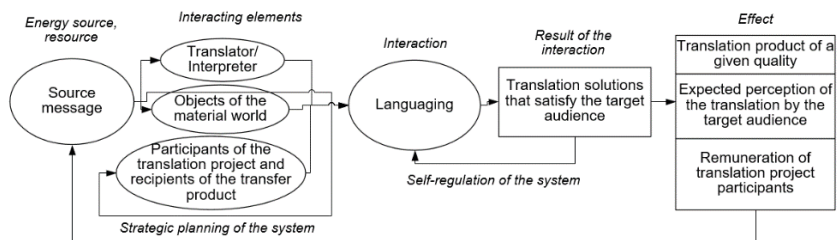


Fig. 1. Universal interaction scheme of translation project elements

The source of the “energy” causing interaction is presented as an original message or a source text, i.e. any translation task. The original

message is an incentive for forming an integrated cognitive system (see: [Maturana, 1970; Kravchenko, 2019]), within which the translation task will be performed and strategic planning will be carried out.

According to the eco-approach to language and cognition, all participants' cognitive systems in the interaction process are unified into an integrated one. Thus, an essential innovation of the model, unlike, for example, the Hönig-Prunč model [Prunč, 2015, p.219–221], is that the cognitive system of the translator is not separated from the social and material environment. All participants of the translation project, such as a translator, translation partner, customer, author, sponsor, producer, editor, terminologist, programmer, designer, marketer, consumer and other specialists, interact within the framework of the integrated cognitive system and might influence the translation decision. The decision is developed on the principles of distributed and shared types of cognition. In this context, it becomes clear that the translation decision is formed not only via linguistic and background knowledge of the translator working offline, as, for example, in the cognitive-heuristic model (see: [Minchenkov, 2007]), as well as their erudition, available cognitive algorithms for finding translation equivalents and creative approach to the production of creative decisions, but also via restrictions imposed by other project specialists or the conditions of the production process (for example, in the case of lip-syncing in audiovisual translation or the line size in the translation of websites).

Here is an example from the animated series *GoGoRiki* or *Kikoriki*. Analysing its localisation into Chinese, I noticed the increasing duration of the lines in all the dialogues of the main characters. So, when translating the imperative *Разворачиваемся!* 'Turn around!' (from the series "Locked up"), which is pronounced in 7 syllables in Russian, the creators choose a longer version 改变方向往这儿跑! (*Gǎibiàn fāngxiàng wǎng zhè'ěr pǎo*, word-by-word translation: 'Change direction and run here!'), nominally pronounced in 7 syllables instead of the Chinese most appropriate equivalent 转过去! (*Zhuǎn guòqù!*, word-by-word translation: 'Turn around!'), nominally articulated in 4 syllables. The translator is guided more by selecting a proper lip-sync equivalent than finding an adequate translation option.

One more example is the work of a translator with an editor having certain ideological attitudes and stylistic preferences and keeping to the principles of censorship. Being interviewed, many European translators are indignant at the fact that is translating Chinese fairy tales enriched with various details of culture, traditions and everyday life; they have to omit or transcreate significant fragments of the text related to the descrip-

tion of elderly people (unpleasant smell, appearance), excrement (the pig that ate gold, and the owner waiting for it “to come out”) and other naturalistic manifestations of Chinese culture (spitting, burping) as the editors ask doing that. Editors explain such an approach by the inappropriateness of presenting such details to children. At the same time, translators consider them an integral part of Chinese culture, without knowing which it is impossible to get an idea of the authentic Chinese and their worldview. Moreover, according to the translators, children perceive such manifestations much more accessible than adults, and some naturalistic details would not affect their psycho-emotional background. Unfortunately, when we use deep localisation, many of the original meanings and ideas of one of the oldest nations are lost, which happens not by the translators’ fault as it may initially seem when comparing the source text and the target text.

It is tough to understand the logic of translators localising websites, where the source text provided by the customer is only support but not an action guide. Limitations in the line sizes, a multi-semiotic form of presenting information on the websites, recommendations of web designers, marketers, and much more affect the translation decision. For example, the Russian version of the site of Zavodoukovsky maslozavod Ltd, in the section “About plant”, gives one of the phrases as the following (<http://www.zmz72.ru/node/24>): “С 2010 г. ООО ‘Заводоуковский маслозавод’ приступило к переработке сои, которую закупает на дальнем востоке, не используя дешевые импортные генетически модифицированные соевые бобы” (“Since 2010, Zavodoukovsky maslozavod Ltd has started processing soybeans, which it buys in the Far East, not using cheap imported genetically modified soybeans”). While this sentence in the same section, “About Company”, is omitted in the translated English version of the site posted at Alibaba.com, and, accordingly, primarily designed for Chinese users (URL: <https://zmz72.trustpass.alibaba.com/> accessed: 10.10.2021). However, the main idea is generalised in three phrases, i.e., “good for health”, “natural product”, and “perfect quality” (Fig. 2), and is presented in the slide show mode within the main content of the site. Thus, during translation, the verbal content was converted into visual content, emphasising consumer values (health, quality, ecology).

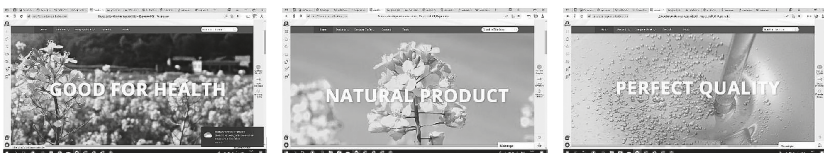


Fig. 2. Content of the site of Zavodoukovsky maslozavod Ltd.

Following with the description of the proposed eco-cognitive model of translation activity, I note that the translation decision can also be influenced by technological tools provided to support the translator, which means that not only people but also the objects of the material world the translator interacts with are included into the integrated cognitive system. In consecutive interpretation, it can be a pen, a notepad, a laptop. For example, incorrect note-taking may negatively affect the final meaning of the interpretation, cause misunderstanding or cause an incorrect response of the recipient. The influence of automatic and computer-aided translation systems, artificial intelligence, digital technologies, etc., is also noticeable. For example, a timely prompt from a robotic interpreter with a built-in automatic translation of long numbers in simultaneous interpretation positively affects its quality. The study of how terms or names unfamiliar to the interpreter function on the Internet search engines can also favourably affect the final result of the interpretation. For example, when manually translating the name of the event *Первенство мира по фристайлу и сноуборду 2021 года*, you get the following results: ‘2021 FIS Freestyle Ski and Snowboarding World Championships’ or ‘2021 Freestyle and Snowboard Junior World Championships’. However, with an effective search on the web, the translator finds the current version is the only correct one — ‘FIS Junior World Champs 2021’.

Development of the cognitive system and translation decisions is happening via languaging between the system elements. Languaging implies not only verbal communication but also nonverbal and paralinguistic signals sent by the system elements. Exchange of the information occurs at the level of embodied cognition when the human body “reads” additional information confirming or contradicting verbal statements. For example, the so-called “oh-hint” phenomenon, described in cognitive psychology, meaning a random gesture or a paralinguistic signal made by one communicant and helping another communicant to remember something or come up with something, can significantly affect the decision-making process in translation (see: [Chistova, 2021]).

The study of nonverbal communication in connection with verbal communication expands the methodological boundaries of the study of cognitive dissonance — “awareness of the limitations in the choice of different means of the target language necessary to fulfil one of the two key intentions of translation activity (either “to conform to the structure” or “to conform to the goal”) by the integrated parameters of the discourses of the source language and the target language” [Voskoboynik, 2002, p. 14]. With the help of fixing micro-gestures, micro-kinesthetic actions and paralinguistic characteristics of interpreters, it is possible to improve

markers of cognitive difficulties associated with the sensory input of information, emotional intelligence or terminological failure. The features include disfluency, repairs, hesitations, abandoned utterances, restarts, pauses, chanting of words by syllables, the predominance of regulatory-communicative and modal affective-communicative gestures, increased gesticulation speed, exclamations, etc. In written translation, crossing out phrases on drafts, multiple reprints of the text, prolonged pauses in the production of the translation text might serve as nonverbal “witnesses” of the cognitive dissonance of the translator facing a complex task that requires multiple attempts to its careful consideration and final decision.

A detailed description of paralinguistic and nonverbal markers found at the moment of dissonance is productive for understanding the cognitive processes of self-regulation of the system. Suppose the communication participants, for example, interpretation, can read nonverbal signals in time. In that case, there is much more time to align cognitive dissonance, making it possible to take preventive measures and not deal with the problems post factum. Moreover, the collected empirical cases with the cognitive markup can be helpful in programming virtual communication agents and robotic dialogue systems.

As a result of the languaging of all the elements of the integrated cognitive system, multiple translation decisions are developed, which are localised not only within the cognitive system of an individual translator. Due to the recurrent process of self-regulation of the system, a translation product of a given quality is created. A completed translation project must meet the expectations of the target audience and the financial needs of the project participants.

Interaction with the target audience to verify if they are satisfied with the quality of translation is the distinguishing feature of the eco-cognitive model. If in the Hönig-Prunč model [Prunč, 2015, p. 219–221] the translator predicts this reaction and then “blindly” provides the translation product, then in modern conditions, such forecasts are no longer sufficient. Forecasting can lead a translation project to unjustified risks — low box-office takings, project suspension due to the censorship restrictions, low book sales, low traffic of the website, etc. The universal interaction scheme presented in the paper includes recipients of translation at all stages of recurrent verification of translation decisions, which reduces risks and, to a greater extent, meets the expectations of the target audience in advance of the delivery of the project. An amateur translation or a crowdsourcing translation can rightfully be considered the most “extreme” form of project verification. In this case, the central part of the project is translated by the readers and fans of the fiction, games, etc.

The trajectory of developing interaction methods between the participants of the translation project and the target audience can be no less productive. Here is an example of translating the Russian website of the Tourist Center “Siberia” Ltd into Chinese. The sentence in Russian: *Ваша охота и рыбалка начнется сразу после прибытия на озеро Таймыр. Каждый день наша компания организывает вертолетные перелеты в места рыбалки и охоты* ‘Your hunting and fishing will start immediately at your arrival at Lake Taimyr. Every day our company organizes helicopter flights to the places of fishing and hunting’. Processing the sentence, the translator decided to add the absent category of citizens that are addressed to: 抵达泰梅尔湖后驴友们将从这里启程开始打猎及垂钓活动。我们公司用用直升飞机运送驴友们到达各个活动地点并随时待命 (back translation: ‘After arriving at the lake, Taimyr **friends** will start here to hunt and fish. Our company will use helicopters to transport **friends** to various places and waiting areas’).

During the interview, the translator explained his decision as follows: “In Russian, the website uses the address *Вы* ‘You’ and sometimes *уважаемые туристы* ‘dear tourists’. The address in Chinese is constructed differently — for example, *туристы* ‘tourists’, which translates as 游游 (*yóukè*). I will not use this lexeme since we are not talking about an ordinary traveller, but about an adventure traveller... who learns something new ... not everyone can try this. This is a challenge for a person. As an appropriate address here, I used the lexeme 驴友 (*Lǔyǒu*), which has no direct analogues in the Russian language. Sounds like 旅友 (*Lǚ yǒu*), abbreviated from 旅行的朋友 (*Lǚxíng de péngyǒu* — *путешествующий друг* — ‘a travelling friend’). Only graphically 驴 is not 旅 at all, they sound the same, in this combination, both are read in the second tone, but the meaning of 驴 is *осел* ‘donkey’. In Chinese culture, this animal has very positive connotations: hardworking, stubborn. Hence, the tourist turns out to be curious, living by the idea of “Getting knowledge — getting money!” It will definitely catch on!”

Experiencing an empathic attitude towards the recipients, who position themselves not just as tourists but as a kind of travellers-researchers, the translator further verifies the use of the predicted option doing a targeted survey. There was a survey conducted among 46 native Chinese speakers from Zhengzhou, Henan Province and 16 ethnic Chinese living in the Russian Federation to verify different translation options (驴友, 游客, 旅友). The age of the respondents ranged from 20 to 37; the jobs were other: students, teachers, agents working with foreign citizens, bank employees, businessmen, etc. According to the survey results, the most traditional option is leading — 游客 (*гyуpиcт* — ‘tourist’) with 4.33 points

out of 5 possible, followed by 旅友 (*путешествующий друг* — ‘travelling friend’) with 4.15 points and 驴友 (*трудолюбивый путешественник* — ‘hardworking traveller’) with 3.91 points. It turned out that the translator’s forecast did not come true and the Chinese are more likely to perceive a more traditional and familiar option than a less creative one, to the translator’s taste.

Thus, the considered eco-cognitive model of the translation activity is universal for all types of translation and has, in my opinion, several fundamental differences and innovations that bring the understanding of the cognitive work of the translator to a substantially new level. Including subjects and objects of the surrounding social and professional environment in the process of making translation decisions, taking into account the opinion of the recipients of translation, as well as considering non-verbal and paralinguistic components likely to affect the final product of translation — all this significantly expands the boundaries and framework of the study of the cognitive activity in a translation project. In addition to the theoretical rethinking of the modern production processes based on this model, it becomes possible to develop externalist research methods and describe practice-oriented algorithms of the translators’ work.

Discussion

When critically examining the proposed model, some questions arise regarding the absence of significant elements presented in other models of translation activity. For example, the eco-cognitive model does not display the so-called “intended translation text”, which is important in the Hönlig-Prunč model [Prunč, 2015, p. 219–221]. I explain it by the fact that such a phenomenon is included in the field of self-regulation of an integrated cognitive system. The model’s difference in the location of this element (E. Prunč puts it at the beginning of the process) is caused by understanding that the work is first carried out with the linguistic, terminological or phraseological units but not with the whole text in any translation project. When the project specialists’ opinion about the selected translation units is gained, the intended translation versions are being formed in the cognitive system, and later they are verified for the reaction of a recipient. The individual units are woven into the general text or message, which also first act as “intended”. The recurrent process at this stage can again return to the project specialists, where changes will be made. For this reason, specifying the location of the intended text is not relevant within the eco-cognitive model as it occurs at all stages of the translation process, has a non-linear character and is constantly undergoing changes.

Discrepancies with other significant translation elements can also be explained via such logical reflections. The main explanation will be an externalist, more comprehensive vision of the nature of human cognition in its interaction with the surrounding world, the impact of which cannot be underestimated in the formation of certain translation decisions.

Conclusion

Thus, the eco-cognitive model of translation activity significantly expands the range of research boundaries and prospects for a better understanding of human cognitive activity. The modus “branching”, which is reflected in the scheme, allows us to make a much deeper study of the mental activity of the modern specialists in the field of translation. The model considers the translator’s non-verbal communication, languaging with other project participants, objects of the material world and recipients of translation. Thanks to the eco-approach to language and cognition, the efforts of scholars can be directed to the development of new research methods for modern translation activities and, accordingly, the extraction of up-to-date procedural knowledge reflecting effective practices of the human-machine interaction, the work of translators within the project, etc. The received materials are intended to rethink and develop new theoretical provisions in Translation Studies and Methods of Teaching and Training Translation.

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MANIPULATION TECHNIQUES BASED ON COVID-19 VACCINE PREVENTION COVERAGE IN THE MEDIA

Due to the media interest in the problems of combating a novel coronavirus infection, researchers have recently started to address the issues of manipulating public opinion. However, we still do not have enough interdisciplinary studies that include both linguistic and extralinguistic methods of analysing the cases of manipulating public opinion in the context of COVID-19 vaccine prevention. The aim of this article is to analyze the most common techniques of manipulating public opinion based on COVID-19 vaccine prevention media coverage. The objectives include an analysis of vaccine frequency use, as well as the ratio of vaccine frequency use by country. It is hypothesized that the mass media employ linguistic and extralinguistic mechanisms to manipulate public opinion in covering the issues of COVID-19 vaccine prevention. We used the data of the largest English corpus NOW (News on the Web) from 2020 to 2021. Over 500 media entries on vaccines were reviewed, of which 16 were selected for this paper. The article observes the data of 20 countries where English media are present and English is quite widespread. Besides statistical methods of analysis, we also applied linguistic methods of in-context analysis, as well as semantic, lexical, grammatical, syntactic, and pragmatic methods. The research findings might lead to further investigation of manipulating public opinion either in the context of COVID-19 vaccine prevention over a longer time period, or in a broader context. The interdisciplinary nature of the results of the analysis could also serve as a basis for subsequent research into the level of an individual's discursive competence and the factors determining its formation and development.

Keywords: media, manipulation, public opinion, COVID-19, vaccine.

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ПРИЕМЫ МАНИПУЛИРОВАНИЯ НА ПРИМЕРЕ ОСВЕЩЕНИЯ ВОПРОСОВ ВАКЦИНОПРОФИЛАКТИКИ COVID-19 В СМИ

В настоящее время наблюдается беспрецедентный интерес СМИ к проблемам борьбы с новой коронавирусной инфекцией, что, в свою очередь, заставило исследователей обратить внимание на возможные случаи манипулирования общественным мнением. Однако по сей день нет междисциплинарных исследований, которые бы включали как лингвистические, так и экстралингвистические методы анализа вопросов манипулирования общественным мнением на примере вакцино-

профилактики COVID-19. Цель настоящего исследования — сравнить и проанализировать наиболее частые приемы манипулирования общественным мнением на примере освещения вопросов вакцинопрофилактики новой коронавирусной инфекции в англоязычных СМИ. В задачи исследования входит анализ частотности употребления вакцин, а также соотношения частоты употребления вакцин по странам. В качестве гипотезы выдвигается предположение о том, что СМИ используют ряд приемов манипулирования общественным мнением при освещении вопросов вакцинопрофилактики COVID-19, имеющими в своей основе как лингвистические, так и экстралингвистические механизмы. Материалом исследования послужили данные крупнейшего англоязычного корпуса NOW (News on the Web) с 2020 по 2021 год. Было проанализировано более 500 употреблений вакцин СМИ, 16 из которых вошли в данную статью. Исследование проводилось на примере 20 стран, где присутствуют англоязычные СМИ, а английский язык достаточно распространен. Наряду со статистическими методами анализа, были применены методы контекстного анализа, а также лингвистического анализа, включающего семантический, лексико-грамматический, синтаксический, стилистический и прагматический анализ. Полученные результаты могут послужить основой для дальнейшего исследования вопросов манипулирования общественным мнением как на примере вакцинопрофилактики COVID-19, так и в более широком контексте. Также представляется интересным провести верификацию полученных результатов в более длительном временном диапазоне. Междисциплинарный характер результатов анализа также может послужить основой для последующего исследования уровня дискурсивной компетенции личности и факторов, обуславливающих ее становление и развитие.

Ключевые слова: средства массовой информации, манипулирование, общественное мнение, COVID-19, вакцина.

Introduction

Over the past three years, there has been an increasing interest in obtaining an effective vaccine to terminate the spread of the new coronavirus infection COVID-19. To date, there is no consensus on which vaccine is most effective. Despite some clinical successes, most vaccines still have several problems with safe use. One of the most significant debates in the media at present is the efforts made by national governments to convince their citizens to be vaccinated. However, far too little attention has been paid to the issues of manipulating public opinion inevitable in this context. Few writers have drawn on any structured research into the attitudes toward influencing public opinion [Andreeva, Arkhipova, 2021; Klimova, Chmel, Savin, 2020; Bu, 2021]. Leaving the medical aspects of the discussion outside the research framework, this paper will focus on

analysing the international media coverage of the use of existing vaccines and comparing the most frequently used techniques of manipulating public opinion.

Methods and material

Due to practical constraints, this paper uses the data from NOW (News on the Web), — one of the largest English language corpora, as research material. The NOW corpus contains 13.7 billion words of data from web-based newspapers and magazines from 2010 to the present time. More importantly, the corpus grows by about 180–200 million terms of data each month (from about 300,000 new articles), or about 2 billion words each year (www.english-corpora.org/now/). It is beyond the scope of this study to examine the corpus data earlier than 2020. Qualitative and quantitative research designs are adopted to provide descriptive, interpretive and empirical data.

Results and discussion

According to Wikipedia, 24 vaccines are authorised for use by national governments, including six approved for emergency or full use by at least one WHO (World Health Organisation)-recognised stringent regulatory authority (Pfizer/BioNTech, Moderna, AstraZeneca, Johnson & Johnson, Sinopharm and Sinovac); while five are in Phase IV. 204 vaccines are undergoing clinical trials that have yet to be authorised. Nine clinical trials consider heterologous vaccination courses (<https://en.wikipedia.org>). Besides the vaccines approved by WHO this paper will also consider those developed in the Russian Federation (Sputnik V, EpiVacCorona, CoviVac, Sputnik Light) as well as those produced in the People's Republic of China (BBIBP-CorV, CoronaVac, Ad5-nCOV (Convidecia)).

Statistical analysis of the frequency of appearances of vaccines in the media shows a general trend. While the average frequency of their use in the media in 2020 ranges from 0.0 to 21.08, in 2021, the average figure more than doubles compared to the previous year, reaching a maximum of 56.53 uses per million words. Pfizer/BioNTech, Moderna, and AstraZeneca account for the bulk of vaccine mentions. Pfizer / BioNTech (56.53 uses per million words) remains the prominent leader from the beginning of 2021. Vaccines developed in Russia are at the lower end of the frequency scale with 0.17 (Sputnik Light), and 0.13 (Sputnik V) uses per million words. In contrast, the overall term *Russian vaccine* is slightly higher at 0.57 uses per million words.

Results from the preliminary statistical analysis indicate a dramatic increase in media coverage of anti-COVID-19 vaccines worldwide over the past two years. Thus, the key research question of this paper is whether or not media interest is based on mechanisms of manipulating public opinion. Using specific linguistic and extralinguistic research methods, this paper will attempt to illuminate the existence of the most prominent manipulation techniques obscured by the media.

A considerable amount of literature has been published on techniques of manipulating public opinion. The generalisability of surveys conducted on the issue [Le Bon, 2021; Fromm, 1994; Shostrom, 1979; Simon, 2010; Braiker, 2004; Kantor, 2010; Hare, 1999; Babiak, Hare, 2019; Dotsenko, 2017; Sheinov, 2019; Gornaya, 2008] is problematic. Most of them are interdisciplinary in nature, though.

We share the opinion of T. V. Simashko and L. N. Maslennikova as well as some scientists who claim that manipulation is a kind of speech influence, which has as its purpose to induce an action, change behaviour, often unconsciously or contrary to one's own opinion, intention [Simashko, Maslennikova, 2019, p. 500].

The shift of emphasis is the most common technique for manipulating public opinion. It is often based on intentionally distorting or obscuring the facts. When accentuated by emotional language, it blocks people's ability to analyse rationally and think critically about what is happening.

The news channel CNBC, for example, when reporting on Pfizer / BioNTech and AstraZeneca clinical trials, quotes some volunteers who claim that further widespread use of these vaccines is fully justified: *the discomfort is worth it to protect themselves against the coronavirus, despite several side effects: high fever, body aches, bad headaches and exhaustion* (<https://www.cnbc.com>). The average reader is likely to assume that vaccination results are not that bad since they are similar to the common cold symptoms. The fact that the information comes from ordinary people makes it even more comprehensible and ultimately acceptable.

The shift of emphasis is incredibly efficient when exploiting the mechanisms of contrast. Even some successes look more encouraging compared to extremely harmful information. For example, to cheer its readers, Newsday reports that the first 170,000 New Yorkers may start receiving the Pfizer vaccine in just two weeks. The use of emotional language along with metaphors is also awe-inspiring: *that's an enormous step out of this hell, one that merits a healthy dose of optimism and hope* (<https://www.newsday.com>).

Syntactical means quite often contribute to the successful use of shift of emphasis. Stylistic gradation, for example, adds expressiveness to the

following sentence: *the fear, stress, and worry that I had lived with for six months is gone* (<https://jewishstandard.timesofisrael.com>). Besides, the use of the past participle of *to go* with the verb *to be* emphasises the irreversibility of the action. Inversion, along with the help of a conditional, brings an emotional intensity to following situation: *the pandemic under which Sri Lanka is reeling at present would have been even worse had not Sinopharm vaccines not been available* (<https://www.sundayobserver.lk>).

The shift of emphasis can be found behind some vague wordy statements aimed to convince the public to trust the information: *an FDA (Food and Drug Administration, USA) spokesman said the agency must review thousands of pages of technical information provided by vaccine developers (Pfizer/BioNTech and Moderna), to ensure the shots were studied and manufactured properly* (<https://www.ktla.com>); *thousands of pages of technical information* is a necessary exaggeration here to emphasise the thoroughness of professionals' work to ensure the safe use of vaccines.

There is sometimes an implicit shift of emphasis in the form of covert advertising which subtly promotes a particular vaccine: *the Chilean government approved Sinovac Biotech Ltd's vaccine for use on children six-years-old and higher, as the country advances one of the most advanced vaccination programs in the world* (<https://www.msn.com>). According to the media source, the government approved the vaccine for children speaks in favour of its safety. The fact that the country uses *one of the most advanced vaccination programs globally* further confirms the efficacy of the chosen vaccine.

Sometimes the form of the shift of emphasis is quite explicit: *during the advisory meeting last week, Patsy Stinchfield, a Children's Minnesota nurse practitioner, said officials and drugmakers could try talking about the side effects in a more positive way. She said they could use language such as "response" instead of "adverse reaction"* (<https://www.nbcchicago.com>). That *response* as opposed to *adverse reaction* is associated chiefly with conventional vaccination, and thus shift of emphasis aims to reassure the anxious public.

Scaremongering is another common manipulation technique, especially when the public is confronted with some shocking statistics. When there was an urgent need for an early decision on the legitimate use of vaccines, American publisher The Hill cited the following figures provided by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC, USA): *Data presented at the CDC meeting demonstrated that health care workers compose about 243,000 COVID-19 infections in the U.S. and 858 deaths. Data suggests that about 500,000 long-term care facility residents and staff contracted the virus, and almost 70,000 have died* (<https://thehill.com>). The

death toll played its part to pressure those who were to decide on emergency use of vaccines.

The news media use statistical data either to present a particular vaccine at its best: *Pfizer's Early Data Shows Vaccine Is More Than 90 % Effective* (<https://www.nytimes.com>), *Sputnik Light is safe and highly effective as demonstrated by the real-world vaccination data in a number of countries. In particular, the data from the Ministry of Health of the Buenos Aires province shows 78.6–83.7 % efficacy among the elderly. In Paraguay Sputnik Light is 93.5 % effective during the ongoing vaccination campaign according to the country's Ministry of Health* (<https://www.prnewswire.co.uk>) or to denigrate another: *but Russians themselves seem less convinced, with many saying they would prefer a Western vaccine and 54 % saying they don't plan to get vaccinated* (<https://asiatimes.com>).

Setting an example also finds its place among manipulation techniques in the English-language media when covering the vaccine issues. For example, AFP Miami-based correspondent Leila Makor shared her experience in clinical trials of the Moderna vaccine: *I eventually realized that taking part in the trial was a way to process my grief — over losing my father and seeing the world turned upside down. It was a small gesture, but it was the only way I knew how to make myself believe we are fighting back* (<https://www.france24.com>). The acute grief at her father, who died of COVID consequences, fears for her own life (Makor was diagnosed with asthma) — all these, along with her simple story, make her example worthy of public attention. Her fears and doubts are close to many people, and the fact that, despite all the risks, some obvious and some imagined, she still decides to vaccinate should encourage others to follow her example.

The division into “we are good” and “they are bad” as a manipulation technique is widely represented in the English-language media. The journal of the University of California, for example, cites one of their professors: *those (vaccines) made by Pfizer, Moderna, and AstraZeneca — have completed their efficacy and safety studies. According to the manufacturers' information, different age groups and ethnicities were included in the vaccine trials. Based on those reports, it seems that even in people over 70 years of age, the response is very positive. Vaccines produced in China and Russia have been applied to selected local populations. Some experts think this rushed preliminary approval carries risks since phase III trials have not been completed* (<https://magazine.ucsf.edu>). Though referring to some experts and using apparently and seem tentative, the overall picture is clear: one should not make a mistake taking sides.

The media often use the manipulation mentioned above technique in a political context. A reporter, when covering anti-government protests in

Bangkok triggered by economic problems due to the pandemic, focuses exclusively on the latter: “...*Government management of Covid is really bad. My dad is unemployed and my mum got infected despite getting two Sinovac jabs*”, — a 21-year-old male protester told AFP (www.dailyexpress.com).

Newsmakers often exploit the political context as a background to their covering the situation in Russia. The media attempt to link the vaccination issues to national stereotypes: *it is not clear whether Russia is in a position to detect such events (side effects) ... partly because of cultural resistance to seeking medical care. Most Russian people will call the doctor only when they cannot breathe anymore* (<https://www.nature.com>) and openly criticise the political system in the country: *but Russians are more prepared to trust the grapevine than they are the nightly news. Why should the people believe what the government says when they are so used to being lied to?* (<https://news.sky.com>)

The study conducted to analyse the media coverage of existing vaccines shows an apparent surge of interest in the issue in the past two years. There are several possible explanations for this, mainly the deadly consequences of COVID-19. The study also found that the media use specific techniques to manipulate public opinion. Therefore, it is likely that there is a link between the media interest in the anti-COVID-19 vaccines and their means of manipulating public opinion. However, the results should be interpreted with caution since it is not clear whether mechanisms of controlling public opinion cause the media interest.

Conclusion

This paper has given an account of some possible reasons for using techniques of manipulating public opinion by the media. The study is interdisciplinary in nature, including, on the one hand, linguistic methods of analysis (lexical, grammatical, stylistic, pragmatic, etc.) and, on the other hand, those that go beyond linguistics (statistical, psychological, etc.). With all the variety of techniques and unique mechanisms of manipulation, they all serve the same purpose — to influence people’s opinions, change their attitudes, induce them to commit an act or change their behaviour. The following analysis of the use of manipulation techniques also opens up opportunities for its application as a tool in determining the level of development of the integral linguistic personality and the discursive competence of an individual.

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TRANSLATION OF REGIONAL TOURISM ADVERTISING TEXTS: PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

The recent developments in the tourist industry of the Republic of Adyghya (North Caucasus, Russia) have revealed an urgent need for quality translation of promotion materials into English and other languages. However, the target texts do not always meet the quality standards partly because of the insufficient supply of trained translators in this small tourist district. The purpose of this study was to look into the translation challenges of regional tourism promotional texts, as well as to identify how the translator's first language and culture influence the choices they make in the target language. The study was based on the analysis of student translations of a 150-word promotional text about a popular local tourist site. Fifty-nine students from three universities in Southern Russia participated in the study. All student translations were organized into a corpus which was uploaded to AntConc text analyzer for frequency analysis. The study demonstrated an excessive variety in the translation of local proper names and realia. The analysis of translation mistakes revealed numerous cases of the first language transfer, as well as the lack of pragmatic adaptation skills in reaching cultural equivalence. The results of the study give a good reason to create a set of unified reference materials for local translators and introduce targeted courses into the university curricula to meet the translation needs of the local tourism industry.

Keywords: regional tourism promotional texts, realia, cultural equivalence, translation mistakes, language transfer.

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ПРОБЛЕМЫ ПЕРЕВОДА РЕГИОНАЛЬНОЙ ТУРИСТИЧЕСКОЙ РЕКЛАМЫ

Развитие туристической индустрии Республики Адыгея (Северный Кавказ, Россия) в последнее время выявило острую потребность в качественном переводе рекламных материалов на английский и другие языки. Однако переводные тексты не всегда соответствуют стандартам качества из-за нехватки подготовленных переводчиков в этом небольшом туристическом районе. Цель данного исследования заключалась в определении круга проблем, с которыми сталкиваются переводчики при переводе рекламных текстов регионального туризма, а также в выявлении влияния родного языка и культуры переводчика на переводческие решения. Исследование было основано на анализе студенческих переводов небольшого рекламного текста о популярном местном туристическом объекте. В исследовании приняли участие 59 студен-

тов из трех вузов юга России. Все студенческие переводы были организованы в корпус, который был загружен в текстовый анализатор AntConc для частотного анализа. Исследование показало избыточную вариативность в переводе местных имен собственных и реалий. Анализ переводческих ошибок выявил многочисленные случаи интерференции родного языка, а также отсутствие навыков прагматической адаптации исходного текста для достижения культурной эквивалентности. Результаты исследования дают основания для разработки единых справочных материалов для местных переводчиков и включения целевых курсов в учебные программы университетов для удовлетворения потребностей в переводе местной индустрии туризма.

Ключевые слова: региональная туристическая реклама, реалии, культурная эквивалентность перевода, ошибки перевода, языковая интерференция.

Introduction

The processes of globalisation that characterise the present stage of human development inevitably give rise to new forms of intercultural interaction. One of such forms in Russia is transnational tourism focused on visiting not only world-renowned tourist megacities such as Moscow and St Petersburg, or the Golden Ring gems like Vladimir and Suzdal but also small but unique Russian regions so far prevalent only within the country. Increasing the region's attractiveness for tourists from abroad and attracting foreign investors to the tourism sector are the tasks that Russian areas with unique natural and/or cultural heritage are now set for themselves. Such regions include the Republic of Adygeya, one of the minor constituents of the Russian Federation, deservedly considered the jewel of the North-Western Caucasus. Its beautiful nature, authentic culture, and inter-ethnic and inter-confessional accord make a visit to Adygeya attractive for Russians and visitors from abroad. Over the past ten years, the tourist flows in the area have increased manifold. According to the data published on the official website of the Republic of Adygeya, over 500 thousand tourists visit the republic each year, which exceeds the total number of its residents¹. However, the industry's potential is much higher; of course, the demand for tourist advertising is growing, including writing promotional texts and translating them into foreign languages, primarily English. Undoubtedly, the two pandemic years have limited foreign travel around the world and temporarily slowed down the development of

¹ *Republic of Adyghea*. Available at: http://www.adygheya.ru/press-room/news/glava-adygei-podcherknul-vazhnost-ispolzovaniya-instrumentov-fas-dlya-razvitiya-konkurentsii-v-regio/?sphrase_id=159478 (accessed: 25.11.2021).

tourist infrastructure aimed at visitors from abroad; yet, the local tourism industry continues to hold optimism for its forthcoming revival, which means that there certainly will be a need to popularise and promote the region both within the country and outside it.

Travel advertising and promotional texts target potential consumers who want to spend their free time or vacation in a particular place. Such texts describe tourist sites and routes, types of recreation, facilities available in hotels and recreation centres. In addition to describing tourist sites, the popularising texts focus on the history of the region, its economic development, unique local products, the highlights of the local cuisine, cultural events, customs, and traditions of the local indigenous population. The problems associated with writing influential promotional tourist texts and translating them into English are pretty painful in small regions such as Adygeya. The analysis of popularising and promotional printed matter published in the republic within the last five years has shown that books and travel booklets, impeccable in terms of printing quality and visually pleasing to the eye, unfortunately, often contain low-quality texts with carelessly done translations. The situation with some travel websites is even more deplorable, as they either use machine translation or their English versions have a lot of mistakes, word-for-word translations, and typos. Most likely, regional administrations, travel agencies, and minor tourist companies place their translation orders with unskilled, non-professional translators, often students of the local universities, who are very much affected by the cross-linguistic and cross-cultural influence of the source language (which is usually their mother-tongue) on the target language.

The objective of this research is to look into the translation issues of regional tourism promotional texts and identify how the features of the translator's first language and culture influence the choice of words and syntactic structures in the target language, causing various mistakes and inadequacies.

According to the text typology of Katharina Reiss, all texts fall into three categories: informative, expressive, and operative [Reiss, 1989, p. 105–115]. For each category, a matching type of equivalence is needed, focusing on the content, the form, or the effect. A tourist text usually represents a blend of all three types: they are informative, as they are full of facts and descriptions of actual places; they are expressive, as they aim to catch the attention of a prospective client or investor; they are also operative, as they are of promotional nature and push the reader into action. This multidimensional nature of tourist advertising and promotional texts requires a certain level of mastery in translation to retain the originality

of form and content and achieve the desired pragmatic (perlocutionary) effect.

Tourism itself is the kind of activity that involves the direct contact of cultures. However, this “directness” is very often mediated by translation. Translation as a vehicle of cross-cultural communication in tourism has been the focus of many research papers [Snell-Hornby, 1999; Nielsen, 2001; Valdeón, 2009; Napu, 2016; Sulaiman, 2016, etc.]. The underlying premise for this cross-cultural perspective is the “cultural turn” [Snell-Hornby, 2006], resulting in the shift from general equivalence paradigm to cultural and, later, digital one [Gambier, 2016]. Due to its complexity and multifaceted character, the cultural turn “could not but influenced the character of the science of translating which started to investigate various aspects of cultural manifestations and differences between cultures apparent in various types of translation” [Sdobnikov, 2019, p.298]. Tourist texts are culture-bound by nature. You are ignoring the cultural aspect of both the source and the target audience results in the reader losing its persuasion power. From the pragmatics perspective, it means that “semantic equivalence” dominates “perlocutionary equivalence” in translation [Hickey, 2004, p.77]. Attaining “perlocutionary equivalence” sometimes requires considerable changes in the target text because, as stated by Venuti in *The Translator’s Invisibility*, “the ethnocentric violence of translation is inevitable: in the translating process, foreign languages, texts, and cultures will always undergo some degree and form of reduction, exclusion, the inscription” [Venuti, 1995, p.310].

Though translation plays a vital role in the tourist industry, its quality has been extensively criticised. Several studies dedicated to tourism translation discuss the sources of translation flaws and suggest remedial strategies and tactics [Kelly, 1998; Sulaiman, Wilson, 2018; Qassem, Ali, 2021]. According to Sulaiman, the primary focus of criticism is mainly the inability of a flawed translation to fulfil its designated function. In this case, it is hard to overestimate the role of the translation commissioner (or client) who assigns the translation task [Sulaiman, 2016, p.54]. Choosing the wrong contractor, usually for the reasons of economy or the unavailability of a better one, may result in the production of texts of insufficient quality. The flaws might also lie in the original text, which ignores cultural aspects, being a blueprint copy of the promotional message intended for the local consumers. Durán Muñoz, in her paper *Analysis of common mistakes in translations of tourist texts (Spanish, English, and German)* (2012), also listed the extralinguistic factors that undermine the quality of translation, among which is commissioning translating task to “non-professionals, sometimes with a limited knowledge of the target language and no spe-

cific training in translation or domain-specific languages, who accept low fees and produce quick translations” [Durán Muñoz, 2012, p.339]. She categorised the mistakes in tourist translations into grammar and spelling, lexis and semantics, pragmatics and discourse, omissions, repetitions and additions (p.339). She proposed a series of solutions to improve the quality of translation in tourism to achieve the desired balance between source and target cultures. Most of these solutions are not new and lie outside the linguistic field: raising translators’ cultural awareness, enhancing professional training in academic institutions, and overcoming time and budget constraints.

The issue of translation quality in tourist advertising and promotional texts has also been addressed by several Russian linguists: Novozhilova (2015), Mityagina (2016), Novikova (2019), Gureeva, Novozhilova and Sidorovich (2017), Ashurbekova & Kagirova (2020), and others. The latter two papers explored the quality of tourist translation in advertising texts promoting a little-known tourist region. Speaking of the extralinguistic effect of tourist texts, Ashurbekova & Kagirova (2020) claimed that the source text often needs to be rewritten to accommodate the needs of the target audience: it has to include some clear instructions on how to get to the place from the nearest big cities which have airports or railway stations; facilities for elderly and disabled people should also be described (p.49). Such information is often missing in Russian source texts. The paper also discussed the translation of unique local toponyms and ethnic realia as two primary sources of translators’ mistakes, as they are hardly ever registered in dictionaries and reference books. Another problem addressed in the paper is the lack of adequate training of local translators. Similarly, several aspects of training translators for the tourist industry in globalisation and digitalisation were discussed in Novikova’s paper *Travel guidebooks translation: linguocultural and didactic peculiarities* [Novikova, 2014]. The author described a cross-cultural project of creating a Russian-German guidebook on the city of Volgograd, where a particular emphasis was put on forming professional competencies of future translators.

Numerous cultural realia mentioned in local tourist texts have always been challenging for translators. The problem primarily concerns translating local toponyms and inconsistencies in their interpretation. Even the region’s name where the current study was set is spelt differently. The Russian-English Dictionary of Geographical Names suggests Adygei for the Russian name of the area; Merriam-Webster’s Geographical Dictionary recommends two options: Adygea and Adygeya; in the English version of the official website of the Republic, its name is spelt as Adygheya, with the letter *h* following *g*. This difficulty is caused by the letter *g* followed by *e* in

the original name. Simple transliteration results in Adygea or Adygeya, in which, according to the phonetic rules of the English language, the letter *g* preceding a front vowel should be pronounced as [dʒ]. To avoid this distortion, the letter *h* has been added to the name of the republic: Adygha or Adygheya. This option prevails in translated texts; however, toponyms Adygha and Adygei are also quite common, especially in the texts written by foreign authors. The name of the region's capital city also has multiple variants: *Maykop*, *Maikop*, *Majkop*, *Maycop*. Rendering Adygha transcribed/transliterated culture-bound elements from a Russian source into English may entail considerable distortions if the translator does not know the Adygha language: it is hardly possible for the reader to see the same referent in the two transcribed variants of the Adygha name of Mount Elbrus: *Waschhemaxwe* and *Oshkhamakho*. Although quite understandable and objectively inevitable, such variability has to be administratively regulated by the local Committee for Recreation and Tourism, the principal commissioner for creating tourist promotional materials in the area.

Similarly problematic is the translation of the name of the nearby region. As Adygheya is an enclave within another territorial constituent, it is often mentioned together with Krasnodar Region. Some linguists and translators (e. g. [Kabakchi, 2001]) advocate the original Russian form of the name, spelt as a pure transcription: *Krasnodarsky Krai*, rather than the mixed version *Krasnodar Region* (transcription + translation). There is also a variant of *Krasnodar Territory*, which emphasises the peculiarity of the territorial-administrative structure. In Russian, *krai* means “edge”, i. e. the territory adjacent to the state border, unlike *oblast*, a region within the country. Even more challenging is the metonymic name of the Krasnodar Region based on the name of the Kuban River. Using the transcription method may cause cognitive dissonance because it is phonetically reminiscent of the adjective (as the suffix *-an* in English is traditionally associated with adjectives) Cuban, i. e. related to the country of Cuba. The names derived from the toponym Kuban, e. g. *Zakubansky* (situated beyond the Kuban River), *Levokubansky* (located on the left bank of the Kuban River), etc., are also complicated to translate: their transcribed (transliterated) equivalents retain the morphological form of the word in the original language and therefore look awkward to the eye of a native speaker of English and are difficult to pronounce.

Transcription and transliteration are also used to translate local anthroponyms, e. g. *Abdulakh Bersirov*, *Asya Eutykh*, *Teuchezh Kat*, *Vladimir Nevzorov*, *Murat Khasanov*, and others. Transliterating proper names is a painstaking task for a translator. The grammatical category of gender in the Russian language complicates this process for a translator whose first

language is not Russian. In the gift edition of the book “*Adygheya*”² translated by Michele Carey, there are some inaccurate transliterations: e.g. the last name of a male Olympic champion Mukharbiy Kirzhinov used in the genitive case in the source text was mistakenly transliterated with the ending *-a* which is typical of the feminine gender in Russian: *champion XX Olimpijskix igr po tyazheloj atletike Muxarbiya Kirzhinova (Russ.)*³ — *Mukharbii Kirzhinova, Olympic weightlifting champion* (p. 50).

Translation of ethnographic realia often requires supporting translation to explicate the meaning of the transcribed term, as in the following example: *Masterskaya proizvodit unikal'nye muzykal'nye instrumenty: shhichepshin, pshhy'netarkxo, kamył i vesyolye adygejskie treshhotki pxa-chich (Russ.)* — *The workshop manufactures unique musical instruments: a fiddle-like shhichepshin, harp-like pshynetarkho, flute-like kamył, and cheerful Adyghean rattles named pkhatsich* (p. 45). Loan translation is also an option, for example, for honorary titles: *Zasluzhennyj deyatel' Respubliki Abkhaziya (Russ.)* — *Honoured Art Worker of Abkhazia*.

It is crucial to consider some other aspects of local culture: religion, traditions, patterns of family life, etc. Muslim religious commandments and bans, archaic paternal family models in the villages, the prohibition for a woman's parents to ever face their son-in-law, looking down on alcohol consumption and other features of Adyghe culture require not only pragmatic adaptation in translation but also thorough planning and development of the source message. Undoubtedly, these skills should become a part of professional training for future translators and hospitality primary students in local academic institutions.

Method

The paper is based on analysing student translations of a 150-word text about one of the popular local tourist sites. Fifty-nine students were asked to participate in the study: 31 were senior students enrolled in translation and interpretation training programs at Kuban State University (Krasnodar) and Pyatigorsk State University (Pyatigorsk). In contrast, 28 studied general linguistics focusing on pedagogy at Adyghe State University in Maykop. Ten participants out of 59 are international students at Adyghe State University, whose first language is not Russian. The original text (Russian) can be found at <https://russia.travel/objects/301090/>. The

² *Adygheya*. Published with support of Ministry of Economic Development and Trade of the Republic of Adygheya. 2019. 80 p.

³ Transliteration of the Russian source texts in the present paper has been done with online transliteration service, available at: <https://transliteration-online.ru/>

students could use general Russian-English dictionaries but could not use machine translation systems or do an additional search on the Internet. All student translations were organised into a corpus uploaded to Ant-Conc text analyser (<http://laurenceanthony.net>), a freeware corpus analysis toolkit. The study mainly focused on the translation of local realia, toponyms and proper names, and the pragmatic adaptation of the original text in the translation.

Results and Discussion

The analysis of student translations confirmed the existence of recurring problems when translating tourist promotional texts. First, the inconsistency in the translation of local toponyms was observed. The name of the tourist site in the source text is *Khadzhokhskaya Tesnina* (Russ.); this is a picturesque gorge named after the nearby village. The analysis revealed four different types of spelling its source name: *Chadjoch* (1.6%), *Hadjoh* (11.7%), *Khadjokh* (26.7%), *Khadzhokh* (58.4%); in one paper, the original name was left without translation in Russian letters (1.6%). The difficulty of transcribing the original name stems from its being pronounced with deep pharyngeal sounds and a glottal stop in the Adyge language; many translators opted for *kh* when writing the word in English. This is, however, the fact known mainly to the local translators, which has been confirmed by the fact that the participating international students (7 out of 10) transcribed the toponym as *Hadjoh*. In 38.3% of texts, translators transcribed the site's name as it is — in the form of the adjective derived from the village name, preserving the Russian morphological constituents: suffix *-sk* and the feminine ending *-aya*. The rest, 61.7% used the village's name as a noun attribute, e.g. *Khadzhokh Gorge*. In three papers, both variants were used interchangeably. As for the second element of the toponym, 21.7% of students used the transliterated word *tesnina*; the word *gorge* was used in 60% of texts; *ravine* — in 6.7%; *clove*, *canyon*, and *narrow* constituted 3.3% each; the word *upstream* was used once, making 1.6%. As the source text describes a tourist infrastructure complex rather than a natural object, we recommend translating its name as *Khadjokhskaya Tesnina*, and using the words *gorge*, *canyon*, etc., only when describing the physical parameters of the place.

Another example of inconsistency in the analysed texts is the translation of the former name of the canyon. In Russian, it is *Shum* (Noise). The translations varied from transcribed *Shum*, *Schum*, and *Shoom* to English equivalents *Noise*, *Uproar*, *Rustle*, *Rush*, and even the hyperonym *Sound*. The quantitative analysis has shown that 63.4% of student translators

used the transcription only, 23.3% used the equivalent English word, and 13.3% added translation to the transcribed name. Opposite to the prevailing choices, in this particular case, it seems more appropriate to resort to the latter option, as the original name is no longer in use. Still, it bears the lexical meaning, making it descriptive and relevant.

The second problem revealed by the analysis of student translations is the influence of their first language on the decisions they were making while translating culture-bound elements. Language interference or language transfer, also known as a cross-cultural influence, is one of the essential problems in second language acquisition and translation. When doing translation from their first language into a second one, an unskilled translator might try “to compensate for some elements, phenomena, and functions of one language system with features, phenomena and processes of another, which can lead to accent, literalism, distortion of meaning and to various deviations from the original text [Alimov, 2003, p. 64]. In other words, language interference should be understood as the interference of elements of one linguistic system with another, which can be both constructive and destructive [Komissarov, 1989, p. 103]. In the case of tourist text translation, language transfer may cause mistakes at each of the following levels: morphological, lexical, and pragmatic.

At the morphological level, problems may proceed from the grammatical mismatch between the source and the target language. In the current study, the following mistakes driven by language interference were identified:

- (1) violation of the word order of the English sentence under the influence of free order of sentence elements in Russian. This might have been caused by mechanic copying of the structure of the source text sentence, resulting in overloading the beginning of the sentence with numerous modifiers, placing them between subject and predicate, or before objects: *Dlya posetitelej organizovana avtostoyanka, rabotayut kafe, sauna, nebol'shoj rynok...* (Russ.): ‘...For the visitors has been organised a parking lot, also work a café, a sauna, a mini-market...’. Suggested translation: ‘The site has a parking lot, a cafeteria, a sauna, a mini-market...’;
- (2) copying elliptical sentences without supplying grammatical elements which cannot be omitted in English: *Staroe ego nazvanie — kanjon “Shum”* (Russ.): ‘The old name of it — Canyon Shum’. Suggested translation: ‘Its old name is Shum (Noisy) Canyon’;
- (3) use of singular/plural forms by analogy with the Russian language: *odin ugolok s vodoplavayushhej pticej* (Russ.) — ‘one corner with a

waterbird' (variant: 'a waterfowl'). Suggested translation: 'a pond with waterfowl';

- (4) mistakes caused by the absence of tense-aspect variety in the Russian system of tenses: *S 1979 goda ob'ekt yavlyaetsya pamyatnikom prirody (Russ.)*: 'Since 1979 the object is a monument of nature...'. Suggested translation: 'It has been a natural sanctuary since 1979'.

Lexical mistakes in the translations were also the consequence of transfer from the Russian language:

1) loan translation of phrases and compound words:

- *oborudovannyj turistsko-ekskursionnyj kompleks (Russ.)*: 'tourist-excursion complex'. Suggested translation: 'complex of tourist facilities';
- *ekskursionnyj ob'ekt (Russ.)*: 'excursion object'. Suggested translation: 'tourist site';
- *narodnye mastera (Russ.)*: 'folk masters'. Suggested translation: 'local artisans';
- *zhivoj ugolok (Russ.)*: 'living corner, living nook'. Suggested translation: 'mini-zoo';
- *avtostoyanka (Russ.)*: 'autostation'. Suggested translation: 'parking lot';
- *lestnicy-perexody (Russ.)*: 'stairs-passages, stairs-transitions, stairs-crossings'. Suggested translation: 'crossover stairs';
- *pamyatnik prirody (Russ.)*: 'monument of nature'. Suggested translation: 'natural sanctuary';

2) transfer of lexical meanings associated with the semantic analogy:

- *grafik dvizheniya grupp (Russ.)*: 'traffic schedule, schedule of the movement'. Suggested translation: 'itinerary';

3) translator's false friends:

- *grafik* (meaning 'itinerary'): 'graphic, chart'.

Pragmatic or functional mistakes conditioned by language transfer are sometimes not that obvious; they usually stem from the poor quality of the source texts or the translator's lack of cultural competence.

The source text in this study featured at least two things that needed pragmatic adaptation in the target text. The first one was the name of a famous tourist route, *Vsesoyuznyj turisticheskij marshrut № 30 (Russ.)*. This is the kind of realia that takes the reader back to the Soviet Union times (hence, the word *Vsesoyuznyj* (*All-Union*) that consists of the roots "all"

and “union”). That route was trendy in the past: it took the tourists from Adygeya to the Black Sea coast over a mountain pass. Very few of the students, all born after the split of the Soviet Union, had even a vague idea about Route 30. By prompted dictionaries, 75 % of student translators used the equivalent *All-Union*, which hardly says anything to the target foreign audience. Other options included *All-Russian* (8.3 %), *National* (5 %), explicating description (5 %), and no reference at all (6.7 %). One of the translators provided an explication: *It is included in touristic routes that have been popular since Soviet times*. However, as the route above with a different name is still functioning and continues to be in high demand among Russian and foreign tourists, we recommend using the adjective *national*, as it appropriately describes the trail’s status and does not disorient the reader.

Another pragmatic challenge that revealed a considerable number of misinterpretations was translating the sentence *Na territorii oborudovany tri zhivyx ugolka — dva s zhivymi medvedyami i odin ugolok s vodoplavayushhej pticej* (Russ.) (Suggested translation: ‘The site has two mini-zoos with bears and a pond with waterfowl’). The misleading notion here is that of *zhivoj ugolok*, literally translated as ‘living corner’, the dictionary meaning “a collection of plants and small animals used for observing and experimenting at school or kindergarten”. The English equivalent closest in meaning is ‘pet’s corner’ or ‘petting zoo’. However, the term describes a mini-zoo with bears in the source text. It is hard to imagine someone petting a considerable bear, although the use of the term in the Russian language has been extended and bears no controversy. Yet, 36.8 % of student translators used the *pet* option in their translations; 26.3 % resorted to literal translation and used the phrase *living corner*; 14 % opted for *animal corner* or *nature corner*; 8.7 % chose the most appropriate, in our opinion, variant *mini-zoo*. There was occasional usage of the words *enclosure*, *menagerie*, *animal zone*, and *wild beast shew*. Interestingly, 38.5 % of translators decided to specify that the bears in the mini-zoo were *real*, *live*, or even *alive* as if there might have been the opposite option of exhibiting dead animals or effigies in “the living corner”.

Particularly challenging for the participants was the translation of the following passage:

“Khadzhoxskaya tesnina” predstavlyaet soboj oborudovannyj turist-sko-ekskursionnyj kompleks. Dlya posetitelej organizovana avtostoyanka, rabotayut kafe, sauna, nebol’shoj rynek, mini-gostinicza, detskij atrakcion, zhelayushhie mogut zakazat’ poezdki na dzhipax, ekskursionnom avtobuse i priobresti izdeliya narodnyx umel’cev. (Russ.) (Suggested translation: “Khadzhokhskaia tesnina” can boast of a vast complex of tourist facili-

ties. It has a parking lot, a cafeteria, and a sauna; a small market, a mini-hotel, and a children's playground. Visitors can book an off-road trip or a guided bus tour. Those interested in souvenirs can buy the crafts of local artisans').

The passage is a vivid example of an unattractive promotional message. It contains clichés typical of official reports; the second sentence is unreasonably long and includes a boring list of available facilities. Over 80 % of student translators copied the passage's structure without breaking it into shorter, easier to read sentences; 67.3 % of participants reproduced the bureaucratic cliché in the original text: *tourist-excursion complex*. As a sample of tourist promotional text, the source piece does not have to follow the rigid conventions as do the texts of some specific genres, such as technical, legal, or medical; hence, the target text can be changed, localised, modified, and improved. It is possible to add a colloquial note to it: "*Khadzhokhskaya tesnina*" can boast of a vast complex of tourist facilities...", or single out different ideas into separate sentences: "Visitors can book an off-road trip or a guided bus tour. Those interested in souvenirs can buy the crafts of local artisans".

The inconsistencies and mistakes revealed in the student translations have demonstrated the need for targeted training in the pragmatic adaptation of tourist texts. The translator's vision of the target text is very much affected by their language and culture conventions. In general, the tourist discourse in Russian is much influenced by the Russian bureaucratic tradition of written text with its lengthy sentences, numerous homogeneous parts, complicated passive and nominal structures, and numerous outdated clichés. As English tourist texts, on the contrary, tend to be less formal and more colloquial, it is necessary to teach future translators to recognise the flaws of the style in the source text and to adhere more closely to the target discourse conventions.

Conclusion

The issues raised in the present paper relate to one major problem: ensuring the quality of translation in the sphere of tourist advertising and promotion. The challenges translators of local tourist texts face often stem from the cultural aspect of the source text, such as the translation of realia and local proper names and stylistic and pragmatic adaptation of the promotional message. The study has revealed the problem of excessive variety when translating the local toponyms, which are not fixed in bilingual dictionaries. The absence of selected ready-made solutions allows for limitless variations resulting in inconsistencies in the local tourist

materials. A unified approach should be worked out on the local level, a set of rules to which the local translators would adhere. It is necessary to rely on the existing international transliteration rules because those defined by the inner-state standard are more oriented on the graphic image of the letters and do not adequately convey the transcribed onyms. For example, pharyngeal sounds, typical of the Adyghe and many other Caucasus languages, should undoubtedly be transliterated with the *h* element, rather than *x*, which has only a graphic. Still, no acoustic resemblance to the corresponding letter in Russian and might be somewhat misleading for speakers of other languages. One possible solution is to develop a set of bilingual dictionaries or reference books listing the local toponyms, widespread anthroponyms, and local realia. This might be a good grant project to involve students majoring in translation, as it will help them understand the cultural aspects of their future job. The process should be financed and supervised by the Committee for Recreation and Tourism of Adygheya, not only due to the project's relevance in terms of the local economy but also because it requires coordination with numerous Adyghe diaspora living abroad and using their system of translating ethnic names and realia, equally various and inconclusive.

The other aspect of this paper was the insufficient professional training of translators involved in the local tourism industry. The analysis of translations done by the students from three local universities has revealed the weak points that can be eliminated by shifting the focus in professional training from general translation practices to specialised translation in tourism promotion. As mentioned above, almost half of the participants are studying towards a degree in translation. Though it was not the present study's focus, predictably enough, future translators demonstrated better knowledge of translating techniques and better translation skills than general linguists. However, as for specific translation problems related to local realia and pragmatic adaptation of the text, both groups showed the same insufficient level of competence. These results give a good reason for introducing relevant changes in the university curricula in the form of compulsory or optional targeted courses, which will be focused on translation needs of the local tourism industry.

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RUSSIAN LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT AND BILINGUALS

Language proficiency exams have now become an important part of language education. Despite the common use of standardized language proficiency tests, one of the issues in the context of the Russian language teaching is language assessment for bilinguals. Taking into account specifics of this category of students, researchers and educators suggest that bilinguals need specially designed tests for the assessment of their proficiency. We suggest that the cause of this problem is the diversity of the Russian language skills of bilinguals. To solve the question of separation of assessment for Russian-speaking bilinguals and Russian as a foreign or second language learners, it is necessary to define the objects of assessment and purposes of testing. This paper reviews available tests for Russian-speaking bilinguals: diagnostic tests aimed to evaluate the language acquisition process, and tests designed for students of Russian supplementary schools according to specified study programmes. The authors suggest that the tests intended for bilinguals are generally focused on various aspects of bilingualism, but standardised proficiency tests, particularly Test of Russian as a Foreign Language and based on it Russian language test for schools, provide comprehensive assessment and are accessible for everyone who needs to confirm his/her language proficiency regardless their Russian language experience, history of language acquisition, or instruction programme.

Keywords: Test of Russian as a Foreign Language — TORFL, Russian language, bilinguals, assessment, proficiency.

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ТЕСТИРОВАНИЕ ПО РУССКОМУ ЯЗЫКУ И БИЛИНГВЫ

В настоящее время сертификационное тестирование является важной составляющей системы обучения иностранным языкам. Несмотря на повсеместное применение стандартизированных тестов, подтверждающих уровень владения изучаемым языком, в контексте преподавания русского языка обсуждается вопрос оценки навыков и умений билингвов. Исследователи и методисты предполагают, что для оценки уровня владения языком у билингвов необходимы тесты, специально разработанные с учетом специфики этой категории учащихся. Мы полагаем, что возникновение данного вопроса обусловлено неоднородностью языковых навыков у билингвов. Чтобы ответить на вопрос о необходимости применения для билингвов и изучающих русский язык как иностранный или второй различных видов тестирования, необходимо определить цели и объекты тестирования. В данной статье рассматриваются

существующие на данный момент тесты для билингвов: диагностические, направленные на оценку процесса усвоения русского языка, и тесты, разработанные для русских школ дополнительного образования с учетом ряда предлагаемых для них учебных программ. Рассматриваемые работы показывают, что тесты, разработанные для билингвов, направлены на различные аспекты, связанные непосредственно с билингвизмом, в то время как стандартизированные тесты, подтверждающие уровень владения иностранным языком, в частности тест по русскому языку как иностранному и разработанный на его основе тест по русскому языку для школьников, дают возможность интегрированной оценки и доступны для всех изучающих русский язык, вне зависимости от способа усвоения языка или учебной программы.

Ключевые слова: тест по русскому языку как иностранному — ТРКИ, русский язык, билингвы, тестирование, уровень владения языком.

Introduction

Children and adolescents studying Russian abroad could be divided into Russian students studying Russian as a foreign language (RFL) and Russian-speaking bilinguals from Russian-speaking immigrant families. The first study is primarily Russian at public schools as part of their educational programme. The latter attend Russian supplementary schools (RSS), take classes for Russian heritage speakers at public schools if available, or study in RFL groups. One of the essential issues of teaching Russian to bilingual children and adolescents is an assessment of their skills. The problem mainly concerns students of RSS schools but can also arise at public schools.

Language skills of bilinguals in their L1 and L2 is a question that is widely discussed by researchers [Hoffmann, 1991; Meyers-Scotton, 2011; Montrul, 2015; Polinsky, 2006]. The studies in Russian language acquisition by bilinguals show various problems, for example, attrition of specific morphological categories, e. g. verbal aspectual pairs within the use of affixes, cases and gender of nouns, adjectives and pronouns, lack of discourse competence and lexis interference [Bar-Shalom & Zaretsky, 2008; Gagarina et al., 2010; Gagarina et al., 2012; Ladinskaya et al.; Lopukhina et al.; 2019; Mitrofanova et al., 2018]. At the same time, bilinguals may have better skills in various aspects of their L1 than learners of a foreign or second language. Researchers point out that bilinguals may have reasonable control in specific morphological categories and syntactic constructions, and at the same time, be relatively weak in others, mainly not frequently used, or limited by particular domains, for example, academic or professional [Meyers-Scotton, 2011]. The fact that bilinguals outperform in various aspects compared to the second/foreign language learners has be-

come the reason for discussions on the standardised criterion-referenced language exams based on CEFR and designed for measuring L2 or foreign language proficiency.

Many RSS students pass the Test of Russian as a Foreign Language (TORFL). The number of RSS integrate TORFL in their programmes and consider it as an effective tool for improving students' skills of oral and written communication in various domains, provided that their students acquire Russian outside the country [Doktor et al., 2017; Dubinina & Ptiushkin, 2021; Ilicheva et al., 2019].

At the same time, some researchers discuss the possibility of applying standardised proficiency tests, in the case of the Russian language, TORFL, for bilinguals and the need for a specific test for them [Kalenkova & Korableva, 2016; Khamraeva et al., 2018; Kunovski, 2017; Luchkina et al., 2021]. According to them, standardised proficiency tests like TORFL are aimed at L2 or RFL learners and do not consider specifics of bilingual students' competencies. Some of the points suggest that assessment of Russian language skills in bilingual students' needs comparison with the Russian skills of their peers living in Russia.

To discuss the issue of tests intended for bilinguals, we need to review different types of them, such as diagnostic tests and tests developed for RSS students. The diagnostic tests are primarily designed to examine children and adolescents' Russian language skills development and are created considering the cognitive linguistics principles. The trials of this kind can be used to identify language skills in different aspects, such as morphology and syntax, productive and receptive lexicon, discourse competence, etc. They are created as assessment instruments for fundamental and applied research, and some of them could be used by educators. The tests for RSS students are mainly linked with the study programmes offered to RSS.

In Europe and the other parts of the world for language proficiency assessment are used CEFR based proficiency tests. They evaluate language proficiency regardless of the way and situation of the Russian language acquisition [Council of Europe, 2003; Pavlovskaya, 2008]. And in this paper, we discuss why TORFL is an integral part of Russian language teaching both to bilinguals and RFL or L2 learners and the role of the tests for bilinguals in teaching bilinguals.

The teaching of the Russian language abroad and proficiency assessment

Russian as a foreign language (RFL) at public schools is taught according to curricula adopted by the countries' educational authorities.

The curricula correlate with the Common European Framework of References for Languages (CEFR) [Council of Europe, 2003], and there are coursebooks designed according to these programmes [Adler et al., 2018; Amstein-Bahmann et al., 2009; Brosch et al., 2012; Magnati et al., 2017, Vanin & Zanivan, 2020]. These days, at a time of multilingualism trend and European policy of plurilingualism, language proficiency exams have become more common. Therefore, most coursebooks refer to exams in the target language.

At schools in Europe and around the world, language education is CEFR-referenced, and textbooks introduce students most common certification exams on the target languages. Russian textbooks in different countries contain information on TORFL, which can also be referred to as TRKI (Russian translation: *ТРКИ*, an acronym for *Тест по русскому языку как иностранному*), and include tasks similar to this exam. These are, for example, German *Konetschno!* (*Конечно!*, also localised in Serbia its part *Dalsche* (*Дальше*) [Amstein-Bahmann et al., 2009; Brosch et al., 2012] and *Dialog* (*Диалог*) [Adler et al., 2018]; Italian course books *Davajte!* (*Давайте!*) [Magnati et al., 2017], *Ura!* (*Ура!*) [Vanin, Zanivan, 2020] and others. The books include tasks which are similar to TORFL and provide information on the exam. In general, the levels recommended for school students, depending on the year of study, are A1 — B2. The range of grades is suggested due to the age characteristics described by linguists, cognitivists and developers of CEFR [Hasselgreen & Caudwell, 2016; McKay, 2008; Nikolov, 2016; Papp, Rixon, 2018; Council of Europe, 2018]. We need to note that often the same Russian language classes attend both students studying RFL and students coming from immigrant Russian speaking families. And some course books, for example, *Dialog* [Ader et al., 2018], include tasks of different complexity for such heterogeneous groups. Thus, we see that the public-school curricula and the commonly used course books recommend that school students prepare for TORFL despite students' language biography diversity.

Russian language classes at public education schools attend both RFL learners and Russian-speaking bilinguals, and some schools have a unique option for bilinguals — heritage speakers' groups. Russian-speaking bilinguals who don't have an opportunity to study Russian at public schools or prefer more extensive programs attend Russian supplementary schools (RSS) or so-called "weekend schools". They started to open in the 1990s, and their purpose is to support the Russian language in immigrant families and give children knowledge of Russian culture. Russian weekend schools are found worldwide: in Europe, Asia, North and South America, Australia [Büchner, 2009; SHAG].

RSS mainly belongs to non-profit cultural organisations and can develop curricula according to their mission and students' needs. Because their students are bilinguals with different skills and backgrounds in Russian, the programmes of Russian supplementary schools may combine two approaches, such as teaching Russian as a native language and RFL. The course books are designed for Russian L1 students and specially developed for Russian-speaking bilinguals. Some RSS use TORFL tasks and principles in their courses. According to educators, adopting TORFL as a structural part of a course helps bilingual students to develop such skills as writing texts of different types, reading various kinds of texts including fiction and journalism, improving grammar and extending vocabulary [Doktor et al., 2017; Dubinina, 2017; Ilicheva et al., 2019]. That is important, especially for adolescents who need to build these skills according to their stage of language development.

We suggest that Russian supplementary schools' students are mainly unbalanced bilinguals with Russian as a weaker language. Most of the time, they are exposed to the majority language [Hoffmann, 1991; Meyers-Scotton, 2011; Montrul, 2015, Polinsky, 2006]. It is the language of their secondary socialisation and is used at educational institutions, particularly at school, which takes a significant part of the child's life [Protassova & Rodina, 2019].

RSS, however, use a complex approach to teaching Russian, and students develop all language skills; therefore their writing and reading are pretty well unlike heritage speakers [Doktor et al., 2017; Dubinina, 2017; Dubinina & Ptiushkin, 2021]. Their oral communication skills are often better than written because of the verbal input dominance, as Russian is acquired as a "home" language. Despite the limited range of communicative situations available for them because of the age characteristics and the lack of communication experience in Russian, bilinguals may seem to be fluent speakers. The gap between their literacy and oral skills may complicate the assessment of their Russian language proficiency by teachers [Hoffmann, 1991; Meyers-Scotton, 2011; Montrul, 2015; Dubinina & Ptiushkin, 2021].

Assessment of Russian language skills in bilinguals

referring to RSS students as bilinguals, we use the term that covers diverse bilingualism types. According to the researchers, to define the type of bilingualism, it is necessary to consider several characteristics, including various linguistic, psychological and sociological features [Hoffmann, 1991; Meyers-Scotton, 2011; Petrova, 2012; Protassova & Rodina, 2019].

Given that school-age children and adolescents mostly communicate in the majority language, we suppose that Russian may take on features of L2 regarding teaching and assessment [Montrul, 2015].

Researchers define L1 as the language acquired first as a child, and L2 is any second language developed later either as a child or as an adult. Some bilinguals started speaking as monolinguals in their childhood [Hoffmann, 1991; Meyers-Scotton, 2011; Montrul, 2015; Protassova, Rodina, 2019]. At the same time, specialists point out that for bilinguals who acquired two languages simultaneously, the terms “first” and “second” could be hardly applicable [Meyers-Scotton, 2011]. It is also important to note that to characterise a student either as an L1 or L2 Russian speaker, making a detailed portfolio including her/his language biography [Hoffmann, 1991].

Considering the diversity of bilinguals’ backgrounds and differences in their language skills, we suggest that standardised language proficiency exams, TORFL in this case, are a relevant universal tool for assessing the language proficiency of bilinguals. Assessment of bilinguals’ language skills and the need for specific tests is now one of the issues related to bilingualism studies and language education in the Russian language abroad. Thus, tests of different types were developed to evaluate Russian language skills in bilinguals from other points. In this paper, we briefly review the concepts of the tests and their objectives.

“The Linguodidactical Diagnostics for Russian Schools Abroad” [Khamraeva et al., 2018; Samatova, Pavlova, 2019] is a Russian language test related to CEFR levels. The test aims to diagnose the language development of bilingual children and adolescents compared to their peers speaking Russian as a native language and living in Russia. The tests are developed for RSS, and the testing materials include texts on Russian culture, history and folklore. Also, Russian is supposed to be the language of school instruction for prospective test-takers. The developers define CEFR B1 level as the language proficiency of a Russian-speaking bilingual child from 5 years, and in the test, the B1 level is proposed for seven-year-old children. The test for bilinguals includes levels from B1 to C1. It is related to the education system in Russia, e.g. B1 is associated with the 1st and 2nd forms at public school in Russia (7–8-year-old students) and C1 — to 5–6 and 7–8 grades (14–16-year-old students). The test items may include materials from textbooks used at schools of Russia, e.g. at History, Environment and Literature classes. As we can see, the test could be defined as “curriculum-oriented” — linked to a specific study programme. Therefore, it is possible to pass the test successfully only for students of RSS where this programme is adopted, provided that they are exposed to a Russian-speaking environment.

Another test targeted for RSS is “The Certification Testing for Bilinguals” [Kalenkova, Korepanova, 2016] is, a comprehensive CEFR related test. It includes A1 to B2 levels and is intended for 7 to 13 (or older) school students. The levels correlate with the age of candidates, i.e. more senior candidates are proposed to take all levels, and B2 is recommended only from 13. The test consists of four parts by the four language skills and includes materials on the Russian civilisation, requiring knowledge of Russian culture. In the “Writing” part, candidates should show good spelling knowledge starting from A1 level. As we can suppose, the test is designed for balanced bilinguals, who attend RSS, and is related to particular curricula designed for these schools. Therefore, we see that study programmes determine the target audience of the test.

The tests of another type focus on specific aspects of language development in bilinguals. One of them is the “Russian language proficiency test for multilingual children” [Gagarina et al., 2010] that is developed for measuring language proficiency of multilingual 3–6-year-old children in several aspects: productive and receptive lexicon for verbs and nouns, production of morphological marking on verbs, (first and second-person singular present verbal inflexion) and nouns (accusative and dative case singular), comprehension of grammatical constructions on the sentence level. The tasks are based on linguistics and psycholinguistics concepts and suggested for “scientific, therapeutic and pedagogical purposes”.

The protocol MAIN: Multilingual Assessment Instrument for Narratives is developed to assess narrative abilities [Gagarina et al., 2012]. The objective of the test is narrative discourse; the tasks are picture-based stories and are carried out orally. The target audience of the test is 3–11-year-old bilingual or multilingual children. The MAIN developers point out that narrative skills are essential for developing literacy and academic language use and promote success at school. The test examines linguistic abilities and bilingual features such as code-switching and code interference. The test results can be used for assessment, intervention and research.

The test KORABLIK, or “comprehensive assessment of basic linguistic functions”, is created to assess 3–11-year-old bilingual children’s language development. It evaluates children’s phonological, lexical, morpho-syntactic, and discourse skills in oral production and comprehension. The test presents an application for tablets and includes picture-based tasks. KORABLIK is based on a clinical aphasia test for children with different developmental disorders, but it’s relatively simple and could be used by speech therapists, educators and other professionals for clinical, pedagogical and research purposes [Arutiunian et al., 2021; Ladinskaya et al.; Lopukhina et al., 2019].

Researchers also suggested a test for assessment grammar skills in bilinguals. It is a cloze deletion test based on texts extracted from popular Russian newspaper articles [Luchkina et al., 2021]. The test is intended for Russian L2 learners and heritage speakers from high school age and older. The trial aims to investigate the capability to operate nominal cases and verb forms properly. Test-takers need to have relatively high reading proficiency to fulfil the tasks, considering the texts' complexity.

Within the research of communicative competence of Russian-Finnish bilinguals were developed scales for evaluation of communicative competence in bilinguals. The rankings were based on the principles of developmental linguistics and are aimed to evaluate the monologue and dialogue skills of bilingual children and adolescents. The scales and the tasks created within the project could be used by researchers in language education and by Russian language teachers working with bilinguals. The assessment objects are sociocultural, cognitive and pragmatic competencies [Petrova, 2012; Yurkov et al., 2012].

CEFR Based Standardised Language Proficiency Tests as a Unified Assessment Tool

We can roughly divide the examples of tests for Russian-speaking bilinguals, discussed above, into two categories: CEFR linked, study programme-oriented tests mainly intended for RSS students and the tests proposed to follow the Russian language acquisition process and detect language development problems. Even the brief review reflects that the tests for this category of Russian speakers focus on particular aspects. Thus, the first category tests have a rather specified target audience. Students need to complete the programmes and language skills to successfully pass them to show additional knowledge on different subjects. We expect that the tests cannot be widely used for language proficiency assessment in this case. The second category tests could be used for Russian language course development or course adjustment both at RSS and public schools and would help to improve the language instruction. These tests can become an essential instrument for building placement tests for bilinguals before they join a class. The tests are mainly carried out orally, except for the cloze deleted grammar test, and therefore can be applied for bilinguals with weaker literacy skills and heritage speakers. Of course, to assess literacy skills would be needed the relevant tasks. Still, as the purpose of the tests is to investigate Russian language acquisition, we suppose that oral tests would be sufficient for various purposes by teachers, educators, and speech therapists. Therefore, we can conclude that existing tests developed

for bilinguals are focused on specific problems related to this linguistic phenomenon and cover particular aspects of communicative competence.

In Europe and the rest of the world, language proficiency assessment is based on the CEFR, and their objective is communicative competence. The CEFR became the result of analyses of language use and communication needs of L2 or foreign language learners. According to CEFR, there are language activities, such as production, interaction, reception of oral and written speech and mediation. They are applied in four domains of language: public, private, occupational and educational and cover several communicative situations. The language skills are presented in CEFR descriptors according to six proficiency levels: Basic User (A1, A1), Independent User (B1, B2), Proficient User (C1, C2). These essentials of CEFR show the comprehensive description of communication in its function. The CEFR based proficiency tests primarily aim to evaluate the ability of an individual to use the language in different spheres of communication and communicative situations by the present levels [Council of Europe, 2003; Little, 2006; Pavlovskaya, 2008]. Also, it is essential that CEFR promotes policies of plurilingualism [Council of Europe, 2003] and implies as a norm presence of two and more languages in an individual's life. Let us consider bilinguals as speakers or Russian as a weaker language, acquiring Russian outside the language environment and taking into account that Russian is the language of their secondary socialisation. We suggest that CEFR based general proficiency tests are adequate for assessing language skills in bilinguals.

Test of Russian as a Foreign Language (TORFL) was developed at the beginning of the 1990s. It is a standardised criterion-referenced proficiency test based on the principles of CEFR and the communicative approach. TORFL includes six levels corresponding with CEFR: Elementary Level Test (A1), Basic Level Test (A2), First Level Test (B1), Second Level Test (B2), Third Level Test (C1), Forth Level Test (C2). Each level test consists of 5 subtests: "Writing", "Speaking", "Reading", "Listening", "Grammar and Vocabulary". Test of Russian as a Foreign Language (TORFL) was developed at the beginning of the 1990s. Each level consists of 5 subtests: "Speaking", "Writing", "Reading", "Listening", "Grammar and Vocabulary". The test items are based on situations of everyday communication. They contain authentic texts (adapted for A1–B1 levels), original video and audio material (at B2–C2 levels), and actual oral and written communication tasks. TORFL certificate is accepted by educators (schools and universities) and employers [Pavlovskaya, 2008]. Nowadays, TORFL is introduced in several countries worldwide, e.g. Greece, Germany, Italy, France, Spain, Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Netherlands, Poland, Serbia,

Great Britain, Turkey, Japan, South Korea, China, Argentina, Brazil, etc. and there is increasing demand in TORFL among Russian as L2 or foreign learners and the RSS students [Doktor et al., 2017; Dubinina & Ptiushkin, 2021; Ilicheva et al., 2019].

However, one of the problems concerning language proficiency tests in schools is the correspondence between CEFR levels and age-related abilities of children and adolescents. This issue has been widely discussed in recent years, and there are carried out research presenting an analysis of CEFR descriptors in terms of age characteristics of children and adolescents [Council of Europe, 2018; Dubinina & Ptiushkin, 2021; Hasselgreen & Caudwell, 2016; Little, 2006; McKay, 2008; Nikolov, 2016; Papp, Rixon, 2018]. According to the language and cognitive development features, for the 7–10-year-old children are available only A1 and A2 levels (in the limited number of communication situations), and partially B1, and for the 11 — 15-year-olds are available the A1 — B1 levels in case if the conditions of communication are familiar to the students. Most B2 descriptors are marked as “partially relevant” even for the older adolescents, and C1 is defined as possible to achieve by exceptional older adolescents. The C2 is not discussed regarding the school age. In the case of the TORFL, we could recommend ELT/A1, BLT/A2, TORFL-1/B1 for students older than 11–12 years, TORFL-2/B2 for students more aged than 15 years, and TORFL-3/C1 from 17–18 years, taking into account their characteristics [Hasselgreen & Caudwell, 2016; Papp & Rixon, 2018; Dubinina, Ptiushkin, 2021].

Language proficiency tests often have language assessment options for young learners offered, for example, for English (Cambridge English), German (Goethe), French (France Education International), Spanish (Dele Spanish Diplomas) as part of certification exams. They include levels from A1 or pre-A to B1 or B2, and the tasks are adapted according to the school-age specifics. At the moment, for the young Russian learners, there is a TORFL based test developed at St Petersburg State University in terms of preparation for TORFL [Dubinina, 2017; Dubinina et al., 2018]. The General Russian Test for Schools consists of 5 levels: A1, A2, B1, B2, C1 and corresponds with the school-age characteristics. The test is proposed for children and adolescents from 7 to 16 years, in which A1 is recommended for 8–9-year-olds, A2 for 10–11-year-olds, B1 for 12–13-year-olds, B2 for 14–15-year-olds and C1 for 15–16-year-olds. The tasks correlate with TORFL but contain school students’ realia topics. Also, the examination time is reduced according to the school norms. The test is not linked to a particular study programme, and the test takers do not need to attend a specific course. The test is intended for children and ado-

lescents preparing for TORFL. It has been successfully carried out since 2012 in many countries, e.g. Germany, Italy, Norway, the Netherlands, Serbia, Greece, Turkey, Japan, the USA, etc. The test takers are Russian as foreign/second language learners and bilinguals [Doktor et al., 2017; Dubinina, 2017; Dubinina et al., 2018].

Conclusion

The scholars characterise bilingualism as a complex phenomenon and refer to bilinguals, including heritage speakers, as a specific and heterogeneous group of students. Despite the existing classifications and description of bilingualism types, bilinguals may have several individual features due to their background and language acquisition history, which affect their Russian language proficiency. In general, Russian courses for bilinguals are aimed to fill the gaps in the language skills, improve communication and compensate lack of a Russian language environment. The gaps may vary widely for each individual. Still, the expected result of a course is the ability to communicate according to the needs of a school student and the demands of the modern world. Thus, we can suggest that students may need an individual approach within instruction, but keeping in mind their single purpose of gaining specific language proficiency, the standardised proficiency exam, is a suitable form of assessment. Language proficiency tests are modern and practical tools that correspond with today's demands of communication and measure necessary skills both for foreign/second language learners and bilinguals.

Standardised proficiency tests and certification language exams have become essential for language education. We suggest that considering the current plurilingualism trend and actual language policies that promote it; there is no need for separation between language proficiency evaluating for L2/RFL learners and bilinguals. In the context of the Russian language, TORFL presents as a unified test, accessible for all Russian learners and bilingual speakers irrespective of their language biography or whether or not they had Russian language instruction.

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FEMINIST DISCOURSE IN MAYA ANGELOU'S LITERARY WORK: DOUBLE PREJUDICE & BLACK FEMINISM

Feminism is an attempt to search for equality of women in society as well as to prevent the exploitation of women by the dominant patriarchal ideology. Black women, at the time Maya Angelou started becoming active as a writer, had to deal with the injustices associated with both their gender and skin colour and therefore their position in the society was especially difficult and unprivileged. Maya Angelou through her literary work gave voice to the oppressed African-American women as well as anyone that feels trapped in a “cage” while she attempted to reveal social problems related to racism, sexism and class segregation. In the present study, we completed a literature review to investigate the ways Maya Angelou uncovers the struggles of Black women who had to fight against this form of “Double Prejudice” and how “Black Feminism” is displayed in her literary work as one of the most dominant subjects. Additionally, we investigated the different types of Feminism that are involved in her literary work as well as the ways she attempted to sensitize her readers to these subjects contributing to the change of the position of Black women in the American society. Maya's works refer to the second wave of feminism that took place after the 1960s focusing mainly on Radical Feminism, which focuses on power relations, Black Feminism that focuses on the suppression of Black women's rights, Liberal and Minority Feminism.

Keywords: Black Identity, Black women, equality, feminism, injustices, rights.

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ФЕМИНИСТСКИЙ ДИСКУРС В ЛИТЕРАТУРНОМ ТВОРЧЕСТВЕ МАЙИ АНДЖЕЛУ: ДВОЙНОЕ ПРЕДУБЕЖДЕНИЕ И ЧЕРНЫЙ ФЕМИНИЗМ

Феминизм — это попытка поиска равенства женщин в обществе, а также предотвращения эксплуатации женщин господствующей патриархальной идеологией. Чернокожим женщинам, в то время как Майя Анджелу начала активную карьеру писательницы, пришлось бороться с несправедливостью, связанной как с их полом, так и с цветом кожи, и поэтому их положение в обществе было особенно сложным и обделенных в правах. Майя Анджелу своим литературным творчеством давала голос угнетенным афроамериканским женщинам, а также всем, кто

чувствует себя запертым в «клетке», в то время как пыталась раскрыть социальные проблемы, связанные с расизмом, сексизмом и классовой сегрегацией. В настоящем исследовании мы завершили обзор литературы, чтобы изучить, как Майя Анджелу раскрывает борьбу чернокожих женщин, которым пришлось бороться с этой формой «двойного предубеждения», и как «черный феминизм» проявляется в ее литературном творчестве как одна из доминирующих тем. Кроме того, мы исследовали различные типы феминизма, которые представлены в ее творчестве, а также способы, благодаря которым она пыталась познакомить своих читателей с этими проблемами, способствующими изменению положения чернокожих женщин в американском обществе. Работы Майи относятся ко второй волне феминизма, начавшейся после 1960-х годов с акцентом в основном на радикальном феминизме, который фокусируется на властных отношениях, черном феминизме, который фокусируется на подавлении прав чернокожих женщин, либеральный феминизм и феминизм меньшинств.

Ключевые слова: черная идентичность, черные женщины, равенство, феминизм, несправедливость, права.

Introduction & Purpose

Feminist thinking is an ideology that fights in favour of women's rights. This ideology emerged as early as the early 18th century because of the women's movement that sued and criticised the mistreatment, inequality, exploitation, violence and oppression of women by men in a society where men were a dominant force [Suhadi, Baluqiah, Mariansyah, 2017, p. 154]. Therefore, *Feminism* is the issue associated with searching for women's equality [Humm, 1990, p. 244].

The phenomenon of inequality within society influences Gender-related bias. According to Betty Friedan [Friedan, 1963, p. 124], women were imprisoned in a social structure that linked the role of the female sex to home integration. Also significant is the influence of the media, according to which most women of the time were dedicated to home and family.

The patriarchal ideology that puts women in a secondary position, resulting in women being victims of mental, physical violations and exploitation, becomes the main reason for action in favour of women's rights and the general activity of the feminist movement in the 1960s. Along with the Civil Rights Movement that emerged in the 1960s, feminism was a significant advance in women's rights at the time [Feagin, 2014, p. 341]. But for Black women, the issue of feminism is about gender, the issue of race, and Maya Angelou was a writer who acted in support of the rights of Black women who had to deal with this kind of double prejudice.

Angelou is a writer who represents the existence of a Black, unprivileged woman. She gives voice to voices oppressed African-American women and men and “anyone who is in a cage.” Moreover, after careful study of her poetry, Angelou brings issues to the surface based on racism, sexism, and class segregation [Gasouka, 1999, p.67]. Angelou was an activist fighting for the conquest of human rights. She wanted to express human rights through her literary work. Angelou’s goal was to eradicate slavery globally, especially in America [Fernandes, 2017, p. 87].

The period in which Angelou acted belongs to the feminism of the second wave. Second-wave feminism refers to the period of feminist activity that began in the early 1960s and lasted until the late 1980s. Second Wave Feminism has existed steadily ever since and continues to coexist with what some call Third Wave Feminism. Second-wave feminism considers cultural and political inequalities inextricably linked. The movement encouraged women to understand aspects of their personal lives as deeply politicised, reflecting the sexist power structure in society. If first-wave feminism focused on absolute rights such as voting, second-wave feminism was mainly about other equality issues, such as ending discrimination in everyday life [Waard, 2020, p. 22].

The present study aims to identify the main themes that characterise Maya Angelou’s work. The present study hypothesises that Feminism and Racism are the two most prevalent themes used in her work to underline the sufferings of Black women in the United States of the time she was active as a writer. It is hypothesised that the message she wants to pass is to call for action against Black women’s discrimination and prejudice.

Material & Methodology

The methodology of the present study is qualitative and, in particular, literature review. The already existing literature associated with Feminism in Maya Angelou’s work and the role of women in her life will be examined. The study’s materials will be the existing studies associated with the theme of Feminism in the poet’s literary work and the poems and autobiography mentioned above. The studies will be found from scientific journals accessible online; the lyrics will be retrieved from “The Complete Collected Poems of Maya Angelou” and the autobiography from “I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings”. More specifically, the literature related to four of her works will be investigated, which consists of the poems: “Still I Rise” (1978), “Equality” (1990), “Phenomenal Woman” (1995) and the autobiography “I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings” (1969). In “Still I Rise”, the poet describes the struggles of Black women who attempt to fight against

the oppression exerted on them by whites and Black men [Permatasari, 2016, p. 155] while in “Equality” (1990), the poet describes the way men treat Black women and calls for action against inequality associated with gender and race [Munawaroh, Paturohmah, 2019, p. 56]. In the last poem examined, “Phenomenal Woman” (1995), Maya Angelou attempts to encourage Black women’s confidence associated with external appearance and, in particular, their beauty, which deviates from the beauty standards of society [Febiyanto, 2010, p. 57]. The last literary work examined, “I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings” (1969) Maya Angelou describes her early life experiences and transformation of a young Black woman while she focuses mainly on the male oppression that she experienced and the ways she found to cope [Suhadi, Baluqiah, Mariansyah, 2017, p. 154].

Study & Results

The study results show that the two themes that Maya Angelou uses extensively in the works examined are Double Prejudice and Black Feminism. These concepts are related to the message she wanted to pass to her readers, which is to get her readers to sympathise with Black women. Black Feminism is the type of feminism that focuses on the struggles of Black women. At the same time, Double Prejudice is the phenomenon where Black women have to fight against prejudice and discrimination associated with both gender and race [Assefie, 2012, p. 47].

Feminism in Maya Angelou’s literary work

Feminism is a dominant theme in the literary work of Maya Angelou, who seems to reject the idea of neutral artistic expression that does not include the element of gender. It highlights socially, emotionally, sexually and politically structured thoughts and limitations related to women’s rights, seeking the creation and substance of gender-related identity, social relationships and their importance at a cultural level [Ghani & Naz, 2004, p. 98]. Angelou had a multidimensional role in the society in which she lived since she was not only a woman with passion but took the part of sister, mistress, prostitute, loving mother, separatist and therefore in her artistic work; identity takes various forms, names, directions and accepts the aspects that fit the social context of the time. Angelou focused on the woman because she wanted to give value to her marginalised self and focus on her ability to protect her artistic life. According to M. Angelou [Angelou, 1993, p. 43], “women should be tough, tender, laugh as much as possible, and live long lives, the struggle for equality continues unabated,

and the woman warrior who is armed with wit and courage will be among the first to celebrate victory”. In the environment of Maya Angelou, racism haunted sexism, forming a very close interrelation. According to Black feminists, race, class, and gender consist of interconnecting structures of oppression. In particular, Black women were not as dependent on men or submissive to men as white women were. Women consisted more of the heads of slave homes; however, this concentrated labour role was characterised by severe responsibilities rather than power [Fathima, 2019, p. 62].

Black women were placed on the lowest tread of the economic and societal hierarchy. However, during slavery, Black women were working in the same way and together with Black men, nonetheless they were considered the least worthy [Jayageetha & Jansirani, 2019, p. 597]. Angelou deals mainly with Black Feminism. Black women’s action is based on the violation of gender and sexuality rights and focus on racial and class oppression [Assefie, 2012, p. 47].

African-American women face more difficulties compared to White women. If white women face injustice and oppression by men, Black women may face injustice not only from men but also from white women. In other words, Black women can face problems not only because they are women but also because they are black. Thus, African-American women had to face the double oppression of sexism and racism with the contribution of two forms of oppression. Racism and double-oppression sexism was born for African-American women when they were dominated by White and Black men as well as by white women [Fahmi, 2019, p. 4].

Angelou uses the female body to pass her message. Because gender differentiation is related to physique, feminist theories believe that the perception of the body in today’s society undermines women’s rights, such as treating it as a sexual object. Thus, feminist discourse uses symbolic language related to the body to address the issue [Jayageetha & Jansirani, 2019, p. 595].

I. Permatasari [Permatasari, 2016, p. 154] focused on the expression of feminist theory in Angelou’s work in poems “Still I Rise”, “Phenomenal Woman”, and “Caged Bird”, as well as the feminist approach to identify the type of feminism that she employs. According to the results of the study, Maya Angelou uses Radical Feminism. Radical Feminism consists of a subcategory of feminism that considers women’s oppression implemented by the patriarchal model as an entire system of power where social relationships within the community are organised. Radical Feminism believes that power and authority have a male-dominated structure and is responsible for oppression and inequality. As long as values are stable, society cannot change significantly. Some extreme feminists see the recon-

struction of society as the only solution to achieve their goals [Octaviano, 2018, p. 11].

This structure is challenged with the rejection of traditional gender roles and the oppression of women. Therefore, the way Angelou displays the discrimination toward Black women is associated with the turbulent historical past of the Black community and her negative life experiences but, most of all, the bias toward women during that time [Permatasari, 2016, p. 167]. The position of women in society was parallel to her continued work in the home when at the same time, the man could be wherever he wished. In contrast, this position was even more pronounced when the woman was African American, as highlighted in her poem “Men” [Eagleton, 2007, p. 107].

Another kind of feminist critique that is evident in the works of Maya Angelou is the feminist critique of minorities, which aims to help women who are considered a minority to be accepted by society. The feminist analysis of minorities focuses on the idea that women are part of society regardless of skin colour and race. The feminist critique of minorities emphasises that all women are equal and unique and are separate by their own identities [Susilowati, 2019, p. 133]. This particular review prompted Black writers to see what Black feminism is. The living of Black women in society made them realise that they had to fight racism, especially during the 1960s, when Black culture began to flourish and Black writers began to be included in volumes and anthologies [Gasouka, 1999, p. 209].

Black Feminism in Angelou's poems

In Angelou's poem “Still I Rise”, the author talks about Black women who want to escape the social structure of whites and the oppression that even Black men exert on them. During the slave trade, white “masters” could have a large number of Black women in their possession because they were “cheap” and could “reproduce slaves”. At the same time, Black men also oppressed Black women with their sexist and derogatory behaviour [Permatasari, 2016, p. 155]. In the poem on equality, “Equality”, Angelou uses the woman as the narrator. Women experience double oppression, as a woman and as a minority, reflecting the experiences of the same poet trying to gain her freedom and equality [Yulistiyanti, 2019, p. 749].

In “Equality”, Maya shows that Black women wanted to have equal rights with white people. Angelou uses auditory images to make these women's voices heard to show this. In addition, Angelou uses metaphors to explain the situation of Black women and why they wanted to be equal. Angelou wishes to represent the conflict between Black women and

White women as White people negatively treat Black women because they thought Black women were enslaved because of the colour of their skin [Munawaroh, Paturohmah, 2019, p. 56].

In the poem “Phenomenal Woman”, Angelou similarly tries to promote Black beauty that escapes society’s beauty standards by calling on Black women to ignore these standards and feel confident about themselves [Febiyanto, 2010, p. 57]. Angelou describes a beauty model that does not involve a beautiful face, slim body and thin lip. Angelou believes that the Black woman can be surprisingly beautiful through her self-confidence, upbeat personality and pride in being a Black woman. In her latest poem, “Caged Bird”, Angelou sees that the Black woman is derogatory and has little potential to develop her personality because of the tradition that characterises the society she lives. As a Black woman, Angelou raises her voice and says that the Black woman will soon be free [Perveen, 2018, p. 3].

In this particular poem, Angelou shares the experience of a Black woman in a real society. The narrator of the poem is this woman. The narrator encourages other women and men to be confident. Angelou believes that self-confidence should not come from outward appearance. She faces this problem because society believes that a woman’s value is based on external appearance. This happens in such a way that the narrator refers to all parts of the body [Febiyanto, 2010, p. 56]. Exposing the female body parts shows that she is not interested in perfect proportions while her body does not have an ideal shape. But one “Phenomenal woman” is the unique woman. A woman is extraordinary, and her uniqueness does not depend on the proportions of the body because not all women were born with a perfect appearance. But they have one more element that society needs to recognise: caring. According to Angelou, caring for others is an essential element that women should have, which is why it calls on women to offer the care they have to others [Yulistiyanti, 2019, p. 749].

In this poem, the primary type of feminism that Angelou uses is liberal feminism because the poem focuses on the ability, beauty and power of Black women. The poem was written in 1978, in other words, and this poem was written in the second feminist wave that took place in 1960. Evidence of Marxist and socialist feminism has also been found in this poem. Women’s liberation increased during this period and provided alliances with Marxist and socialist feminism in terms of the criticism of women’s dual work both at home and at work, demanding equal pay with men and abolishing the separation of men and women in the education system and work [Fernandes, 2017, p. 86].

Black Feminism in “I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings”

In her autobiography “I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings,” Angelou depicts the gradual formation of a young Black woman, Maya, who goes from patriarchal oppression to awakening and independence. Vivian Baxter and Bertha Flowers are the two influential women in Angelou’s life, mother and an aristocrat lady, who help Maya enormously cope with her problem and achieve her happiness. By the end of the autobiography, Maya learns to love herself and find her place in the world. She knows to fight to defend herself, and she’s rewarded for it. Vivian loved Maya so much while Mrs Bertha Flowers encouraged her through books and general communication to regain her voice and soul after being raped by her mother’s boyfriend. It’s the only thing that helped Maya emancipate herself and free herself mentally, physically and financially. Maya can open up emotionally and release the pressure and pain that had deprived her of her voice in both childhood and adulthood [Suhadi, Baluqiah, Mariansyah, 2017, p. 154].

In this autobiography, Angelou presents the origins of patriarchal domination, describing father-daughter relationships, which influence women’s participation in the wider society. While the author wishes to be respected or even loved, she experiences frustration and confusion at the hands of the paternal figures in her environment, who underestimate and control her [Corrêa, 2020, p. 87]. The fact that paternal figures carry out abuse marks the patriarchal aspect of control and subjugation. Women describe their battle with the patriarchy that comes from white men and restricts them and African-American men’s corresponding oppression of their rights. Therefore, women must overcome stereotypes and race to be represented physically and mentally in society [Perveen, 2018, p. 4]. Angelou compensates for the father’s negative presence by identifying female role models in her mother and other women to define her identity and pursue the American Dream on their terms. Denying a male-dominated society, the author invents her forms and ceases to be a body without a voice as she tries to forge a community without sexism and racism [Hembrough, 2016, p. 165].

Through the influence of women in her life, she actively confronts issues of race and institutions of power as she “resurrects” herself after her “death” that occurs after she is raped by her mother’s boyfriend while learning to accept herself as an African-American woman of the South [Corrêa, 2020, p. 88]. Angelou’s writing illustrates the reality of racism and how the African-American community resisted and overcame oppression. Angelou promotes feminism through her works in protest at

the unequal treatment of Black women, the unequal opportunity of Black women to have education, satisfactory living conditions, social services and other things in everyday life. Maya Angelou fights for Black women not to be excluded or stop being excluded from society. This is happening both through her poetry and mainly through autobiographies that map her development as a woman. At the same time, an important social issue that arises is the independence, strength and survival of Black women in the United States at that time [Jayasree, 2019, p. 2426].

Discussion

While white feminist activists were more worried about the right of married women to possess property, Black women were deprived the fundamental human rights. Angelou asks to forget the historical past of their race, the pain caused to them and go on a journey of self-discovery. Angelou is worried that her words are not considered due to her skin colour; thus, she experiences a condition where she is free but living with restriction [King, 1988, p. 51].

Angelou disapproved of how this world functions by employing the feminist voice in her artistic works using the figurative language that emphasised the helplessness of Black females who experienced severe psychological struggles due to the dominant hegemonic nation in the United States, which consisted of whites. Similarly, Angelou's poetic works "*Phenomenal Woman*", "*Work Woman*" and "*Equality*" portray the cruel treatment and destructive stereotypes against Black womanhood that came from the interaction between Black culture and white culture [Sameer & Ali, 2020, p. 601].

In Angelou's poems, the theme of women's battle for human rights is constant. In her poems, she specialises in the rights that women have to conquer, with some of them being the right to self-confidence since, in some cases, women have more skills than men. Angelou also wants to give a voice in favour of women's education in a patriarchal society to survive in it. Women should therefore have the right to receive equal education with men. Angelou wants to express that women must have equal rights in the profession, such as equal pay between men and women [Fernandes, 2017, p. 87].

Angelou represents women who have traditionally not adequately represented the dominant Western feminist discourse. Their narratives have been shown to significantly change that discourse and, therefore, understand women's lives through the lens of diversity. Understanding the nature and impact of women's experiences writing from marginalised

positions, such as Angelou, allows more narratives and discussions that highlight women's rights and explore solutions in this direction. These narratives provide information on the different axes involved in the oppression of women with a view to their liberation [Ward, 2020, p. 48].

Nevertheless, Angelou depicts Black females as strong and self-confident through their fighting to slim. She tests the old-fashioned viewpoints that want the female gender to appear pathetic and submissive. She attempted to provide a new view that Black women are robust and skilled. She attempted as a Black activist to alter the readers' opinions, particularly men concerning women who were being dominated by the leading oppression of the male gender for centuries. In this way, Angelou has offered readers a novel approach to Black women that can challenge the cultural norms that face women as objects [Constantakis & Kelly, 2012, p.234]. Maya Angelou's artistic work exposed her gender and racial empowerment concerns. In particular, she accomplished this by exploring the setting where African Americans lived, and she attempted to give voice to "voiceless people." She represented individuals whose voices and experiences could not be heard. Consequently, she became a literary hero for African Americans and other individuals in the United States and worldwide [Jayasree, 2019, p. 2426].

Conclusion

Maya Angelou is a writer who played a crucial role in the battle for human rights and women's rights. Feminism in Maya's work is an integral element and tool. It calls on society to grant equal rights to women and Black women to stand up and maintain their self-esteem and self-confidence and improve their quality of life. Maya's works are aimed at the second wave of Feminism that took place after the 1960s, focusing mainly on Extreme Feminism, which focuses on power relations; Black Feminism that focuses on the suppression of Black women's rights; and Minority Feminism, where minority groups are the ones most affected. There is also the presence of Marxist Feminism, which focuses on women's labour rights.

As it can be seen, Black Feminism is the dominant type of Feminism used by the author because Black women have had to deal with a dual form of oppression that was related both to racism linked to their race and skin colour and to racism associated with the fact that they are women living in a male-dominated society. Angelou's purpose through various kinds of Feminism is to reveal the rights of Black women who are trampled on in multiple aspects of their lives such as beauty, self-confidence,

sexuality, family and work. A stylistics investigation of the whole literary work of Maya Angelou is suggested for future study with the use of computational methods to identify the representations associated with Black Feminism and Double Prejudice in other literary works of Maya Angelou.

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COGNITIVE OPPOSITION *FRIEND — FOE / OTHER OR US VERSUS THEM* IN SOVIET POSTER IMAGOLGY

Imagology in a broad sense is concerned with the study of cross-national perceptions and images of other, “alien” people, countries and their representatives and is based on a universal binary antagonistic model *friend — foe / other*, or *us versus them*. In recent decades, imagological research has noticeably expanded; linguistic imagology has emerged, studying verbal representation of the image of a different country or nation. The present study has as its aim to show how the integral imagological space of the Soviet poster as a system of key images, embodying the time specific values and landmarks is reconstructed by V. Bonnell and to analyse the linguistic means of representing the *other/different* no matter how implausible and utopian these images are. The methodology of the present article is mainly based on linguocultural analysis. The reliability of the scientific results is supported by the convincing analysis of the collected linguistic material, the monograph by Professor Victoria Bonnell “Iconography of Power: Soviet Political Posters under Lenin and Stalin”, which provides the most valuable evidence and framework for our study. Summing up the results, we can conclude that the “visual transformation” in world culture and science, embodied in cultural and linguistic studies, has highlighted the relevance of the visual image of the *other*. The close attention of the authors to the category of the image as a cognitive phenomenon and one of the representatives of the author’s worldview allows us to see the life of others, rather than foes or “aliens” from the classical binary opposition.

Keywords: poster, imagology, *friend — foe* or *us* vs. *them* opposition, image, values.

О. В. Емельянова

КОГНИТИВНАЯ ОППОЗИЦИЯ «СВОЙ — ЧУЖОЙ» / «ДРУГОЙ», ИЛИ «МЫ — ОНИ» В ИМАГОЛОГИИ СОВЕТСКОГО ПЛАКАТА

Статья посвящена анализу текстов зарубежных англоязычных искусствоведов о советском плакате с точки зрения имагологии и лингвистической имагологии, основной целью которых является изучение образа одного народа и страны в сознании другого народа и основополагающей концепцией которых признается бинарная когнитивная антагонистическая оппозиция «свой — чужой». Особое внимание уделяется языковой репрезентации изменений, происходивших в образе женщины — одном

из значимых «других» культуры. В статье показано, как в анализируемых текстах воссоздается целостное имагологическое пространство советского плаката как системы ключевых образов, воплощающих типичные для своего времени ценности и ориентиры. Делается вывод о том, что своей принципиальной инаковостью Другой вызывает у субъектов восприятия не столько отчуждение и агрессию, как в случае с Чужим, сколько заинтересованное внимание. Установлено, что пристальное внимание авторов к категории образа как когнитивного феномена и одного из репрезентантов авторской картины мира позволяет увидеть жизнь именно других, а не чужих из классической бинарной оппозиции. Таким образом, получено еще одно доказательство того, что различные культурные миры, стереотипно представляемые по принципу «свой — чужой», на современном этапе становятся взаимопроницаемыми друг для друга.

Ключевые слова: плакат, имагология, оппозиция *свой — чужой*, образ, ценности.

Introduction

The imagosphere, or the imagological space of culture, recreates of a system of artistic images that are relevant to a given type of culture. Imagology in its broad sense is knowledge about an image, which is the image of the other “alien” population, country and its residents. The image itself is a recognized cognitive phenomenon and a most important representation of the author’s worldview.

This interdisciplinary science is based on a universal binary antagonistic model *friend — foe / other*, or *us versus them*; at that, many scholars consider *friend — foe / other* or ‘us versus them’ the core imagological concepts, with their binary nature contributing to the cognitive structure of the environment perceived by an individual. In recent decades, imagological research has noticeably expanded. New publications on cultural imagology, as well as other areas are coming to the forefront. Linguistic imagology has emerged as a new area studying verbal representation of the image of a different country or nation.

Methods and Material

The methodology of the present article is mainly based on linguo-cultural analysis. The reliability of the scientific results is supported by the convincing analysis of the collected linguistic material, the monograph *Iconography of Power: Soviet Political Posters under Lenin and Stalin* [Bonnell, 1998] by Professor Victoria Bonnell from the University of California, which provides the most valuable evidence and framework for our study.

Discussion

The reviews on Bonnell's monograph emphasize its apparent interdisciplinary nature. In our opinion, there is every reason to add yet another discipline, i. e. cultural imagology, to the long list of disciplines covered in Bonnell's book. Among the key images of the 'golden age' of the Soviet poster, Bonnell includes the iconography of the worker, the Soviet woman and the Soviet leader, i. e. the core images of the political poster imagosphere. The present study has as its aim to show how the integral imagological space of the Soviet poster as a system of key images, embodying the time specific values and landmarks is reconstructed by V. Bonnell and to analyse the linguistic means of representing of the other/different, deprived of blatant criticism or hostility, let alone hostile attitudes to the people and subjects in Soviet posters, no matter how implausible and utopian they are.

To present her book to readers, Bonnell finds words that fit perfectly into the modern understanding of imagology as a study of images of other/alien nations, countries and cultures that are alienated from the perceiving subject. *How could I comprehend the "eye" of the Soviet viewer, so distant from myself in time, place, and cultural background?* Given the enormous differences in social, cultural and political circumstances, as well as values and mentality, it is hard to imagine anything more 'alien' and foreign to the *perceiving subject's* (Bonnell) mindset, than those iconic figures of their time. Thus, the binary antagonistic model *friend — foe / other or us versus them* emerges as a fundamental concept of imagology. The imagological character of Bonnell's monograph is also apparently demonstrated by the way the author captures time-specific radical transformations in value perceptions and landmarks, that constitute the core concepts of imagology, as well as cognitive science.

It is noteworthy that many authors fail to highlight the distinction between the concepts *alien/foreign* and *other* when referring to imagology. Lately, however, a clear differentiation between these concepts has become a matter of urgent concern. In her works regarding the controversy of the Other in modern culture and cultural studies, Doctor of Philosophy Ekaterina N. Shapinskaya, believes that the explosion of intercultural communication in the 20th century helped to overcome dichotomous thinking and eliminate polarized ethnocentric principles. In this regard, the word "alien" was gradually replaced by the concept of "otherness", suggesting that the phenomena coming from different cultures can be characterized as different from, rather than contradictory to an individual's own culture [Shapinskaya, 2006].

Many researchers believe that the antagonistic model *friend — foe / other* (or *us versus them*) stems from the well-established model *friend — foe / alien* and demonstrates a more advanced level of individual cognition, conducive of communicative and cognitive flexibility, as well as successful enculturation and acculturation. Unlike the “alien”, the *other/different* is not associated with apparent hostility or any potential or real danger, and is stripped of negative evaluations due to its non-conformity with the standards or norms, specific of the *friends* or *us*. Instead of alienation and aggression provoked by the “alien”, the manifest otherness of the “Other” would rather evoke the subject’s excited interest — a word combination, that, in our view, could most accurately formulate Bonnell’s attitude towards the investigated matter. Who are the *others* / the *different ones* with their poster images so perceptively and highly professionally analyzed by Dr. Bonnell in her monograph? A brightest example is the image of a woman who has long been among the most crucial ‘others’ in culture. According to Shapinskaya, the woman was forced into the role of ‘the other’ by the androcentric culture, where the masculine subject held power in the hands [Shapinskaya, 2009].

In a thorough, unbiased, and impartial manner of a true scholar, Bonnell investigates the new emerging visual language of the time, following through the evolution of the poster image of an urban and, most importantly, rural woman, as well as the formation of a “new Soviet breed”, i. e. *a new breed of Homo Sovieticus*.

It is noteworthy that linguistic aspects, such as verbalized conclusions and observations, plays an important role in the monograph, as is evident from the author’s particular focus on the choice of style and language, explained in the Introduction: *My overall strategy is to use an analytic framework based on a linguistic analogy, treating images as part of a visual language (with a lexicon and syntax) in which all the elements are interdependent* (hereinafter quoted from [Bonnell, 1998]). As an example of visual syntax, i. e. how the images are positioned and interact in the poster space, the author refers to the changed position of a peasant woman as opposed to other figures: *Formerly she had been presented in combination with other heroic figures (workers of both sexes or male peasants) but virtually never alone, thereby conveying the idea that her inclusion among the heroes depended on a relationship of contiguity (metonymy). From 1930 on, she appeared alone in posters or in a dominant position, a shift in the syntax that profoundly altered the meaning being conveyed.* (It is worth mentioning on the margins the introduction of the linguistic term *metonymy*). The unified portrayal of the woman worker and especially the peasant woman is an embodied image of the *Other*, if not an “alien” to the

author, for there has been nothing alike in either American or Western European culture. Nonetheless, Bonnell shows her open-mindedness and lack of bias. However, the author's objectivity and non-categorical attitudes are not exempt of some evaluation and even emotions to a measure.

An impartial scholar, Bonnell's description of what she regards as a classic piece of Bolshevik iconography includes the analysis of these poster images that should embody the *others*, if not the *aliens*, to her as a representative of a different culture and a different cultural code. In her view, these posters demonstrate what is commonly called "the lives of the others". Bonnell is doing best to be ultimately unbiased in recording facts: unlike the woman worker, who appears, as Bonnell notes, "*only in a highly symbolic and positive context*", the representation of the peasant woman is at times satirical with pejorative connotations. She gradually ends up with an entirely new image of a *baba*, that initially appeared in Mikhail Cheremnykh's poster, embodying — in Bonnell's understanding of the Bolshevik ideology — a bundle of negative qualities, or anti-values, such as *ignorance, political stupidity, blind self-interest, and petty bourgeois greed*, though as a matter of fact none of them has anything in common with the officially proclaimed socialist values. The *baba* is not the person to follow the road towards a bright future: *This visual image had acquired distinctively pejorative connotations, signifying the wretched, brutal, and patriarchal world of the peasant wife, who was subordinated to husband, priest, and police.* In Bonnell's view, with time this unsavoury image was replaced by *an entirely new and unambiguously heroic representation of women in the countryside.* The image underwent a radical transformation, whereby almost everything was changed, ranging from appearance (figure, clothing, hairstyle, etc.) and age to traits of character that embodied entirely different values, like those expressed in a poster — *the picture of the young, aggressive, energetic, hardworking kolkhoznitsa (collective farm worker), with understated breasts and slender appearance, leading fellow peasants on the road to collectivization.* Summing up what Bonnell calls *recasting of the female peasant woman* by means of a new visual language, the author clearly and at the same time impartially claims: *Details of appearance ...conveyed the message to viewers that the kolkhoznitsa was different from the baba of the past; she belonged to a new breed of Homo soveticus in the countryside.* Largely imposed by force and violence, collectivization did not lend itself to easy solutions. The important role of the woman in the struggle against her class enemies, the *kulaks*, is reflected in her appearance, which is described in vivid terms that fundamentally distinguish her from the disempowered and oppressed *baba*: *the formidable peasant woman heroically resisting "class enemies" in the countryside —*

a stock figure in the visual propaganda of the early 1930s. Poster-specific visual conventionality is expected to facilitate perception, since a poster is a visual message by its nature and function, as accessible and easy to read and understand as possible. However, in case the “imagological space” of such posters is populated with *different/other* images, largely alien to the readers of the monograph, it becomes increasingly challenging to “pick up” poster-embedded slogans of the campaign to promote the new order among the population, as well as to ruin old values and traditions and create their own instead. It is therefore Bonnell’s interpretation that comes to the foreground. Involved readers are able to see everything with their own eyes; without interpretation in through meaningful explanations, elucidation, or ascribed meanings and values, the audience would gain the insight into the imagological space of Soviet posters and feel the flavor of the time. In her commentaries Bonnell sometimes deals with global issues or some finer points that would otherwise have gone unnoticed or misunderstood. To ensure unambiguous character identification, each woman in posters wears a kerchief — a most indicative example and an iconic garment, belonging to the set of obligatory visual markers. This accessory — as many would call it — is hardly ever overlooked by authors, either Russian or foreign, writing about the Soviet poster. By comparing the images of an urban and a rural woman (a worker versus a peasant / *kolkhoznitsa*), Bonnell regularly points out the different manner of wearing the kerchief, since it demonstrates a fundamental difference in the status of the character: *Each woman wears a red kerchief tied behind her head, in the style of women workers, rather than under the chin, as was formerly conventional in the representation of peasant women.* The symbolic colour and the manner of wearing the kerchief contribute to the images of the “old” (negative) and the “new” (positive), which is expressed in the poster under a relevant title “Red and White Kerchiefs”: *The poster shows the clash between the traditional religious culture of Russia with the Soviet culture then beginning to form. The poster shows two sets of women, the older baba and the young proletarki.* Thus, the kerchief allows to identify “potential friends” and “obvious foes” and belongs to a specific set of apanages. Over time it begins to function on the metonymy-based principle: any such apanage refers to the familiar image in its entirety and respective set of visualized ideological signals [Mikhailin, Belyaeva, 2013].

Results

By following through the evolution of a peasant woman’s image, Bonnell arrives at the following conclusion: ...*typicalization entailed a render-*

ing of images not as they currently existed but as they would exist at some unspecified time in the future. The worldview expressed in posters used to reproduce the model of the future (many researchers point out that Soviet posters of those years were clearly futuristic), but such a model was utopic, rather than realistic. This idea is underpinned by such expressions as *utopia, illusion, imagined future, wishful thinking*, which appear in Bonnell's book several times. Quite revealing is what a reviewer writes: *The author leaves the reader in this delirious Neverland, surrounded by a sea of denial* [Rychkov, 2017]. Delirious Neverland is how representatives of the *Other* (American) culture perceive Bonnell's interpretation of reality in the posters of the Lenin and Stalin eras.

As is well known, the concept of values, along with the image (the type of character), is at the core of imagology; at the same time, it is on the basis of recognized and accepted values that *friends/us* are divided from *foes/them*. As expected, Bonnell writes about the values conveyed by visual and verbal discourse of the Soviet poster. The author defines the starting point at the beginning of the Introduction: *Their (the Bolsheviks. — O. E.) aim was nothing less than the redefinition of all social values.* The author takes an unbiased look into the “lives of others” and records radical changes in the perceptions of values and landmarks and how those “inculcate” into the popular consciousness during this period — *the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behavior.* The question of values runs throughout Bonnell's book; a good example is the evolution of one of the core figures in the poster imagosphere — the peasant woman — from a *baba* to a *full-figured collective farmer*. Initially, posters demonstrate women who represent fertility and abundance: *a buxom peasant woman, a full-figured peasant woman*. Over time, a completely different type emerged to keep up with the mood of the time and respond to new political and ideological demands. This type of character reflected different values, including aesthetic ones: *Whereas earlier images of peasant women had often emphasized maturity and fecundity—broad hips and large bosoms—the new image stressed a far slimmer and more youthful body, with understated breasts.* Bonnell formulated the transformation of values clearly: *The new image of the peasant woman focused attention on production, not reproduction.*

Conclusion

Our conclusion is as follows: The “visual transformation” in world culture and science, embodied in domestic studies, has highlighted the relevance of the visual image of the *Other*. It is the social and ideological

function of images in shaping identities that is sometimes recognized as the main subject of imagological studies — a new breed of *Homo soveticus* in Bonnell's book, that reconstructs the integral imagological space of the Soviet poster as a system of key images, embodying the time specific values and landmarks. Despite differences in mentalities, cultural and political backgrounds, Bonnell's interpretation is deprived of blatant criticism or hostility, let alone hostile attitudes to the people and subjects in Soviet posters, no matter how implausible and utopian they are. Close attention to the image as a cognitive phenomenon and most important representations of the author's worldview, which is crucial for Bonnell's research, allows to see the life of the others and the aliens in a classical binary antagonistic model. Victoria Bonnell's monograph is another evidence that at present, different cultural worlds, once opposed within the stereotyped paradigm *friend — foe / other or us versus them*, turn mutually permeable.

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A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF TAGALOG PROFANITIES THROUGH VARIABLES: AGE, SEX, AND CONTEXT

In the Philippine society, profanity has been a way of expelling out anger, frustration, and has been used to express surprise and joy as well. To most people, any sort of profanities has negative connotations and seen as socially offensive, vulgar, and indecent, and are associated with low social class and low prestige. However, in sociolinguistics, the swearing phenomena deserves a constant attention in different aspects, for its significance might be an eye opener for the society. This study shed the light on the function and interpretation of Tagalog profanities with the influence of social factors (age, sex, and context) using a survey questionnaire and an interview protocol. Participants were selected through a purposive sampling of 30 students from a Philippine public university in Nueva Ecija. Moreover, 15 respondents were female (50%), and the other 15 respondents were male (50%) — with ages ranging from 18- to 20-year-olds. Analyses indicate that the respondents' linguistic strategies of swearing vary according to the situation they are in, as well as according to the people they are talking to. Another observation reveals that sociocultural stereotypes on language and sex could be a determining factor, since it showed that the female samples were more likely to evade swearing in certain situations than the male samples. Through the statistical results, it was shown that specified profanities are exclusively incorporated with the respondents' age and sex. Likewise, these specified Tagalog profanities can be regarded as the identity markers of the respondents.

Keywords: Tagalog profanity, social variables, sociolinguistics, sex, culture.

О. Дж. Эсквивель

СОЦИОЛИНГВИСТИЧЕСКИЙ АНАЛИЗ НЕНОРМАТИВНОЙ ЛЕКСИКИ ТАГАЛЬСКОГО ЯЗЫКА НА ОСНОВЕ ПЕРЕМЕННЫХ: ВОЗРАСТ, ПОЛ И КОНТЕКСТ

В филиппинском обществе ненормативная лексика является способом выражения гнева, раздражения, а также удивления и радости. Для большинства людей любой вид ненормативной лексики имеет негативный оттенок, рассматривается как социально оскорбительный, вульгарный и неприличный и ассоциируется с низким социальным классом и низким престижем. Однако с точки зрения социолингвистики феномен бранной речи заслуживает детального рассмотрения в различных его аспектах, поскольку он помогает пролить свет на характеристики об-

щества. Так, настоящее исследование приближает нас к пониманию функции и интерпретации ненормативной лексики в тагалог в взаимодействии с социальными факторами (возрастом, полом и контекстом) с помощью анкеты и протокола интервью. Участники были отобраны путем целенаправленной выборки из 30 студентов филиппинского государственного университета в провинции Нуэва-Эсиха. При этом 15 респондентов были женщинами (50%) и 15 респондентов — мужчинами (50%), в возрасте от 18 до 20 лет. Анализ показывает, что языковые стратегии брани у респондентов различаются в зависимости от ситуации, в которой они находятся, а также от их собеседников. Кроме того, социокультурные стереотипы в отношении языка и пола могут быть определяющим фактором, поскольку женщины в выборке в определенных ситуациях с большей вероятностью избегали ругательств, чем мужчины. Статистический анализ показал, что некоторые ненормативные лексические единицы используются исключительно в связке с возрастом и полом респондентов. Данные тагалгские ненормативные единицы также можно рассматривать как маркеры идентичности респондентов.

Ключевые слова: тагалгская ненормативная лексика, социальные переменные, социолингвистика, пол, культура.

Introduction

Like any other language, profanities have etymology, grammatical features, and dialectal variations. It is also noteworthy to mention that profane words are culture-specific and time-constrained. Hence, what is considered offensive in some cultures may not be in others, and what is regarded as profane today may not be remarked as obscene in the future. In sociolinguistics, there are wide disparities in nasty words' actual use and complexities by entering social factors or variables. Certain social factors such as age, sex, and context turn out to be important in accounting for language choice in many different kinds of speech communities.

Tagalog profanity (also called Filipino profanity) can refer to a wide range of socially offensive, vulgar, and indecent taboo words or expressions. In Philippine society, it has been a way of expelling out anger and frustration and has been used to express surprise and joy. Moreover, Tagalog vocabulary was primarily embedded in words from its Austronesian origins; thus, its certain profanities. However, due to the successive Spanish and American colonisation, Tagalog profanity also has its etymological roots derived and borrowed from European and Hispanic languages. Such profanities thrive to this day, reminiscent of the 16th to the 19th-century Spanish and American occupation. Jubilado, Ingilan, and Dumanig (2015) stated that “many of the Spanish loanwords are those of flora and fauna which were brought to the Philippines from Mexico and the rest of

the Spanish colonial world” [Jubilado, Ingilan, Dumanig, 2015, p. 142]. In addition, English profanities are being Filipinized and have entered the Tagalog language: ‘shit’ — *shet*, ‘fuck’ and ‘shit’ — *pakshet*, etc. On the other hand, Tagalog profanity is a social and context-sensitive language in which the profane words and terms may or may be considered offensive based on different situations. As such, by using a sociolinguistic approach, what is aimed in this paper is the attempt to present an investigation on the frequency and appropriateness of Tagalog profanity usage (word choice) based on social variables (age, sex, and context) among speakers of the same speech community.

Purpose

There has been limited research on the sociolinguistic functions of Tagalog profanity among speakers. By using a sociolinguistic approach, what is aimed in this paper is the attempt to present an analysis on the influence of social factors (age, sex, and context) in the use of Tagalog profanity among speakers of the same speech community; correspondingly, the frequency usage and appropriateness levels associated with their respective attitudes and learning experiences of profanity.

Materials and methods

Participants. This study’s 30 participants were selected through a purposive sampling of students from a Philippine public university in Nueva Ecija. Moreover, 15 respondents were female (50%), and the other 15 respondents were male (50%), ranging from 18 to 20-year-olds. All the participants gave their permission for the researcher to analyse their responses.

Corpus building. The researcher gathered 74 Tagalog profane words online. Moreover, an online survey was also administered through Cognito Forms to gather more Tagalog obscene words — to which 13 Tagalog speakers with ages ranging from 20- to 44-year-olds took part and volunteered. Thus, 105 Tagalog profanities were gathered for the actual survey in this study.

Materials. The researcher mainly utilised the following instruments to answer the research questions: (1) survey questionnaire and (2) interview protocol.

The seven-page questionnaire was divided into two sections; each section pertains to a word-rating task composed of 105 Tagalog profanities. The first word-rating task was used to measure the frequency usage,

and the second word-rating task was employed to measure the appropriateness ratings in terms of context and severity. The survey questionnaire used a standardised 5-point Likert scale for the first section and a 6-point Likert scale for the second section to quantify the data. The survey questionnaire used a standardised 5-point Likert scale for the first section and a 6-point Likert scale for the second section to quantify the data. Moreover, the respondents answered the survey by placing a checkmark on the box corresponding to their answers for each item. Upon completing the questionnaire, the participants were invited to participate in a follow-up interview to discuss their solutions in further detail.

The options for the first section of the survey questionnaire were as follows: never (NR), one point; rarely (RY), two points; sometimes (SS), three points; often (ON), four points; and always (AS), five points. The scale of the statistical values adopted to assess the focus group’s frequency usage is as follows:

Weighted Mean	Arbitrary Value	Verbal Interpretation
4.51–5.00	5	always
3.51–4.00	4	often
2.51–3.50	3	sometimes
1.51–2.50	2	rarely
1.00–1.50	1	never

The selections for the second section of the survey questionnaire were as follows: abusive-severe (ASV), one point; abusive-moderate (AMO), two points; abusive-mild (AMI), three points; casual-severe (CSV), four points; casual-moderate (CMO), five points; and casual-mild (CMI), six points. The scale of the statistical values adopted to assess the focus group’s appropriateness ratings is as follows:

Weighted Mean	Arbitrary Value	Verbal Interpretation
5.51–6.00	6	casual-mild
4.51–5.00	5	casual-moderate
3.51–4.00	4	casual-severe
2.51–3.50	3	abusive-mild
1.51–2.50	2	abusive-moderate
1.00–1.50	1	abusive-severe

The interview protocol, composed of 15 questions, was employed to provide written responses from the students. Specifically, the interview was used to assess the attitudes and learning experiences of the participants toward Tagalog profanity. The researcher based some of the questions on Paramasivam and Baudin's (2014) study.

Analysis. Descriptive statistics (frequency, frequency percentage, mean, standard deviation, and variance) was utilised for the quantitative data, particularly the data from the survey questionnaire. The researcher manually encoded the individual scores onto an Excel spreadsheet, after which the quantitative statistics were obtained using the same software. The researcher used Manifest-level content analysis for the qualitative data, mainly the interviews. Moreover, IBM SPSS Statistics for Windows (IA-32) was used for the Pearson correlation tests.

Results

The design of the study is descriptive quantitative, and qualitative in nature. Thus, a survey questionnaire and an interview protocol were employed as measuring instruments. The selected respondents were required to provide answers to all items in the questionnaire and the interview. Further, the following section shows the descriptive and inferential results of the survey questionnaire and discussion, which were administered to the respondents. The results are shown through descriptive statistics, which includes the frequency, frequency percentage, mean, standard deviation, and variance — followed by detailed descriptions of the findings.

How are the Tagalog profanities be described in terms of the respondents' age group and sex samples based on frequency?

Table 1. Distribution of predominant Tagalog profanities in terms of the male students' ratings toward their frequency swearing based on the wordlist

No.	Wordlist	Mean
17	buwisit/bwisit	4.6
28	hanep	4.33
24	gago	4.26
7	baliw	4.13
72	puta	4.13
83	sira	4.13
92	tanga	4.13
88	tae	4.07

No.	Wordlist	Mean
10	bobo	3.93
18	demonyo	3.93
69	pucha	3.93
84	sira-ulo	3.9
29	hayop	3.86
23	gagi	3.8
14	bugok	3.73
63	pakyu	3.73
80	shet	3.73
55	malandi	3.67
56	malantod	3.67
22	gaga	3.6
89	taena	3.6
94	tangina	3.6
38	jusmio	3.53
47	langya	3.53

The results confirm that the male focus group rated certain profane words according to usage, with *buwisit/bwisit* having the highest frequency usage ($M = 4.6$). In the Philippine social context, *buwisit/bwisit* is a mild vulgar word that refers to ‘being unlucky’ or ‘being annoyed’. It was borrowed from Hokkien Chinese, 無衣食 (*bû-ûi-sit*) that signifies ‘without clothes and food’. Moreover, only one profane word has the “always” statistical value and 23 profane words have the “often” statistical values. Hence, a total of 24 profanities out of the 105 profane words of the wordlist have the “always too often” statistical ratings done by the male samples (18- to 20-year-olds).

On the other hand, the results also show that the female participants’ rating *baliw* (a mild vulgar word, which means either ‘crazy’, ‘insane’ or ‘mad’) has the highest frequency usage ($M = 4.27$). Moreover, 6 profanities out of the 105 profane words of the wordlist have the “often” statistical ratings done by the female samples (18- to 20-year-olds).

Figure 1 presents the comparative distribution of predominant Tagalog profanity ratings of female and male samples. Focusing on the same age group, it was observed that male participants’ statistical ratings in terms of

Table 2. Distribution of predominant Tagalog profanities in terms of the female students' ratings toward their frequency swearing based on the wordlist

No.	Wordlist	Mean
7	baliw	4.27
17	buwisit/bwisit	4.07
80	shet	3.93
83	sira	3.87
24	gago	3.73
23	gagi	3.73

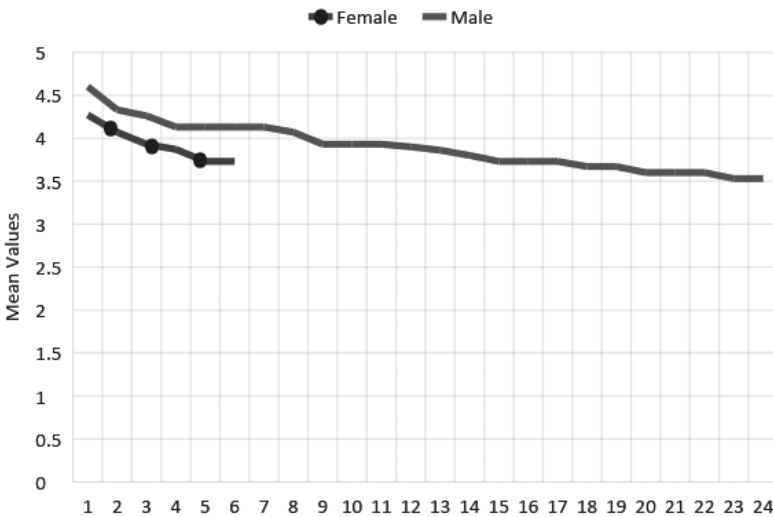


Fig. 1. Comparative distribution of predominant Tagalog profanities in terms of the female and male students' ratings toward their frequency of swearing based on the wordlist

frequency usage are higher than the female participants. In addition, there are certain predominant profane words, which showed robust sex targeting. The male samples tend to use offensive comments more frequently than females. According to Knyazyan, “women’s language reflects powerless...” and “...woman swearing is classified or described as disgraceful” [Knyazyan, 2016, p. 34]. Traditional stereotypes tend to represent females as individuals who avoid profanity usage. This claim strongly suggests that

females often develop different practices to reinforce their in-group recognition using Tagalog profanities.

How are the Tagalog profanities be described in terms of the respondent's appropriateness ratings based on the context and severity?

Table 3. Distribution of highly appropriate Tagalog profanities based on female students' ratings

No.	Wordlist	Mean
51	loka-loka	5.47
81	shucks	5.4
28	hanep	5.4
52	loko-loko	5.33
83	sira	5.27
38	jusmio	5.13
25	gags	5.13
37	jusme	5.07
2	anak ng pating	5.07
23	gagi	4.93
79	shems	4.87
19	engot	4.87
12	bruha	4.8
4	anak ng tokwa	4.8
1	anak ng jueteng	4.8

Table 3 statistically reveals the highly appropriate Tagalog profane words based on the context and severity in terms of the female participants' ratings. A total of 15 profane words out of 105 were rated as "casual-moderate" by the sample group, with *loka-loka* that means 'crazy' (feminine term), having the highest appropriateness rating ($M = 5.47$). This term was derived from the Spanish profanity *loca*, which means 'out of one's mind'.

In Table 4, 13 profane words out of 105 were rated as "abusive-mild to abusive-moderate" by the female focus group, with *salsal* and *kantut* having the lowest appropriateness ratings ($M = 2.4$). *Salsal* is interpreted as male masturbation in the Philippine context, while *kantut* means 'sexual intercourse'.

Table 4. Distribution of poorly appropriate Tagalog profanities based on the female students' ratings

No.	Wordlist	Mean
78	salsal	2.4
40	kantut	2.4
48	laspag	2.47
104	uten/utin	2.67
91	tamod	2.73
99	titi	2.8
74	putang-ina	2.8
34	inutil	2.8
5	asal-hayop	2.8
103	utak-lamok	2.87
71	puking-ina	2.87
27	hampas-lupa	2.87
101	ulol-ulul	2.93

Table 5. Distribution of highly appropriate Tagalog profanities based on male students' ratings

No.	Wordlist	Mean
2	anak ng pating	5.53
4	anak ng tokwa	5.27
38	jusmio	5.27
86	susmaryosep	5.27
1	anak ng juteng	5.13
25	gags	5.13
90	takte	5.13
11	bopols	5.00
37	jusme	4.93
23	gagi	4.87
52	loko-loko	4.87

No.	Wordlist	Mean
7	baliw	4.80
19	engot	4.80
62	pakshet	4.80
76	putek	4.80
81	shucks	4.80
3	anak ng puta	4.73
22	gaga	4.73
24	gago	4.73
64	pastilan	4.73
73	putakte	4.73
101	ulol/ulul	4.73
26	gurang	4.67
79	shems	4.67
98	tingil	4.67
102	ungas	4.67

Table 5 presents a total of 26 profane words out of 105 that were rated as “casual-mild to casual-moderate” by the male sample group, with *anak ng pating* having the highest appropriateness rating ($M = 5.53$). *Anak ng pating* is a mild-vulgar term that denotes an expression of annoyance and acts as an alternate expletive to *anak ng puta* (‘son of a bitch’).

Table 6 shows a total of 14 profane words, which were rated as “abusive-mild to casual-severe” by the sample group, with *laspag* having the lowest appropriateness rating ($M = 2.80$). *Laspag* means a woman is worn out to have several sexual intercourses. It is mainly used to describe a female being either a whore or a slut.

On the other hand, Fig. 2 displays the comparative distribution of the highly appropriate Tagalog profane words based on the context and severity of the female and male participants’ ratings. With the same age group, it was observed that male participants’ statistical ratings in terms of appropriateness are higher than the female participants. Also, male samples provided 26 profanities with “casual-mild to casual-moderate” ratings, while the female samples provided 15 profanities with “casual-moderate”

Table 6. Distribution of poorly appropriate Tagalog profanities based on male students' ratings

No.	Wordlist	Mean
48	laspag	2.80
56	malantod	2.87
68	pok-pok	3.00
55	malandi	3.07
96	tarantado	3.40
16	burat	3.53
70	puke/puki	3.53
74	putang-ina	3.53
91	tamod	3.53
15	bulbol	3.60
27	hampas-lupa	3.60
35	iyot/iyut	3.60
36	jakol	3.60
94	tangina	3.60

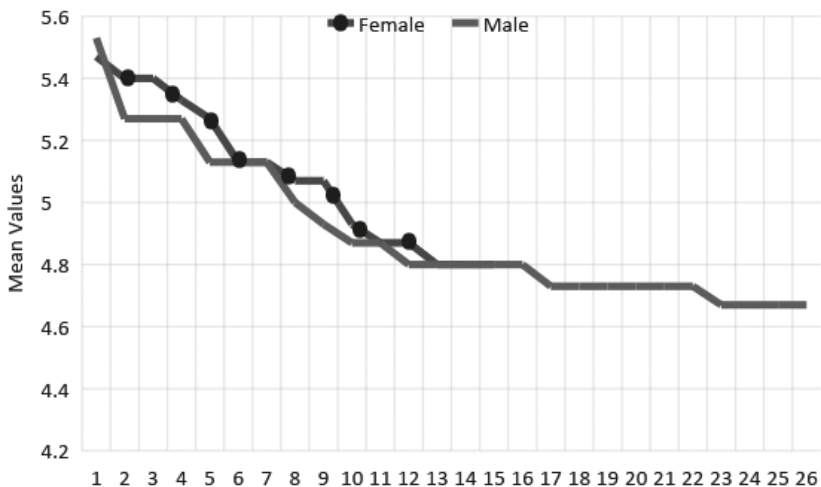


Fig. 2. Comparative statistical distribution of highly appropriate Tagalog profanities based on the female and male students' ratings

ratings. Likely, it can be discerned that the male samples tend to use profane words more casually than the female samples. In casual settings, mild to moderate profanities were the least inappropriate, while severe expletives in abusive contexts were the most problematic. According to Burgoon (1993), mild or moderate profane words might not have violated conversational expectations in casual situations, raising their appropriateness compared to severe offensive words (as cited in [Kapoor, 2014]).

Fig. 3 reveals the comparative distribution of the poorly appropriate Tagalog profane words based on the context and severity of the female and male participants' ratings. With the same age group, it was observed that male participants' statistical ratings in terms of severity are lower than the female participants. Male samples provided 14 profanities with "abusive-mild to casual-severe" ratings, while the female models provided 13 profanities with "abusive-mild to abusive-moderate" ratings. According to the data, it can be seen that the female samples tend to perceive profane words more inappropriate than the male samples. Jay (1981) and Beers-Fägersten (2012) support the previous observation by stating that male participants found using profanities more appropriate than females conferring to their respective studies (as cited in [Kapoor, 2014]).

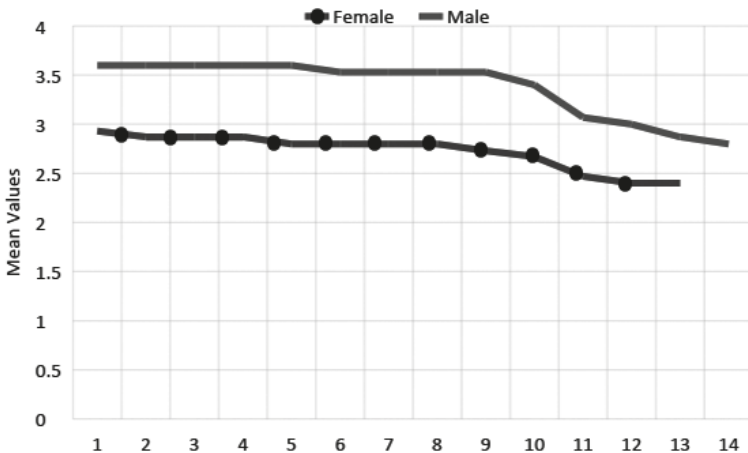


Fig. 3. Comparative statistical distribution of poorly appropriate Tagalog profanities based on the female and male students' ratings

What is the relationship between the females' frequency usage and males' frequency usage in the survey?

Fig. 4 shows the correlation coefficients and the significance values between the focus group's frequency usage survey scores. There is a mod-

erate positive correlation between the females' frequency usage and males' frequency usage of Tagalog profanities.

		Female Students' Frequency Survey Scores	Male Students' Frequency Survey Scores
Female Students' Frequency Survey Scores	Pearson Correlation	1	.123
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.664
	N	15	15
Male Students' Frequency Survey Scores	Pearson Correlation	.123	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.664	
	N	15	15

Fig. 4. Results of the Pearson R Correlation Analysis (Female students' frequency survey scores vs male students' frequency survey scores)

What is the relationship between the females' appropriateness ratings and males' appropriateness ratings in the survey?

Fig. 5 displays the correlation coefficients and the significance values between the focus group's appropriateness survey scores. There is a strong positive correlation between the females' appropriateness ratings and males' appropriateness ratings of Tagalog profanities.

		Male Students' Appropriateness Ratings Survey Scores	Female Students' Appropriateness Ratings Survey Scores
Male Students' Appropriateness Ratings Survey Scores	Pearson Correlation	1	.044
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.876
	N	15	15
Female Students' Appropriateness Ratings Survey Scores	Pearson Correlation	.044	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.876	
	N	15	15

Fig. 5. Results of the Pearson R Correlation Analysis (Female students' appropriateness survey scores vs male students' appropriateness survey scores)

How can the respondents' attitudes and learning experiences toward Tagalog profanities be described in the interview?

All the participants were asked to comment on their experiences and attitudes toward profanity usage. On the other hand, the researcher provided a total of 15 questions for the participants to answer. The results show that most of the participants (both females and males) have 'posi-

tive' attitudes on using Tagalog profanities. However, the participants still consider the 'appropriateness' of profane language in various social settings. On learning experiences, all the female and male participants answered that their friends or acquaintances influenced Tagalog profanities. Steinberg and Monahan (2007) and Simpson, Duarte and Bishop (2016) stated that peer pressure could influence swearing habits more than parents at younger ages. In addition, a total of 14 females and 15 males have responded that they did not learn profanities from their parents. In the Philippine culture, it is assumed that most Filipino parents consider profane language as verbal aggression; thus, they habitually avoid using profanities in front of their children.

Further, 13 female and ten male participants revealed that they have also learned some Tagalog profanities from the media. Vice versa, two female and five male participants answered that the media did not influence their profanity usage. For instance, it can be assumed that media sources play an influential role in exposing children and adolescents to profane language. According to Wright and Mokbel (2016), exposure to swearing from media and social sources were associated with the participants' swearing acceptance. Another study has concluded that exposure to swearing words through television and video games was related to more positive attitudes concerning the use of profanity [Coyne et al., 2011]. It was also inferred in the analyses of the interviews that there are specified reasons, motives, and functions for swearing among both sexes, such as expressing the speaker's feelings in certain situations.

Conclusion

This study provides an initial investigation regarding the influence of social factors (age, sex, and context) toward the contextualised functions of Tagalog profanities. The statistical results showed that specified profanities are exclusively incorporated with the respondents' age and sex. These specified Tagalog profanities can be regarded as the identity markers of the respondents. In the frequency usage and appropriateness ratings, differences in swearing patterns are evident between the female and male participants. As observed from the analyses, these sex patterns revealed that male participants tend to use Tagalog profanities more frequent and more casually than the female participants.

Concerning the appropriateness ratings, the focus group recognised certain Tagalog profane words as highly appropriate and highly inappropriate. According to the sex samples, females tend to define Tagalog profanities as more inconvenient than males. Vice versa, males tend to

express Tagalog profanities more “casually” than females in traditional social settings. Overall, mild and moderate Tagalog profanities are more appropriate in casual settings, and severe swears are the most inappropriate. Thus, it can be argued that the context of their use was influencing the use of mild, moderate, and severe curses.

In analysing the interviews, the respondents’ linguistic strategies of swearing vary according to the situation they are in and the people they are talking to. Another observation reveals that sociocultural stereotypes on language and sex could be a determining factor. It showed that the female samples were more likely to evade swearing in certain situations than males. Nevertheless, it was inferred by this research that age, sex, and context might contribute to the speakers’ different views of using profanities.

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VACCINATION: FROM TERM TO CULTURAL CONCEPT

The acquisition of new meanings by old words is not uncommon in a language. However, the process of words conceptualization seen at the moment is considered to be unprecedented in terms of speed and scale. In a matter of months, the word-term vaccination turns into a mental formation that reflects the attitude of a new “normality” human and determines the worldview. The index of interest, the frequency of linguistic usage outside the professional sphere, the word-formation productivity, as well as metaphorical comprehension indicates the active process of vaccination conceptualization in mundane linguistic consciousness and its transformation into a cultural concept. The study aims at describing the process of concept formation, registering semantic structure significant qualitative and quantitative changes, by analyzing the linguistic material that verbalizes the concept under investigation. The main method is a linguo-cognitive analysis, which, enables revealing cognitive and cultural information in various sides of the concepts (perceptual, metaphorically and precedent, notional and axiological) embodied in the language. The research material is the data of the Dictionary of the Russian language of the coronavirus era, the electronic database of the Russian media data bank Integrum, and k-FOM sociological research foundation data. The study shows that the meaning structure of a concept develops gradually by increasing the number of senses in notional, figurative, value, cultural and linguistic comprehension aspects. The vaccination concept's ability to appeal to the cultural values of health and safety proves its significant relevance in modern language and culture.

Keywords: vaccination, pandemic, concept, conceptualisation, culture, term.

О. В. Глухова

ВАКЦИНАЦИЯ: ОТ ТЕРМИНА К КОНЦЕПТУ КУЛЬТУРЫ

Обретение старыми словами новых значений и смыслов — явление не редкое в языке. Но процессы концептуализации слов, происходящие сегодня, оказываются беспрецедентными с точки зрения их скорости и масштабности. За считанные месяцы слово-термин «вакцинация» превращается в ментальное образование, отражающее мироощущение человека новой «нормальности» и определяющее способы бытия этого человека. Индекс интереса к явлению, частотность употребления данной единицы терминологической системы за пределами профессиональной сферы, ее словообразовательная продуктивность, а также метафорическое осмысление, позволяют говорить об активных процессах

концептуализации данного понятия в обыденном языковом сознании и превращении его в культурный концепт. Целью данного исследования является описание процесса становления концепта «вакцинация», семантическая структура которого претерпевает значительные качественные и количественные изменения в условиях пандемии, путем анализа языкового материала, вербализующего исследуемый концепт. В качестве основного метода в работе использована методика лингвокогнитивного анализа, позволяющая выявить наиболее значимые стороны концепта, такие как понятийная, образная, ценностная и перцептивная. Материалом исследования послужили данные «Словаря русского языка коронавирусной эпохи», результаты мониторинга средств массовой информации при помощи поисково-аналитической системы «Интегрум», данные социологических исследований проекта «коронаФОМ». Исследование показывает, что структура значения концепта «вакцинация» складывается постепенно путем наращивания смыслов с точки зрения его понятийного, образного, ценностного, культурного и языкового осмысления. Способность концепта вакцинация апеллировать к ценностям культуры — здоровью и безопасности — доказывают его значимость в культуре на современном этапе.

Ключевые слова: вакцинация, пандемия, концепт, концептуализация, термин, культура.

Introduction

The pandemic reality and so-called new regular bring about the ideas that turned out to be essential and overwhelming in people's minds. Those ideas make us rethink the worldview and conceptualise it in a particular brand-new way. The notions that became significant in the pandemic era are *pandemia*, social distance, lockdown, zoom, distance learning and vaccination. All national languages expanded the lexicon and notional sphere due to pandemics resulting in dozens of new words and phrases being exploited daily. The Dictionary of Russian Language in Coronavirus Era [DRLCE, 2021] lists 3600 words dealing with pandemics, among which 26 words are derived from the word *vaccine*. Such stems are considered the keywords or the relevant notions of the time. According to sociological project *koronaFOM* (K-FOM, <https://covid19.fom.ru/>), which provides the covid-related data based on daily monitoring of social media, the number of posts appealing to the topic of covid and vaccination is about 538,000 for the period of 24–27 of October. Compared to 14–17 of September it doubled (226,000). The most frequent words in those posts are *covid*, *person* ('человек'), *vaccination* ('вакцинация') for September and *covid*, *vaccination* in October (Fig. 1), with *vaccination* being the second or the third one in frequency.

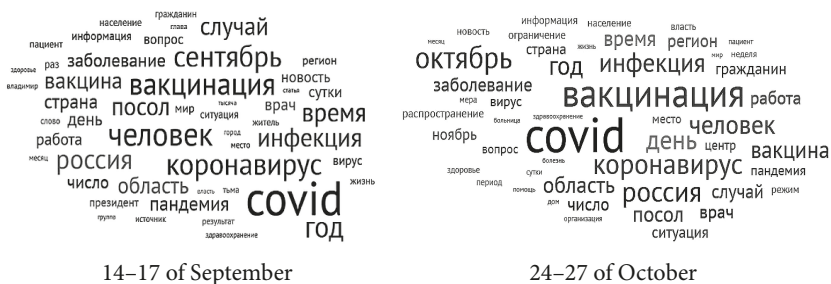


Fig. 1. The most frequent covid-related words in social media (the more significant the word size in the cloud, the more frequent it is).

Sources: <https://datastudio.google.com/294b728e-6e5b-40a9-ad7a-c9d13e9b728c>; https://media.fom.ru/fom-static/K-CM%C2%A0%E2%80%BA%20Копия%20страницы%20_к-СМ%20от%2020210918.pdf (accessed: 28.10.2021).

The above stated enables us to consider vaccination being one of the most significant notions of the moment overcoming the conceptualisation process, which requires a profound study.

Problem statement

The language witnesses the phenomenon of old words’ new meanings acquisition quite often. But the present-day process of word conceptualisation in terms of speed and scale is unprecedented. Technical terms took several months to turn into mental formations, reflecting the attitude of a new “normality” person and defining his lifestyle behavioural patterns, values shared and ideas expressed in language.

Once being the terminological system unit, vaccination has suddenly appeared to be a concept of global culture (along with the others mentioned above) that dominate our lives. When did this process start? What are the stages of the process? And what does it result in? Such conceptualisation processes in global culture claim a profound cognitive and linguistic investigation of the concept itself. Through language as one of the most objective tools of depicting conceptual ideas, the study enables tracing the stages of the conceptualisation process, describing the concept’s structure, and revealing the value-based features that influence the society world-view. The relevance of the vaccination conceptualisation process problem is based on the idea that the concept under investigation incorporates in the axiological sphere and reflects the outer world and profoundly influences it.

Research questions

The process of vaccination conceptualisation needs to be studied from both cognitive and linguistic points of view. This poses some crucial questions to be answered:

- what are the stages of the vaccination conceptualisation process;
- what kind of language material actualises the concept;
- what values does the concept appeal to and transmit?

Purpose of the study

The purpose of the paper is to investigate the process of terminological unit vaccination turning into a cultural concept and to describe concept structure using profound language and cognitive analysis of word usage, metaphorization, derivation and productivity issues.

Research methods and material

The primary method of the paper is a lingua-cognitive analysis, which, based on the actual linguistic facts and linguistic techniques, enables revealing cognitive and cultural information in various sides of the concepts (perceptual, metaphorically and precedent, notional axiological) embodied in the language.

The research material used in the study is the data presented in the Dictionary of the Russian language of the coronavirus era [DRLCE, 2021], the electronic database of the Russian media data bank Integrum (<https://integrum.ru/>), as well as the results of surveys done by the koronaFOM sociological research foundation.

Theoretical data evaluation

Concept analysis. The interpretations of the concept existing in modern linguistics represent an extremely diverse palette. In all the variety of definitions, there appear two main approaches across Russian linguistics: lingua-cognitive (N. D. Arutyunova, E. S. Kubryakova, D. S. Likhachev, I. A. Sternin, Z. D. Popova and others) and linguocultural (S. G. Vorkachev, V. I. Karasik, N. A. Krasovskiy, Yu. S. Stepanov, V. A. Maslova and others), which differ, as V. I. Karasik notes, “in vectors about the individual <...>: from individual consciousness to culture and from culture to individual consciousness, respectively” [Karasik, 2004, p. 133]. These approaches are not mutually exclusive but describe an integral multi-dimensional process

of mastering reality by the individual consciousness. The object of the linguocultural practice is the axiological nature of concept (N. F. Alefirenko, S. G. Vorkachev, Yu. S. Stepanov), while the lingua-cognitive approach concentrates on its perceptual-cognitive-affective nature [Karasik, 2004, p. 131]. The axiological nature of concept refers to its ability to foreground a specific value.

The concept is the entire community property, resulting from the collective learning experience [Zykova, 2017, p. 352]. Accepted like this, the idea “not only reflects but also sets a certain angle of view on the objective world and thereby consolidates and organises certain values, helps a person to navigate in space” [Tokarev, 2009, p. 17–18; cited from Zykova, 2017, p. 353]. The current discussion in modern humanities about the relationship between a cognitive concept, a lingua-cognitive concept, a cultural concept, and a linguocultural concept seems extremely important for this study. It allows us to outline a complex approach to studying the new ideas and describing their structure.

Vorkachev S. G. distinguishes between cultural and linguocultural concepts, arguing that an artistic concept can be objectified in various sign systems, while a linguocultural idea always has a linguistic representation [Vorkachev, 2003]. Zusman V. G. and Bukharov V. M. believe that “concepts are signified both verbally and non-verbally (at the level of gestures, facial expressions, stereotypes and models of behaviour, kinesics, proxemics, etc.)” [Zusman, 2001, p. 49; Bukharov, 2001, p. 80]. Vinogradov A. V. also indicates the ability of concepts “to receive explicit expression in parallel non-verbal semiotic systems” [Vinogradov, 2009; cited from Zykova, 2017, p. 355]. Thus, speculating on the concept of verbal or non-verbal representation, we prefer to stand by Butenko E. Yu., who offers to distinguish between direct (explicit) or indirect (implicit) concept verbalisation [Butenko, 2013, p. 56].

The concept concept discussed above is relevant for European and American cognitive linguistics though there is significant terminological inconsistency. Thus, the concept (as it is understood in Russia and this study) corresponds to Fillmore’s frames [Fillmore, 1982; 1985] or Langacker’s domains [Langacker, 1987] with the distinction between essential domains and abstract domains. Though these approaches are fundamental for understanding the concept, they lack the cultural and value aspects of the phenomena that are essential for the paper.

So, the study renders the term concept a complex multidimensional phenomenon, objectified both verbally and non-verbally, encompassing the experience mastered by the individual and social consciousness and appeals to values.

Conceptualisation analyses. The next stage of the investigation is to define the conceptualisation process. According to the Dictionary of Cognitive terms, conceptualisation is “a process of knowledge structuring and the emergence of different knowledge representation structures from certain minimal conceptual units”, comprehension of new information leading to the concept formation [Kubryakova, 1996, p.93–94]. Lakoff points to mental space being a medium for conceptualisation and thought [Lakoff, 1987, p. 281; cit. by Evans, Green, 2006, p. 279].

E. Yu. Butenko, investigating conceptualisation in cultural linguistics, renders it the “process of conceptual characteristics formation, regarding the phenomena, notions and ideas in culture representatives’ minds” [Butenko, 2013, p. 55]. Paying particular attention to a person’s cognitive activity being the mainspring of new essences and meanings appearance, the author equates conceptualisation to various ways of meaning-making. So, the terminus quo of the conceptualisation process is a notion that accumulates meanings throughout the time. “The concept is born as an image, but, having appeared in the mind of a person, this image is able to move up the abstraction steps” [Popova, Sternin, 2001, p. 70]. The concept gradually turns from a sensory image into a mental image proper with an increase in the number of attributes fixed by the concept and the level of abstractness. The notions are universal phenomena with distinct boundaries whereas concepts are culture-bound entities and have neither distinct boundaries nor clear content levels. Despite all the differences in structure and content the notion and the concept overlap in a word. Thus, “both essences are comprehended in the linguistic domain” [Butenko, 2013, p. 55]. So, language being able to communicate and discuss the concepts appears to be the medium for the conceptualisation process. Fig. 2 below illustrates the conceptualisation process as it is recognised in the paper.

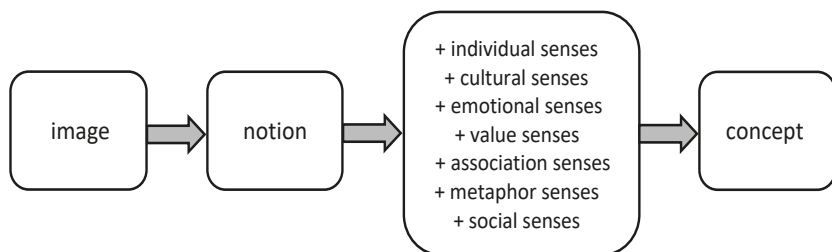


Fig. 2. The conceptualization processes

Concept structure analyses. The analyses show that the conceptual structure issues are as disputable as conceptualisation and concept. Even

though scholars tend to define the structure of the idea in various ways, they are all at one with the idea of its unsharpness.

Yu. S. Stepanov identifies three layers in the structure of the concept: 1) “the main, actual sign; 2) additional passive signs; 3) the inner form (etymology), usually not at all conscious, sealed in the external, verbal form” [Stepanov, 1997, p. 44].

Z. D. Popova and I. A. Sternin suggest the domain model of the concept, with a core and periphery. The “core will include prototypical layers with the greatest sensually visual concreteness, the most vivid primary images; more abstract features will form the periphery of the concept” [Popova, Sternin, 2001, p. 60]. The concept components constituting the layers are semes (concept verbalization). According to the authors, this approach does not allow to model a concept structure as in the case with grammatical or phonological structure but to maintain the core of the concept and reveal the floating periphery layers [Popova, Sternin, 2001, p. 61]. G. G. Slyshkin interprets the domain model of vision in terms of associative bias; “associations, fixed in the form of codified (dictionary) meanings of linguistic units, constitute the core of the concept. The periphery of the concept is formed by a set of contextual associations” [Slyshkin, 2004, p. 159]. V. A. Maslova agrees with the idea of the domain model of concept and claims it to have “a field structure” and being “closely related to the associative space” [Maslova, 2013, p. 166].

V. I. Karasik renders the concept as a “three-dimensional (at least) phenomenon including subject-figurative, notional and value components” [Karasik, 2004, p. 141]. The same idea is exploited by S. G. Vorkachev, who adds a linguistic, “significant” component to the set of features mentioned above, thus differentiating “significant” (reflecting the inclusion of the concept name in the lexical system of a specific natural language), figurative (including culturally significant symbolic and value meanings), notional (reflecting the essential features of the object) and value components [Vorkachev, 2015, p. 16].

Merging all the approaches to the concept structure existing in linguistics I. V. Kononova suggests paying attention to several more structure components: associations, etymological and historical constituents [Kononova, 2012, p. 59].

The concept structure model used in the study is based on the ideas of S. G. Vorkachev. The vaccination is to be described via notional, figurative, significant and value components.

Findings

Regarding the scheme of the conceptualisation process depicted in Fig. 2 above, we admit that the starting point of the vaccination concept refers to the second stage. The second stage of the approach corresponds to the notion (in terms of the study) meaning transformation. The time “vaccination” is a derivative from the Latin word *vaccina*. The Oxford English Dictionary (The OED, <https://www.oed.com>) credits the French for coining the term vaccine in 1800 and vaccination in 1803. The terms were first used to define a specific disease (cowpox) inoculum and inoculation procedures. Gradually the terms broadened semantically to cover all kinds of inocula and inoculation procedures for vaccine and vaccination correspondingly up to 2020–2021 when the process reversed. Whereas explanatory dictionaries do not list senses dealing with pandemics, there appeared the new Dictionary of Russian Language in Coronavirus Era [DRLCE, 2021] that defines a vaccine as “*Anticovid, anticoronavirus medicinal drug designed to develop immunity to the SARS-CoV-2 coronavirus, which causes a coronavirus infection*” [DRLCE, 2021, p. 31].

The appearance of new meaning in a language unit initiates the notion’s accumulating knowledge based on contemporary environmental issues, like a pandemic.

Some derivatives appeared in the language since the vaccine’s introduction at the end of 2021, thus forming the notional side of vaccination. As stated by S. G. Vorkachev, the conceptual side is formed “by the semantics of the lexical series members, through which the concept is formed and can be extracted from their dictionary interpretations <...> and definitions used in scientific discourse” [Vorkachev, 2015, p. 12]. Many neologisms contribute to the process (see Fig. 3).

At the same time, the “significant” side of the concept is being enriched, resulting in some paradigmatic relations issues that can be traced within the vaccine-related vocabulary. Those are synonymic chains, like

- (1) *vaccine, privivka* (the Russian word for vaccine), *Sputnik V, EpiVakCorona, CoviVak, Pfiser, Moderna, AstraZeneka, QR*.

That “switch on” the concept in a mental sphere. The range of new words co-occurs in such phrases as:

- (2) *to do the vaccidlo injection, to fight with vaccinofiles, to blame vaccinofiles, to criticize the vaccinophobes, strike out vaccinofobes, crazy vaccinofile, the antivaxxer environment, the war of vaccinofiles, бескуарный денек (a day without QR) and others; in antonyms: vaccinophobe — vaccinofile, vaccinophobia — vaccinofilia, provaxxer / supervaxxer — antivaxxer, vaccinosceptic — vaccine-follower.*

Russian neologisms	English equivalent
vactsinator / вакцинатор	vaccinator
vactsinniy / вакцинный	vaccine (<i>adj.</i>)
vactsinobesiye / вакцинобесие	vaccidevildom
vactsinodissident / вакцинодиссидент	vaccinodissident
vactsinocratia / вакцинократия	vaccinocracy
vactsinocrisys / вакцинокризис	vaccinocrisis
vactsinonatsionalism / вакцинонационализм	vaccinationalism
vactsinoskeptic / вакциноскептик	vaccinosceptic
vactsinoturism / вакцинотуризм — vactsinoturist / вакцинотурист	vaccinotourist / vaccinotourism
vactsinofil / вакцинофил — vactsinofilia / вакцинофилия	vacinofile / vaccinofilia
vactsinofob / вакцинофоб — vactsinofobia / вакцинофобия	vaccinophobe / vaccinophobia
vactsinotsentrism / вакциноцентризм	vaccinocentrism
vactsinshchik / вакцинщик	vaccinshchik
vaktsidlo / вакцидло	vaccidlo (contamination of vaccine + povidlo (jam in Russian))
antivakcser / антиваксер — anivactsinshchik / антивакцинщик — antiprivivochnik / антипрививочник — antipri / антипри	anti-vaxxer anti-vaccine user / antipri

Fig. 3. Russian vaccine-derived neologisms. The usage in media for the period of 01.06.2021 — 16.09.2021

The word-building potential of vaccine-related morphemes is enormous. Some examples are presented in Figure 03. The other samples can be found in the Dictionary of Russian Language in Coronavirus Era [DRLCE, 2021]. Let us discuss just one case of the issue. The lexeme antiprivivochnik (anti-vaccine user) first appeared in 2008, defining parents who didn't want their children to be vaccinated at schools. In spring 2020, the word narrowed the meaning in everyday usage, referring to a person who is against covid-vaccination (Zelenin, Butzeva in [RLCE, 2021, p. 201]).

The figurative side of the concept is verbalised by culturally significant symbolic and value meanings through metaphorization, for example:

Vaccine and mass vaccination are interpreted as the only reliable tools to fight the pandemic: *Virus, go away! Russia was the first to report:*

the medicine is ready; The green light for vaccine use is open. The media, relying on figurative mental preferences, register on the invention of three vaccines by Russian scientists: *Russian troyka*. The statements about testing inventions are metaphorized: *The virus was pricked: Volunteers are testing the vaccine* (Kupina in [RLCE, 2021, p. 233]).

The background knowledge is activated in the case of *Bacchicine / Bacchination* words for vaccine and vaccination correspondingly. A blending of the ancient Greek winemaking god name of Bacchus appears, thereby creating a playful effect. The nomination implies that the consumption of alcoholic beverages can supposedly have a beneficial impact on the covid-immunity formation (Vorontsov in [RLCE, 2021, p. 436]).

We should mention memes as a significant phenomenon in the conceptualisation process when discussing the figurative side of the vaccination concept. The problem of memes is studied in our previous paper [Glukhova, 2021]. Memes often exploit metaphor, wordplay, and precedent texts that translate not only imagery elements but also the cultural code.

The cultural side of the concept has formed some paroemias, or antiproverbs, as stated by H. Valter, V.M. Mokienko, which are composed based on well-known, frequent units. That enables every native speaker to easily “recognise such prototypes of well-known folk wisdom, imposing new, updated semantics and stylistics on them” (Valter, Mokienko in [RLCE, 2021, p. 564]).

(3) *To the bar — with QR.*

The vaccine-related paroemias tend to be a prospective study area in contrastive comparison and translation. Being universal in the genre, they do not often correlate or coincide in vocables within different languages. That makes covid-related paroemias almost unrenderable. Still, such concept verbalisation reveals the national worldview and axiological orientations.

The value issues of the pandemic concepts analysed previously on the English language material [Glukhova, Evsyukova, 2020] prove the axiological nature of the idea. In this regard, vaccination corresponds to health and security values. The contexts in which vaccination is discussed the deal with the consequences of vaccination, vaccination experience abroad, vaccine counter-indication, the legality of compulsory vaccination, vaccination stimulation progress and measures in Russia, the possibility of buying a fake vaccination certificate.

Conclusion

Synchronous analysis of the conceptualisation process that was the subject of reflection and discussion in the paper reveals which part of this concept is actualised today in the people's minds and to what extent.

The paper renders conceptualisation as the process of human cognition, the process of incoming information comprehending by setting up concepts in mind that reflect an attitude. The idea, in turn is considered to be a complex multidimensional phenomenon, objectified both verbally and non-verbally, that encompasses the experience mastered by the individual and social consciousness and appeals to values. This study focused mainly on language aspects of concept verbalisation as language is one of the most objective tools of depicting conceptual ideas.

The analyses done aimed at tracing the stages of the vaccination conceptualisation process. The process starts with announcing covid vaccine development in 2020 when the term narrowed the meaning. The next stage of the conceptualisation process that provoked overwhelming discussion and the methods of knowledge restructuring in the mental sphere was the introduction of the vaccine and the governmental confinement for vaccination. This process stage is characterised by a massive linguistic apprehension of the situation resulting in dozens of neologisms reflecting the split of a society. Some antonymic lexical units appeared in person nomination regarding the attitude to vaccination and appealing to the fundamental values of health and security. At the same time, the concept overcomes a figurative comprehension with the appearance of hundreds of memes, metaphors and phraseological units. All the sides of the conceptual structure (as understood in a paper) undergo the interpretation and acquire specific situation-related meanings. The concept has complicated qualitatively and quantitatively due to the concept's attributive meaning extension of the semantic structure that became multi-layered and heterogeneous.

Thus, we fix the transformation process of a terminological system unit into a concept, a complex mental formation, a fragment of a new picture of the world that determines the ways of behaviour and vision in the era of the Covid-19 pandemic.

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CONCEPTUALISING PROPER NOUNS IN THE RUSSIAN MEDIA COVERAGE OF KEY POLITICAL EVENTS IN THE UK

Advances in cognitive linguistics and discourse theory make a strong case for an in-depth study of communicative practices used in media texts. The purpose of this paper is to present a study of the linguistic objectification in the Russian media discourse of onyms, e. g., references to politicians, countries and political processes. British Prime Minister Boris Johnson, Brexit and Britain serve as the prime objects of the study. Our research focuses on the linguistic means with the help of which the image of modern Britain is created in the Russian press. The transformation of a common noun denoting a process into a proper noun is traced. Frame analysis is the research method used in the study. It allows determining the patterns of using proper nouns in messages describing events. The study presents a comprehensive examination of the dominant framing techniques used by the Russian media to communicate information about Britain and form the country's perception in the national consciousness of Russians. These techniques include play on words, emotionally charged words and expressions, metaphoricity, historical allusions and irony. The articles to be analysed were selected from Russia's leading national newspapers: the Russian Government-owned newspaper *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*, the liberal opposition newspaper *Novaya Gazeta*, and the business daily *Kommersant*. The authors argue that despite the current cooling in UK — Russia relations, different Russian media form in their readers an ambivalent attitude towards Britain.

Keywords: onym, media discourse, linguistic objectification, media text, news content, frame.

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КОНЦЕПТУАЛИЗАЦИЯ ИМЕН СОБСТВЕННЫХ В ОСВЕЩЕНИИ РОССИЙСКИМИ СМИ КЛЮЧЕВЫХ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ СОБЫТИЙ В ВЕЛИКОБРИТАНИИ

Достижения в области когнитивной лингвистики и теории дискурса дают веские основания для углубленного изучения коммуникативных практик, используемых в медиатекстах. Цель данной статьи — представить исследование языковой объективации онимов, обозначающих политиков, страны и политические процессы, которые представлены в российском медиадискурсе. Основными объектами исследования служат премьер-министр Великобритании Борис Джонсон, Брексит и Велико-

британия. В центре нашего исследования находятся языковые средства, с помощью которых создается образ современной Британии в российской прессе. Прослеживается трансформация имени нарицательного, обозначающего процесс, в имя собственное. Методом исследования, используемым в работе, является фреймовый анализ. Он позволяет определить закономерности употребления имен собственных в сообщениях, описывающих события. В исследовании представлен комплексный анализ доминирующих приемов фрейминга, используемых российскими СМИ для передачи информации о Британии и формирования представления о стране в национальном сознании россиян. Эти приемы включают игру слов, использование эмотивной лексики, метафоричность, исторические аллюзии и иронию. Статьи для анализа были отобраны из ведущих российских общенациональных газет: официального органа российского правительства газеты «Российская газета», либеральной оппозиционной газеты «Новая газета» и ежедневной деловой газеты «Коммерсантъ». Авторы утверждают, что, несмотря на охлаждение российско-британских отношений, различные российские СМИ формируют у своих читателей двойственное отношение к Британии.

Ключевые слова: оним, медиадискурс, языковая объективация, медиатекст, новостное содержание, фрейм.

Introduction

This paper presents a study of the linguistic objectification in the Russian media discourse of politicians' anthroponyms (proper nouns) and the onomastic status of political processes. British Prime Minister Boris Johnson and Britain's exit from the European Union serve as the object of our study. The names of heads of state refer to certain persons and serve as the personification of their countries' images, their most typical "sign-symbols" [Shcherbak, 2012, p. 12]. They serve as business cards of their countries and create a portrait, as it were, of an era [Fedotova, 2015]. The choice of the UK as the country of study is based on the following reasons. Economically, it has one of the highest indicators of socio-economic well-being globally. Politically, the UK plays a vital role in setting the current political agenda and exerts a noticeable influence on the interaction processes between nations both at the regional and global levels.

This study focuses on the onomastic space of media discourse about Britain, an ancient name for the modern UK. The subject of the research is the mental and linguistic features of the cognitive components that represent the onym concept of Britain. Frame analysis is the research method used in the study.

The study aims to determine the patterns of using proper nouns in messages describing events. To achieve this aim, we have carried out a

comprehensive examination of the dominant metaphorical models used by the Russian media to communicate information about Britain that structure and mediate the perception of the country in the national consciousness of Russians. A history of political confrontation and cooperation has created a wide semantic field associated with the concept of Brexit. Proper nouns, e. g., the EU (the European Union), Boris Johnson, etc., play an essential part in the media coverage of the political process.

We will seek to identify the different images of Brexit Russian media create in their readers depending on media outlets and their political affiliation. The hypothesis is that the Russian media creates an ambivalent attitude towards Britain despite the current cooling in the interrelations. We mean a combination of opposite assessments within the studied context by ambivalence.

The articles to be analysed were selected from the leading national newspapers: the Russian Government-owned newspaper *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*, the liberal opposition newspaper *Novaya Gazeta*, and the business daily *Kommersant*.

Methods

Advances in cognitive linguistics and discourse theory make a strong case for an in-depth study of communicative practices used in media texts. For a media text with a vertical spatial structure, the most critical information processing in text production. The cognitive approach makes it possible to penetrate the profound properties of the semantics of the text since it affects the information layers of the subtext. In the media text, each word is determined by coherent connections. These connections can have the character of discursive, cognitive, conceptual, and situational associations. Often, semantic relationships are supplanted by associative-figurative ones.

Some linguists are currently developing the theory of cognitive-discursive modelling as an autonomous area of linguistic discourse. The term cognitive-discursive modelling denotes the structuring of information about reality, leading to various kinds of mental representations in discourse. Of particular interest, in our opinion, is the cognitive-discursive modelling of precedent information in the meaning of English proper nouns, which are often used in the Russian media discourse.

The most promising areas in the study of proper nouns include the metaphorical and metonymic uses of proper nouns belonging to various semantic spheres, groups and categories, the patterns of implementation of precedent names in text and discourse, the ratio of semantic spheres-

sources and spheres-targets of metaphorical transformations from the perspectives of onomastics (anthroponyms); the historical dynamics of the vocabulary (neologisms); and belonging of onyms to common and non-common vocabulary (regionalisms).

Proper nouns cannot be explained since they are simply labelled individuals, although we can say and show this particular label is given [Superanskaya, 2007, p. 55–56]. According to the theory associated with the ideas of L. Wittgenstein and based on the concept of meaning as use, a proper noun has only speech semantics, which is a bundle of differential characteristics of an individual and can change when the name passes to another carrier, since, according to L. Wittgenstein, only the use of a word in a language game gives it meaning [Wittgenstein, 1994]. N. V. Podolskaya defines the semantics of a proper noun as the extralinguistic meaning of a name, including how common the name is, what information it carries, its specific onomastic functions and stylistic and aesthetic significance (in speech) and other components [Podolskaya, 1988, p. 93].

If we consider it concerning a specific person, the name is exact. The semantics of a personal name is determined by its attachment to a particular member of society [Alefirenko, 2005, p. 181]. According to A. V. Superanskaya, onomastic semantics is a specific type of semantics manifested in different ways at the level of language and speech. The semantics of the name includes both subjective, socially conditioned factors and emotions that the referent evokes in the speaker [Superanskaya, 2007, p. 323].

Among the precedent names, we include well-known proper nouns that are regularly used metaphorically without additional explanation of the origins of metaphoricity in the text. This indicates that the author considers this to be in everyday use and therefore assumes that there is no need to explain the meaning of the metaphor and its origins to the readers.

Onyms are not only references; they carry a specific cognitive potential, a pragmatic load, which allows us to study the functioning of a particular connection from the standpoint of discursive practices. One of the standard discursive techniques applied to onyms such as the names of politicians is called framing.

The eminent sociologist Erving Goffman was the first to introduce this term in his seminal book, *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience* [Goffman, 1974]. He used the frame concept as a schema of interpretation that helps an individual or group comprehend and organise their experience and direct their actions [Goffman, 2004, p. 76]. The English noun *frame* implies a skeleton, system or structure if; if it acts as a verb, it means to frame, build, construct or adjust. The noun *frame-*

up means a situation where someone is made to seem guilty of a crime although they have not committed it. The concept of a frame in psychology, social sciences and communication means a biased interpretation of facts and implies a conscious or unconscious simplification.

According to Robert Entman, *to frame* means to choose some aspects of reality and make them more prominent in a communicative text, thus promoting a unique interpretation of the problem, understanding of reasons, ethical assessment and/or a possible solution to a specific question [Entman, 1993, p. 52]. “In rhetorical criticism, framing can be understood as taking some aspects of our reality and making them more accessible than other aspects. <...> Frames are so powerful because they induce us to filter our perceptions of the world in particular ways, essentially making some aspects of our multi-dimensional reality more noticeable than other aspects. They operate by making some information more salient than additional information” [Kuypers, 2009, p. 181].

The study of frames provides the key to uncovering the mechanisms of conceptualisation of verbalized concepts and phenomena, which is why frame analysis is becoming especially relevant [Minsky, 1979; Kubryakova, 2004; Kulchitskaya, 2006; Sternin, Popova, 2007].

Results and Discussion

Investigating the conceptualisation of proper nouns, we conducted a comparative content analysis of the fragments from each newspaper in which the name Boris Johnson and the neologism Brexit are conceptualised.

In recent years, the concept of Brexit has played a considerable role in the life of Western Europe. It occupies an important place in British mentality, defining public assessment of the current political situation and the future fate of the country.

Brexit media texts are extremely rich in stylistic means. Attitudes towards Brexit are expressed by using evaluative adjectives, vivid metaphors and easy-to-remember phrases. Idioms, due to their stylistic colouring and emotional richness, can influence the perception of information and the mechanism of associative thinking, to hold the reader’s attention, control their emotions, and to create a media image of the country (people), thus enhancing the pragmatic power of the text.

Here are some examples to illustrate this point: *“Britain’s secession from the European Union has intercultural grounds as well. Ever since the publication of ‘History of Civilization in England’ by Henry Thomas Buckle, the British considered themselves superior to other nations. Today’s Ameri-*

can exclusivity has its origins in the early settlers who were British. It is intolerable for the British to obey officials' decisions from Brussels. The British do not want to be on an equal footing, to sit at the same table with the new Europeans. The British are especially opposed to the unhindered arrival of immigrants to their country, the quotas for the resettlement of which are determined by the European Union. The arrogance of the British is also promoted by the imperial past, when Great Britain was the ruler of the seas, over which the sun never set" (<https://rg.ru/2020/01/31/brexit-pochemu-velikobritaniia-vyhodit-iz-es-ik-chemu-eto-privedet.html>) and "The wayward British were no less outraged by the interference in the political and legal system" (<https://rg.ru/2020/01/31/brexit-pochemu-velikobritaniia-vyhodit-iz-es-ik-chemu-eto-privedet.html>).

The Brexit lexeme was formed by analogy with Grexit — the intention of Greece to leave the European Union. Peter Wilding is believed to be the author of the word Brexit. He used it on *BlogActiv* on May 15, 2012, more than four years before the referendum.

After analysing several contexts ("*In the Post-Brexit Era*", "a post-Brexit lack of hands", "in the Brexit drama", "Brexit Ulcers", "a Brexit blow", "Brexit problems", "longed-for Brexit", "a country split by Brexit"), *Novaya Gazeta* was the only newspaper that employed the following stylistic means to create puns, which produce a comic effect: homonyms proper, homographs, homophones, polysemes, paronyms, and reminiscences. Examples include these two fragments from the article "PM With Misery On His Face": "Johnson, by hook and, as it now turns out, by crook, won the general election a year ago, receiving a decisive majority in the House of Commons of 80 votes, formed a government 'of lightweights loyal to Brexit and himself,' as 'The Times' called them, and was able to come close to fulfil the main promise: to actually withdraw the country from the European Union. Britain, Boris Johnson said with inspiration in early February in a keynote speech in Greenwich, 'is leaving its chrysalis. After decades of hibernation, we are returning as fighters for global free trade';" and "The Coronavirus simply knocked out the government, which had been geared towards Brexit" (<https://novyagazeta.ru/articles/2020/09/22/87189-premier-so-stradaniem-na-litse>) as well as the headlines "Britain, On Your Way!" (<https://novyagazeta.ru/articles/2020/12/25/88537-britaniya-na-vyhod>) and "Boris, You Are Wrong" (<https://novyagazeta.ru/articles/2019/07/28/81407-boris-ty-ne-prav>). The last headline references Boris Yeltsin, whom a Communist Party official accused of undermining the party.

To create the image of Johnson, journalists often refer to a source of ironic remarks about him, e.g., "The popular French satirical newspaper 'Le Canard enchaîné' (*The Chained Duck*) informed readers that French

President Emmanuel Macron in a private conversation called the British Prime Minister Boris Johnson a 'clown', noting that he 'adheres to the position of a vulgar person'" (<https://rg.ru/2021/12/02/smi-makron-v-chastnoj-besede-nazval-britanskogo-premera-klounom.html>)

Anthroponyms are often used in language games expressing an ambivalent attitude towards the object of the nomination, e.g., *"The media report that although Johnson did not take part in the party, he knew about it and turned a blind eye to it"* (<https://rg.ru/2021/12/09/sovetsnicu-premera-britanii-uvolili-posle-shutki-o-vecherinke-v-lokdaun.html>).

The onomastic concept of Britain functions as a discursive name. Examples include: *"A Christmas miracle happened to Britain"* (<https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/4627549?query=%D0%91%D1%80%D0%B8%D1%82%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%8F>); *"For many years Britain has been a magnet for foreigners wishing to get an elite education in its renowned educational institutions"* (<https://rg.ru/2020/06/10/britanskie-universitet-teraiut-svoj-prestizh.html>); *"Russia and Britain played a sea battle"* (<https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/4869244?query=%D0%91%D1%80%D0%B8%D1%82%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%8F>); *"The British side proposed to the allies during the June summit to open another front in the war with Russia: an information front"* (<https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/4869244?query=%D0%91%D1%80%D0%B8%D1%82%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%8F>); *"Great Britain has become one of the main victims of the European policy of open borders"* (<https://rg.ru/2020/01/31/brexit-pochemu-velikobritaniia-vyhodit-iz-es-i-k-chemu-eto-privedet.html>).

The toponym London is used as a nomination. The image of the country is associated with the capital and its institutions: *"The London Court allowed the extradition of Assange to the United States"* (<https://rg.ru/2021/12/10/sud-londona-razreshil-ekstradiciiu-assanzha-v-ssha.html>) *"The London Court upheld the US appeal on Assange's extradition"* (<https://rg.ru/2021/12/10/sud-londona-dal-dobro-na-ekstradiciiu-assanzha-v-ssha.html>); *"How the London court decided to expel Assange to the USA"* (<https://rg.ru/2021/12/10/kak-sud-v-londone-prinimal-reshenie-vyslat-assanzha-v-ssha.html>).

A popular way of forming the image of Britain is the use of expressive-evaluative vocabulary, which evokes a historical association with a similar episode of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher riding a tank during her 1986 visit to British troops stationed in West Germany: *"The British Foreign Minister rode a tank in Estonia"* (<https://rg.ru/2021/12/01/video-glava-mid-britanii-prohalas-na-tanke-v-estonii.html>).

Conclusion

Russia's leading national print media — the pro-government *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*, the opposition *Novaya Gazeta*, and the business daily *Kommersant* — are creating an ambivalent image of Britain through the use of onyms. Discursively, this is done with the help of framing to organise experience. Some aspects of reality are made more prominent in the text, thus promoting a unique interpretation of the problem, interpretation of reasons, ethical assessment and/or a possible solution to a specific question. Framing involves a play on words, emotionally charged words and expressions, metaphoricity, historical allusions and irony.

The study of references to politicians (Prime Minister Johnson), political processes (Brexit) and place names (Britain, London) indicates that, on the one hand, Britain (by metonymy the people of Britain) commands respect from Russian journalists; on the other, it creates distrust, which is provoked by the actions of politicians. By doing that, the Russian media forms in their readers an ambivalent attitude towards Britain.

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ANTHROPOCENTRIC APPROACH AS A SCAFFOLDING INTO DISTANCE LEARNING

The forced temporary transfer of education to a distance format during the pandemic period made the rapidly emerging digital technologies an important tool to adapt educational resources. On the one hand, adaptive educational systems represent computer algorithms and artificial intelligence in interaction with the students in order to meet the unique needs of each student. On the other hand, live human communication in doing an online course is insufficient, and difficulties connected with motivation and different distractors can be a serious obstacle to achieving educational goals. The aim of this research is to analyze communication and motivation problems that can arise in the process of online education as well as to study innovative approaches in order to adapt students to the new reality. Our study is based on the comparative and interpretative analyses of the LMS and other instruments of digital instruction officially used in both universities, the students' experience of independent work survey, and the students' freewriting activity "Evaluate the course". The findings prove that students, whose future profession is related to computers and software, do not experience a shortage of communication during distance learning. However, the students, whose future profession involves communication, feel the lack of personal contact, physical strain due to long exposure to the PC screen, and frustration caused by dependence on the Internet connection. We argue that an anthropocentric approach to educational technologies, giving the first place to students' individual needs and student-tutor interpersonal communication, can create the most comfortable and effective learning environment.

Keywords: anthropocentric approach, distance learning, blended learning, adaptive educational systems, motivation.

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АКТУАЛЬНОСТЬ АНТРОПОЦЕНТРИЧЕСКОГО ПОДХОДА К ДИСТАНЦИОННОМУ ОБУЧЕНИЮ

Быстро меняющийся современный мир с новыми технологиями требует все более высоких стандартов образования и ставит перед нами новые задачи. В связи с вынужденным временным переводом образования в дистанционный формат в период пандемии цифровые технологии стали важным инструментом адаптации образовательных ресурсов.

С одной стороны, адаптивные образовательные системы предлагают использование компьютерных алгоритмов и искусственного интеллекта во взаимодействии с учащимися для удовлетворения уникальных потребностей каждого учащегося. С другой стороны, отсутствие живого человеческого общения при проведении онлайн-курса и трудности, связанные с мотивацией и различными отвлекающими факторами, могут быть серьезным препятствием для решения образовательных задач. Целью данного исследования является анализ проблем коммуникации и мотивации, которые могут возникнуть в процессе онлайн-образования, а также изучение инновационных подходов адаптации студентов к новой реальности. Авторы считают, что антропоцентрический подход к образовательным технологиям, в котором центральное место занимают индивидуальные потребности студентов и межличностное общение между преподавателями и студентами, может создать максимально комфортную и эффективную среду обучения.

Ключевые слова: антропоцентрический подход, дистанционное обучение, смешанное обучение, адаптивные образовательные системы, мотивация.

“Changingness, reliance on process rather than upon static knowledge, is the only thing that makes any sense as a goal for education in the modern world”

[Rogers, 1983, p. 104]

Introduction

The rapid progress in information technology, which has spread to all spheres of society, has completely changed the traditional relationship between men and machines. According to the American writer, scientist and publicist N. Carr, artificial intelligence has entered our lives. Modern ultra-precise and multifunctional computers can perform the most complex and sophisticated work for us: they can solve tricky tasks, assess the situation and make hypotheses, conduct experiments and formulate conclusions, copy the intellectual and creative talents of people, but they cannot think like a person. N. Carr claims that the Internet has far-reaching effects on cognition resulting in scattered attention and inability to concentrate. The more complex the software is, the more functions and manipulations it contains. This results in less initiative and mental effort required from operators (people using these devices in their work), making it difficult for them to act in a non-standard situation and make independent decisions. Exploring the consequences of the all-encompassing computerisation of human activity, Carr warns of a particular danger of deepening this process in the field of medicine, aviation and other in-

dustries where the human factor is of vital importance: skills improved through practice are dulled when a machine performs all critical functions [Carr, 2008]. According to experts from the University of Nancy, only an anthropocentric approach to innovative technologies, in which human knowledge, experience and talents are given the first place, and software plays an important but secondary role, can bring consistency in the relationship between man and machine [Mayer, 2008, p.5253]. This model assumes that a person retains the control function and the right to make decisions, and a computer performs all time-consuming routine tasks. At the same time, the technology does not replace the operator but becomes their partner. One of the most promising approaches in this direction is “Adaptive Automation”, which requires special personnel training. The Agency for Strategic Initiatives (Skolkovo) has developed the list of universal cross-professional skills and abilities necessary for specialists to remain in demand in the context of constantly updated technologies. According to the possible future challenges in the area of education, cross-professional skills may include:

- educational trajectory developer;
- career strategist;
- project-based learning organiser;
- game master;
- online education platform coordinator;
- educational ecosystems architect;
- educational institution moderniser;
- startup mentor;
- games educator [Sudakov, Varlamova, 2021, p.42–43].

Adaptive educational systems represent an academic method that uses computer algorithms and artificial intelligence in interaction with the students to provide a flexible environment, customised resources, and learning activities that meet the unique needs of each student. Experts D.Zapata-Rivera and V.J.Shute state: “The success of any adaptive technology to promote learning requires an accurate *diagnosis* of learner characteristics (e.g., knowledge, skill, motivation, persistence)” [Shute, Zapata-Rivera, 2012, p.8]. They have introduced the four-process cycle model that includes: capture (gathering information about the learner); analyse (representing information in terms of the learner’s performance in the learning domain); select (information is chosen for a particular learner), and present (specific content is presented to the learner according to the results of the selection process) [Shute, Zapata-Rivera, 2012, p.9].

However, the concept dates back as far as Roger's humanistic approach to learning emerged. According to Rogers, significant or experiential learning involves five elements. Firstly, it is based on personal involvement (both rational and emotional aspects contribute to education). Secondly, it is self-initiated, "the impetus or stimulus comes from the outside, the sense of discovery, of reaching out, of grasping and comprehending, comes from within". Thirdly, it is omnipresent, i.e. "makes a difference in the behaviour, the attitudes, perhaps, even the learner's personality". Fourthly, the learner evaluates "whether it leads toward what he wants to know". Finally, it is meaningful because "the element of meaning to the learner is built into the whole experience" [Rogers, 1969, p. 5]. These seem to be the answer to some challenges of education transformation during the pandemic and in the post-pandemic period.

To prepare students for the new reality, we should use innovative approaches to education, one of which is the emerging "Adaptive Educational Systems".

The research aims to estimate the most effective approaches to teaching arts and humanities students in transition between educational modes. We should analyse communication problems, their effect on the rapport between a tutor and students, and their interaction. Moreover, we should appraise the outcomes of the English course and discuss possible solutions.

As Bugreeva says, "many aspects of e-learning are still disputable". Since both online and e-learning implement internet connections, students might experience quite similar problems. Bugreeva points out the following difficulties and drawbacks of both synchronous and asynchronous online learning:

- 1) formal organisation makes it difficult to choose a course in the frame of the syllabus;
- 2) e-learning provokes "procrastination and all types of distraction";
- 3) "lack of live human communication in doing an on-line course";
- 4) implementing the same techniques as in off-line learning;
- 5) poor connection and insufficient technical skills.

The author based her conclusion upon the results of the survey [Bugreeva, 2021, p. 170].

Methods & materials

The case study evaluates the implications of insufficient technical support from IT departments and flaws in placement testing made

by the university admissions office, which caused difficulties in adjusting to the educational process. Sample: 1st-year students and teachers of St Petersburg State University of Film and Television and St Petersburg State University. Limitations: the analysis was carried out for the LMS and other instruments of digital instruction officially used in both universities, namely, MS Teams, Blackboard, Moodle and Zoom; the survey was based on the convenience sample. We analysed the results of the students' freewriting activity "Evaluate the course" and the study of students' experience of independent work.

Results and analysis

The most straightforward way of evaluating all pros and cons of both offline and online formats is simply to ask students' opinions. To monitor essential students' characteristics and obtain adequate information about their needs, we have organised a two-step survey: first, we asked our students to write short course evaluations; second, we distributed a questionnaire via Google forms.

The samples of 25 students giving course evaluations and 27 respondents (21 students and six teachers) answering the survey questionnaires served the data for our analysis.

The first-year students of the St Petersburg State University of Film and Television (specialisation "Animation and Computer Graphics Artist") were asked to describe in the free form their experience and attitude to distance learning in comparison with traditional off-line form of studying. According to the curriculum, about half of the students' English classes are held in the distance format via LMS Moodle; another part is off-line classes, but due to the coronavirus pandemic, in the first term and partially in the second one, English classes were organised in the Zoom. Three months in the spring term, the students visited English classes at the University, allowing them to compare the advantages and disadvantages of both learning formats.

At St Petersburg State University, the classes in foreign languages have been held in online format since September 2020 to provide for the inclusion of all overseas students. During the period under study, the MS Teams system was used for practical classes and continuous assessment. Students' attendance and final test results were introduced via Blackboard. Apart from these, Zoom and Telegram were used to provide a smooth flow of classes and feedback.

Another question we asked students was about classroom participation. The bar chart below represents the results.

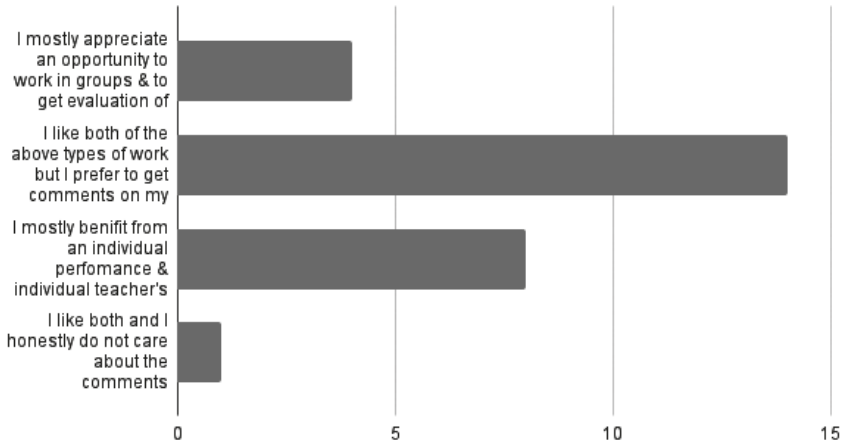


Fig. 1. Classroom participation

Most students need feedback even if they are satisfied with the variety of activities.

As Freese mentions, it is crucial to have a platform that enables the educators to sustain synchronous lessons and “provides opportunities of structuring the online session with a maximum semblance of an off-line ESL class where the students are highly engaged in pair and small group work” [Freese, Shramko, 2020, p. 407]. This means there should be careful yet not compulsive guidance.

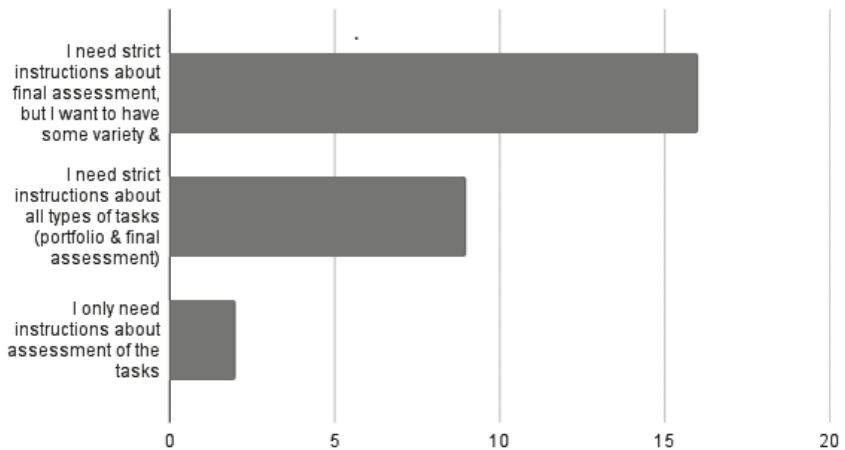


Fig. 2. Guidance through the assignments

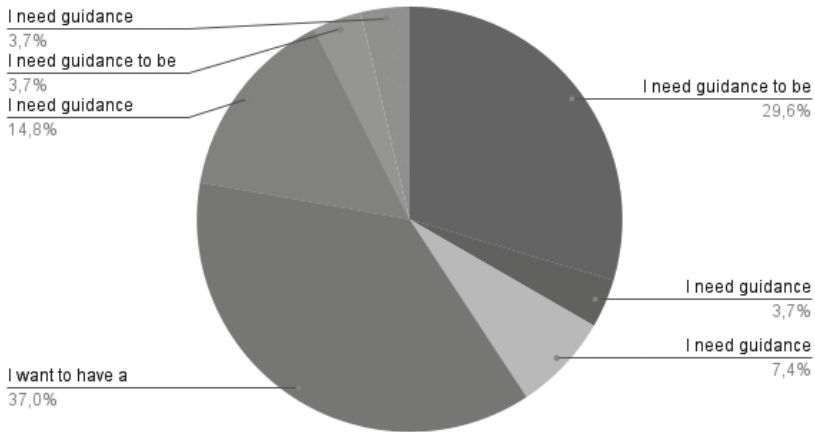


Fig. 3. Guidance through the course & assessment

As the diagrams show, students are pretty concerned about the syllabus and the assessment requirements in informal education. Since their grades depend on the actual accomplishment of the portfolio assignments, they want a clear understanding of the submission process and the assessment criteria.

Discussion

The reasons did not include teaching methods but were related to technical, organisation¹, and psychological factors. The disadvantages mentioned by students include, first and foremost, lack of personal contact, tiredness caused by prolonged exposure to the PC screen and being in a sitting position, and the dependence on the internet connection.

Nine brief evaluations written by future computer graphics artists have been analysed. They all are very optimistic about distance format, estimate it as effective and write about its benefits². *“I am a homebody by nature, and I thrive in an environment that does not require me to move much; therefore, with us studying remotely, I see no disadvantages at all”* (Christina Khristova). *“The new format turned out to be convenient due to its mobility, many questions of the course could be solved instantly in a chat, without waiting for the next meeting”* (Sofia Melikhova). *“I could*

¹ Partly, academic management, and, as a couple of students mentioned putting them in groups for the whole semester instead of giving them freedom to choose the group for each speaking task, partly classroom management. Those students came to university straight after school and were adapted to authoritative teaching style.

² Here and below, we keep the spelling and punctuation of the respondents.

avoid wasting time travelling to university and therefore get more sleep and have more time” (Julia Kniazkova). “Thanks to e-learning, we didn’t have to spend money on our way to university” (Tatyana Belobrova). “The main advantage of studying from home was that I felt comfortable in my room. I could concentrate in convenient atmosphere where nothing could disturb me” (Asya Riabinina). As for the shortcomings, some students mention technical problems and a lack of self-motivation. “Sometimes we experienced technical problems, such as poor Internet connection” (Tatyana). “When you’re at home, you often feel lazy and cosy, so you just don’t want to do anything productive” (Christina). For others, self-motivation is not a problem at all. “My motivation is to get my dream job, and I need to work hard for that” (Arina Kravets). “I think the best motivation during such hard times is knowing your goal and finding ways to reach it” (Tatyana). “I have my own goals that I’m working towards, and I don’t need motivation from the outside” (Julia).

Regarding lack of communication, only two students refer to one of the drawbacks. “I felt lack of personal communication and socialisation are the most important elements of the education process” (Asya). “I would say that the biggest flaw of e-learning is lack of live interaction not only with our classmates and friends but with teachers too” (Tatyana). Other students believe that virtual communication with classmates and teachers is quite enough. “I’d love to continue combining Zoom and Moodle formats. We got to know each other by discussing anything from our textbook, and I appreciated it” (Sonya). “I like Zoom because it’s all live communication and you can see both the person you’re talking to and the teacher” (Julia).

Sixteen first-year students of St Petersburg State University (School of Journalism and Mass Communications, specialisations “Journalism” and “Public Relations & Advertising”) accomplished the same task. Students’ feedback of the online format course, which included General English modules and ESP modules, revealed that they see pretty some disadvantages. Over two-thirds of our students answered that they would rather have online classes. Here we quote some of the responses: “A big flaw for me is not to be able to see in person my classmates and teachers...” (Anna Masalska)³; “lack face-to-face communication” which includes “body language” and makes it easier to understand peoples’ feelings” (Maria Khotina); “decreased motivation because of the relaxed state” and “poor Internet connection or unwillingness to interrupt someone” (Anna Larionova, Nida Na-

³ MS Teams limits the number of the participant who can turn their mics during the session. Since the groups are about 20–22 students, some of them really have a chance to speak, or even write comments in the chat.

bila, Asya, Tatiana, Valeria Sinitsina); “on-line format” (Varvara Kovliga wrote in response to the question about the disadvantages of the course).

Less than one-third of the 25 respondents preferred the online format to the offline form for practical language classes. They mentioned the following reasons: 1) a mixed-format was not available for overseas students (who, due to the restrictions, could not come to St Petersburg and study from home); 2) personal characteristics. This explains their positive evaluation of the online format since they could study English with the group and get the professor’s support in real-time⁴.

Another part of the study implied using two questionnaires dedicated to learner autonomy and motivation and communication problems that both parties (teachers and students) experienced. In this survey, the total number of respondents was 27 (21 students and six teachers)⁵.

One of the questions our students and colleagues answered was “How different would your communication strategies be in off-line format?” and the replies demonstrated some exciting dependencies.

Students of SPbU whose synchronous learning took place in Microsoft Teams experienced psychological difficulties for they could not use non-verbal communication and could not concentrate due to technical distractions. At this moment, we give some quotes: “As I didn’t use gesture languages, my group mates were a bit out of getting this kind of developing information. But at the same time nothing but this changed”, “Supposedly, I could use more non-verbal elements, which is very natural for me. Also, I think that an eye contact sometimes can be pretty important in the way of supporting each other talking and showing an interest to one another while speaking on some topic.”

Students who used Zoom for synchronous learning, namely, future computer graphics artists (St Petersburg State University of Film and Television), were more satisfied. The following answers to the mentioned above questions will illustrate what we mean: “The same as in the offline format”, “little difference”, “We communicate in Zoom, and therefore it is almost the same communication. So, they won’t change much.”

Some teachers answered the same question, and the answers show that students experience communication problems and the tutors. Here we present some replies to the same question: “more formal and distant”, “I would use a pair and small group work regularly, I would use the class time more effectively watching students’ reactions”, “Completely different”.

⁴ Those students had to study other disciplines (done in off-line format) independently under personalized syllabus and had to meet deadline to be assessed in online format.

⁵ They all have fairly good command of English: B2 to C1.

Conclusion

Distance learning is an essential part of modern education that introduces many opportunities. Students whose future profession is related to computers and software (Animation and Computer Graphics) do not experience a shortage of communication during distance learning.

Nevertheless, students of other specialities (“Journalism” and “Public Relations & Advertising”), especially first-year ones, need offline communication with each other and their tutors. We should thoroughly consider Zimring’s proposition “*that the person-centred approach is essentially a person-to-person relationship between teacher and students*” [Zimring, 1994, p. 417].

Thus, the most effective educational format nowadays should be introduced by adaptive educational systems that provide a flexible environment, customised resources and learning activities that meet the unique needs of each student. Unfortunately, adaptive systems are still not a case in point for the institutions under study since teachers are not authorised to have direct access to grouping students, organising courses by themselves, and placing adaptive tests for the students. This means that teachers have to put much more effort and use such means as messengers to give and get prompt feedback or give personal support and suggest extra tasks for individual student needs. All this causes much stress and might lead to professional burnout, not to mention the feeling of frustration and demotivation. These issues are to be considered in the continuation of our research.

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**SYNERGETIC POTENTIAL OF AUTHORIZATION
MEANS IN THE GENRE OF MEMOIRS
(based on the reminiscences of modern German
politicians)**

The paper focuses on political memoirs belonging to the ontologically associated with the past, individual mnemonic discourse of a politician in an idiodiscursive position “after power” and to the political discourse synchronous with the time of the text creation. The proposed genre interpretation is determined by the idea that a memoirist performs two narrative functions in his/her cognitive-speech activity: he/she, as an actor, enters the depicted text world (“the narrated I”) and depicts this world using different types of memory (“the telling I”). The paper aims at studying the compositional-speech features of political reminiscences as “the authorized text construction,” in which a retrospective representation and verbalization of the experience of the politician’s language personality split into “I-now” and “I-then” takes place. The study methodology consists of a holistic approach to understanding and interpreting the text as a complete system of the hierarchically related parts. The form and meaning of the parts depend on their position in the text structure and on the situation of the creation and existence of the text as a cognitive-communicative event. The research technique combines induction and deduction methods with suprasegmental and contextual analysis. The interpretation of five famous German politicians’ memoirs confirms that the cohesion and coherence of text utterances are ensured by the structural and semantic orientation of all text parts to the egocentric words and compositional-architectonic components dispersed throughout the text, which act as the “core elements” of the text structure with a single value center. This structure encompasses the entire text utterance riddled with the author’s “ego” viewpoint. The synergy of logical and rhetorical authorization means and other text elements contributes to implementing the author’s communication and speech strategies of positive self-presentation and persuasive influence on a potential reader.

Keywords: political memoirs, discourse, text, authorisation, egocentric word, logical authorisation, rhetorical authorisation.

Е. А. Гончарова

**СИНЕРГЕТИЧЕСКИЙ ПОТЕНЦИАЛ СРЕДСТВ АВТОРИЗАЦИИ
В ЖАНРЕ МЕМУАРОВ
(на материале воспоминаний современных немецких политиков)**

Объект научных наблюдений в статье — политические мемуары, которые принадлежат и к онтологически связанному с прошлым индивиду-

альному мнемоническому дискурсу субъекта политики, находящегося в идиодискурсивной позиции «после власти», и к политическому дискурсу, синхронному времени создания текста. Логика предлагаемой интерпретации названного жанра определяется исходным положением о реализации в когнитивно-речевой деятельности политика-мемуариста двух нарративных функций: вхождения в роли действующего лица в изображаемый мир текста («рассказываемое Я») и изображения этого мира с опорой на разные виды памяти («рассказывающее Я»). Цель статьи состоит в изучении особенностей композиционно-речевого построения текстов политических воспоминаний как «авторизованной текстовой конструкции», в которой происходит ретроспективная реконструкция и вербализация прошлого опыта языковой личности политика, расщепленной на «Я-сейчас» и «Я-тогда». Методологическая база исследования состоит в холистическом подходе к тексту, предполагающем его понимание и толкование как целостной системы иерархически соотносенных между собой частей и элементов, форма и смысл которых зависят не только от позиции в текстовой структуре, но и от ситуации порождения и бытования текста как когнитивно-коммуникативного события. Исследовательская методика представляет собой сочетание индукции и дедукции, а также суперсегментного и контекстуального анализа. Интерпретация текстов воспоминаний пяти известных немецких политиков подтверждает, что цельность и целостность текстовых высказываний обеспечиваются структурно-семантической ориентацией всех композиционно-архитектонических компонентов на рассредоточенные по тексту эгоцентрические слова и высказывания, которые выступают в функции «ядерных элементов» текстовой структуры с единым ценностным центром — объемлющей все текстовое высказывание точкой зрения авторского «эго». Синергетическое взаимодействие средств логической и риторической авторизации с другими элементами текста способствует реализации авторских коммуникативно-речевых стратегий позитивной самопрезентации и персуазивного воздействия на потенциального читателя.

Ключевые слова: политические мемуары, дискурс, текст, авторизация, эгоцентрическое слово, логическая авторизация, риторическая авторизация.

The place of political memoirs in the system of mnemonic literature genres

Political memoirs differ in some substantive and formal features, which, on the one hand, serve as the ground for the interpreter to include them into the genre system of mnemonic literature, which, in addition to memoirs, includes (literary) autobiography, diary, travel notes, epistolary text. These are, for example, the following signs: (a) an accessible, first-person narrative of the author about the past events; (b) the mental

support of the narrator on various types of memory; (c) verbalized in the text, the interaction of two mental-speech states of the author (“I-now,” at the time of the text creation, and “I-then,” at the time of past events); (d) fragmentation and heterogeneity of the narrative explained by either the unreliability of the memory of the speech subject of memories or the psychological features of its temperament, thematic and evaluation priorities encouraging the author to dwell in more detail on the story of people, for some reason the most interesting for him, or certain past events which it considers crucial in terms of the present, and also to change the exact chronological sequence of the described perplexities, etc.; (e) a combination of the factual/historical authenticity of the depicted story and its simultaneous fictionality/individually-shaped inaccuracy resulting from the individual interpretation of the occurred events, which is characteristic of the authors of mnemonic texts [Andreeva, 2019, p. 68–87; Bondareva, 2019; Nyubina, 2000; Nurkova, 2000; Lejeune, 1994].

On the other hand, certain features of political memoirs make it possible to establish a set of peculiarities of the text structure associated with the communicative-pragmatic nature of the memoirs themselves as an autonomous type of text. This is, for example, (a) the composition and plot construction of the text in the form of a description of the author’s life path; (b) the belonging of the author of the memoirs as an actor both to the (depicted) world of the text and to the real world [Lejeune, 1994, p. 24–38]; (c) the merge of two functional subject-object hypostases — “the telling/depicting I,” which builds the corresponding text composition, filling it with specific events and characters, and “the narrated/portrayed I,” that is, the author’s conceivable image of himself in the past, or “I in the form of *another*” [Bakhtin, 1979, p. 319] — in the structure of the author-memoirist.

Finally, political memories reveal signs indicating their entry into the discourse of politics. These include (a) the author’s selection of relevant themes and representation objects; (b) references to real actual social and historical events and political documents (international treaties, party programs, texts of pre-election speeches, etc.); (c) preferential mention of the persons professionally associated with politics, etc.

Key lingua-pragmatic parameters of political memoirs

As a systemic-structural formation of a holistic nature, the texts of political memoirs and the genre of memoirs as a whole are subordinate to a single “value centre” (according to Bakhtin). That is, this formation covers the entire text in terms of the author’s “I,” split into “I-now” and “I-then,” or, as noted above, “the telling I” and the “narrated I.” A feature

of the politician-memoirist's "ego" is that he is in an idiodiscursive position "after power." Unlike the other two possible stages of personal and social life ("before power" and "in power"), the "after-power" discursive phase in political communication as a cognitive-discursive phenomenon of a syncretic nature belongs both to the political discourse coinciding with the time of creating the text of memoirs and to the mnemonic discourse ontologically oriented towards the past [Goncharova, Tsutsieva, 2021]. A politician analyses and assesses the social and political reality in terms of his (personal and social) experience, which is preserved through various types of memory in the complex textual whole in the form of a retrospective reconstruction and verbalisation of this experience. Striving for maximum objectivity and reliability of the story about the past, the memoirist verbalises it; that is, he restores the past from the facts and images stored in memory based on its intentions in the present.

The singular integrity of personal existence "I-in-the-world-of (politics)" actualised in the texts of political reminiscences gives memoirs the status of a communicative event (discourse) involving historical and/or political events as well as real people as the primary representation objects in the space of verbalisation. These objects are chosen, conceptualised and arranged by the language personality of the text creator in the open dialogue with a potential reader.

So, Joschka Fischer, the former vice-chancellor and foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Germany (1998–2005), writes in his memoirs:

Akteure taugen nicht zur Geschichtsschreibung in eigener Sache, da es ihnen in der Regel an dem wissenschaftlichen Rüstzeug und mehr noch an der notwendigen Objektivität sich selbst gegenüber mangelt. „Erinnerungen“ sind daher keine Geschichtsschreibung, sondern der subjektive Rückblick eines Akteurs auf einen von ihm mitgestalteten Zeitabschnitt der Geschichte. Erinnerungen eben [Fischer, 2012, p. 351].

As one can see, the memoirist emphasises that the author of political memoirs does not create objective historical work but presents his own "subjective retrospective view of the historical period, which he was actively taking part in." The following quote illustrates another thesis, necessary for the interpretation of political memoirs that their author is always not only the mental-speech subject of the retrospectively oriented text but also a direct participant in past events, an active agent of politics, who is still interested in the problems related to his political activities in the past.

Here is another example:

In meinem Blick zurück auf sieben Jahre Kanzlerzeit wollte ich ganz und gar nicht buchhalterisch sein. Aufgeschrieben habe ich, was

mir wichtig schien. Es waren die Themen, über die ich immer noch viel nachdenke, und ich möchte darlegen, was sich möglicherweise aus unseren Lösungsvorschlägen, aber auch Sorgen und Nöten für die Zukunft ablesen lässt [Schröder, 2006, p. 507].

In this fragment of memoirs of Gerhard Schröder, the former chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany (1998–2005), the author's approach to the reconstruction of past events deprived of the detailed listing and description, which is a feature not only of his political memoirs, is explained by the memoirist's intention to discuss those topics "about which he still reflects a lot" because they are associated "with the challenges and needs of the future."

Konrad Adenauer, the former chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany (1949–1963), also emphasizes that the memoirs help a politician who does not belong to the community of historical researchers to tell the reader about his experience of active participation in the development of history and help him connect the past, present and future, see the ties between political events in their chronological sequence and grasp their meaning for what is happening now:

Wenn ich auch kein Historiker bin, so habe ich doch in bewegten, ja stürmischen Zeiten vieles erlebt und zum großen Teil mitgestaltet. <...> ich bin zufrieden, wenn ich dem Leser Gedanken über das wecke, was jetzt ist, und über das, was eventuell wird. <...> Erfahrung kann eine Führerin des Denkens und des Handelns sein, die durch nichts zu ersetzen ist, auch nicht durch angeborenen Intellekt. Das gilt insbesondere für das Gebiet der Politik. <...> Eine Wiedergabe des Stoffes lediglich nach dem Zeitablauf würde dem Leser kein richtiges Bild der Zusammenhänge vermitteln. Diesen Zusammenhang zu wissen ist notwendig, um das Geschehen unserer Tage zu verstehen [Adenauer, 1965, p. 13–14].

Structural-semantic features of political memoirs as the authorised text construction

The above examples confirm that the verbalisation of the retrospectively depicted events, phenomena and persons in the textual structure of political memoirs is carried out based on their analytical reconstruction from the first-person position of the speech subject — the author of memoirs. In the process and as a result of such a conceptualisation of the past from the present standpoint, texts of political reminiscences become the "authorised text construction," with the subordination of all elements of the text, including such non-verbal components as photographs, copies of historical documents, etc., to the communicative-strategic interests of

the text author — the main subject of perception, experience and linguistic fixation of “objective” social and political phenomena. In other words, by the authorised text construction, which forms the basis of semantics and the structure of political memories, we mean such a composition-al-semantic text construction that provides a semantic-structural and functional-pragmatic synthesis of elements of different levels of the text structure. This synthesis ensures an absolute expression of the personally determined author’s opinion on everything that happens in the text.

Specific language and speech means, which are the building blocks of the authorized text construction of political memories, act as its “core” structural-semantic elements and “complicators” of text meanings. They include primarily the original personal name and the first-person pronoun periodically repeated in the text structure and its semantic pro-forms (*mein, mich, meinestwegen*, etc.) referring to the author-subject. For example: 1) „**Gerhard Schröder**. *Entscheidungen. Mein Leben in der Politik*“; 2) „**Joschka Fischer**. *„I am not convinced“*. *Der Irak-Krieg und die rot-grünen Jahre*“).

In the examples, these elements coherently link the individual parts of the header — the first strong position of the text. Even in cases where political memoirs are indicated by the traditional word “*Erinnerungen*” for this genre (for instance, 1. „**Konrad Adenauer**. *Erinnerungen*“; 2. „**Willy Brandt**. *Erinnerungen*“; 3. **Helmuth Kohl**. *Erinnerungen. 1982–1990*“; 4. **Franz Josef Strauß**. *Die Erinnerungen*“), the semantics of the lexeme itself (*Niederschrift von Erlebtem; Selbstbiographie* [Drosdowski, 1989, S. 451]) and a semantic projection on the personal name of the text author give such a lexeme the status of an “egocentric word,” that is, a word that “<...> is focused on the “Ego,” on “I” of the speaker” [Stepanov, 2010, p. 224; Gontscharova, 2017, p. 455–464].

The coordinate system of “I” of the speech subject of political memoirs also includes language and speech means such as verbs of sensual perception, mental-speech activity and evaluation (*sehen, empfinden, sich erinnern, nachsinnen, vergessen, vermuten, denken, nachdenken, erkennen, meinen, überlegen, auffassen, einschätzen, hoffen, bedauern*, etc.), modal verbs, adverbs and particles (*leider, wohl, sicher, gewiss, vielleicht, keineswegs, kaum, sogar, ja, doch*), collocations with anthropocentric semantics (*von mir aus, den Gedanken nachhängen, sich etwas zu eigen machen, im Auge behalten, ohne Wenn und Aber, sich frei von Illusionen wissen, zugute halten* and others), which also act as egocentric words and affect the “contextual speech situation of the text” [cit. ex Goncharova, 2010, p. 17], becoming its pragmatic dominants. The egocentric words exert “pressure” on the intra- and extratextual (discursive) meaningful relations in political memoirs, di-

recting, controlling and focusing them in line with the illocutionary and perlocutionary energy of the politician's "ego," which, in turn, provides the interdependent and mutually enhanced persuasion and synergetic effect of all compositional and meaningful elements in the text system.

Thus, for example, one of the chapters in the memoirs of F. J. Strauß, entitled "Soldat vom ersten bis zum letzten Tag," begins with the author's reasoning about his attitude to war as a catastrophic event in the life of Germans and other peoples:

*Ich kenne den Krieg. Deshalb **will ich** den Frieden. **Das ist meine persönliche Konsequenz** aus dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, der Europa an den Rand des Untergangs und die Deutschen an die größte Katastrophe ihrer Geschichte geführt hat. **Von Anfang an habe ich** im Abfall der deutschen Politik von den Grundnormen des christlichen Sittengesetzes **die Ursünde gesehen**, aus der alles Unheil erwuchs [Strauß, 1989, p.42].*

The chapter also ends with the memoirist's viewpoint (on the role of a separate German politician in overcoming the devastating consequences of the war):

*Nach zwölf Jahren, sechs davon Krieg, war das „Tausendjährige Reich“ vorbei. Deutschland stand vor dem größten Trümmerhaufen seiner Geschichte. Die Stunde Null **schien gekommen**. **Was mich damals bewegte, habe ich in einem Sammelband** <...> **so formuliert**: „In dieser Zeit von 1945 und danach, in der es um das Überleben ging, <...> **da haben wir uns die Frage gestellt**: Wie soll es eigentlich weiter gehen? Hat denn dieses Deutschland noch eine Zukunft? Wie sollen wir mit dem Wiederaufbau der größten Trümmerlandschaft der Weltgeschichte — materiell und geistig gesehen — fertig werden?“ **Mit meinem Wirken als Politiker wollte ich dazu beitragen, diese Frage positiv zu beantworten** [Strauß, 1989, p.60].*

Thus, unfolding with semantic-structural support of egocentric elements and complete utterances (indicated in bold), the chapter's first and last paragraphs form a compositional frame for the narrative part of the chapter (18 pages of text). In this part, the author talks about his six-year service in the Wehrmacht to show, on the example of his own military experience, the destructive effect of any war on the people's fate and the inhumanity of the war that Hitler waged to exterminate the peoples. As a result, F. J. Strauss seeks to explain to the reader the meaning of his political mission, which he sees primarily in giving a substantive answer to the question: "How to overcome the material and spiritual devastation into which the Second World War plunged the whole world?"

A list of such examples of the semantic and pragmatic subordination of narrative fragments of the text to the analytical authorised utterances,

usually in strong positions of the beginning and the end of individual paragraphs, chapters and the entire text of political memoirs, could be continued, but, due to the peculiarities of the genre of a scientific paper, it is impossible to do. The primary and fundamentally important thesis, in this case, is that the authorised utterances (ranging in volume from one sentence to semantic-syntactic complexes of different lengths), which contain egocentric language units, create in political memoirs a “network” of the pragmatic dominants joined by meaning projections and parallels that give rise to an absolute subjective modality of the text whole.

Synergy of communication and speech strategies and methods of text authorisation in political memoirs

The synergetic potential of the phenomenon of authorisation in political memories, on the one hand, depends on the nature of two fundamental intentions, or “illocutionary energies,” of the author-memoirist, and, on the other hand, provides a more effective implementation of these intentions in the text system.

The first communication strategy focuses on (a) **self**-presentation or **self**-realization, and (b) accentuation of the positive role of one’s personality in social and political processes. For example:

- (a) *Im Herbst 1957 war **ich** Regierender Bürgermeister von Berlin geworden, seit einem Jahrzehnt **trug ich Mitverantwortung für die Menschen in jener bedrängten Stadt**. Seit 1949 im Deutschen Bundestag, **war ich auch in die vordere Linie der deutschen Politik vorgerückt**. Als junger Mann **hatte ich mich gegen die Nazierrschaft entschieden**, die Knechtung und Krieg bedeutete. In Berlin **stand ich an der Seite derer, die sich der kommunistischen Gleichschaltung und dem Stalinschen Würgegriff widersetzen** [Brandt, 1989, p.12].*
- (b) *Also **brauche ich mich nicht mit Zweifeln zu plagen**, wenn ich heute auf Menschen stoße, die mir erklären wollen, ich hätte im Mai 2005 zu voreilig gehandelt <...>. **Hätte ich mich an mein Amt geklammert, wäre der Vorwurf berechtigt gewesen, ich würde die Handlungsfähigkeit des Staates aufs Spiel setzen**. So aber bleibe ich dabei, dass vorgezogene Neuwahlen im Interesse der Stabilität des demokratischen Gemeinwesens Deutschland waren* [Schröder, 2006, p.490].

The author of the first polynomial authorised utterance, the fourth federal chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany (1969–1974), Willy Brandt, informs the reader of his crucial public post of the Governing

Mayor (*Regierender Bürgermeister*) of West Berlin and refers to those aspects of his political interests and obligations that he considers most crucial for German politics of that time, and above all his responsibility, as a person who has been in the forefront of politics since 1949, for the fate of people in Berlin divided into zones. At the same time, the memoirist mentions that he, already a young man, decided to fight against Nazi dominance and, using his powers, to protect those who resisted communist influence and Stalinist despotism.

In another fragment of the text, Gerhard Schröder, responding to the attacks of people who accused him of too hasty political actions in May 2005, emphasises with the help of language means of text authorisation that he never held on to his post and did not consider himself entitled to act to the detriment of state interests. G. Schröder justifies his political actions at that time, explaining to readers that his participation in a new electoral process is explained by the desire to maintain stability in the state.

The second type of communication and speech strategy is to influence the potential addressee persuasively and shape his political outlook.

So, Willy Brandt repeatedly notes that his political ideal, along with the peace, has always been freedom in its various manifestations. Freedom defines his actions in politics. According to the long-term head of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, freedom should always belong to the country's social and political development priorities. At the same time, the memoirist embeds a generalising "educational" reasoning on this topic in the lengthy authorised statement about the features of his political views and goals:

Zu sinnvollem politischem Wirken gehört, dass Prioritäten gesetzt werden. Als ich im Sommer 1987 den Parteivorsitz weitergab, stellte ich selbst die Frage, was mir neben dem Frieden wichtiger sei als alles andere, und antwortete: Freiheit. Ich buchstabierte sie durch: Freiheit des Gewissens und der Meinung. Freiheit von Not und von Furcht. Ohne Brot und mit Geheimpolizei keine Demokratie. Ohne Pluralismus und Monopolsanspruch auch nicht. Ich füge hinzu: Glück verordnen wollen heißt die Freiheit ersticken [Brandt, 1989, p. 499].

The last paragraph of the memoir (strong position at the end of the text) is the authorised utterance with emphatic inversion, which is compositionally in close relation to the above judgment. In this paragraph, the author summarises the results of his political activity, appreciating it with satisfaction as a particular contribution to the unification of the concepts of "Germany," "peace," "freedom in Europe." Thus, reconstructing

the “past” in the text structure, the author once again verbalises not only his temporary projection on the “present” but also predicts the “future” (*Aussicht auf europäische Freiheit*):

Mitgetan zu haben, dass der deutsche Name, der Begriff des Friedens und die Aussicht auf europäische Freiheit zusammengedacht werden, ist die eigentliche Genugtuung meines Lebens [Brandt, 1989, p. 500].

Analysis of political memoirs showed that both intentions, usually pragmatically complementary to each other, are implemented by a contextual combination of elements of either (a) logical authorisation (selection of direct nominations for relevant social and political and personal events and their mix in the text; objective analysis of one’s own and other viewpoints by comparing, contrasting, mutually reinforcing them, etc.) or (b) rhetorical authorisation [cf. Syrovatskaya, 2009, p. 10, 13–15], which arises in using various means of eloquence: emotional-evaluative qualifiers, tropes and rhetorical figures, precedent names and situations, etc.

Conclusions

Political memoirs belong both to the mnemonic discourse of a political subject in an idiodiscursive position “after power” and to the political discourse coinciding with the time of creating the text and representing the authorized text construction from a structural-semantic perspective. Separate compositional-semantic parts of this construction are inter-related, providing retrospective reconstruction and verbalisation of the author’s experience in their semantic and pragmatic projection on text dominants — egocentric language elements and utterances dispersed throughout the text. The predominance of the viewpoint of the linguistic personality of the author of political memoirs in the text provides for his dialogue with the reader in line with an upbeat assessment of the results of his political activities in the past, the alleged contribution of these activities to the political “present” and the predicted significance for the “future,” which, in turn, points to three temporary strata in the modus of formulating the text.

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FEATURES OF PERSUASIVE COMMUNICATION IN TOURIST TEXTS AND ITS TRANSLATION FROM SPANISH INTO RUSSIAN

Due to the pandemic situation caused by COVID-19, online communication has become a driving force in the tourism industry. In this sense, high-quality translation into other languages is a key factor in this cross-cultural communication to maintain a positive image of tourist destinations. To achieve a persuasive strategy in tourism texts, a large number of linguistic and discursive tools are applied. The aim of the present study is to determine those language features that have to do with a persuasive function of a tourism text and, subsequently, conduct a comparative analysis of their translation from Spanish into Russian. In Spain, one of the most attractive countries for tourism, the Spanish national tourism reference site spain.info is actively used. The texts available online in open access have helped to build a Spanish-Russian parallel corpus to identify linguistic unique features of tourist discourse that play a persuasive role in the overall discourse. As a result of the first part of the study, we determined the following linguistic and pragmatic means that are actively used as a persuasive tool: the figure of sender and receiver of a message, cultural terms, anglicisms and positive adjectives. The findings obtained in a comparative analysis of these features in source texts in Spanish and target texts in Russian have underlined some important translational heterogeneity of those characteristics, that can benefit both academics and professionals.

Keywords: tourism, persuasive language, translation, parallel corpus, Spanish, Russian.

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ОСОБЕННОСТИ ПЕРСУАЗИВНОЙ КОММУНИКАЦИИ В ТУРИСТИЧЕСКИХ ТЕКСТАХ И ЕЕ ПЕРЕВОД С ИСПАНСКОГО ЯЗЫКА НА РУССКИЙ

В связи с обострившейся в условиях пандемии ситуацией, онлайн-коммуникация стала движущей силой в туристической индустрии. В этом смысле качественный перевод на другие языки стал ключевым фактором в межкультурной коммуникации для поддержания положительного имиджа турнаправлений. Для достижения персуазивной стратегии в туристических текстах используется большое количество языковых и дискурсивных средств. Цель данной работы заключается в определении языковых средств, которыми выражается персуазивная функция туристического текста, и проведении сравнительно-сопоставительного анализа их пере-

вода с испанского на русский язык. В Испании, одной из самых привлекательных для туризма стран, активно используется справочный сайт по национальному туризму (spain.info). На основе доступных в открытом доступе текстов был создан испанско-русский параллельный корпус с целью выявления языкового своеобразия туристического дискурса, имеющего отношение к персуазивной функции туристического дискурса. Подводя результаты первой части исследования, лингвистические и прагматические средства, часто используемые для реализации персуазивной функции, сводятся к следующим: выражение адресата и получателя сообщения, реалии, англицизмы и качественные прилагательные с положительной коннотацией. Полученные в результате сравнительно-сопоставительного анализа данные указывают на существующую неоднородность при переводе вышеупомянутых средств, что следует учитывать как при обучении переводу, так и в профессиональной сфере.

Ключевые слова: туризм, персуазивная коммуникация, перевод, параллельный корпус, испанский, русский.

Introduction

A tourist text can be defined as an excellent example of operative texts [Nobs, 2006; Kelly, 1997] with active use of persuasive language techniques [Sánchez-Claros, 2016]. The main objective of operative texts is to elicit a specific reaction from the target receiver, which the sender expects of a message (this effect should also be preserved in translation to other languages). These desired intentions are frequently found in advertisements, political propaganda and electoral speeches [Reiss, 1981], where an appealing double strategy is perceived: on the one hand, the author of a text tries to influence the target reader using arguments and, on the other hand, the persuasion takes place while stimulating emotions. If the first strategy (also called *argumentative*) is based on ideas that appeal to the conscience of a target receiver, the second one (called an *emotional strategy*) is applied to evoke emotions using a wide range of allusions to expected attitude and desired value scale.

Calvi and Bonomi (2008) pointed out that a tourist text has three primary functions: to inform, persuade, and direct. According to Íñigo Mora (2002), a sender wants the receiver to behave in a certain way behind a persuasive situation. Most researchers recognise the prevalence of the appealing function over the informative one [Cómitre Narváez, 2004; Valdés Rodríguez, 2004; Kelly, 1997] since tourist texts in one way or another suggest a visit to a specific destination and stimulate a trip to that destination. The authors above consider the informative function as a servant of the persuasive one because all the information about a place, its attrac-

tions, visiting hours, and any other interesting facts are provided to arouse interest among the readers in visiting the area.

Researchers underline that persuasive linguistic tools and communication strategies used in tourism discourse have grown significantly (see: [Kiss, 2018; Manca, 2017; Capelli, 2013; Pierini, 2008; Gotti, 2006]), and the tourism language could be defined as a direct, brief and persuasive language, full of optimism and beauty [Durán Muñoz, 2014; Goncharova, 2011]. It is a language that *reinvents* reality in favourable terms using a complex and complete adjectival system [Martín Sánchez, 2011], a high frequency of positive descriptive adjectives. In their simple, comparative and superlative forms [Zakharova, 2021]. The strategy of positive language is widely applied in tourism discourse, according to Goncharova (2011), to create a positive image of a destination and encourage the target audience to make the “right” decision. To create a more compelling destination promotion, the language of tourism considers the following characteristics [Dann, 1996]: function, structure, lack of sender identification, monologue, euphoria, tautology, tense, and magic. These features distinguish the language of tourism from other specific languages.

Nevertheless, another list of verbal strategies in tourism discourse has been proposed by Chierichetti (2010). It slightly differs from the previous one: characteristics of the sender of a message (plural first-person pronouns and impersonal forms), aspects of the receiver of a message (informal and formal deictic expressions *tú* and *usted*, tendency to use favourable connotation terms of *visitor* and traveller compared to the term *tourist*), discursive strategies. And lexical characteristics (adjectives with the positive connotation that highlight beauty, uniqueness, historic value of a described destination). Among the other persuasive techniques, the author mentions the following: manipulation through semiotic signs (such as low prices), manipulation through images that are described and recreated in the readers’ mind, verbal strategies through figurative language (metaphors, hyperboles, epithets, etc.), abundant use of loanwords and cultural references.

Suppose these contributions of the authors mentioned above are extrapolated to the object of the present study. In that case, we should recognise that persuasive verbal strategies in Spanish tourist texts are to be respected in their translation into Russian so that the TT (target text) could fulfil the same functions and produce the same effect on a Russian-speaking reader that the ST (source text) makes on a Spanish-speaking reader.

Spanish-Russian parallel corpus

A corpus-based methodology is adopted in this study. An *ad hoc* Spanish-Russian parallel corpus of 13 tourist texts was compiled to determine the persuasive verbal features and analyse their translation into Russian. These texts are available online on Spain's official tourism portal www.spain.info and describe different destinations in Spain.

The use of online tool *Sketch Engine* and its functions *WordList* and *Concordance* has helped to verify some characteristic features of tourist texts found in previous studies, such as poetry of tourism language (high density of positive adjectives), figurative language, the frequent use of cultural references, anglicisms and interpersonal language. We have defined the list of linguistic-discursive features that refer to persuasive speech:

- use of cultural references;
- neologisms/anglicisms;
- positive adjectives and superlative forms;
- use of deictic social expressions while referring to the figure of sender and receiver of a message (informal singular *tú* and impersonal forms).

The comparative-contrastive analysis of persuasive language could clarify essential differences while translating tourist texts from Spanish into Russian. Consequently, it could provide some practical, valuable and efficient tools for professionals in translation, academics and students.

Cultural references

The translation of cultural references entails some difficulties for a translator as, on the one hand, in the TT there should be maintained this unique flavour, colour and local character of a source culture for a target receiver and, on the other hand, the same term should be understood and assimilated by a Russian-speaking reader, who is not familiar to Spanish culture. Hence, multiple translation techniques arise; one tends to lean forward to the Foreignization strategy. The others, on the contrary, opt for Domestication strategy, described in a well-known work of L. Venuti's *The Translator's Invisibility* [Venuti, 1995]. Several researchers in the field of tourism translation support the point that the best solution to translate cultural references is to use mixed or hybrid techniques composed by maintaining the original term in the TT accompanied by a linguistic amplification [Durán Muñoz, 2014; González-Pastor, Candel-Mora, 2014].

In our corpus, many cultural references relate to material culture groups, according to the taxonomy proposed by Igareda (2011). In particular, we have detected some culture-specific items that refer to traditional Spanish dishes, for instance, *tapas* (bar snacks served alongside a drink) → ‘закуски “тапас”’; *pintxos* (bar snacks served alongside a drink, especially used in the north of Spain) → ‘закуски “пинчос”’; *espetos de sardinas a la brasa* (grilled sardines on skewers) → ‘типичные эспетос — сардины, приготовленные на углях’; *ajoblanco* (chilled garlic soup) → ‘чесночный суп “ахобланко”’. In these examples, the cultural references in Spanish (*tapas*, *pintxos*, *espetos de sardinas a la brasa*, *ajoblanco*) are maintained in the TT via transcription or transliteration accompanied by a brief description in Russian to facilitate the understanding for a target reader. There is no unique way regarding the graphic style while mentioning a loanword in the TT in Russian: sometimes it appears with quotation marks, without quotation marks or in italics.

Neologisms

In the tourism industry, the English language plays a fundamental role as a *lingua franca*, which explains an abundant use of foreign words and expressions, usually anglicisms [González-Pastor, Candel-Mora, 2018; Giménez Folqués, 2015]. The tendency, also known as the neology of tourism language, could also have to do with the need to name new realities [González-Pastor, Candel-Mora, 2018].

Some pure loanwords in the compiled corpus are detected in the ST (cool, fashionistas, trendy, shopping, glamour, vintage, skyline, foodies, segway) but are used mostly in the texts that describe them cosmopolitan cities. It may also reflect peculiar linguistic characteristics of the language of these huge cities. In a number of examples, the translator opts for the translation technique of neutralizing these loanwords: ‘cool/trendy’ → *стильный* (stylish), ‘city skyline’ → *силуэт города* (silhouette of the city). In other cases, a functional equivalent for the TT is chosen, in other words, the anglicism in the ST is translated by an equivalent term that is also a loanword in Russian (‘glamour’ → *гламур* (glamour), *vintage* → *винтаж* (vintage); ‘foodies’ → *гурман* (gastronomic expert, term of French origin “*gourmand*”). These anglicisms, which are likely to be used among modern youth, appear in the tourism texts in the ST as an attempt to involve a wide heterogeneous audience and are closely related to the style of internet communication characterised by its informal language.

The abundance of positive and superlative adjectives

The frequent use of positive adjectives is every day for the tourism discourse. According to Martín Sánchez (2011), the language of tourism reinvents reality in favourable terms due to a complex adjectival system, which objective is to present a place in the best possible way to give the tourist an impression of exclusivity, enjoyment, relaxation.

Relying on the classification of adjectives in tourism texts proposed by Mira Rueda (2008), we have divided the adjectives into different groups based on the features they define or highlight.

A major group are the adjectives that outline attraction of a destination and its beauty: *bueno/good* ('buenas vistas / good views' → *великолепные виды*), *bonito/beautiful* ('uno de los cascos históricos más bonitos de España / one of the most beautiful historic centers of Spain' → *один из самых красивых исторических кварталов Испании*), *impresionante/impressive* ('impresionante panorámica / impressive panoramic' → *захватывающие панорамные виды*), etc. In certain examples we should pay attention to the fact that the same adjective in the ST is not translated in the same way in the TT, but rather synonyms are chosen.

The second group is represented the adjectives that describe antiquity and historical time-depth component: *antiguo/ancient, old* ('antiguo almacén de vinos / old wine cellar' → *бывший винный погреб*), *histórico/historical* ('rincones históricos / historical spots' → *исторические уголки*, 'casco histórico / old town' → *старый город, исторический центр*), *viejo/old* ('casco viejo / old town' → *историческая часть города*). In these examples, some adjectives are used repeatedly referring to the old town. In the TT in Russian various synonymic constructions are used to express the same concept: *старый город, исторический центр, историческая часть города*.

The following group has to do with the adjectives that underline modernity: *nuevo/new* ('nuevas zonas de moda / new fashionable areas' → *новые модные кварталы*), *moderno/modern* ('moderno Centro Botín / modern Botin Centre' → *современный центр Ботин*), *vanguardista/avant-garde* ('vanguardistas puentes / avant-garde bridges' → *авангардные мосты*). Adjectives in this category are frequently used to arouse interest of tourists in a new fashionable spot or feature, which could awaken curiosity and become interesting even for those who have already been to this place before.

The next group is represented by the adjectives that emphasize uniqueness of a destination: *emblemático/iconic, emblematic* ('lugares emblemáticos / iconic spots' → *известные достопримечательности*), *míti-*

co/legendary ('el mítico Novelty / legendary Novelty' → легендарное кафе Novelty), *original* ('originales formas / original shapes' → оригинальные формы).

The next group of adjectives describes national entity and cultural characteristics: *mediterráneo/Mediterranean* ('carácter mediterráneo / Mediterranean character' → средиземноморские традиции, 'Mediterráneo / Mediterranean Sea' → Средиземное море), *Mudéjar* ('arte mudéjar / Mudéjar art' → памятники стиля мудехар), *malagueño / of Malaga* ('esencia malagueña / essence of Malaga' → квинтэссенция Малаги). Nationality adjectives and adjectives of origin are included in this category that, on the one hand, tend to attract attention because they describe the most typical feature of a place and, on the other hand, provoke difficulties for translators.

An excessive number of superlatives that highlight the uniqueness or excellence of a destination or a monument and present it as something unique and appealing to the potential tourist is one of the main features of tourism language [Mira Rueda, 2008; Martín Sánchez, 2011]. This discursive strategy of distinguishing a particular feature of a place using a superlative undoubtedly supports the concept of positive language, as it creates a positive connotation for the target reader.

Figure of sender and receiver of a message

The figure of the potential internet reader comprises a comprehensive and heterogeneous profile. In the previous study, Rodríguez Abella (2008) claims that using deictic social expressions of proximity (*tú/you*) makes it possible to erase any type of social distance between the interlocutors, establishing, consequently, informal and direct communication with the target audience. Analysing the parallel corpus, we have to confirm that informal forms of *tú* are frequent in texts in Spanish. This is due to a superb approach to the interlocutor, also typical for Internet communication, which seems to ask for a more informal bias [Chierichetti, 2010]. However, this deictic expression is inappropriate for tourism discourse in Russia that is classified as official and institutional [Tarnaeva, Datsyuk, 2013; Goncharova, 2011] and should follow several conventions commonly used in official texts. It is why the use of the formal deictic expression *Вы/usted* in the Russian tourism discourse is preferable [Pogrebova, Ulyanchenko, 2020].

As the researcher Goncharova (2011) points out, the preference to maintain the formal and official style has to do with the profile of a Russian tourist and different pragmatic strategies that are applied in tourist

texts in Russia. Thus, on the one hand, the Russian tourist is usually of legal age, has a certain level of education and has a well-paid job and, on the other hand, the norms of culturally-specific etiquette stand for the use of a formal form instead of the informal deictic *tú*.

Conclusion

Recognising the coexistence of two genres of tourist materials available online (both descriptive and promotional), it is to be emphasised that the persuasive component prevails over the informative element for these texts. Various linguistic and discursive persuasive strategies are applied to achieve the primary goal of tourist texts that encourage readers to choose the described places as their travel destination.

While translating these persuasive strategies from one language to another, a translator should follow specific conventions that make a TT recognisable as belonging to a particular genre. It could even be considered a cultural adaptation of persuasion since all of the strategies adopted in the ST should pass through a sieve of detailed analysis to be appropriately translated into the language of the TT.

To carry out the present study, a parallel corpus of texts in Spanish and their corresponding translation into Russian has been compiled. The texts have been extracted from the open-access online portal www.spain.ru. The persuasion strategies detected in Spanish describe the interlocutors of a communicative act (the sender and the receiver), the positive language, the heterogeneous lexicon highlighting some national and exotic features. The comparative analysis of the translation of the phenomena found has revealed many discrepancies between the tourism discourse in Spanish and Russian. There is a trend towards informality and proximity to the reader in Spanish, which is expressed in the informal deictic expressions of *tú*. At the same time, in Russian, the formal and impersonal style is maintained through different texts.

A rich variety of qualifying adjectives and superlatives, which highlight the beauty of a place and its most unique attractions, are translated into Russian using qualifying adjectives and their synonyms, sometimes replaced by a preposition and noun when the term is not well-known or rarely used in Russian-speaking culture. The translation of neologisms requires more extraordinary skills on the translator since they are usually anglicisms of colloquial youth language. The Russian tourism discourse genre does not support colloquial lexical units, so the equivalent must respect the text conventions of the TT genre. Cultural references tend to be translated using the mixed technique, considered the most efficient

in tourist texts [Durán Muñoz, 2014; González-Pastor, Candel-Mora, 2014].

Consequently, obtained findings have served to shed light on some essential existing discrepancies between the genre of institutional tourism discourse between Spanish and Russian. Suppose the tourist discourse in Spanish tends to break any social distance between the sender and the receiver of a message, opting for informal deictics. In that case, the genre of promotional tourism discourse in Russian, on the contrary, tends to maintain a formal, official and impersonal style.

Concerning future research, it seems interesting to expand the parallel corpus by adding texts from other websites to contrast the results obtained in the present study or to corroborate the same phenomena observed on the previous pages. Likewise, we recognise the limitations of the present study, that is, the size of the compiled parallel corpus, that we will try to alleviate in future studies.

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PRESERVING THE LITERARY SOUNDSCAPE IN TRANSLATION

This paper examines *literary soundscape* as a special acoustic environment created by the writer's imagination and perceived by the readers through their previous acoustic experience. By means of the literary soundscape, the author supplies information about the characters and their actions, the setting and the plot developments, and manipulates the readers' emotions and feelings. The aim of this paper is to suggest and discuss some ways of exploring and analyzing literary soundscape as a complex entity in order to provide its accurate rendition in translation. As an attempt to achieve this, a special algorithm has been devised, which includes such steps as identifying all the components of the soundscape in the work of fiction, specifying their acoustic properties and finding ways to visualize the story's "soundtrack" based on the distribution of the sound-representing elements in the text. The subsequent comparison of the "soundtracks" of the original and translated texts may help to draw a general conclusion about their congruence. The research has been based on the short story "Пересолит" ("Overdoing It") by Anton Chekhov and its translations into English, French, Italian and German. The analysis has shown that translators tend to retain the sound-representing value of the original soundscape components, often choosing the sound representation means of the same type as those used in the source text. However, in some cases one can observe a shift of perceptive focus in translation towards some other component of the soundscape in comparison with the original story.

Keywords: literary soundscape, sound representation, onomatopoeia, sound imitation, literary translation.

Л. А. Горохова

СОХРАНЕНИЕ ЗВУКОВОГО ЛАНДШАФТА ХУДОЖЕСТВЕННОГО ПРОИЗВЕДЕНИЯ В ПЕРЕВОДЕ

Данная статья посвящена проблеме изучения и анализа звукового ландшафта, изображаемого автором художественного текста. Звуковой ландшафт художественного произведения представляет собой сложное полифоническое наложение различных звучаний, сменяющих и перекрывающих друг друга. Чтобы получить полное представление о нем, необходимо выявить в тексте все звукоизобразительные единицы и определить их акустические характеристики. Набор диаграмм, отражающих отдельные характеристики изображаемых звучаний и их распределение (динамику) в тексте, позволит наглядно представить «звуковой профиль» произведения. Основная проблема в данном случае заключается в том, что вышеперечисленные характеристики изображаемых звуча-

ний трудно поддаются формализации. Звукоизобразительные средства, используемые автором, могут быть очень разнообразны, что затрудняет их автоматический поиск и разметку. Вручную же удается обработать только произведения небольшого объема. По этой причине в качестве примера исследования звукового ландшафта в художественном произведении и его переводах на другие языки нами взят короткий рассказ А. П. Чехова «Пересолил». С помощью специального алгоритма были проанализированы звукоизобразительные средства, используемые в переводах данного рассказа на английский, французский и итальянский языки. Сопоставив полученные «звуковые профили», можно сделать вывод о том, что звуковой ландшафт оригинального произведения адекватно отражен во всех переводах: в большинстве случаев сохранены основные характеристики изображаемых звучаний и их интенсивность. Случаи полной потери звукоизобразительной составляющей в переводе немногочисленны и касаются, главным образом, графических средств звукоизображения. В отдельных случаях переводчик использовал также дополнительные звукоизобразительные средства, чтобы уточнить характеристики звучания.

Ключевые слова: звуковой ландшафт, звукоизобразительная лексика, ониматопея, звукоподражание, художественный перевод.

Introduction

Sound studies as an interdisciplinary field dealing with the concept of sound, its perception, reproduction and impact on human life have evolved and blossomed in the past half-century due to an increased interest in the factors that influence the quality of people's life. Sound pollution can be a serious health hazard, and a comfortable sound environment is essential for mental well-being. One of the central notions in this field is the idea of the soundscape. This term, brought to wide recognition by R. M. Schafer [Schafer, 1967; 1993], refers to the acoustic environment (the combination of all the acoustic resources, natural and artificial, within a given area as modified by the environment) as perceived by the listener (ISO 12913-1:2014). Soundscape can be a perceptual construct built on a natural acoustic environment or artistic representation through music, literature, graphic arts, theatre or cinematography.

This paper focuses on *literary soundscape* as one type of such artistically represented acoustic environment. The term is widely used in linguistic and literary studies; the role of the soundscape in works of fiction has been discussed in recent years based on different writers and genres [Aghoro, 2018; Balestrini et al., 2020; Clair, 2020; Driscoll, 2014; Goodyear, 2012; Johinke, 2016; Lindskog, 2017; Loreto, 2021; Marceau, 2021; Mathes, 2015; Neufield, 2018; Ogoti, 2019; Picker, 2018; Popova-Ple, Shiroglazova, 2020; Snaith, 2020; et al.].

The author of a literary text creates a unique sound environment within the narrative, immersing readers in a virtual acoustic space created by the writer's imagination and perceived through the readers' previous auditory experience. Using this soundscape, the author directs the readers' imagination and manipulates their emotions and feelings, supplying information about the characters and their actions, the setting and the plot developments, which is relevant at this stage of narration.

Considering the soundtrack's fundamental role in telling the story [Murray, 2019, p. 4], it is essential to ensure that all relevant components and features of a literary soundscape are retained in translation. Ideally, the readers of the translation should get precisely the same "soundtrack" as the readers of the original story. To achieve this, the translator needs to understand its structure and know the acoustic characteristics of constituent sounds, mechanisms of their impact on the reader (including combinations of different sounds), and ways of transmitting information of various kinds through the components of the literary soundscape.

In this environment, this paper aims to suggest and discuss ways to explore and analyse literary soundscape as a complex entity to provide an accurate rendition of it in translation. As an attempt to achieve this, a special algorithm has been devised, which includes such steps as identifying all the components of the soundscape in the work of fiction, specifying their acoustic properties and finding ways to visualise the story's "soundtrack" based on the distribution of the sound-representing elements in the text. The subsequent comparison of the "soundtracks" of the original and translated texts may help draw a general conclusion about their congruence.

The remainder of the paper is organised into three sections: (2) research methods, (3) results, and (4) discussion.

Research Methods

The present research is based on the short story "*Пересолил*" ("Overdoing It") by Anton Chekhov. The story being minimal (just 1108-word tokens), it was possible to identify all the soundscape components. Their selection and subsequent determining of their specific characteristics have been based on the researcher's understanding of their contextual meaning and definitions in Russian dictionaries. Then the same procedure was used to analyse the soundscapes of the story's translations into English (two variants), French, Italian and German.

The relative frequencies of the story's soundscape elements were calculated and used to build graphs in the Voyant Tools web-based text anal-

ysis environment [Sinclair, Rockwell, 2012], showing the distribution of sound-representing elements in the original story and its translations. The graphs were subsequently compared based on the number and position of peaks and lows, showing the “intensity” of the soundscape.

Then the equivalents of the original story’s soundscape elements used in the English, French, Italian and German translations were compared with the data acquired from the Parallel (Multilingual) Corpora of the Russian National Corpus project (Russian National Corpus 2003–2021). The researcher searched in the Chekhov subcorpus of the Parallel Corpora for variants of translation of the exact words and phrases in other Chekhov’s stories. The comparison of these search results and the equivalents used in the translations of “*Пересолил*” was used to find specific patterns in handling sound-representing elements of the literary soundscape in translation.

Results

The current study has shown that the soundscape of A. Chekhov’s short story “*Пересолил*” (“Overdoing It”) consists of 40 elements, which have been selected from the text of the story based on their lexical meaning and their role in the context. Of them:

- 17 elements (23 tokens, as 2 elements are used more than once) describe or imitate sounds of the surrounding world and anthroponic sounds except human speech: *зевнул, вздохнул, стегнул* (5 tokens), *взвизнула, удар* (2 tokens), *тихо, заскрипела, завизжала, трахнул, слышались шаги, треск, смолкло, эхо, слышать, фырканье, охрип, стон*;
- 5 elements picture some peculiarities of a character’s manner of speech: *до-о-едем, но-о-о, прокля...тая, по... по... постой, у... убьешь*;
- 18 elements are used to introduce direct speech (spoken aloud or thought in one’s mind): *обратился, поморщился, выбранился, спросил, успокоил, думал, спросил, соврал, подумал, обратился, продолжал, заорал, подумал, заголосил, стал думать, закричал, кричал, проворчал*.

The elements representing human speech constitute a specific group within the literary soundscape. The author may use them to convey information on a character’s manner of speech, emotional state, feelings, or intentions and introduce direct speech. This dual nature of such elements makes them different from other sound-representing words and phrases, as they may or may not imply the acoustic aspect of human speech per se.

For instance, in the following excerpt from the story the author doesn't focus on any acoustic characteristics of the character's words and concentrates only on their meaning:

- (1) — Скажите, пожалуйста, где я могу найти здесь почтовых лошадей? — обратился землемер к станционному жандарму.

The verb *обратиться* ('address') does not contain any sound-representing components of meaning and can refer to both oral and written communication. Still, the direct speech utterance introduced by this verb in (1) is part of the soundscape. Supposedly, such soundscape components might be called "implicit" or "latent" and considered separately within their group.

In contrast with example (1), the following two excerpts feature verbs that both introduce direct speech and convey some information about it: the volume of the sound, as in (2), or the feelings of the speaker, as in (3).

- (2) — Климущка! — закричал он. — Голубчик! Где ты, Климущка? (*закричать* — 'to start speaking with a very loud voice, to shout')
- (3) — Бог с тобой, барин, — проворчал Клим, влезая в телегу. (*проворчать* — 'to say something annoyingly')

As for other anthroponic elements of the literary soundscape represent all kinds of sounds produced by humans other than speaking, such as yawning, coughing, sneezing, tongue-clicking, sighing, clapping hands, etc. Again, in some cases, a word or phrase referring to some anthroponic sound may at the same time be used to introduce direct speech and convey information about its peculiarities, as in (4):

- (4) — Что ж? — зевнул жандарм. — Ступайте за станцию, там на дворе иногда бывают мужики, возят пассажиров.

The verb *зевнуть* ('yawn') introduces the gendarme's words, and at the same time features his disinterest and boredom.

Because of the dual nature of elements representing human speech, it was decided to exclude from the total count those words that could be classed as "latent" components of the soundscape and do not carry any explicit sound-representing meaning, such as *обратился*, *поморщился*, *выбрался*, *спросил*, *успокоил*, *думал*, *спросил*, *соврал*, *подумал*, *обратился*, *продолжал*, *подумал*, *стал думать*. That brings the total soundscape components to 27 elements (33 tokens).

Table 1 shows the sources and acoustic properties of the elements constituting the story's soundscape. We can see that less than half of the

Table 1. Sources and acoustic properties of the elements constituting the story's soundscape

Soundscape element	Type of element	Source of sound	Acoustic properties of sound	Location of sound source
зевнул	anthrophonic (non-verbal+ introducing human speech)	gendarme	one-time low dull	close
вдохнул	anthrophonic (non-verbal)	Gleb (surveyor)	one-time low dull	close
стегнул (5)	surrounding world sound (involving object)	whip against horse's back	one-time loud sharp	close
взвизгнула	surrounding world sound (involving object)	cart	one-time loud sharp vibrant	close
удар (2)	surrounding world sound (involving object)	whip against horse's back	one-time loud sharp	close
до-о-едем	human speech	peasant	long	close
но-о-о	human speech	peasant	long loud	close
прокля...тая	human speech	peasant	long loud	close
было тихо	absence of sound	-		
заскрипела	surrounding world sound (involving object)	cart	loud sharp	close
завизжала	surrounding world sound (involving object)	cart	loud sharp vibrant	close
трахнул	surrounding world sound (involving object)	fist against surface	one-time loud dull	close
По... по... постой	human speech	Gleb (surveyor)	repeating (stutter)	close

заорал	introducing human speech	Gleb (surveyor)	one-time loud sharp vibrant	close
заголосил	introducing human speech	peasant	long loud sharp vibrant	far
послышались [скорые, удаляющиеся] шаги	surrounding world sound (involving object)	(peasant's) feet against forest floor	repeating low dull	far
треск хвороста	surrounding world sound (involving object)	(peasant's) feet against brushwood	repeating loud sharp	far
все смолкло	absence of sound	-		
ответило эхо	surrounding world sound (natural + introducing human speech)	echo	low	far
слышать волков	surrounding world sound (natural)	wolves	long loud low-pitch	far
фырканье	surrounding world sound (natural)	horse	repeating low dull	close
закричал	introducing human speech	Gleb (surveyor)	one-time loud sharp vibrant	close
кричал	introducing human speech	Gleb (surveyor)	one-time loud sharp vibrant	close
охрип	anthroponic (non-verbal+ introducing human speech)	Gleb (surveyor)	low-pitch hoarse	close
ветерок донес чей-то стон	anthroponic (non-verbal)	peasant	long low	far
У... убьешь	human speech	peasant	repeating (stutter)	far
проворчал	introducing human speech	peasant	low	close

soundscape elements (40 %) relate to surrounding world sounds produced by natural events, animals or artefacts. 7 % of the soundscape elements fall for words or phrases referring to the absence of sound. All the rest are anthroponic (53 %), most of them connected with human speech (44 %).

The distribution of the soundscape components across the story can be seen in the diagram in Fig. 1. The graph shows four distinct clusters coinciding with the narrative’s critical points: the beginning of the journey, Gleb’s boasting and the peasant’s reaction to it, the frightened peasant’s flight to the forest, and his fearful return.

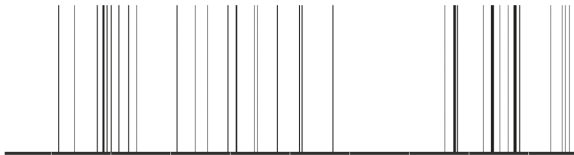


Fig. 1. The distribution of soundscape components across the story

With the help of the Voyant Tools web-based text analysis environment, we have built a graph reflecting the “intensity” of the story’s soundscape (Fig. 2). This parameter can be assessed based on the number of soundscape elements in different text parts. The text was divided into ten equal segments, and relative frequencies of soundscape elements were calculated for each segment. Visualization of their distribution within the text shows peaks and lows of the soundscape intensity.

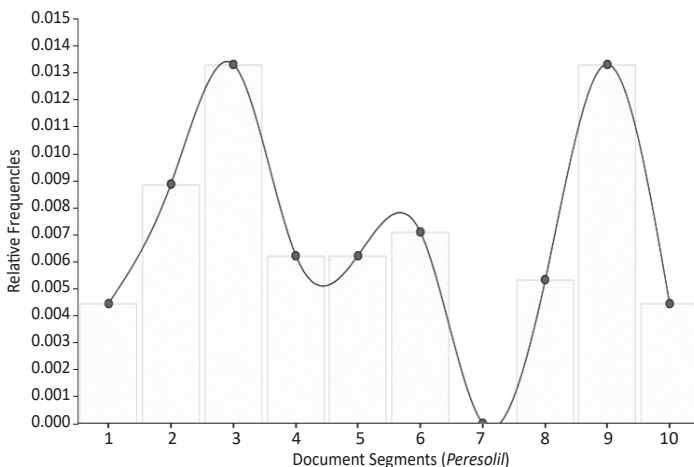


Fig. 2. The distribution of all the story’s soundscape elements, including the “latent” ones

The graph in Fig. 2 shows the distribution of all soundscape elements, including the “latent” ones (those components that do not carry any explicit sound-representing meaning while merely introducing direct speech). Again, we can see three peaks coinciding with the story’s pivotal moments (the third peak referring to both the peasant’s flight to the forest and his return). This kind of graph gives a rough idea of the story’s “soundtrack”, though it visualises only its quantitative side (intensity) while leaving unaddressed its qualitative characteristics.

To compare the soundscape “intensity” in the original short story and its translation, a similar graph has been built showing the distribution of soundscape elements in the English translation of Chekhov’s story done by Constance Garnett (Fig. 3). Predictably, the same three peaks are marking the key points of the narrative; however, their heights are different from the graph in Fig. 2. It may be explained by the difference in the total length of the two texts: the translation is over 1.5 times longer than the original short story (1752 and 1108 word tokens, respectively).

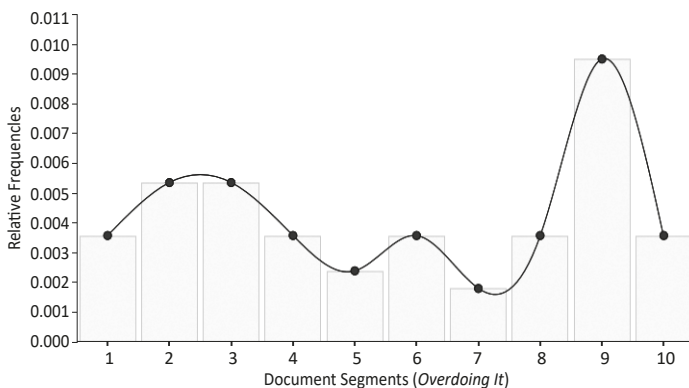


Fig. 3. The distribution of all the story’s soundscape elements, including the “latent” ones in the English translation by Constance Garnett

To further details of the translated soundscapes, we listed all the equivalents of the original soundscape elements in the translations of Chekhov’s short story into English (two versions), French, Italian and German. For the sake of keeping within the required space limits of the present publication, Table 2 shows these equivalents only for the first half of the story. We compared the translated elements of the story’s soundscape with the exact words and phrases in other Chekhov’s stories. These data were acquired from the Parallel (Multilingual) Corpora, part of the Russian National Corpus project. Table 3 lists translation variants found

Table 2. Equivalents of the original soundscape elements in the translations of Chekhov's short story into other languages

Source text	Translation						
	English 1 (<i>The Bangalore Review</i>)	English 2 (Constance Garnett)	French	Italian	German		
зевнул	yawned	yawned	en bâillant	sbadigliò	gähnte		
вздыхнул	sighed	heaved a sigh	soupira	sospirò	seufzte		
стеннул (5)	beat (4) dealt a blow (1)	lashed (5)	eut frappé (2) frappa (3)	colpi (2) frustò (3)	überzog schlug hieb [aufs Pferd] los (3)		
взвизгнула	groaned	squeaked	glapit	cigolo	gab einen quielenden Ton von sich		
удар (2)	stroke	lash stroke of the whip	coup (2)	colpo (2)	Hieb Schlag		
до-о-едем	We'll get there	We shall ge-et there	Nous arriverons	Arrive-e-re-emo	Werden schon hinkommen		
но-о-о	Get up	No-ow	Hue donc	Ih-ih	No-o-o		
прокля...тая	you devil	cur-sed brute	maudite	male... detta	verdammtes		
было тихо	The air was still	The air was still	L'air était calme	[la sera] era calma	Es war still		
закрипела	creaked	began creaking	cria	scricchiolò	gab einen winselnden Ton von sich		
завязжала	groaned	[began] squeaking	glapit	cigolo	kreischte auf		
трахнул	shook	gave one such a dressing	ai frappé	sbatacchiai	gab ich so eins		
По... по... постой	Stop! Stop!	Sto... sto... stop	Attends, attends	Fe... fe... fe... ferma	Ha-a-alt		
заорал	yelled	bawled	cria	si mise a urlare	brüllte		

Table 3. Translation variants for some of the sound-representing words and phrases from the story's soundscape found in the Parallel (Multilingual) Corpora (Chekhov subcorpus)

Russian	English	French	Italian	German
зевнуть	yawn (5) with a yawn (1) give a yawn (1)	bâiller (4)	sbadigliare (10)	gaehnen (2)
вздохнуть	heave a sigh (10) give a sigh (1) draw a sigh (1) sigh (32) breathe (1) say (3) mutter (1)	après un soupon (1)	sospirare (41) ripiagliare fiato (1) fece un sospiro (3)	seufzen (11) einen Seufzer ausstoßen (1)
(за)скрипеть	creak (4) squeak (1) scribbling (1) creaking sounds (1)	grincer (2)	lo scricchiolio (1)	knirschen (1)
(за)орать	roar (1)	hurler (1)	strillare (2)	–
треск трещать	crackling (2) crunching (1) scrape (1) uproar (1) chirrup (2)	retentir (1)	crepitio (1) crepitare (3) sbatacchiare (1) scricchiolare (1)	krachend (1)
(за)кричать	shout (41) cry (14) cry out (1) scream (4) say (2) call (2) loud talk (1) swear at (1)	crier (7)	gridare (33) richiamare (1) si mise ad urlare (3) esclamare (1) chiamare (1) era partito il grido (1)	schreien (9) zanken (1) toenen (1) rufen (2)
стон	moan (3) monotone (1) murmur (1) a shrill note (1) whining (1)	gémissements (1)	un suono lamentevole (1)	stöhnen (1)
(про)ворчать	mutter (6) grumble (1) growl (2)	–	ringhiare (1) gridare (1) borbottare (1)	brummen (1)

in the Chekhov subcorpus for some of the sound-representing words and phrases occurring in “*Переселил*” short story. Figures in brackets refer to the number of search results in the subcorpus.

If we compare these results from the corpus with the translation equivalents used in the translations of “Пересолил”, we can see several patterns. Words representing (often imitating in an onomatopoeic manner) such simple and unambivalent anthroponic sounds as yawning or sighing have few (or just one) variants of translation within the same language. The translators of “Пересолил” tend to use the variant that is the most frequent in the corpus:

“Пересолил”: *вздохнул* — ‘sighed / heaved a sigh’; ‘sospira’; ‘sospirò’; ‘seufzte’.

Corpus: *вздохнуть* — ‘sigh’ (32) / ‘heave a sigh’ (10); ‘après un soupir’ (1); ‘sospirare’ (41); ‘seufzen’ (11).

The more complex is the acoustic phenomenon (or phenomena) behind the corresponding word, the bigger is the range of variants:

“Пересолил”: *заскрипела* — ‘creaked / began creaking’; ‘cria’; ‘scricchiolo’; ‘gab einen winselnden Ton von sich’.

Corpus: (*за*)*скрипеть* — ‘creak’ (4) / ‘squeak’ (1) / ‘scribbling’ (1) / ‘creaking sounds’ (1); ‘grincer’ (2); ‘lo scricchiolio’ (1); ‘knirschen’ (1).

Similar sounds coming from different sources may be represented by the same word in one language (Russian, in our case), and by different words in other languages. For instance, the word *треск* and its derivative *трещать* are translated, according to the corpus, in 5 different ways into English, and in 3 different ways into Italian:

English: *crackling* (‘fire’) / *crunching* (‘bones, jaws’) / *scrape* (‘chair’) / *uproar* (‘indefinite source’) / *chirrup* (‘grasshoppers, crickets’);

Italian: *crepitare* | *crepitio* (‘fire’) / *sbatacchiare* (‘bird-scaring windmill’) / *scricchiolare* (‘bird-scaring windmill’).

Discussion

Literary soundscapes, while generally based on the author’s idea of real-life soundscapes, differ from them in several ways. In terms of the space-time continuum, a natural soundscape features the following parameters [Murray, 2019, p. 23–29]:

- *in terms of space*: location of the sound source or the sound-producing event (near or far away, to the left/right, in front/behind, etc.);
- *in terms of time*: duration (short/long sound, single sound/repeated sounds, long/short intervals between sounds); temporal changes (start/end of the sound, day/night, etc.).

In a literary soundscape the space factors are more or less the same. However, unlike real life, there may be no geographic details (the location not stated by the author or imaginary). Often even the position of a sound source relative to the recipient is not mentioned by the author, as in example (5):

- (5) Часа два кричал землемер, и только после того, как он охрип и помирился с мыслью о ночёвке в лесу, слабый ветерок донёс до него чей-то стон.

The reader can only guess if the peasant's moan is coming from the left or right; there is no information of how far Gleb is at this moment from the source of the sound. This rarely happens in real life; the recipient should be extremely disoriented not to have some vague idea of where a sound is coming from.

The same ambiguity is valid for the time factors as well. In a literary soundscape, the time flow depends on the author, and the reader has no means of assessing the length of a sound if it is not stated in the story.

There are two soundscapes in Chekhov's short story "Пересолил": the "real" and the imaginary one. The "real" soundscape is what the protagonist (Gleb) hears within the story's time limits, and the imaginary soundscape is what he anticipates or expects to hear. The imaginary soundscape has its special time flow that does not coincide with the "real" time flow.

In the following excerpt, Gleb is picturing to himself a long and lonely night spent in the cold forest, and the only sounds he expects to hear are wolves' howls and his mare's snorts. Both sounds are supposed to repeat frequently during the whole night, being significant components of this imaginary soundscape. However, this imaginary picture never materialises, and the protagonist gets back to reality and the "real" soundscape.

- (6) От мысли, что ему всю ночь придётся просидеть в тёмном лесу на холоде и слышать только волков, эхо да фыркание тощей кобылки, землемера стало коробить вдоль спины, словно холодным терпугом.

In a literary soundscape, the author tells everything we know, who manages our perception; the reader adds all the rest from their personal experience. The advantage is that the author puts a particular sound in focus; there are no irrelevant sounds, no acoustic disturbances; the soundscape of a story is always well-tuned and doesn't contain unrelated elements (unlike real life). The author builds the acoustic space of the story and fills it with thoroughly chosen sounds. It is a perfect acoustic space filled with virtual elements.

This may also explain why the peaks in the “soundtrack” of the story (Fig. 1, 2) coincide with the key episodes. To focus the reader’s attention on some turning points in the narrative, the author concentrates on this point as many expressive means as possible, sound-representing elements being an essential instrument of manipulating the reader’s emotions.

However, the graphs shown in Fig. 1, 2 and 3, as has already been mentioned above, give but a very general idea of the story’s soundscape, reflecting only its “intensity” (or “density”?). All they show is the distribution of the soundscape elements in the text. The properties of individual sounds (duration, volume, pitch, tone, etc.) find no reflection in the graphs. As the expressive impact depends to a great extent on these acoustic characteristics (recalled by a reader within the limits of their personal experience), further research in this field should be focused on finding means and ways of taking all these parameters into account in the analysis and visualisation of literary soundscapes.

Such visual representation of a story’s “soundtrack”, reflecting more subtle features of the soundscape, might help to ensure a more precise rendition of the literary soundscape in translation.

As our analysis of the translations of “*Пересоллил*” into several languages has shown, all five translators tend to retain the sound-representing value of the original soundscape components. In many cases, the translator chooses the sound representation of the same type as Chekhov’s. An excerpt (7), which is one of the climactic episodes of the short story, the author uses a whole range of different means, such as sound-imitating words (imitating sounds through phonetic means of a specific language) — *треск, заголосил*; sound-descriptive words and phrases (describing sounds without imitation) — *все смолкло, слышались шаги*; alliteration — an abundant use of fricative sounds *с, ш, щ, х* to illustrate the sound of footsteps falling on the forest floor covered with dry leaves and twigs; and graphical means — every short sentence in the direct speech sequence ends in an exclamation mark.

Клим вдруг вывалился из телеги и на четвереньках побежал к чаще.

- (7) — Караул! — заголосил он. — Караул! Бери, окаянный, и лошадь и телегу, только не губи ты моей души! Караул!
Слышались скорые, удаляющиеся шаги, треск хвороста — и всё смолкло...

Constance Garnett, in her translation into English (8), uses similar means of sound representation: sound-imitating words — *snap, roared*; sound-descriptive words and phrases — *all was still, the sound of footsteps*;

alliteration based on the fricatives *s*, *f*, *h*; and graphical means — three exclamation marks (against four in the original text).

- (8) Klim suddenly rolled off the cart and ran as fast as he could go into the forest.
“Help!” he roared. “Help! Take the horse and the cart, you devil, only don’t take my life. Help!”
There was the sound of footsteps hurriedly retreating, of twigs snapping — and all was still. ...

Sometimes we can observe a shift of keen focus in translation. For instance, in the French translation (9) of the same excerpt, the alliteration based on the repetition of *cr* focuses the reader’s attention on the sound of snapping brushwood under the peasant’s feet:

- (9) Un bruit de pas rapides qui s’éloignaient, un craquement de bois sec écrasé, puis tout devint calme...

To summarise, the algorithm of exploring and analysing the soundscape of a literary text described in this paper may help address the problem of preserving the literary soundscape in translation. However, several issues have not been solved so far:

- to develop fast and reliable methods of identifying sound-representing elements in the text of any size;
- to find ways and means of taking into account the properties of individual sounds and their combinations in the analysis and visualisation of literary soundscapes;
- to explore the cultural implications of literary soundscapes and address their retention in translation.

Further research into these and other issues is necessary to take one more step towards a better and more accurate translation of literary works.

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APPROACHING THE TAXONOMY OF THE MOVE STRUCTURE OF ABSTRACTS THROUGH THE LENS OF CROSS-LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN MEDICAL ABSTRACTS

There is a vast number of publications on the overall rhetorical structure of research paper abstracts. However, only a few deal with the sub-move analysis that could give an in-depth understanding of their content. Evidently, if the rhetorical structure of an abstract deviates from the writing conventions of the target language community, then this may lead to the response of the reader being different to the response that the writer intended. For this research, two comparable corpora were compiled with abstracts of 80 research papers in English and Russian. We used unstructured abstracts in the field of psychiatry selected from top-ranked medical journals with a high citation index. The preliminary classification of the rhetorical move and sub-move structure of abstracts was compiled and verified top-down. The preliminary analyses enabled us to eliminate sub-moves with hardly discernible semantic features; statistically insignificant cases could also be left out. Consequently, the length of moves and sub moves was measured with their standard deviation. The ultimate classification is comprised of 6 moves and 25 sub moves that were found in corpora. The results showed differences in the Russian and English structures of research article abstracts in terms of the length of their constituent parts, frequency of occurrences, and discourse patterns. The English corpus demonstrated higher variability in move combinations and a more rigid structure of discourse patterns of sub moves. The English corpus also demonstrated a different approach to structuring an abstract that starts with problem, hypothesis or indicating the niche, rather than presenting the purpose and methods of research.

Keywords: communicative genre, cross-linguistic, rhetorical structure, comparable corpora, abstract sub-moves.

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ПОСТРОЕНИЕ СТРУКТУРЫ ТАКСОНОМИИ АННОТАЦИЙ МЕТОДОМ КРОСЛИНГВИСТИЧЕСКОГО АНАЛИЗА КОРПУСОВ АННОТАЦИЙ АНГЛО- И РУССКОЯЗЫЧНЫХ МЕДИЦИНСКИХ СТАТЕЙ

Существует большое количество публикаций, посвященных стандартной риторической структуре аннотаций научных статей. Тем не менее лишь в немногих публикациях дается анализ с точки зрения дальнейше-

го, более подробного, деления на дискурсные сегменты и подсегменты. Изучение более подробного деления представляется важным, поскольку очевидно, что если риторическая структура аннотации отклоняется от правил письма академического сообщества в котором переводной текст должен будет функционировать, то это может привести к сложностям в восприятии текста целевой аудиторией. Для исследования были собраны два сопоставимых корпуса с рефератами 80 научных статей на английском и русском языках. Мы использовали неструктурированные и структурированные рефераты в области психиатрии, отобранные из ведущих медицинских журналов с высоким индексом цитирования. Была составлена предварительная классификация дискурсных сегментов структуры рефератов с последующим анализом top-down. Семантический и статистический анализ позволил исключить дискурсные сегменты с едва различимыми семантическими признаками и исключить статистически незначимые случаи. В частности, была измерена длина дискурсных сегментов и их стандартное отклонение. Окончательная классификация состоит из 6 дискурсных сегментов и 25 подсегментов. Кроме того, результаты выявили различия в структуре русских и английских аннотаций научных статей с точки зрения длины их составных частей, частоты встречаемости сегментов и композиции дискурсивных паттернов. Английский корпус продемонстрировал более высокую вариативность комбинаций сегментов и более жесткую структуру дискурсивных паттернов подсегментов. Как правило, английская аннотация в рамках англо-саксонской академической традиции, представленной в анализируемых корпусах, начинается проблемы, гипотезы или указания на нишу, а не с представления цели и методов исследования.

Ключевые слова: коммуникативный жанр, кросс-лингвистический анализ, риторическая структура, соизмеримые корпуса, дискурсные сегменты.

Introduction

Novice researchers of academic communities who might have not yet integrated into the internationalised Anglo-Saxon research writing tradition may experience difficulties pursuing the patterns of different academic genres. Consequently, researchers would face imminent challenges in the competition to promote their intellectual product and move up the academic ladder as major textual divergences may lead to a higher rejection rate in top-ranked academic journals.

Understanding the situation brought about vast pedagogical interest in contrastive studies. Contrastive rhetoric constituted a large part of them. It was intended to demonstrate differences in academic tools and styles of different communicative genres written by various discourse communities from different disciplines with different lingua-cultural backgrounds.

In the major part they research, whether explicitly or implicitly, there is an attempt to find the grounds for the differences in intellectual styles. Underlying this, there are three often mentioned factors influencing the rhetorical structure and textual features of L2 academic texts: disciplinary writing conventions [Omidian et al., 2018; El-Dakhs, 2018; Zanina, 2017]; culturally inherited writing conventions [Yakhontova, 2006]; and rarely methodological traditions [Shchemeleva, 2020]. These factors intermingle and present a highly complex scheme of rhetorical strategies that change diachronically. Moreover, it is still unclear whether the newly acquired methods nullify the previous or produce the new combination [Yakhontova, 2006, p. 155].

Research context

Abstracts seem to be a commonly accepted way to call public attention to your research in academia. Although only a limited number of research papers (RP) are published without an abstract, academic genre study, cross-discipline and rhetoric studies have demonstrated different approaches to abstract position in the paradigm of academic genres that include research papers, applications to a conference, or grant proposals. With some researchers drawing a distinct border between the move structure of abstracts, their textual features and those of research papers, others assume that abstracts only repeat the patterns of RP [Friginal, Mustafa, 2017, p. 47]. The first group of researchers tend to see the abstract as an independent genre of scholarly communication; the latter see it as a subsection of the RP academic genre. Epistemological consequences will be different with the question raised if the scheme applicable to the move-structure analysis of RP will possibly apply to the move-structure analysis of an abstract.

Communicative roles of abstract seem to most researchers different from those of RP. According to T. Huckin [Huckin, 2001, p. 93], abstracts serve three functions: a screening device that helps to understand the general content; a preview that creates the guidance pattern; and a standalone mini-text that provides the readers with the general summary of the problem, the field of science and methodology. Other researchers [Hyland, 2004] stress that RP abstracts serve as a “selective representation” but do not summarise the correspondent RP precisely. Moreover, they claim that RP diverges from an abstract from the paper it heads in terms of “purpose, rhetorical constructions, persuasiveness, intent, and linguistic realisations” [Hyland, 2004; Lores, 2004]. B. Kanoksilapatham also argues in favour of this approach, stressing that an abstract has a “limited space”

that constrains the authors to include all essential provisions [Kanoksilapatham, 2013]. More than that, abstracts could serve the origin of the current state of knowledge for specific fields [Nkemleke, 2010].

The category of “move” was introduced into applied linguistics to serve as a constituent part of communicative units or genres within academic communication [Bhatia, 2001]. It is considered to have a distinct communicative function in written or spoken academic discourse [Swales, 2004, p. 229; Swales, Feak, 2009]. The move possesses a set of textual and rhetorical features or a combination of sub-moves and a combination of metadiscoursal or textual elements. Much attention is given to the prototypical pattern of moves and possible variations, which are now considered a deviation but a variation of a norm that can occur because of different genres and disciplines. Initially, a prototypical four-move pattern (IMRD) for RP was proposed by Swales [Swales, 1990]. This pattern influenced the myriad of follow-up research considerably, with Hyland starting to depart from it with his five-move model that includes Introduction, Purpose, Method, Product, and Conclusion as he singled out Purpose move from the Introduction move [Hyland, 2000].

Follow-up development in move-based genre studies produced the research into RP organisational patterns by studying the step or sub-move structure of a particular move, by studying the move prototypical system of different disciplines, and by making attempts to present the general typology of moves, including their step or sub-move structure. Following, in general, the classic Swales/Hyland research paradigm, researchers concentrated on the study of the general rhetorical structure of RP of a particular communicative genre [Halleck, Connor, 2006] or comparing the form of one of the moves as, for example, did M. Peacock [Peacock, 2011] for method section in RP across eight disciplines (physics, biology, chemistry, environmental science, business, language and linguistics, law, and public and social administration) analysing the frequency of appearance of individual moves to show their interdisciplinary variations.

The research into the structure of abstracts of different academic subject areas followed the initial move-genre research pattern for RP of Swales and Hyland. By analysing an abstract’s macrostructure, many efforts were put into discovering the move-structure patterning and its possible discipline variations. The predominant method in search of regularities in move structure and defining the stable patterning and the areas of variations or unstable (peripheral) patterning was calculating the percentage of these occurrences. For example, Tankó [Tankó, 2017] analysed the move structure of academic research article abstracts, producing more sophisticated linear and non-hierarchical structure of four stable moves and four

minimally stable moves that do not belong to a prototypical form. Kanoksilapatham [Kanoksilapatham, 2013] used a single discipline approach based on frequencies of occurrences of particular moves found four sets of patterning of abstracts in the subject area of civil engineering. More than that, he pointed to the cyclical use of methods and result moves.

As a rule, these patterns are analysed along with some textual features. Byoung-man and Ho-Yoon (2007), for example, studied doctoral dissertations abstracts IMRD structure and some of their micro-structure or textual features, including the use of demonstratives and passive voices. They found the differences in the length of moves on Korean authors. Kherdi et al. [Khedri et al., 2013], in their research on textual features of move structures of two disciplines, concentrated on the metadiscourse features following the taxonomy proposal put forward by Hyland [Hyland, 2005].

Investigating abstracts through the lens of applied linguistics is carried out mainly in contrastive perspective. The last research followed cross-discipline, cross-genre, contrastive research of RP produced by L1 and L2 speakers and a cross-linguistic approach.

The cross-discipline approach concentrated mainly on close academic disciplines. Moreover, the research into applied linguistics abstracts was predominant because to find the borders between different moves; you have to be an expert in the academic field. Linguistics and literature are the preferred area of expertise for those who make their research in English for academic purposes genre studies. For example, Tankó [Tankó, 2017, p. 53] showed that literary RP abstracts display reduced 'rhetorical attention to Niche, Conclusion, and Implications'. Pho (2008), in his cross-discipline research, calculated the occurrence of moves in the abstracts from applied linguistics and educational technology journals. The author found that only three moves are obligatory: presenting the research, describing the methodology, and summarising the findings with slight distribution across these disciplines.

Different disciplines, including medical RP abstracts, were also studied. Salient genre research of 80 medical abstracts by Anderson and Maclean [Anderson, Maclean, 1997] analysed four major fields of medicine (clinical medicine, surgery, epidemiology and basic sciences) for the presence of a 5-move pattern. They found that most of the abstracts are written according to the 5-move model, but variations were frequent too. Samraj [Samraj, 2005], Darabad [Darabad, 2016] studied introductions in conservation biology and wildlife behaviour finding minor differences of these two disciplines, thus supporting the typological scheme of introduction moves proposed by Swales [Swales, 1990].

The cross-genre approach, in general, was aimed at solving similar tasks based on comparative data from different academic genres. Salager-Meyer et al. [Salager-Meyer et al., 2003], in her cross-genre analysis of research papers, case reports, and review articles, analysed relations between verb tenses and modality and four abstract moves. The macro-discourse analysis was generalised by cross-discipline research of El-Dakhs [El-Dakhs, 2018] in his study ‘Why are abstracts in PhD theses and research articles different? A genre-specific perspective’ where he applied genre analysis comparing 200 research articles abstracts to 200 PhD thesis showing the difference in the length of different moves. Textual or macro-discourse features were also analysed in the research of H. Stotesbury [Stotesbury, 2003] on evaluation in the research article abstract in humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences. The study for the assessment as it often happens with the studies that do not target the macro or rhetorical structure of an abstract pursued the IMRD structure.

Contrastive research of RP produced by L1 and L2 scholars are quite frequent with clear pedagogical implications in mind to help representatives from emerging academic communities to adapt current discursive norms. The research of D. Nkemeleke [Nkemeleke, 2010] on conference abstracts presented by L2 researchers at conferences in Cameroon and by L1 researchers in Birmingham found the paradigm of features that possibly are disadvantageous for publishing in top-ranked journals, and that can be found in academic research by Cameroonian authors written in English. B. Behnam [Behnam, 2014], in his cross-discipline and cross-linguistic analysis of abstract composed by English native and non-native (Iranian) students, discovered conventional structures specific for Persian academics. Matzler [Matzler, 2021], in his cross-discipline research of L2 Chilean and L1 English writers in science and engineering grant proposals, found prototypical move structure and its variations. Similar research is presented in Friginal and Mustafa [Friginal, Mustafa, 2017] studies on research abstracts in four disciplines: agriculture; nursing; engineering; and languages, where possible differences between a native speaker and a non-native speaker were uncovered to help Iraqi scholars to get acquainted with international writing conventions.

Yet we are aware of very little *cross-linguistic research*. Spanish vs English contrastive study of Spanish and English medical abstracts in Radiology is represented by López-Arroyo and Méndez-Cendón [López-Arroyo, Méndez-Cendón, 2007]. They found that the rhetorical structure of English RP follows the pattern proposed by the editorial board requirement, while Spanish authors seem not to be fully aware of the system. Martín-Martín [Martín-Martín, 2003] found some preferences due to dif-

ferent intellectual styles in Spanish and English abstracts in experimental social style following Swale's model. Zanina's [Zanina, 2017] research into RP management abstracts represents the only cross-linguistic research involving English and Russian corpora of RP abstracts and using the five-move model for the comparison. She found several regularities, including the Russian scholars' use of a 'more generalised approach to abstracting' [Zanina, 2017, p. 70].

Method

The existing research review showed that the scholars give much insight into RP abstracts' move patterning. However, sub-move distribution within the current move patterns for a specific discipline is with a few exceptions [Zanina, 2017] outside the scope of academic interest. Thus, we hypothesise that distinction in the sub-move distribution can demonstrate more salient macrostructure differences in academic writing conventions. To find support to this, we selected psychiatry as a medical sub-discipline to conduct cross-linguistic research and to answer three research questions:

- RQ1:** Which rhetorical sub-moves model could apply to the discipline?
- RQ2:** Which moves patterns are more frequent for the discipline?
- RQ3:** Which sub-moves are more typical for academic writing traditions?

The comparable corpora for our research consist of RP abstracts from two core journals in psychiatry published in English and Russian. The English journal possesses the highest citation index in the Scopus international database; the Russian journal is also ranked high in the Russian Science Citation Index national database. Eighty abstracts were selected, with 40 abstracts in Russian and English journals.

Abstracts involved in the analysis belong to the structured or informative type. The commonly accepted epistemological assumption for the indicative type is to show significant findings of RP and that of informative style — to present a detailed report of the research [Lores, 2004, p. 281]. It is quite clear that these abstracts differ in linguistic features and rhetorical structure, with a significant part of the studies dealing only with informative abstracts. Hartley [Hartley, 2014], for example, analysed previous research on the abstracts finding that it is still unclear whether a structured abstract provides better information on the content of RP than an unstructured one.

To approach the taxonomy of move organisation of abstracts, we summarised the detailed structures proposed by four researchers (see Table 1). We applied them top-down to the sample abstracts selected from the collected database, thus creating the initial prototype sub-move structure model. We put the move stability threshold at 60 %, with most often the threshold ranging from 50 % to 60 % of occurrences for the move to be considered stable. The research was done with the help of trained coders with a final intercoder reliability rate of 30 %.

Table 1. Comparing previous taxonomies of abstracts' moves structure

Tankó, 2017 (Literary studies)	El-Dakhs, 2018 (Applied linguistics)	Zanina, 2017 (Management)	Lopez-Arroyo and Méndez-Cendón, 2007 (Medicine)
Topic; Background; Niche	World context; Research context; Significance of topic	Introduction	Research purpose; Main research procedures
Purpose	Description of objectives; Research Questions	Thesis; Problem; Hypothesis	
Materials and methods	Data collection	Theoretical Framework, generalized method mentioning; Method description	Source of data, Data size, Criteria for data collection
	Data-Analysis	Sample/Data/ Delimitations	Research apparatus; Experimental process
Outcome	Findings	Product description/ explanation; Generalised Product mentioning; Expected/ unexpected results; Explaining results	Specific observation; accounting on specific observation
			Accounting of observation made
			Negative results
Conclusion	Study contribution		
Implications	Implications; Research Directions; Limitations	Product implications	

Then the validity of each sub-move was checked bottom-up with the whole corpora and prototypical sub-move-structure model being defined (see Table 2). As it follows from Table 2, the proposed taxonomy has a six

moves model with further subdivision into 25 sub-moves. This allowed finding the combination patterns for selected academic subject areas and not to include a discipline-specific move to the proposed sub-move structure.

Table 2. Taxonomy of abstracts' moves structure

I. Introduction	(I. S1) World context, Background, Topic, Wide research context; (I. S2) Research context (I. S3); Significance of topic; (I. S4) Niche
II. Purpose	(II. S1) Purpose; (II. S2) Description of objectives (Detailed description); (II. S3) Hypothesis, Problem
III. Materials and methods	(III. S1) Theoretical Framework; (III. S2) Source of data; (III. S3) Data size; (III. S4) Criteria for data collection; (III. S5) Generalised method mentioning; (III. S6) Method description; (III. S7) Sample/Data/Delimitations; (III. S8) Specific methods
IV. Results	(IV. S1) Generalised Product mentioning; (IV. S2) Negative results; (IV. S3) Expected/ unexpected results; (IV. S4) Specific observation; (IV. S5) Accounting on specific observation; (IV. S6) Accounting of observation made
V. Conclusion	(V. S1) Overall research outcome; (V. S2) Specific research outcome
VI. Discussion	(VI. S1) Overall Study contribution; Specific study contribution; (VI. S2) Product implications; (VI. S3) Further research

As the content of the sub-moves was not always specified by the authors or/and semantics of the sub-move name is not apparent, some moves proposed in other research were left out or combined into one sub-move after verification with the corpus. For example, the sub-moves of Introduction move in our taxonomy include World context, Background, Topic, and Wide research context. Though quite different, we expected that combination could simplify our cross-linguistic comparison.

Results

Overall move distribution. The general length of EC and RC abstracts do not principally differ, with 253 words for EC and 228 words for RC showing standard deviation in length only 25% for EC and 65% for RC. The standard stable patterns are Purpose-Materials-Result-Conclusion for RC abstracts; Introduction-Purpose-Materials-Result-Conclusion (35% of occurrences); and Introduction-Purpose-Materials-Result-Conclusion-Discussion (25% of occurrences) models for EC. The peripheral three-move pattern Purpose-Materials-Results accounts for 15% of oc-

currences in RC and 5% for EC. We found an introduction move in 20% of RC abstracts, whereas it was a constituent part of 90% of EC abstracts. Introduction-Purpose-Material-Result-Conclusion five move pattern showed only 10% presence in RC. The purpose section was absent in 10% of EC abstracts, with only one case of its absence found in RC.

Move-specific sub-move distribution. The down-top analysis evidenced four sub-moves of **Introduction move** valid for both corpora: World context, (World context; Background, Topic, Wide research context); Research context; Significance of topic; and Niche. For the first sub-move of Introduction move (World context), we combined four steps in one sub-move as we failed to draw a distinct border between World context, Background, Topic, and Wide research context. However, we may admit that they differ semantically. The most significant part of abstracts in EC contain world context or broad research context as a step of sub-move with the hardly discernible difference:

World context: *Capability-based models propose that people die by suicide because they want to, and they can. (P1)*

Broad research context: *Cannabis use is linked to symptoms of depression and anxiety, particularly among sexual minorities.*

Significance of the Topic is very rarely stated and was fixed only in 5% of the cases in RC:

Tetragidrobiopterin (VN4) — vazhnejshij kofaktor, uchastvuyushchij v sinteze dofamina. (9)

Niche is represented in 60% cases of EC and 20% occurrences of the abstracts in RC.

Do nastoyashchego vremeni sushchestvuet deficit ob'ektivnyh sposobov ocenki sub'ektivnoj koncepcii morbidnosti u psihoticheskikh bol'nyh. (19)

In EC, we found Niche sub-move only in abstracts that do not contain the hypothesis, problem, or Research Question.

In the **Purpose move**, we distinguish Purpose statement; Description of objectives (Detailed description); and Hypothesis or Problem sub-moves.

We did not find metadiscourse markers of purpose (aim, purpose, objective, *to* + infinitive) in EC and is often presented as an extension of Niche sub move:

Further, it has been suggested that some cognitive deficits, such as episodic memory, may reflect hippocampal abnormalities linked to both depression and episodic memory. We examined these questions in adolescents participating in a longitudinal study of preschool onset depression. (19)

In RC, in most cases, there are no metadiscourse markers of purpose, and the Purpose is represented as the Topic sub-move:

V stat'e predstavleny rezul'taty issledovaniya pishchevogo povedeniya i lichnostnyh osobennostej. The purpose is the sub-move occurring in almost all articles:

Since these expectations are claimed to underlie all information processing, we reason that any differences in how they are formed or adjusted should be persistent

Cel' nastoyashchego issledovaniya sostoyala v razrabotke novogo validnogo psihometricheskogo diagnosticheskogo instrumenta... (19)

Research question or rarely hypothesis was contained in EC only (10% of occurrences):

Research question: The past decades of research on predictors of depression have frequently emphasized interactive diathesis–stress questions: What kinds of vulnerabilities under stressful circumstances increase risk of developing depression? (15)

For the introduction section, the cases of embedment of two sub-moves into one are rear accounting for $\approx 5\%$ for EC. We found only the case of background information with the Niche sub-moves:

Reward dysfunction is often present in youth with major depressive disorder (MDD), but the specific neurobiological bases underlying reward valuation deficits remain unclear. (17)

For **Materials and method move**, the structures found in two corpora do not show a big difference with Theoretical Framework, Source of data, Data size, Criteria for data collection, Generalised method mentioning, and Method description sub-moves being the part of most abstracts in EC and RC. Delimitations are found in only 2.5% of the Russian corpus.

For English corpus data sub-moves seem to be subordinate to the method description and often are embedded into the sentence providing the general description of the method:

We employed a multilevel meta-analytic approach (Viechtbauer, 2010) to accommodate the interdependent nature of the EBL model and interdependency of effect sizes (305 effect sizes from 144 studies, including 4,424 OCD patients). (6)

Russian corpus demonstrated more detailed data description in every abstract than EC show:

V issledovanii prinyali uchastie 34 cheloveka, opekayushchih pacientov s psihoticheskimi rasstrojstvami (F2 i F3 po MKB-10) Sredi nih: 26 — roditeli pacientov (23 — materi), 4 — suprugov, 1 rebyonok, 3 sibliinga. (7)

Method description in RC annotations also include more details than the English corpus shows:

...u kotoryh bylo provedeno biohimicheskoe issledovanie urovnya VN4 s pomoshch'yu metoda konkurentnogo immunofermentnogo analiza (IFA) na spektrofotometre (Sunrise, Tecan) s ispol'zovaniem nabora CEG421Ge (Cloud-CloneCorp). (9)

We found a big difference in the length of **Data and materials** move, accounting for 50 words for English abstracts and 72.9 words for Russian abstracts. More space allocated in Russian journals was due to the more detailed description of data source and definition of specific methods even at the expense of results description.

The cases of embedding the method sections into the Result move are few, accounting for 5% of the cases in the English corpus with no examples in the Russian corpus:

We examined whether individuals with schizophrenia show the typical certainty effects across three phases of reward processing: cue evaluation, feedback anticipation, and feedback receipt. Electroencephalography from 74 healthy controls and 92 people with schizophrenia was recorded. (20)

Results move include Generalised Product Mentioning; Negative results; Expected/Unexpected Results; and Specific observation sub-moves. Two corpora demonstrate certain differences in sub-moves distribution.

In EC, we found a significant percentage of Negative results sub-move (17.5% of abstracts):

In contrast, most of our analyses failed to support interactive neuroticism–stress accounts of MDE risk. (16)

The two groups did not differ in their overall responses to the manipulation, contrary to our hypotheses and previous findings. (12)

RC contains neither Negative results nor Expected/Unexpected results sub-moves. In RC, specific results outnumber Generalised Product mentioning sub-move.

For **Conclusion** move the sub-move Specific research outcome is somehow subordinate to the sub-move Overall research outcome. Its occurrences might be expected to outnumber those of the Overall research outcome. However, corpora demonstrate different distribution rates: 15% of abstracts in RC contain Specific research outcomes:

Obshchimi dlya obeih nozologij yavlyayutsya meropriyatiya, /// Vazhny navyki polucheniya (6) imeyushchih na popechenii drugih chlenov sem'i, v tom chisle detej. (7)

With only 5 % found in the English corpus.

According to our taxonomy, the **Discussion move** includes three sub-moves: Study contribution; Product implications, and Further research.

Implication: *Early detection of subtle, nonpsychotic forms of perceptual disturbance may aid in identifying individuals at increased risk ...*

Contribution: *We conclude that standardised coding of tasks along in-individual cognitive dimensions and multilevel meta-analyses provides a new approach to examine multidimensional models of memory and cognitive performance.* (6)

Further research: *Additional longitudinal research that spans a similar developmental period could shed light on the plausibility of this explanation.* (16)

Both corpora showed occurrences of all sub-moves with different distribution over EC and RC. At least one sub-move of the Discussion section was identified in 75 % of EC abstracts and 45 % of RC abstracts. RC demonstrates only 5 % of co-occurrence of two sub-moves in one abstract, whereas EC demonstrates regular co-occurrences of Contribution sub-move with Implication sub-move. Conversely, Necessity for further research sub-move is found in 15 % of cases in RC:

Trebuyutsya dal'nejshie mezhdisciplinarnye issledovaniya dlya vyyavleniya prichin i molekulyarnyh mekhanizmov razvitiya deficita VN4 (9). Only one example of Necessity for further research sub-move is found in EC.

Conclusion

The comparative study presented rhetorical structure taxonomy that includes six moves and 26 sub-move elements with their validity verified for the Russian and English corpora. The study revealed written academic discourse differences in the distribution of moves and sub-moves structural elements.

For the first move, the Russian corpus showed a strong tendency not to include niche sub-move, which comprises the stable pattern for abstracts in the English corpus. The research question or hypothesis sub-move contains the peripheral patterns in EC, but neither were found in RC. The Data and Method move also showed significant differences, with more attention being paid in RC to the detailed description of the data source and criteria for data selection. In contrast, EC demonstrated that data are regarded as an auxiliary basement for the method section. The

conclusion shows a slightly different approach with Russian scholars inserting Specific contribution sub-move, which is present three times more often in RC than in EC. The Discussion section is a part of a basic pattern for EC with Overall study contribution and Specific study contribution; Product implications; Further research sub-moves. For the RC, 95% of sub-moves of the Discussion section are the Necessity for further research sub-moves.

We may speculate that the study might have important pedagogical implications for EAP, ESP and academic writing for research courses. The analysis provides obvious genre-based instructions to find possible differences in academic styles by presenting the detailed sub-move instruction for psychiatry. The taxonomy and its application to the Russian and English academic areas might facilitate the acquisition of discursive norms of the English educational community. Moreover, presenting basic combination patterns could simplify the research paper creation.

Discussion

The objective of the study was to apply the sub-move rhetorical approach to the cross-linguistic analysis of medical RP abstracts. We proposed the taxonomy of sub-moves and tested it on English and Russian corpora.

With the help of a typological scheme, we found strong preferences of RC abstracts to omit some structural elements that could be deemed an integral part of EC abstracts. This sheds some light on how the knowledge could be presented in Russian and international Anglo-Saxon linguocultural communities, with different underlying reasons.

The apparent limitation of the research is providing a closer look at the detailed rhetorical structure of medical abstracts in only one academic field of study. Another inherent weakness is that we attempt to approach the overall taxonomy without looking into linguistic or metadiscourse features of rhetorical structure, basing only on communicative semantic features. However, we understand that only a few research exist that go into a deeper rhetorical level than that provided by Swales and Hyland and then explored in a myriad of follow-up studies.

In general, we may hypothesise that our research tentatively touches on the central problem of contemporary linguistics: the problem of linguistic variation. We found patterns valid for specific linguistic contexts, but further research is needed to understand pattern violation conditions and establish the complementary distribution of ways for a particular linguocultural and disciplinary context.

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THE IMAGE OF ITALY IN THE NOVELS OF ANITA BROOKNER

The article is devoted to the under-researched topic of the image of Italy in the novels of A. Brookner (1928–2016), the Man Booker Prize winner (1984), Doctor of Arts. The aim of the article is to study how it is constructed as well as its peculiarity. We used the texts of “Family and Friends” (1985), “A Misalliance” (1986), “A Friend from England” (1987) to which we applied the methods of comparative, intertextual and intermedial analyses. The results suggest that the author’s reception of Italy is reflected in the range of problems, characters and images, symbols as well as the style of her novels in the form of intertextuality (allusions to Plato, G. Puccini’s “La Boheme” and Italian works of art). It is concluded that Brookner in her prose creates an original contradictory image of Italy. For her antagonists Italy (as opposed to native Great Britain) is conventionally associated with hot sun, strong romance and sensuality, with the opulence of colours and odours as well as pursuit of pleasure, whereas for her protagonists — with something hostile and alien. On the whole, the image of Italy is incorporated into the conflict of insiders and outsiders, movers and observers, winners and losers symbolizing the opposition between vice and virtue, freedom and its absence, full life and nonexistence. Thanks to the above-mentioned allusions the whole corpus of ethical and aesthetic values from the Italian heritage is faced by the reader, whereas Brookner’s novels obtain philosophical depth.

Keywords: Anita Brookner, *Family and Friends*, *A Misalliance*, *A Friend from England*, the image of Italy, intermediality.

А. Я. Климовская

ХУДОЖЕСТВЕННЫЙ ОБРАЗ ИТАЛИИ В РОМАНАХ АНИТЫ БРУКНЕР

Статья освещает неисследованный вопрос о способах конструирования и специфике образа Италии в прозе британской писательницы А. Брукнер (1928–2016), обладательницы Букеровской премии (1984), доктора искусствоведения. К теме Италии Брукнер обращается в романах «Родные и друзья» (1985), «Мезальянс» (1986), «Подруга из Англии» (1987). Тексты анализируемых романов писательницы интерпретируются с помощью историко-культурного, сравнительно-сопоставительного, интертекстуального методов и метода интермедиального анализа. Анализ фактического материала показал, что авторское видение этой романской страны находит свое отражение в проблематике, персонажно-образном ряде, символике, стилистике романов Брукнер в виде интертекстуаль-

ных (аллюзии на Платона) и интермедиальных включений (отсылки к «Богеме» Дж. Пуччини и ряду произведений итальянской живописи). Делается вывод, что Брукнер создает разноплановый и противоречивый образ Италии, который для персонажей-антагонистов ассоциируется (в контрасте с родной Великобританией) с обилием солнца, богатством красок и ароматов, приоритетом чувственных удовольствий, абсолютными свободой и счастьем, а для протагонистов — с чем-то чужеродным, враждебным, полным опасностей. В целом образ Италии вписывается в традиционный для творчества Брукнер конфликт своих и чужих, победителей и проигравших. С помощью вышеназванных аллюзий целый свод этических и эстетических ценностей из наследия Италии предстает перед читателем, а романы Брукнер обретают философскую глубину и многозначность.

Ключевые слова: Анита Брукнер, *Родные и друзья*, *Мезальянс*, *Подруга из Англии*, образ Италии, интермедиальность.

Introduction

The article discusses how the image of Italy in the novels of A. Brookner (1928–2016), the Man Booker Prize winner (1984), is constructed and its peculiarity. As a Doctor of Arts, Brookner taught at Reading University (1959–1964), the Courtauld Institute (1964–1988), Cambridge University (1967–1968) for twenty-five years, and at 53, when she started to write fiction, she was considered to be an international authority on French 18th–19th-century painting. Apart from numerous literary allusions to English and French novels, she refers to European paintings, particularly Italian ones.

The Italian issue has not been discussed either in Western criticism or home literary studies. However, Brookner's intertextual and intermedial forms and functions are treated thoroughly by E. Williams-Wanquet [Williams-Wanquet, 2004], while E. N. Nikiforova [Nikiforova, 1993] studies the theme of beauty in art and real-life in Brookner's novels. Ch. Malcolm [Malcolm, 2002], in her comprehensive study of Brookner's novels, partly interprets the meaning of Venetian setting in "A Friend from England" (1987).

Methods and material

Italy is introduced as the place of Brookner's character residence ("Family and Friends" (1985)) and the scene of action of "A Friend from England". In "A Misalliance" (1986), Italy is associated with paintings the author alludes to. The texts of the analysed novels are treated with the help of modern literature studies methods of comparative, intertextual and intermedial analyses.

Discussion

The Italian theme arises in “Family and Friends” for the first time. After getting married, Frederick, an authentic sensualist, leaves for Italy. He admires the hot sun, and the opulence of colours and odours forgets about duties imposed on him by his dominating mother. Frederick is portrayed as the only Sofia’s child (out of four) who “achieves contentment” [Malcolm, 2002, p. 66] even despite the outbreak of World War II — he is happily married and fulfils a man’s destiny as the father of twins. The concept of “continuance” [Malcolm, 2002, p. 18] is highly significant as the metaphor of salvation of this German Jewish family.

In contrast to Frederic (typical of Brookner’s manner), his younger brother Alfred stays in England to fulfil his filial duty — to run their family business and care about his mother and two sisters. Alfred accepts the way of life forced on him by his matriarchal mother; thus, he sacrifices his happiness, remaining a bachelor. While Frederick finds his home in Italy, Alfred is shown a futile quest.

The name of the younger sister Mimi reminds of the character of Puccini’s opera “La Boheme”. “While Mimi does not die at the height of her love, she does as much metaphorically” [Malcolm, 2002, p. 66] when her admirer Frank Cariani (mind his Italian family name) deserts her for the sake of her elder sister Betty. This failure and disillusionment turn Mimi into D. Rossetti’s “Beata Beatrix” [Brookner, 1985, p. 105], which portrays Beatrice from Dante Alighieri’s poem “La Vita Nuova” (1294) at the moment of her death.

In “A Misalliance”, a contrast opposition of two modes of behaviour typical for Brookner’s novels is illustrated by metaphorical images from paintings — Christian saints and pagan nymphs. In London National Gallery, the narrator Blanche Vernon associates herself with grieving Madonnas and ascetic martyrs as well as with Adam and Eve from the fresco by the Florentine artist Masaccio (1401–1427) “Expulsion from the Garden of Eden” (1426–1427) [Williams-Wanquet, 2004, p. 222], one of the most persuasive expressions of man’s suffering.

The first name of the main heroine (Blanche) is symbolic: the white colour stands for her moral purity. This character with an ascetic way of life is depicted as a faithful Christian: as a volunteer, she assists in a hospital, she is self-denying and sympathetic. She is driven by the Christian concepts of “duty” [Brookner, 1987, p. 95], “obligation” [Brookner, 1987, p. 5, 83] and guilt. As a first-rate wife and housekeeper, the heroine anticipates her husband’s wishes and thus bores him. After 25 years of happy family life, Bertie leaves her for a young narrow-minded secretary Mousie

(Amanda). While Blanche all her life assumed “the uncomplaining and compliant posture of the Biblical wife” [Brookner, 1987, p.65], Mousie and her kind turn out to be “movers and shakers, careless and lawless” [Brookner, 1987, p. 65].

Sadness is Blanche’s “matter of temperament or rather an accident of birth, as if, in some gigantic lottery, it had been decided that she were to be denied the enjoyment of her own free will” [Brookner, 1987, p. 109]. Referring as an intellectual to Plato’s theory], according to which “all knowledge is recollection” [Brookner, 1987, p. 31] of what the soul observed in the world of ideas before being reborn [Izotova, 2014, p. 241, the heroine claims that she was destined to lose and be deprived of undeserved Bertie.

Although martyrs are presented “as standards of excellence, to be always admired” [Brookner, 1987, p. 54], Blanche makes her conclusion, contemplating them. She considers them as “poor saints, throwing away their lives, the only possession they could call their own. And the cruelty of their tortures. All so that they could be shown in painting, resurrected, in perfect form, with merely a tower or a key or a wheel as a dainty allusion to their sufferings” [Brookner, 1987, p. 54].

By contrast, the images of idle pagan nymphs exhibited in Italian halls nearby impress Blanche with their selfishness: “They recline on clouds absolutely impervious to everything and everyone. No kindness there. No begging for mercy from the ancient gods” [Brookner, 1987, p. 55]. She “renounces beauty without kindness in art” [Nikiforova, 1993, p. 78] and later in real life.

Thanks to the works as mentioned above of art, the protagonist becomes aware of “the discrepancy between duty and pleasure” [Brookner, 1987, p. 95], perceives the difference between “the obedient” [Brookner, 1987, p. 95], restricted by strict rules of conduct and those who are “free” [Brookner, 1987, p. 95] and “self-indulgent” [Williams-Wanquet, 2004, p. 157]. While paganism is based on the cult of life, pleasure and power, Christianity accentuates suffering and life after death.

To avoid the emptiness of her lonely life, Blanche gets acquainted with the young beauty Sally. An orange-haired Sally resembles nymphs from Italian XVIth century paintings — “An Allegory with Venus and Cupid” by A. Bronzino (1503–1572) and “Bacchanalia” by Titian (1488–1576) [Williams-Wanquet, 2004, p. 222] who personify sensuality and unblighted happiness. The same associations concerning Sally are used throughout the novel. Her family name Beamish stands for the radiant sun. Her untidy rented flat looks like a grotto, the tenement of nymphs. She wears Roman leather sandals. Sally’s impractical loose flowing garments symbolise her

transitory feelings. This character goes by principles of ancient hedonism, whereas the principal Blanche's feature is self-abasement.

Close acquaintance with Sally caused by Christian wish "to be of service" [Brookner, 1987, p. 108] and to contemplate her little mute step-daughter "ruins the charms of beauty" [Nikiforova, 1993, p. 78]. It turns out that Sally is subject to many sins. Her dominating features are spiritual impoverishment, selfishness, cynicism, lack of responsibility. She has no necessary qualities and skills to care for the child, unlike childless Blanche.

"Nevertheless, Blanche is assured that men are fascinated by the impudence and immodesty of such women as Sally, Mousie and the like, not "moral superiority" [Malcolm, 2002, p. 75] which she boasts of. Moreover, "the world respects a predator", "the world will be amused by, interested in, indulgent towards the charming libertine" [Brookner, 1987, p. 80]. Sally manages to generate "an emotional attraction" [Brookner, 1987, p. 129] in Patrick, Blanche's long-term admirer, even though he looks like a wise Roman patrician and reads "Meditations" by stoic Marcus Aurelius (the 2nd century BC).

Unlike Sally, "not made for the harsh realities" [Brookner, 1987, p. 129], Blanche is destined "to be excluded from the world of love and happiness" [Brookner, 1987, p. 10]. The heroine concludes that her life was deprived of many pleasures in a meek attempt to confront reality, that she was "shackled by the wrong mythology" [Brookner, 1987, p. 109]. It is "far better to be like Sally and to have misspent one's youth, even if one has to pay for it afterwards" [Brookner, 1987, p. 83]. She seeks oblivion in Italian wine (Frascati, Sancerre).

The opposition of grieving Christians and happy pagans is supported by repeated images. Sally's "bright flowing garments evoke images of Mediterranean brilliance instead of grey London skies" [Malcolm, 2002, p. 76]. Virtuous Blanche raises eyes at the sky in search of God, while the sun, the object of worshipping for the pagans, is always with them. More than once, the heroine repeats the quote of the English 19th century landscape painter W. Turner which states that "the sun is God" [Brookner, 1987, p. 7].

The philosophical conclusion of "A Misalliance" is that beauty should be associated with kindness and spirituality; otherwise, it has no sense. As a result, Blanche calls into doubt Christian ethics because of its inability to enjoy life here and now. In Plato's essays, she finds the necessary synthesis between pleasure and reason.

The last chapter of "A Friend from England" is intentionally set in Venice, where the main heroine Rachel arrives to persuade Heather to come back to England. She does not seek pleasure from this trip but is

driven by her obligation to the loving parents of Heather, who will not survive the separation with her. Rachel (her Biblical counterpart is considered a symbol of a caring mother), chosen by the Livingstones as a suitable duenna of their innocent daughter, sees her duty in setting Heather. She has unwisely fallen in love with an Italian, free from illusions of romantic love, which the latter cherishes despite the previous failure (she split up with her first husband after a hasty marriage). Rachel is sure that “unguided, archaic” [Brookner, 1988, p. 117] passion can be fatal, which is illustrated by the example of Mimi at the end of Puccini’s opera “*La Boheme*”, which she visited. This dangerous passion is symbolised by the motif of water, an integral attribute of Venice. The highly-rational heroine considers the choice of the location for the city to be “irrational” [Brookner, 1988, p. 159] and wonders at the “serenity” [Brookner, 1988, p. 158] of Venetians who casually overcome water bodies. She is displeased by Venice “full of water” [Brookner, 1988, p. 160], which she considers being a “sinking city” [Brookner, 1988, p. 159] “buried in abyss” [Brookner, 1988, p. 158]. Rachel is terrified of being “blocked by water” [Brookner, 1988, p. 170]. She is haunted by water in her nightmares. The usage of this motif is evidence of her fear to lose control of herself the suppression of her emotions and free will.

As opposed to the conventional reception, Brookner creates a disheartening image of Venice in winter: pouring cold rain, “pearl-grey” [Brookner, 1988, p. 162] shadow, “metallic glitter” [Brookner, 1988, p. 167] of channels under “pale” [Brookner, 1988, p. 168] sun, in a word, a “swelling sea of grey” [Brookner, 1988, p. 158]. The city resembles the kingdom of ghosts. Lonely grieving Madonnas in the paintings of a Venetian G. Bellini (1430–1516) in the gallery of Accademia contribute to the overall atmosphere of sadness and melancholy.

Such a dull image of cold Venice is in tune with the heroine’s mood. Rachel appeals to Heather’s filial duty towards her sick mother to impose her reasonable perception of life. She sees her role in enlightening Heather that real life is not like a dream but full of hardships and disappointments. However, “any strength in Rachel’s arguments is thus undermined by her fearfulness in surroundings (water), which Heather perceives as both beautiful and liberating” [Malcolm, 2002, p. 84]. Despite Rachel’s intentions, her gloomy perspectives persuade her opponent to prioritise the way of life where personal needs are fully satisfied. “Water becomes equated with Heather, as do those things it symbolises: life, mobility, even joy” [Malcolm, 2002, p. 85].

In Venice, Rachel, who is meant to be a chaperon and role model for Heather, is confronted with the bitter truth about her life without love.

The author's irony is that, in reality, it is Heather, not Rachel, who performs the role of a "mentor" [Malcolm, 2002, p. 82]. The winner in this rivalry is self-centred Heather, who assures Rachel that her view of life is wrong, while her lack of family ties and independence are perceived as solitude. Heather fades away in the darkness in Calle de la Vida street [Brookner, 1988, p. 170], whose name means 'life' in Italian. She is happily "at home" [Brookner, 1988, p. 164] in Venice and cannot "get disappointed" [Brookner, 1988, p. 169] in it, whereas for Rachel, well-acquainted with the Venetian topography (she visits The Piazza San Marco, San Moise, The Grand Canal, Accademia), this city turns out to be hostile and dangerous. Rachel's "dreams of drowning" symbolise her "dependence on others", an inability "to invent a life" for herself [Malcolm, 2002, p. 85].

Having failed, Rachel decides never to return to Venice, with which she associates her humiliation and female futility from now on. Loneliness, childlessness, nonexistence await "poor" Rachel. Gondolas with sonorous Italian male names (Maximus, Validus, Strenuus, Ausus, Ludus) [Brookner, 1988, p. 171] sail past her.

Thus, the main heroine's perception of Venice is an important character trait.

Findings

The analysis carried out shows that the author's reception of Italy is reflected in the range of problems, characters and images, symbols as well as the style of her three novels in the form of intertextuality (allusions to Plato, G. Puccini's "La Boheme" and Italian works of art). It is concluded that Brookner is closely linked by the time of their release and the theme of belonging to a family in her novels — "Family and Friends", "A Misalliance", "A Friend from England", creating an original contradictory image of Italy. For her antagonists Italy (as opposed to native Great Britain) is conventionally associated with hot sun, intense romance and sensuality, with the opulence of colours and odours and pursuit of pleasure, whereas for her protagonists — with something hostile and alien. Although moral qualities of Brookner's protagonists always correspond with Christian virtues, it is only in "A Misalliance" that a contrast opposition of Christian duty and pagan pleasure is stated and supported by Italian works of art. In Brookner's prose, allusions to paintings, unlike literary ones, do not promise the triumph of justice in real life. In "A Misalliance", she establishes a "close link between Christian ethics and unhappy, unfulfilled lives" [Williams-Wanquet, 2004, p. 222].

Conclusion

Overall, the image of Italy is incorporated into Brookner's conflict of insiders and outsiders, movers and observers, winners and losers symbolising the opposition between vice and virtue, freedom and its absence, entire life and nonexistence. Thanks to the allusions mentioned earlier, the reader faces the whole corpus of ethical and aesthetic values from the Italian heritage, whereas Brookner's novels obtain philosophical depth. This study allows discovering new aspects in the dialogue between national cultures and some peculiarities or similarities in the treatment of Italian themes among XXth century post-war British women writers (e.g. B. Pym, who uses similar allusions [Klimovskaia, 2021]).

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MIDDLE EASTERN LITERARY AND RELIGIOUS ALLUSIONS IN AḤMAD MURĀD'S NOVEL "THE BLUE ELEPHANT"

The novel *Al-Fil al-ʿAzraq*, written by the Egyptian author Aḥmad Murād and published in Cairo by Dār aš-Šurūq in 2012, is one of the most successful examples of a Middle Eastern adaptation of such a manifestly Western genre as the mystical thriller. The reason behind this success is a skillful intermingling of the thriller narrative scheme with Middle Eastern mythology. Throughout his work, Murād uses multiple references and allusions to prominent sources of Middle Eastern spiritual and intellectual traditions, among which the most salient cases are the Qurʾān, the Gospels, the famous lexicon *Lisān al-ʿArab* and Al-Ġabartī's *History of Egypt*.

Keywords: Arabic literature, Egyptian novel, Middle East, folklore, Aḥmad Murād, *Al-Fil al-ʿAzraq*, *The Blue Elephant*, drugs, magic, supernatural, magic realism.

E. M. Колоскова

РОМАН АХМАДА МУРАДА «ГОЛУБОЙ СЛОН» В КОНТЕКСТЕ БЛИЖНЕВОСТОЧНОЙ ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ

Роман египетского писателя Ахмада Мурада «Голубой слон», вышедший в 2012 году в Каире, на сегодняшний день является одним из наиболее успешных произведений в жанре мистического триллера на Ближнем Востоке. Причина такого успеха кроется в мастерстве, с которым автор влетает в нарративную канву романа близких читателю персонажей ближневосточной мифологии, а также многочисленные отсылки к важнейшим для ближневосточной литературы произведениям, среди которых Коран, Евангелие, толковый словарь «Лисан аль-Араб» и хроника Абдуррахмана аль-Джабарты «Удивительная история прошлого в жизнеописаниях и хронике событий».

Ключевые слова: арабская литература, египетский роман, Ближний Восток, фольклор, Ахмад Мурад, *Голубой слон*, наркотики, магия, сверхъестественное, магический реализм.

Introduction

Al-Fil al-ʿAzraq is a mystical thriller by the Egyptian author Aḥmad Murād. It was written in 2012 and is Murād's third and most famous work in the thriller genre. The novel became a bestseller at the Cairo Interna-

tional Book Fair one year after publication. In 2014 it was shortlisted for The International Prize for Arabic Fiction (often referred to as the Arabic Booker Prize). Despite its overwhelming success in the Middle Eastern market, the novel has only been translated into German.

Stories including essential elements of thriller or crime fiction are not utterly absent from literary writings in Arabic. An early example of such a story is *The Three Apples* from *The Thousand and One Nights* [McCaughrean, Fowler, 2000]. However, this kind of story has never existed as a distinct genre of Arabic prose. As pointed out in *Mapping Crime Fiction in Arabic Literature* [Alghureiby, 2019], this is due to the lack of detective personae in the experience of the Arab readership. However, despite being somewhat alien to the Arab imagination, this kind of theme does seem to have “a broad base of interested Arab readers”. Moreover, since “hard-boiled films and novels had a better chance in the Arab world than the more classical detective novels”, Aḥmad Murād “seems to have rediscovered crime writing for Arabic speaking audiences”. One of the biggest reasons for the novel’s success is Murād’s masterful adaptation of the Western genre of mystical thriller to the Middle Eastern context, not least through extensive references to Middle Eastern literary and religious works: classical Arabic literature, Middle Eastern folklore, and the Qurʾān.

The success of *Al-Fil al-ʿAzraq* among the Arabic-speaking public has not yet attracted attention among Western scholars, except for an article “Procédés de décredibilisation dans *Al-Fil al-ʿAzraq*, roman noir d’Aḥmad Murād” by Katia Ghosn [Ghosn, 2018] and a critical essay “Violence and Identity Conflicts in Two Contemporary Scottish and Egyptian Novels” by Jihan Zakarriya. The first paper provides an analysis of the distinctive features of *Al-Fil al-ʿAzraq* as a noir novel, while the second focuses on the identity conflicts and the concepts of self and the other in two novels, one of which is *Al-Fil al-ʿAzraq*.

For its part, the present article aims to provide a concise review of literary allusions in the novel, which the author translated and annotated during her work on a Master’s thesis in 2020. Throughout the article, all excerpts from the novel are given in the author’s translation.

Background

A. ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Aḥmad Murād, an Egyptian novelist, screenwriter, photographer, and graphic designer, was born in Cairo in 1978. In 1996, he graduated from Lycée La Liberté, one of Cairo’s most prestigious high schools. He holds a bachelor’s degree with first-class honours in cinematography from

Cairo Higher Institute of Cinema and is one of the highest-ranking alumni in his year. Murād published his first novel *Vertigo* in 2007. His most recent literary work *Lūkāndat Bīr al-Waṭāwīṭ*, published in 2020, is his seventh novel. In 2018, Murād won the Egyptian State Award for Excellence in Literature.

All Murād's novels, including *Al-fīl al-ʿAzraq*, are notoriously cinematic in terms of their characters and the storyline, making them perfect film adaptation material. Thus, there are two films based on the novel: *Al-fīl al-ʿAzraq — 1* (2014) and *Al-fīl al-ʿAzraq — 2* (2019). In both, the screenplay was written by Aḥmad Murād himself. The first part contains significant deviations from the novel, while the second is considered the sequel of the story and, except for the presence of the main characters, does not correspond to the original text. In 2019, the second film became the highest-grossing Egyptian film in the entire history of Egyptian cinema.

B. *AL-FĪL AL-ʿAZRAQ*: PLOT SUMMARY

The protagonist, Yaḥyā Rāšid, is a 37-year-old psychiatrist. He has been living alone for the last five years since he took an unauthorized leave of absence from the Abbasiya Hospital for Mental Health. One day he receives a letter from the hospital demanding that he return to his duties to avoid dismissal. Upon his return, he is assigned to 8-West, a department for patients suspected of criminal offences. Among his new case files, he comes upon his former friend Šharīf al-Kurdī, who is accused of the brutal murder of his wife, Basma. Yaḥyā cannot believe that Šharīf was involved in this crime and is determined to discover the truth behind the murder. He starts his quest to identify clues, gathers information about the case, and ultimately find the person responsible for Basma's death. At the very beginning of his journey, Yaḥyā suspects that some magic forces might be involved. With the help of a narcotic pill of Dimethyltryptamine called the Blue Elephant, Yaḥyā enters the gateway to another world where he finally uncovers the old dark magic power behind the crime.

References to Middle Eastern literature

1. THE QURʾĀN

The novel features multiple references to and direct quotes from the Qurʾān. In the present article, we will discuss five Qurʾānic characters who found their way into the book.

1.1. SULAYMĀN

According to the Qurʾān (34: 12–14), God gave the Prophet Sulaymān the power over ḡinns (supernatural demonic creatures created in pre-Is-

lamic times). The Qurʾān relates that Sulaymān died while he was leaning on his staff. As he remained upright, the ġinns thought he was still alive and holding sway over them, so they continued to work for him. They realized the truth only when God sent a mythical creature — most probably, a snake [Kogan, 2020] — to crawl out of the ground and gnaw at Sulaymān’s staff until his body collapsed.

Murād references this episode in chapter 30 in a scene in the hospital ward. Šharif is sitting on his bed enchanted by the dark magic spell — immobilized, unable to speak, staring into the distance. In his fellow patients, he evokes the image of Sulaymān’s corpse.

اقترب منه بعض النزلاء يرمقونه بفضول لما طال أمد سكونه، كالجنّ يتأملون سليمان
عليه السلام ولا يعرفون أنّه قد مات

‘Some of the patients got close to him, staring at him curiously while his silence dragged on. They acted like ġinns looking at Sulaymān (peace be upon him) without knowing that he was already dead.’

1.2. THE WIFE OF ʿAZĪZ

The Wife of ʿAzīz is the main female character and antagonist in the story of Yūsuf — according to the 12th Sura (Sūrat Yūsuf), she falsely accused Yūsuf of attempted rape after he rejected her sexual advances. She is given no proper name in the Bible or the Qurʾān, but the Muslim tradition identifies her as Zulayḥa, the paragon of an unfaithful wife.

In chapter 30, Yaḥyā meets Lubnā, Šharif’s sister and his first love, for the first time in ten years. Yaḥyā learns that Lubnā is now married to a man called Ḥālid with whom she has a daughter called Hāniyā. Yaḥyā senses that Lubnā still has feelings for him and exclaims:

– إنّي مش مبسوطة مع خالد !

[...]

أنا مش امرأة العزيز.. بس مش قادرة.. مش باكرهه..
بس ما باحبوش الحب اللي.. أنت فاهم حاجة ؟

‘You’re not happy with Ḥālid!’ [to which Lubnā responds:] ‘I’m not like the wife of ʿAzīz, I just can’t... I don’t hate him... I just don’t love him with the love that... You know what I’m trying to say...’

1.3. THE COMPANIONS OF THE CAVE

The Companions of the Cave feature in a legend about a group of young believers who escaped religious persecution by hiding in a cave. According to the Qurʾān (18: 9–25), they were praying to God until they fell asleep to awake three hundred and nine years later.

In chapter 16, when Yaḥyā wakes up, full of mysterious dreams caused by the Blue Elephant narcotic pill, he compares himself to the Companions of the Cave:

بالكاد استيقظت.. كان الوقت ليلاً ولا يزال، أظنني لبثت ساعة أو بضع ساعات، هكذا ظن
فنية الكهف يوماً! التَّقْوِيم في تليفوني المحمول وعدد المكالمات الفائتة كان يشير ليوم كامل
بُنر من حياتي

‘I was barely awake... It was still nighttime. I thought I had been sleeping for about an hour or so... just like the Companions of the Cave must have thought on that day! The calendar on my cell phone and the number of missed calls showed that an entire day had been excised from my life.’

The outstanding Egyptian novelist Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm also used the legend about the Companions of the Cave in his famous novel *‘Awdat ar-Rūh*, as pointed out, among others, by Talāt Sait Halman (1974).

1.4. MŪSĀ

One of the nine miracles of Mūsā featuring in the Qur’an is his encounter with the sorcerers. Pharaoh challenges Mūsā to prove his sovereignty over the sorcerers he had summoned to humiliate him. Inspired by an act of faith, Mūsā casts down his staff, which turns into a serpent that devours the sorcerers’ objects of trickery. The sorcerers, recognizing the divine nature of the act, fall in humiliation and proclaim their belief in the God of Mūsā and Hārūn. The sorcerers show their craft by making their staffs appear as moving serpents to the amazed crowds.

‘So the truth was established, and what they were doing was made vain. Thus were they there defeated and brought low. And the sorcerers fell down in prostration’ (Qur’an, 14: 118–120).

In Chapter 19, Yaḥyā imagines himself as a circus performer trying to tame an elephant. He compares his audience’s amazement with his craft to that of the sorcerers who had witnessed Mūsā’s act:

عَلَّت الوجوه دهشة كدهشة السحرة لما رأوا عصاة موسى تُعبأنا

‘[Their] faces fell in astonishment similar to the astonishment of the magicians when they saw Mūsā’s staff turning into a serpent.’

1.5. LŪṬ AND HIS WIFE

We find references to the tribe of Lūṭ and Lūṭ’s wife in Chapter 16 and Chapter 19 of the novel. In Chapter 16, Yaḥyā gets into a fight with his colleague Sāmeḥ, breaking his nose. The next day the hospital director Dr.

Şafā calls Yaḥyā to her office to explain himself. Here is how he describes Dr. Şafā's reaction to his excuses:

رفعت رأسها للسَّقْفِ تضرعاً أن ينزل بي عذاب قوم لوط و عاد و ثمود دفعة واحدة

'She looked up to the ceiling and begged that the torments of Lūṭ, 'Ād and Ṭāmūd be brought upon me all at once.'

The people of Lūṭ incurred divine punishment and were destroyed by God for their sins just like the Ṭāmūd and 'Ād tribes [Heribert, 2001].

In Chapter 23, Yaḥyā faces the demonic black dog who had been stalking him from the moment he began his investigation of Şharīf's case.

لم أنظر ورائي كما فعلت امرأة لوط

'I didn't look back like Lūṭ's wife did.'

Here the reference is to the story of Lūṭ's wife, which is found in the Qur'ān in Sūrat Hūd. There God called upon Lūṭ and his family to leave the city of Sodom prior to its destruction and ordered each of them except Lūṭ's wife not to look back. As the cities were being demolished, Lūṭ's wife looked back and suffered the fate of the sinful citizens:

'So set out with your family during a portion of the night and let not any among you look back — except your wife; indeed, she will be struck by that which strikes them' (Qur'ān 11: 81).

The Qur'ānic version of the story of Lūṭ's wife is particularly controversial and remains a subject of debate among scholars. Thus, some argue that she "may have been destroyed while among her people. Others say that she left the city with her husband and daughters but turned around when she heard the city fall, and it was then she was killed", comments Barbara Stowasser [Stowasser, 1996].

2. THE NEW TESTAMENT

As described earlier in Chapter 16, Yaḥyā is summoned by the hospital director, Dr. Şafā to explain his involvement in the fight with his colleague, Sāmeḥ. On his way to Dr. Şafā's office, Yaḥyā is going over their future dialogue in his head:

سأنكر ما قاله سامح كما أنكر "بطرس" معرفته بالمسيح

'I will deny what Sāmeḥ said just like Saint Peter denied knowing Christ.'

Yahyā here refers to the Denial of Peter described in all four canonical Gospels (Matthew 26: 69–75; Mark 14: 66–72; Luke 22: 55–62; John 18: 15–18, 18: 25–27). According to the New Testament, Jesus predicted during the Last Supper that one of his most devoted disciples, Peter, would deny knowledge of him, stating that he would disown him before the rooster crowed the next morning.

3. HALBAT AL-KUMAYT BY ŠAMS AD-DĪN MUḤAMMAD AN-NAWĀĠĪ

Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn ‘Uṭmān al-Nawāḡī was an Egyptian writer (1386-1455). His most famous work is the *ḥamriyya*-treatise *Ḥalbat al-Kumayt* (“The Racecourse of the Bay”), which contains descriptions of wine, tales about people addicted to it and the proper etiquette of drinking companions, as well as everything related to wine consumption. The story behind the treatise’s title is extremely unusual. An-Nawāḡī was forced to change the original title *al-Ḥubūr wa-s-surūr fī waṣf al-ḥumūr* (Joy and Frolic: on Drinks Alcoholic) because some pious people took offence. This new title represents a pun. “*Ḥalba* means ‘racecourse’; *kumayt* means ‘reddish-brown’ and often designates a bay horse. But it may also stand for red wine, which is passed round in the circle of drinking companions like a horse on a racecourse. Moreover, the book is, as it were, a racecourse for the *master poets, fuḥūl al-šū‘arā’* (literally, ‘poet-stallions’), in which they and their poems circulate. The title thus may serve as a cover in order to preserve a respectable appearance” [van Gelder, 1995].

Chapter 13 of the novel contains a direct quote from this work:

بعد أول كأس ستنتشي وتزدهر ألوانك كالطاووس.. مع الكأس الثانية كالقرد سيجتاح اللعب والتصفيق والرقص.. بعد الثالثة سنعربد وتعبث في المكان حولك ”أسدًا“ لا مكافئ لك، قبل أن تنفوه بما لا فائدة منه.. وبعد الكأس الرابعة ستنطفئ كالخنزير السمين.. سترقد مكانك مفكوك القوى تطلب النوم فيدهسك دهسًا

‘After the first cup you will become intoxicated and flaunt your colors like a peacock. After the second cup, you will be overcome with a playful spirit like a monkey and will be clapping and dancing. After the third cup you will be groveling and messing around like a lion as if there is no one equal to you, before you start uttering nonsense. And after the fourth cup you will be enfeebled like a fat pig. You will lie impotent praying for sleep to come until it overpowers you.’

Fictitious entries

Murād repeatedly resorts to creating fictitious quotations from genuine scholarly works referenced in the novel. Both examples described

in this section could easily be perceived as genuine by an unexperienced reader as they perfectly imitate the style and conventions of the source material.

1. AL-ĠABARTĪ'S HISTORY OF EGYPT

The multi-volume chronicle of the Cairo scholar ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān Al-Ġabartī (1753–1825), ʿAḡāʾib al-āṭār fī t-tarāġim wa-l-ʿaḥbār which translates roughly as *The Most Wondrous Achievements: Biographies and Reports of Events*, is widely considered to be the single most important primary source for the history of Egypt over the nearly four centuries of Ottoman rule. In the beginning of the novel Yaḥyā learns that a manuscript of this chronicle has been stolen from the Museum of Islamic Art. Later in the novel he finds the missing pages in Šarīf's place. Murād tricks his readers by creating his own content that he passes off as the original text of the chronicle. This fictional story relates the tale of a woman who was sentenced to death by strangulation after having been denounced by her husband for committing a crime. A few days later, the husband, torn by guilt, cuts his arm off which results in him being committed to a *māristān*, or medieval Islamic hospital.

Murād uses this imaginary tale as a *mise en abyme* as it refers to the mental disorders of Šarīf and Yaḥyā in connection with the violent deaths of Basma, Narmīn (Yaḥyā's wife who is already deceased at the beginning of the novel) and Māyā (Yaḥyā's lover).

2. LISĀN AL-ʿARAB

Lisān al-ʿArab is the best-known dictionary of Classical Arabic, written by Ibn Maḏūn in the 13th century. Murād forges the following mount-weazel to introduce us to the character of Ḥālid, Lubnā's husband and the romantic rival of Yaḥyā.

خالد في معجم لسان العرب من مصدر خُلد وتعني
خَلَدًا، يَخْلُدُ، خُلْدًا، وَخُلُودًا اي بقي وأقام ..
دوام البقاء في دار لا يخرج منها ..
لا يشبع منها ..دوام البقاء مع انثى لا يفرغ منها ..

‘The name Ḥālid is derived from the verb *ḥalada* with the root forms *yaḥludu*, *ḥuldan* and *ḥulūdan* and has the meaning: stay forever, stay permanently in a house, always stay with a woman without separating from her and without getting tired of her.’

For a discerning reader who would be able to recognize the fake, it may serve as a hint that the true nature of Ḥālid may not quite fit the meaning of his name. Murād uses the proper names of characters to create

an additional layer of meanings in the story. This echoes Murād's choice of names for his protagonists Šarīf and Yaḥyā, which sound more or less antonymous to the true nature of their respective bearers [Ghosn, 2018].

Middle eastern folklore characters in the novel

ʾABŪ ZAYD IBN RIZQ AL-HILĀLĪ

ʾAbū Zayd Ibn Rizq al-Hilālī was a legendary 11th century black Arab tribal leader, whose campaigns and exploits were fictionalized in the *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* ("The Epic of the Banī Hilāl"), a unique form of folk epic that is traditionally performed in sung verse to the accompaniment of musical instruments (rather than spoken or read aloud) [Reynolds, 2018]. There is a famous scene in the epic where ʾAbū Zayd kills (in some versions with his bare hands) a giant lion who attacks the caravan of merchants that ʾAbū Zayd joins during his travels [Reynolds, 2018].

Chapter 15 of the novel alludes to this story when Yaḥyā, under the influence of the Blue Elephant pill, reflects on the transformations of his apartment:

لاحظت السجادة تحت قدمي، سجادة يدوية النسيج مرسوم عليها وحدات مكررة من الغزلان والطيور، يُطاردهم أسد يُشبهه أسد أبي زيد الهلالي

‘I noticed a carpet under my feet. It was a handmade carpet with gazelles and birds pursued by a lion that looked like the lion [slain] by ʾAbū Zayd al-Hilālī.’

AN-NADDĀHA

An-Naddāha is a *naiad*-like *ǧinniya*, or siren-like female spirit, in modern Egyptian folklore. The legend of an-Naddāha became widespread in the 1950s, but it is impossible to say how old it is as little research is available.

There are different interpretations of the legend. Some insist that she is the resident spirit of the Nile, while in some versions of the tale, she may be residing near another body of water. In most tales, an-Naddāha is described as a beautiful woman standing by a riverbank (some stories describe her as having a translucent *ǧinn*-like appearance), calling out to passers-by in an alluring voice. Men are unable to resist this call and, as a result, get dragged into the water and either get devoured or drowned. In some versions of the tale, the affected men do not immediately respond to her call but enter a state of disturbed consciousness for a few nights before ultimately leaving their homes to succumb to her power. People in rural

Egypt believe that a man called for by an-Naddāha is doomed, curing him of the curse is impossible, and the process is irreversible [Illes, 2009].

An-Naddāha is featured in an eponymous story by Aḥmad Ḥalīd Tawfīq, a recognized Egyptian horror story master, in a series of horror novels *Mā Warāʿa aṭ-Ṭabīʿa*. Her name is also used as the title of an Egyptian avant-garde literary journal, as well as a novella by Egyptian author Yūsuf Idrīs. It is not without interest that Murād considers both authors among his significant influences.

In Chapter 30, Yaḥyā references the legend when describing his depressed condition:

انسحب وراء نداءه إلى قاع بركة مليئة بالتماسيح النيلية

‘I follow an-Naddāha and retreat to the bottom of a lake full of Nile crocodiles.’

ʿUMM AṢ-ṢIBYĀN

ʿUmm aṣ-Ṣibyān (known under a variety of names, such as Qarīna and Tābiʿa) is a female demon who kills pregnant women, newborns, and children, causes miscarriages and stillbirths, steals men’s semen, and causes infertility and sexual frustration. She is also known to cause multiple diseases ranging from migraines to epilepsy [Lyavdansky, 2017; Toporkov, 2019].

In Chapter 30, ʿUmm aṣ-Ṣibyān is mentioned during an imaginary conversation Yaḥyā witnesses in his narcotic trance. In his vision, he encounters a beautiful young woman who is undergoing the painful process of having an intricate rose pattern tattooed on her hip. The tattoo is meant to remove the spell that makes the young beauty’s husband blind to his wife’s charms. The tattooist, an old woman, attributes her troubles to the evil demoness who has cast the spell over her:

ما تستهونيش بأم الصبيان ! دي غولة برجلين بقرة وصرختها تجنّ الرجال

‘Don’t underestimate ʿUmm aṣ-Ṣibyān! She is a *ghulah* with the legs of a cow. Her screams drive men mad.’

An old woman is trying to encourage her charge and tells her to stay strong so that she can finish her work. She says:

الطاسم هيفك عين أم الصبيان

‘[This] amulet will ward off the [evil] eye of ʿUmm aṣ-Ṣibyān.’

MUNKAR AND NAKĪR

Chapter 21 starts with the protagonist's reflection on death:

انتظرت المَلَكَيْنِ أن يأتيا ولم يفعلوا! تأخرا.. سيسألاني عن إلهي ورسولي وديني ولن أجيب..

'I was waiting for two angels to come, and they did not. They were late. They will ask me about my Lord and my Messenger and my religion, and I won't answer.'

Conforming to Islamic eschatological beliefs, two angels, Munkar and Nakīr, come to every person right after his death asking three questions mentioned in the extract above. The righteous faithful will answer that their Lord is Allāh, their Messenger is Muḥammad, and their religion is Islam, whereupon they will be left alone till the Day of Resurrection. The sinners and the infidels, on the other hand, will have no satisfactory answer at hand. Consequently, the angels will beat them severely, as long as it will please Allāh, according to some authorities till the Day of Resurrection, except on Fridays. The names of Munkar and Nakīr do not appear in the Qurʾān, and, it seems, once only in canonical Tradition.

As pointed out by Baian Rayhanova (2017), the reference to the story of Munkar and Nakīr also occurs in the Syrian Zakariyyā Tamir's short story *Muḡāmarātī al-ʿAḥīra*.

Conclusion

The references cited in this article serve to represent Aḥmad Murād's intimate acquaintance with magic realism and the postmodernist tradition and are by no means intended to represent an exhaustive inventory of all the literary references and folkloric motifs in *Al-Fil al-ʿAzraq*. Through the allusions to mythological creatures and characters well-known in Arabic culture, Murād evokes the joy of realia recognition in his readers. This masterful use of the shared cultural code can be justly considered an important factor in the novel's success.

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RE-EVALUATING THE METHODS OF TEACHING RUSSIAN IN JAPANESE UNIVERSITIES

The paper discusses multiple factors that have recently arisen and have created the need to reevaluate the teaching methods for Russian translation at Japanese universities. Some of these factors are more general, such as machine translation, while some are specific to Japan, such as the more organizational and methodological factors. This paper then presents new methods developed by the author for teaching and assessing translation at all levels of education. These methods proved to be successful in activating the interest of students and greatly improved the quality and intensity of classes.

Keywords: translation, methodology, online learning, motivation, teaching materials.

С. И. Латышева

ПЕРЕСМОТР МЕТОДОВ ПРЕПОДАВАНИЯ КУРСА ПЕРЕВОДА В ЯПОНСКИХ УНИВЕРСИТЕТАХ

В настоящей статье анализируются многочисленные факторы, обусловившие необходимость пересмотра методов обучения переводу с русского языка и на русский язык в японских университетах. Некоторые из этих факторов, такие как, например, распространение машинного перевода, являются общими для многих стран, тогда как другие, например особенности организации учебного процесса и методология обучения, характерны именно для японских университетов. Далее в статье обсуждаются новые методы обучения переводу и оценки знаний студентов, разработанные автором. Эти методы показали свою эффективность в увеличении мотивации студентов и в повышении качества занятий.

Ключевые слова: перевод, методология, онлайн обучение, мотивация, учебные материалы.

Introduction

Currently, in Japanese universities and, in particular, at Sophia University, there is discussion surrounding translation training, and in particular, the place of the translation course in the overall system of teaching foreign languages. This discussion has emerged from many factors, both short-term, such as the reduction in international communication during the pandemic, and long-term, such as the spread and improve-

ment of machine translation systems. The very fact that such a discussion has arisen means that traditional approaches to teaching translation and traditional methods of testing it have ceased to meet modern conditions and the needs of students. It is in this context that the author has made attempts to improve the translation course for the students of Sophia University studying the Russian language. Before considering the process of developing and implementing new methods in the process of teaching translation, it is necessary to describe the current state of teaching translation in Japanese universities.

Re-evaluating the Teaching of the Russian Language in Japanese Universities

In most Japanese universities, the subject of “translation”, as a rule, involves translation from Japanese into a foreign language, and the translation course is usually taught by native teachers. Translation from a foreign language into Japanese does not exist as an independent course, but is included in a course called “Reading” — *Kodoku*. This course provides not only translation as such, but also text analysis, the study of new vocabulary, stable expressions, and features of their translation into Japanese. This course is usually taught by Japanese teachers. The course “reading” is mandatory and is included in the system of basic Russian language courses, along with grammar courses, etc. The course of translation is optional and is considered as an auxiliary in relation to the basic courses. Teaching of both courses begins in the second year of language study. However, since the translation course is an elective course, students with vastly different levels of experience gather in the class, and often second-year students with only basic training in Russian and senior students who returned from a study abroad in Russia are combined into one group.

The main problem currently faced by teachers of translation courses at Japanese universities is a sharp decrease in students’ motivation. A lot has been said about the necessity of strong motivation in the process of learning a foreign language [Snyder, 2019, p. 158]. (It should be mentioned that at present there is an overall decrease in interest for studying the Russian language.) First, there is a reduction in international communication in the context of a pandemic, which has led to the fact that many students have lost important incentives to learn a foreign language, namely studying abroad and more generally, the opportunity to apply their knowledge of the language. Second, a negative role is played by the remote form of education introduced out of necessity in the conditions of the pandemic, which, especially in Japan, where conducting classes in a remote format

is associated with a number of restrictions due to country characteristics and requirements from universities, has multiple negative effects. Remote education reduces the effectiveness of classes due to restrictions in communication between students and the teacher, and contributes to the polarization of students in terms of their knowledge and skills. This, in turn, reduces the motivation of the majority of students who see neither the benefits of classes nor see their progress in language learning. In these conditions, teachers need to change the traditional approaches to teaching a foreign language and look for new forms of teaching that could interest all students who plan to link their professional activities with the Russian language.

A key factor in reducing motivation to study the translation course is the widespread and constant improvement of the machine translation quality. Modern translation programs have reached such a level that it is almost no longer necessary to resort to the services of a human translator for communication, especially on the household level (hotel, shopping, even partly excursions), and even some more complex translations. For example, the translation of socio-political or special texts is performed using machine translation with increasing accuracy and quality. Indeed, it was the progress of machine translation that caused the beginning of discussions about the future demise of the translator's profession and the expediency of teaching translation.

The spread and improvement of the quality of machine translation in conjunction with the spread of distance learning has necessitated the search for new forms of assessment of students who can no longer be given as homework or exams simply a text for translation from Japanese into Russian or from Russian into Japanese — such a translation may well be performed with the help of numerous translator programs at a level acceptable for obtaining a satisfactory mark.

In addition, there are additional organizational and methodological aspects that necessitate the search for new methods of teaching translation. Organizational factors, especially characteristic of Japan include the fact that a student can take the same course multiple times, necessitating the creation of fresh material each semester. This factor also groups members of different skill level into the same class, so multiple different materials have to be prepared. Furthermore, class sizes for translation, a subject requiring much hands-on attention by the teacher, tend to be quite large, making the provision of enough attention difficult using traditional methods.

The methodological factors include, first of all, the selection of educational material for the course. The traditional approach using “well-established” translation textbooks obviously cannot be applied in modern con-

ditions. First, many students complain that texts and dialogues from textbooks are not of interest to them, which, of course, negatively affects their motivation and, accordingly, their work efficiency. Based on many years of experience using various educational materials for foreigners studying Russian, the author came to the conclusion that a very limited number of topics contained in these textbooks and manuals are really of interest to students. Among them, for example, travel, cooking and cuisines of the world, shopping, leisure activities, etc. At the same time, many topics that are given great attention in textbooks, on the contrary, do not arouse any interest among the majority of Japanese students. These are, for example, politics, family relations, family ties, everyday life and daily life, health and visits to doctors, etc. Oddly enough, these are texts about the peculiarities of the country of the language being studied. And finally, there are topics that Japanese students discuss with great enthusiasm during classes, but which are not reflected in textbooks: employment problems, people's relationships in the team (student-related, temporary work-related, and in the future at the place of permanent work), new social phenomena (for example, students discussed with great interest the problems associated with the spread of carsharing or with the rules of riding electric scooters), current events (but not politics, but rather interesting and unusual facts, such as, for example, the marriage of the daughter of the Crown Prince of Japan), modern fashion, classes in clubs and sections, especially sports and music, etc.

In addition to the subject of texts, the use of traditional textbooks turns out to be ineffective when you have to work with students with different levels of language training combined into one group, as in the situation mentioned by the author above. For some, the material may seem too simple, for others, on the contrary, it is too complicated. In addition, the use of traditional materials does not solve the problem of familiarizing students with new linguistic realities that are rapidly emerging and changing in the modern world.

New Methods of Teaching

Taking into account all the above factors, the author came to the conclusion that the most effective way to conduct translation classes would be to provide students with the choice of a topic for translation and preparation of a text that will become the basis for work on translation. This allows, first of all, to solve the problem of raising students' interest in the text, as well as the problem with the difference in the level of training of students: each student or a small group prepares a text corresponding to their level of training. Advance delivery of translation assignments allows

the teacher to individualize the preparation for each lesson, taking into account the identified common mistakes. Then, during the lesson, there is work in small groups, during which errors are analyzed and various translation options are discussed, which allows the students to activate and consolidate the knowledge gained. Finally, the result of the lesson is a joint discussion of the final translation options, which allows for the repeated analysis of mistakes and to get advice from both other students and the teacher.

Interpretation classes are conducted according to a similar scheme. Students prepare a dialogue on a topic of interest to them individually or in pairs, translate it into Russian and send the dialogue with the translation to the teacher in advance. The teacher checks the translation, makes corrections if necessary or suggests translation options, then prepares an audio file to demonstrate the correct pronunciation and intonation. During the lesson, students make a presentation of the dialogue and its translation, other students are also involved in working on the translation in various forms. At the same time, pre-prepared relevant audio and video materials on the relevant topic can be used. At the end of the lesson, there is a general discussion of translation options and typical errors identified during the work.

A version of the dialogue prepared and translated by the students and used during the classes is presented below. Note that the original text is in Japanese and Russian, with the capital letters indicating corrections made by the teacher. English translation is also provided, but corrections are not indicated because of linguistic differences between the three languages.

A: 今度の土曜日はハロウィンですね!

Послушай, ведь в следующую субботу будет Хэллоуин!

Listen, it's Halloween next Saturday!

B: 忘れてた! 毎年仮装しているけど今年はできないかもね。

Ой! Я совсем забыла. / У меня это совсем вылетело из головы! Хотя каждый год я наряжаюсь, в этом году, наверное, не получится.

Oh! It completely slipped my mind! Although I dress up every year, I probably won't be able to this year

A: 毎年してるの? ハロウィン当日の渋谷に行ったことある?

Ты каждый год наряжаешься? А ты когда-нибудь была в районе / ездила в район Сибуя на сам Хэллоуин?

Do you dress up every year? Have you ever been Shibuya for Halloween itself?

B: 去年行ったよ！すごい人だった。外国人もたくさんいたよ。
Я была там в прошлом году, и там было много / море народу, в том числе и иностранцев.
I've been there in the past, and there were a lot of foreigners there.

A: そういえば、ロシアでは子供しか仮装しないって聞いたことがあるよ。
Кстати, я где-то слышала, что в России наряжаются только дети.
By the way, I've heard somewhere that only children get dressed up in Russia.

B: そうなんだ！ロシアでハロウィンを祝っているイメージがないな。
Вот оно как? / Да что ты говоришь? ДА, И правда — мне трудно себе представить, чтобы в России отмечали хэллоуин.
Is that how it is? It's hard for me to imagine how Halloween is celebrated in Russia.

A: 確かに。今年はどうするの？
Да, это верно. А скажи лучше, что ты будешь / собираешься делать в этот день в этом году?
Yes, that's right. What are you going to do this year?

B: 渋谷には行けないし、家族と祝おうと思ってる。あなたは？
Мм..., я останусь дома и буду отмечать с семьей. А ты?
I can't go to Shibuya, so I'll stay home and celebrate with family. and you?

A: いつもはうちに来て「トリックオアトリート」って言った子供に手作りのお菓子をあげていたけど、今年はどうしようかな。
Мы обычно раздавали приготовленные нами / домашнего приготовления сладости детям, которые приходили к нам со словами: “сладость или гадость”, но не знаю, что делать в этом году.
We used to give out sweets as part of “trick-or-treat”, but I don't know what to do this year.

B: 手作りのお菓子じゃなくて、市販のお菓子をあげるのはどう？
А что, если угостить их купленными в магазине / готовыми (= магазинными) сладостями, а не домашними?
What about if you give them store-bought candy instead of home-made?

A: いいね！それなら少し安心かも。
Отлично! / Отличная идея! / А это мысль! Ой! Ну ты меня немного успокоила!
That's a good idea, then I won't have to worry about it.
B: 感染予防しながら楽しみたいね。

Хочется отметить этот праздник, стараясь не заразиться самой и не заразить других вирусом, ведь так? / верно?

I want to celebrate this holiday without risk of infection.

The dialogue was used to repeat grammatical material difficult for the students — the use of perfect and imperfect verbs. In addition, the correct use of prepositions and case endings was discussed in the lesson, and attention was paid to the use of some colloquial forms of the Russian language. During each lesson, several similar dialogues are usually demonstrated and discussed.

This method of conducting classes has shown its effectiveness in various aspects. Firstly, the interest of students has increased. Almost all students try to prepare texts or dialogues in time, carefully work with the recommendations of the teacher, actively participate in discussions during classes. Secondly, there are different grammatical and lexical phenomena in the dialogue, which allows the teacher to focus the students' attention on them, and this, in turn, helps them to repeat or study these phenomena on the material interesting to them, thus making this course a useful addition to basic Russian language courses, such as a grammar course.

New Methods of Assessment

As mentioned above, the new conditions, especially the spread of machine translation, dictate the need for a new approach to the assessment of students' knowledge. Traditional exams in the form of written translation can no longer give an objective and accurate picture of the level of knowledge of students. In this regard, the author decided to use machine translation as a means of teaching and monitoring students' knowledge. During the exam, students were asked to use translation programs to translate the given sentences, and then find errors in the machine translation, comment on them and offer their own translation version. Below is an example of an exam paper. Both the google translate and student translations remain in Russian, but the explanation of the student, originally made in Japanese, is translated into English.

川の水がとても少なくなっているところを見ると、おそらく夏の
間中雨が降らなかったのでしょう。

→Видя, что река очень низкая, вероятно, летом дождя не было.

⇒Поскольку воды в реке стало очень мало, можно предположить,
что, видимо, летом не было дождей.

Google 翻訳では「川の水が少ない」ことを「川が低い」という表現になっている。また、「おそらく~でしょう。」という部分は、訳し不足 or わかりにくい表現になっているように感じた。Google translate used the expression “low water” instead of “little water”. (Correct in Russian) Further, instead of a construction that expresses the speaker’s assumption, a construction is used that expresses the probability of an event.

客車に入って来た乗客のレインコートはみんな濡れていた。ということとは外は雨が降っていたということだ。

→Дождевики пассажиров, вошедших в легковой автомобиль, были мокрыми. Значит, на улице шел дождь.

⇒Все плащи пассажиров, вошедших в вагон, были мокрыми. Стало быть, на улице лил дождь.

授業でも出たように、“みんなのレインコートが濡れていた。”のか、“レインコートがすっかり濡れている状態だった。”のか判別しにくい文章。また、Google 翻訳では“客車”の部分がよくわからない訳になっていた。そして、“レインコート”もグループの訳ではあまり普段使わない語句が選ばれてた

The Google translation is unclear. It refers to the fact that the cloaks of all people were wet, or that the cloaks were completely wet. In addition, the word meaning automobile is used instead of the intended “train car”. Then, the word “raincoat” (old form — *dozdyevyk*) is used, which is rarely used in modern language.

子供時代の早い時期から、年に2-3回はこの道を行き来している。

→С раннего детства я езжу туда-сюда по этой дороге 2-3 раза в год.

⇒С раннего детства я 2-3 раза в год хожу по этой дороге.

Google 翻訳では、、、しなな “back and forth” や “there and back” という余計な語が見られた。また、“子供時代に~この道を”と言ってるにも関わらず “go (子供なのに乗り物で移動)” が使用されているのもおかしいと感じた。

The expression “back and forth” translated by Google seems unnecessary. In addition, since we are talking about a child, the use of the verb “to ride” does not seem to correspond to the context (correct version would be “to walk”).

今年度の試験期間は2月15日から20日までだった。

→Тестовый период в этом году был с 15 по 20 февраля. (Иногда переводит, как с 15 до 20.)

⇒ В этом учебном году экзаменационная сессия продолжалась с 15 по 20 февраля.

“今年度”という表現が、Google翻訳では一般的な”今年”として訳された。この日本語だと文の内容が”学校のテスト”から、センター試験のような”世間一般的なテスト”の日程を表すようになってしまうと考えた。また、日程の”~まで”という言葉も、Google 翻訳では度々”до ”が使われるなど、完全に訳されていないこともあった。

Instead of the word “academic year”, the word “year” was mistakenly used, in addition, the expression “test period” implies the conduct of unified state tests, and not just exams at the university. In addition, instead of the preposition “by”, the preposition “before” is used.

彼がどこを探しても、そのノートはどこにもなかった。

→Куда бы он ни смотрел, записки нигде не было.

⇒ Где бы он ни искал эту тетрадь, но её нигде не было.

“どこを探しても”が”どの方向を見ても”という表現になっている。これはこの文脈に合わない。また、”ノート”もGoogle翻訳では電子機器で使われる”メモ”のような表現が用いられたり、知人から聞いた話では電子辞書では”Книжная запись ”という表現が提案されたという。

Instead of the verb “to look for”, the verb “to look” is used, which does not correspond to the context. The word translated as “note” actually means “notebook” in this case, and in some electronic dictionaries there is a translation of “book entry” (which is also not correct).

As can be seen from the example of the work conducted, this test form allows the student to fully demonstrate his knowledge of grammar, lexical material, the ability to analyze the context, that is, all the basic knowledge and skills necessary for translation. In addition, “creative” nature of the task, when the student has to give his comments on the translation, makes the task also interesting, which encourages the student to demonstrate his knowledge at the maximum level.

Conclusions

The new conditions prevailing in the modern world challenge students studying foreign languages and teachers of foreign languages to re-think the goals and objectives of learning, search for new forms of learning that would be interesting for students, and stimulate them to learn the language. This need is even more relevant in the study and teaching of such aspects as translation and interpretation. Traditional teaching methods are increasingly losing their effectiveness, but this does not mean that teaching translation ceases to be a necessary part of teaching a foreign language. On the contrary, the new conditions create opportunities for

the development and application of new methods of teaching translation which will make this training interesting and effective for students.

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REGIONAL CULTURE MODELLING BASED ON ETHNOLINGUISTIC SOURCES (the vocabulary of Transbaikal dialects)

The purpose of the study is to represent the process of regional culture modelling. It requires taking into account the semantics of a dialect word, contextual commentary, and identifying the ethnolinguistic information. The research employs an ethnolinguistic approach to describe the regional dialect material and form a model of regional culture based on ethnographic and linguistic sources. A comprehensive method of describing regional words contributes to the reconstruction of the material and spiritual culture of the ethnic group through the language. The research uses the component method of analysis and synthesis of lexicographic material. A continuous sampling, primary processing, and systematization of the studied material were performed to identify dialect units specific to the Transbaikalia. The dialect vocabulary of the Eastern Transbaikalia is determined to integrate the speech of the Cossacks, the indigenous ethnic group, and the Semeyskie. Individual words are fixed to have specific functioning within the boundaries of China, Mongolia, and Russia. Certain examples (*навёршник/navershnik*, *кика́бала/kikabala*, *карым/karym*, *танга́рик/tangarik* and others) become sources of the regional culture reconstruction. The research provides a detailed analysis of the dialect word *shira*, *shiryа* — “the skin into which tea tsybiki are sewn”. Comprehensive ethnolinguistic analysis and a wide range of research sources helped determine the lexeme ritual function, its semiotic aspect; consider historical, etymological data, find out territorial boundaries, and establish intercultural/inter-ethnic ties. The work determined that the key signs of ethnoculture, i. e. dialect words, are the basis to form the model of regional culture.

Keywords: ethnolinguistic model, regional culture, linguistic and ethnographic sources, Transbaikalia dialect vocabulary, vocabulary functioning in the frontier region.

Н. А. Лиханова

МОДЕЛИРОВАНИЕ РЕГИОНАЛЬНОЙ КУЛЬТУРЫ ПО ДАННЫМ ЭТНОЛИНГВИСТИЧЕСКИХ ИСТОЧНИКОВ (на материале лексики забайкальских говоров)

В рамках этнолингвистического подхода в данной работе актуализируется вопрос описания регионального диалектного материала. Различные представленные этнографические, лингвистические источники указывают на то, что каждая диалектная единица отражает содержание элементов как материальной, так и духовной этнокультуры региона.

Диалектная лексика Восточного Забайкалья особым образом интегрирует речь казаков, коренного этноса, семейских, фиксируется специфика функционирования отдельных слов в рамках трансграничья Китая, Монголии и России. Забайкальские диалекты, представленные в «Словаре русских говоров Забайкалья» Л. Е. Элиасова, становятся объектом описания этнолингвистической модели языкового материала. Это отражает как региональную языковую картину мира, так и фрагментарно национальную языковую картину мира. Задача работы состояла в том, чтобы показать, методику описания диалектной единицы. Здесь необходимо учитывать семантику слова, контекстный комментарий, выявлять, путем привлечения этнолингвистических источников, историческое содержания слова; территориальное распространение диалектного слова; семиотические факты, осмысливать специфика межкультурных (межэтнических) связей. Новизна работы состоит в том, что на примере диалектных единиц показать, как формировалась этнолингвокультура Забайкальского региона. Лексическая единица *шира́*, *ши́рья*, обозначающая «шкуру, в которую зашивают чайные цыбики», формирует как часть этнолингвистическую модель. Это способствует получению информации о функционировании слова в условиях торгового трансграничья.

Ключевые слова: этнолингвистическая модель, региональная культура, лингвистические и этнографические источники, забайкальская диалектная лексика, функционирование лексики в условиях трансграничья.

Introduction

Ethnolinguistics mainly focuses on modelling the linguistic worldview while the regional linguistic culture is carried out within the regional ethnolinguistics as a part of a general ethnolinguistic model. The regional aspect of ethnolinguistic research is aimed at studying linguistic and ethnocultural interaction in a historically formed region. The anthropocentric paradigm requires the use of new techniques and approaches in analysing lexical units to build the basis for an ethnolinguistic model of the regional (folk) culture description. Modern dialect material can become a source of knowledge about the ethnolinguistic culture of a particular ethnic group. The changes in linguistics require rethinking the elements in the interpretation of the meaning of a word, revising the functions of the contextual material of a dictionary entry, and finding cultural, historical, and ethnographic information in it. Ethnolinguistic information in the context of a dictionary and textual background is formed due to additional ways of interpreting language material. Depending on the specifics of the analysed dialect unit, the following components can be included here: etymological commentary, revealed semiotic facts, determined ritual functionality, the

historical development of the content of the word, the territorial distribution of the dialect word, the specifics of intercultural (interethnic) ties in the study of regional material, the method of reconstructing the mentality of a linguistic personality, if applicable.

Methods and materials

The ethnolinguistic model focuses on expressing national culture features of the native speakers' consciousness description, according to T. A. Vendina, "the appeal to the study of the inner form of the word allows the researcher to trace the movement of thought in the act of nomination, to hear the voice of a human personality, cognising and mastering the world" [Vendina, 1998, p. 10]. In modern studies devoted to dialect culture, one of the conditions for considering its specific components is identifying and analysing lexico-semantic microsystems. Microsystems give a detailed reconstruction of a particular section of the semantic space of human activity in a hierarchical structure through the knowledge of lexical units. The basis for the ethnolinguistic analysis in this work is a "logical-conceptual system" (scheme, model) for studying individual groups of vocabulary proposed by A. S. Gerd. It can be modelled only by involving a wide range of linguistic sources and research on ethnography, history, and culture. A. S. Gerd defined it as follows: "The logical-conceptual system is built as a model of knowledge about the world in a particular area for a certain historical period. If we know the type of ethnos, such a model is a logical and conceptual scheme of knowledge about the world of a given people. This classification of a logical-conceptual scheme is convenient since it can be built separately by areas, centuries, and sources" [Gerd, 1995, p. 63]. B. Peeters, speaking about the "rethinking of ethnolinguistics," identified various ethnolinguistic models: ethnopragmatics, ethnophraseology, ethnosemantics, ethnosyntaxis, ethnoaxiology, where, in particular, ethnosemantics is aimed at "aims at studying presumed culturally specific keywords, relying on linguistic as well as non-linguistic evidence, to discover whether any cultural values, previously known or newly discovered, underpin these words" [Peeters, 2009]. Ethnolinguistic modelling of dialect vocabulary contributes to reconstructing individual fragments of the language.

Scientists note that ethnolinguistics as a unique field "has absorbed the methodology of all previous paradigms of linguistics, as well as adjacent sciences under the auspices of anthropocentrism" [Komarova, 2013, p. 507]. This made it possible to use complex techniques that contribute to reconstructing the material and spiritual culture of an ethnic group ac-

ording to language data, in particular, based on dialect material. The presented ethnolinguistic research employs a method of component analysis and synthesis of lexicographic material. Another research method is a continuous sampling of dialect units unique to the region accompanied by primary processing and systematisation of the studied material.

Modelling the language system is very important for describing the linguistic culture of a certain ethnic group. It implies the cultural and historical information extracted from the internal form of the word and its contextual interpretation. According to S. M. Tolstaya, this stage of analysis can be defined “as building a “bridge” between the content of linguistic units and the mental world of ideas, images, representations, value attitudes, etc.” [Tolstaya, 2002, p. 114]. It takes into account extralinguistic factors: cultural, social, historical, geographical, semiotic, psychological ones. A comprehensive ethnolinguistic analysis of regional cultural modelling is impossible without them. Language specialist T. I. Vendina describes the structure of the language of traditional culture. She suggested taking into account the fact that “each culture” speaks” its language, whose vocabulary is largely determined by cultural motivation and the cultural context that is associated with the worldview of this ethnos/people, mental categorisation of the natural world and society, religion and faith” [Vendina, 2012, p. 334]. The used methods allowed extracting a comprehensive idea, not of the word but the holistic regional ethnocultural phenomenon from the linguistic material. Such an approach makes it possible to obtain ethnolinguistic information hidden behind the definition of dialect material. With a comprehensive approach to the description of linguistic facts, we can:

- 1) determine the regional ritual function of a dialect word;
- 2) reveal the semiotic aspect hidden within the regional ethnoculture;
- 3) take into account the historical formation of dialect vocabulary;
- 4) identify etymological information;
- 5) consider the territorial distribution of the unit under study, using linguogeographic methods;
- 6) identify cross-cultural or inter-ethnic ties that are reflected in contextual information.

The source of ethnolinguistic modelling of regional culture is the lexicographic material, ethnographic, and historical data. The linguistic material of the study consists of folklore texts, ritual culture, phraseological material, dictionaries (historical, regional, toponymic, terminological, etc.), linguistic atlases, archival documents, historical and ethnographic works.

The source of ethnolinguistic modelling of regional culture can be lexicographic material and ethnographic and historical data. The linguistic material of the study consists of folklore texts, ritual culture, phraseological material, dictionaries (historical, regional, toponymic, terminological, etc.), linguistic atlases, archival documents, historical and ethnographic works.

Discussion

The dialect language material of the Eastern Transbaikalia is of cultural and ethnographic value and possesses certain specific features. The development of the dialect was significantly influenced by social factors, such as the integration of cultures, contact with aboriginal languages, economic and trade relations with Mongolia and China. Back in the ethnographic work by G. M. Osokin, the speech of the Transbaikalian people was presented as follows: “Whatever it was, but the words of Buryat, Mongolian and partly Chinese origin have entered the Transbaikalia dialect. One can count three thousand purely foreign words in the speech of the Transbaikalian people, but there are no fewer words and expressions borrowed from foreigners and partially remaining old Russian words. These words are especially often met in the Semeiskiye conversation. The smallest amount of the borrowed words are of Chinese origin; most of them are mentioned almost exclusively among the merchant class of the population. The Buryat language borrowings are most readily accepted since some people get used to speaking Buryat relatively quickly. As close to Buryat, Mongolian is also widespread among the frontier people” [Osokin, 1906, p. 131–132]]. Accordingly, the current ethnolinguistic situation in Eastern Transbaikal is unique. Its formation was influenced by several factors, including the language environment of the pioneer Cossacks; the indigenous population of Buryats, Evenks (Tungus) living in the territory impacted the linguistic culture. As a result of the settlement of Transbaikal by Old Believers from different parts of Russia, the Semeiskie dialect of Transbaikal was developing. The lexical layer of the region also changed under the influence of the ethnolinguistic and cultural interaction of Russia, Mongolia, and China bordering territories. The vocabulary presented in ethnolinguistic sources is sometimes the only fixed material for studying specific aspects of the everyday life of the generations of people.

Results

The primary material of the study within the ethnolinguistic approach was the *Dictionary of Russian dialects of Transbaikal* by L. E. Eli-

asov (1980). Working with the dictionary revealed a significant layer of dialect vocabulary characterising both the material and spiritual culture of Eastern Transbaikal.

The vocabulary of the Cossacks is represented, for example, by the words *городово́й* (*gorodovoy*) is Cossack from Cossack military units serving in the rear; *казакáться* (*kazakatsia*) means to behave like a Cossack, imitate the Cossacks; *навéршник* (*navershnik*) is a rider of the Cossacks. The lexical layer of the lake Baikal Semeiskie dialect is also represented: *острижéнец* (*ostrizhenets*) is an unfrocked priest, entirely in service of the Old Believers, *коля́зньй* (*koliazniy*) means causing distrust among the believers (the ritualist of the Semeiskie); *кика́бала*, *кика́болка* (*kikabala*, *kikabolka*) is a *kokoshnik* (special headgear), worn by the bride after the wedding ceremony; *ростово́й* (*rostovoy*) means sturdy, strong, healthy (the Semeiskie preferred such brides for work); *пегáшка* (*pegashka*) is a loaf of bread that is baked for horses on St. Gurias's day (November, 28); *тохи́л* (*tokhil*) is the ritual sacrifice of the Semeiskie originating from idol-worshipping practices, *поругáние* (*poruganie*) is an old custom of the Semeyskie, namely, that the perpetrators should be shamed in front of the others: an oath-breaking girl must have her hair cut, an unfaithful wife's head must be shaved, a thief must be placed in stocks, etc. Buryat words occupy a special place in the regional culture of Eastern Transbaikal — *áрса* (*arsa*) is cottage cheese, homemade cheese (poor Buryats only ate arsa); *кары́м* (*kary'm*) 1. In pre-revolutionary Russia, the Buryats adopted the Orthodox faith, the Russian way of life, and Russian customs. 2. Descendant from a mixed marriage of Russians and Buryats; *хошúн* (*khoshun*) in pre-revolutionary Russia, is a territorial administrative unit of the Buryats; *хубá* (*khuba*) is a Buryat woman or an Evenk; *улигéршин* (*uligershin*) is a storyteller, narrator of Buryat uligers (epics). Attention should be also paid to the vocabulary of the Transbaikal Tunguses: *одунчá* (*odunchah*) is a Tungus fairy-tale hero, *мурчáн* (*murchan*) is a rich Tungus; *хабу́н* (*khabun*) is a flapless hat worn by Tunguses.

The linguistic and cultural specifics of the adjacent territories of Russia, Mongolia, and China are widely represented in the dialect dictionary material. For example, the Russian-Mongolian relations began to take shape in the seventeenth century.

The following words represent these notions: *амба́нь* (*amban'*) is the highest administrative officer of the region, or district in former feudal Mongolia; *талá* (*talah*) is a festival, which was held at the Mongolian-Russian border since the second half of the last century to the 20s of our century; *танга́рик* (*tangarik*) is the oath given by Russians, Buryats and Mongols during the talah festival not to inflict evil to each other, to respect

the border, to mutually protect the households; *сарлык* (*sarlak*) is a domestic animal, a cross between a wild yak and a cow, sarlyk in Mongolia.

There are also the Transbaikal dialect units reflecting Russian-Chinese relations.

Russia and China have been united by centuries of cooperation and interaction: diplomatic and cultural ties trade relations, although trade was initially only exclusively “barter” [Osokin, 1906, p.24]. It was believed that “the objects of barter trade in the old days were: from China — tea, sugar cane, raw silk and as for the goods, it was the Chinese daba (paper fabric), cattle, cattle skin, fur, and from Russia: Russian leather, cloth, ironware, copper in handicrafts, tinsel, rhubarb, cheap paper fabric” [Osokin, 1906, p.27]. The Dictionary of Russian Dialects of Transbaikal presents specific lexical units, for example, *маймáчин* (*maimachin*) is a place where people gathered at a particular time for trade; *ханшá* (*khan-shah*) is Chinese vodka, *дáба*, *далéмба* (*daba*, *dalemba*) is a kind of coarse cheap paper fabric that was exported from China, etc.

The ethnolinguistic material can be exemplified by the dialect unit *шурá* (*shira*), which is semanticised as a skin in which tea tsybiki (special tea chests) are sewn [Eliasov, 1980, p.463]. The contextual comment is as follows: “In Kyakhta, tea was often sewn into a shira, and then sent on. The tea merchants had whole warehouses of *shiras*.” The analysis of contextual material expands mental boundaries. The Great Tea Way is known to pass in the cross-border area of China — Mongolia — Russia and go to European countries. Kyakhta, which is referred to in the dictionary entry, was a world trade centre, where merchants various trading companies conducted their business, and a customs office was located.

Further, the context of the dictionary provides the following ethnocultural fact “The *shira* was produced by the Buryats,” which means that the indigenous population actively participated in trade relations. In addition, a unique hide was used for the shira; skilled artisans processed the hide. The hide processing was explained by the inherent nomadic lifestyle of Buryat cattle breeders.

Additional ethnocultural information can be found in the collocation *tea tsybiki* explained by V.I. Dal *tsybik* is represented as “a box or a container for tea holding from 40 to 80 pounds of it.” [Dal, 1980, p.592]. V.I. Dal defined the lexeme *shira* as follows “(Chinese?) the skin into which tea tsybiki are sewn; *шуровáть* (*shirovat*) and *шúрить* (*shirit*) tsybiki, means to sew into the shira, Siberian”. Further, the author supplements “*Шуреýщинъ или шуряльщинъ* (*shiryashchin* or *shiryalshchin*) is the one who sews goods, bales, tsybiks into shiras, Siberian”. There is another lexeme *шурья́* *shiriya* which means ‘protective tsybik / suitcase’. The author fixes

the phrase *шировья шкура* the skin or hides for shira [Dal, 1980, p. 653]. The lexicographer assumes that the word is borrowed from the Chinese language functions mainly in Siberian dialects, where the interstate trade route ran.

The regional dictionary of Transbaikal dialects contains the lexeme *ширея́* (*shireya*), a pack of tea [Eliasov, 1980, p. 463]. The contextual data is “Two shireyas were placed on a horse or a camel”: the Tea Horse Road is known to be ridden on horses and camels. Further, “*Shireya* could not be lifted alone. The shireya was attached to the saddle with special chemburs,” the latter lexeme is accounted for in the dictionary by L. E. Eliasov, chembur/ chumbur meaning a belt cut from a thick part of rawhide bovine skin [Eliasov, 1980, p. 456]. The extensive cultural context of the lexeme “*Shireyas* was different, holding from three puds and more”, with the pud being 16 kg.; consequently, the cargo was quite voluminous.

The historical dictionary data is also used as an ethnolinguistic source. So, the view of the language historian A. P. Mayorov on this word is worth mentioning: “*shira* is a skin in which goods were sewn; a bale of goods wrapped in leather. The same as *shirya*. — And then all three of them got into that shop to steal the goods; when they arrived in that hole, they opened two shiras with Chinese fabrics and made three burdens”. Based on this material, we can say that shira acted as a material that protected the goods. Shirya is assumed to be similar to the word shira, the further details are given: “After receiving goat’s wool from me in six leather *shiras* in two bags and three tuluns, and putting those boxes and shiras with bags on the karbas to follow to the Baikal Sea”. This proves that tea and other goods were transported along the trade route that ran along Lake Baikal [Mayorov, 2011, p. 14–15]. Historical data significantly complement the ethnolinguistic commentary, where the facts of the Russians’ development era of the Transbaikal region have been preserved in trade documents.

In the etymological dictionary, the lexeme shira is “the skin into which tea *tsybiki* are sewn; *шировать* (*shirovat*) and *ширить* (*shirit*) *tsybiki*, means to sew into the *shira*, *shiria* is a sewn *tsibik* (chest) or suitcase”, Siberian, is considered according to V. I. Dal. Further, the author details “*shira* is a leather lining of boxes and *tsybiki*, stripped off after use; used for soles and shoes’, in the Kolyma region; *shira* “the skin in which the goods were sewn”, in the Tobolsk dialects. “*Shirit*’/*zashirivat*’ means to sew up the suitcase, used in East Siberia, line chests for goods with the bestial skin, preparing them to a long journey, used in Siberia; to seam tea from China brought to Kyakhta and Sretensk in reed boxes into natural sheepskin “common in Nerchinsk dialects of the Russian language.

Notably, in Nerchinsk in 1689, the first peace treaty between Russia and China was signed, which defined not only the state border but also concerned the principle of trade. The word is borrowed from the Mongolian (and Buryat) *shir* “*skin, hide’shirle* — to cover with skin, or hide (of cattle), comparable in written Mongolian language *sire siri* and the Kalmyk language *šir šir* as cased skin of an animal, in the Yakut language *sire siri* is a special way of bull’s crafted of waterproof leather from which sacks are sewn [Anikin, 1997, p. 731]. Etymological commentary significantly complements the information and according to S. M. Tolstaya, becomes a fact of “cultural etymology”. The contextual material demonstrated that the word is of Mongolian origin, recorded in the written Mongolian language. It was widespread in several Siberian and Tobolsk dialects, i. e. the territorial boundaries of the Tea Horse Road. It is also mentioned in the archival Nerchinsk documents. Mutton and bovine wool were used to produce bags; respectively, the production and processing of leather raw materials flourished. Only natural raw materials were used to store tea grains as a unique and healing drink. Currently, such work with leather is considered unique, and the skin itself is a valuable material.

The verbalisation of this dialect unit is a sign of its functioning in the ethnolinguistic culture of Transbaikal. The received information about the word *shira*, *shireya* tells about the interaction of the Russian, Chinese, and Mongolian people on the border and on the Tea Horse Road, about their interest in trade relations, which contributed to the development of languages, culture, history, and economies of the countries. This word reveals the kind of activity of the peoples living on the territory of the Transbaikal border: cattle breeding, leather production, and tea trade.

Conclusion

A comprehensive ethnolinguistic analysis of regional dictionaries contributes to reconstructing the regional model. The description of lexical units in linguistic and ethnographic sources helps identify the specific reality of life in individual country regions. The reader may not correctly understand the reality and require particular comments. Without an accurate interpretation, the lexeme’s assimilation by a modern native speaker entails either a distortion of meaning or a complete misunderstanding. Such linguistic units require a thorough description of semantic information; their ethnolinguistic characteristics are also considered, and all this is conditioned by the development of certain epochs of culture. In this respect, Eastern Transbaikalia has preserved many relics of the entire diversity of ethnolinguocultures. The dialect material preserves data on the

culture of the Cossacks, the Semeyskie of Transbaikalia, the Buryat ethnic group, and frontier relations with China and Mongolia.

Consideration of dialect units as sources of regional culture formation opens up prospects in their study. Dialect units help determine the specifics of the material and spiritual ethnoculture, reflecting the main components of the linguistic consciousness of the region's inhabitants. The ethnolinguistic approach identifies cultural, historical data, intercultural (inter-ethnic) contacts formed in the region. The key signs of ethnoculture, i. e., dialect words, provide an opportunity to present the economic, commercial, and social types of human activity and describe the life of a regional personality. The analysis of linguistic units clearly shows the unique character of the regional culture. At the same time, as E. V. Perekhval'skaya notes, "language is a separate and largely autonomous part of the culture, which plays a key role in the process of formation and transmission of culture to subsequent generations" [Perekhval'skaya, 2016, p.37]. This is the main thing that should be considered when describing linguistic facts.

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ACADEMIC AND DISCIPLINARY LITERACY IN THE CONTEXT OF INTERNATIONALIZATION: A CASE STUDY OF A TEACHER PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME AT A RUSSIAN PEDAGOGICAL UNIVERSITY

Following the introduction of internationalization policies in higher education institutions across the globe, universities have been introducing teacher development programmes aimed at providing faculty with the knowledge and skills needed to implement this agenda. This has led to a growth in publications addressing challenges the participants of such programmes have to face. However, we found only few studies aimed at identifying the specific difficulties in the implementation of internationalization programmes that are related to the disciplinary profile of educational institutions and their cultural background. This article describes the results of a case study conducted at Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia, where the internationalization agenda is being implemented through an in-service teacher professional development programme. The study drew on semi-structured interviews with English instructors implementing the programme. We found that the difficulties of the trainees, although in many respects similar to those identified in previous studies, have their own characteristics and can largely be attributed to the lack of academic and disciplinary literacy required for competent communication in today's international scholarly environment. We hypothesize that this lack is associated with the profile of the university, as pedagogical disciplines and the humanities prevailing in the curriculum have experienced a long period of cultural and ideological isolation from the global scholarly research. Although more evidence is needed to confirm this assumption, the findings of this study and the practical recommendations offered will be useful for educators developing internationalization programmes at universities with similar disciplinary profile and cultural background.

Keywords: internationalization of higher education, teacher development programme, pedagogical university, academic literacy, disciplinary literacy.

АКАДЕМИЧЕСКАЯ И «ДИСЦИПЛИНАРНАЯ» ГРАМОТНОСТЬ В КОНТЕКСТЕ ИНТЕРНАЦИОНАЛИЗАЦИИ ВЫСШЕГО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ: ОПЫТ РОССИЙСКОГО ПЕДАГОГИЧЕСКОГО УНИВЕРСИТЕТА

Политика интернационализации высшего образования, все более широко внедряемая в университетах всего мира, вызывает потребность в создании программ, направленных на обучение преподавателей и сотрудников знаниям и навыкам, необходимым для реализации этой политики. Участники таких программ испытывают ряд серьезных трудностей, которые получают все более широкое освещение в исследовательской литературе. Однако вопрос о том, насколько проблемы в освоении программ интернационализации обусловлены культурным контекстом и дисциплинарной направленностью тех или иных вузов, до сих пор изучен мало. В этой статье описываются результаты исследования, проведенного в Российском государственном педагогическом университете им. А.И. Герцена, где для осуществления интернационализации были организованы курсы повышения квалификации сотрудников этого вуза. Проведя опрос среди преподавателей английского языка, реализующих программу, мы пришли к выводу о том, что, хотя трудности слушателей курсов во многих отношениях схожи с теми, которые были выявлены в исследованиях других авторов, они имеют некоторые специфические особенности. В значительной степени они обусловлены недостаточным уровнем академической и «дисциплинарной» грамотности, то есть недостаточной информированностью преподавателей-предметников о том, как структурируется и каким языком описывается в международных (англоязычных) исследованиях система знаний преподаваемых ими дисциплин. Мы предполагаем, что эта проблема связана с профилем данного университета, поскольку педагогические и гуманитарные дисциплины, шире всего представленные в его учебной программе, долгое время развивались в условиях культурной и идеологической изоляции. Результаты проведенного анализа и предлагаемые практические рекомендации будут полезны преподавателям тех университетов, где осуществление программ интернационализации сопряжено с аналогичными трудностями исторического и культурного характера.

Ключевые слова: интернационализация высшего образования, курсы повышения квалификации, педагогический университет, академическая грамотность.

Introduction

Since the turn of the 21st century, there has been a growing trend towards the internationalization of higher education (HE) institutions

worldwide. This “pedagogical revolution” [Rubio-Cuenca, Perea-Barbera, 2021, p. 144] has also affected some Russian universities [Belyaeva, Kuznetsova, 2018; Volchenkova, Kravtsova, 2021; Abramova, Ananyina, 2018]. Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia is no exception. For over a decade, it has been pursuing a policy aimed at the internationalization of higher education, the multi-level in-service teacher professional development (TPD) programme playing a significant role in its implementation. This programme was designed to train faculty in the language and pedagogical skills that would allow them to work and communicate in the international academic community competently. It comprises modules on General English, English for Academic Purposes, and modules aimed at English medium instruction (EMI) methodology.

This research is based on the data collected through semi-structured interviews with EL (English language) instructors who conduct the TPD courses. It summarizes their observations and provides an overview of the challenges the trainees enrolled in the programme face. We will try to identify these challenges, consider the areas where they manifest themselves most clearly, and establish their causes and connection with a pedagogical university’s specifics. In addition, some tentative suggestions will be made on improving the curriculum of this and similar university programmes to truly fulfil the mission of HE internationalization.

Methodology and results

Six EL instructors who have been providing training for the course participants over two to eight years were asked to participate in a semi-structured interview that was inspired by and partly adapted from [Volchenkova, Kravtsova, 2021]. It explored the trainers’ reflections on the problems they faced when delivering the course and the possible ways to tackle them. Below is an overview of the results obtained.

When do programme participants experience difficulties?

- a. When writing their abstracts and articles, most programme participants feel quite helpless as they try to find appropriate English equivalents for the Russian terms and discipline-specific vocabulary. They also struggle to write texts that comply with rhetorical, linguistic and publication conventions adopted in the international academic community.
- b. When preparing presentation texts and lecture notes, the lack of English terminology is also a problem. This difficulty is widespread among those who teach the humanities or methodology of teaching various subjects.

- c. When giving talks or mini-lectures, content teachers face linguistic challenges and difficulties in adhering to an EMI-appropriate lecturing style.

The most severe linguistic problems are those hindering the audience's understanding. They are:

- mistakes in pronunciation, especially of keywords and terms;
- lack of general and subject-specific vocabulary and lexical errors (word choice, collocability, etc.)

As for the style of lecturing, in most cases, it is difficult for the programme participants to switch from the traditional authoritarian and patronizing style, so typical of our educational institutions, to a more interactive, student-centred style adopted in the international academia.

The table below summarizes the problems so far considered.

Table 1. Challenges faced by the programme participants at different stages of completing the course assignments

Academic writing	Complying with the international rhetoric, linguistic and publication conventions. Finding appropriate English terms
Developing academic presentations and lecture courses	Academic and general vocabulary. Finding appropriate English terms
Delivering academic presentations and mini-lectures	Structuring (coherence; discourse markers, signposting etc.). Applying active teaching techniques. Pronunciation, especially of key words and terms

It may be assumed that these problems are to be ascribed to the lack of knowledge and skills in the following three areas:

- EL proficiency;
- academic literacy;
- disciplinary literacy.

In terms of language proficiency, the challenges faced by the programme participants are quite understandable given the fact that the average level of English of the teachers enrolled in the course is B1. In contrast, the issue of low academic and disciplinary literacy needs clarification since course participants are generally professors and associate professors with a high level of expertise in the subjects they teach. Thus, we have to

consider what these two types of literacy imply and what features they have when regarded in the context of Russian pedagogical HE.

Academic literacy

Academic literacy is generally understood as the ability to “communicate competently in an academic discourse community” [Wingate, 2016, p. 2]. This includes academic writing and academic reading, presentation skills, discussion skills, etc. [Korotkina, 2011, p. 89]. As mentioned above, scholarly communication practices that have developed in recent decades in international academia differ significantly from those traditional in Russian universities. It means that to be able “to communicate competently” in the international academic discourse community, Russian academics have to acquire practically unfamiliar skills. Shifting to this new manner of writing and teaching is a time- and effort-consuming process, which involves, to a certain extent redefining one’s ideology and values. Unsurprisingly, this is not easy for the TPD participants.

Difficult as it may be, the trainees are usually very enthusiastic about writing texts for publication in international journals. They study editors and referees’ recommendations, read and analyze sample texts, thus acquiring knowledge of the structure and style of English-language academic publications, and write a text (an article or an abstract) on their research topic. However, there is no guarantee that this text, which is generally quite acceptable in terms of structure and style, will be understood by international readers since the acquired skills in structuring and stylistics do not compensate for the lack of English discipline-related vocabulary. This issue will be discussed below when considering disciplinary literacy.

The situation gets even more complicated when it comes to developing lecture courses and conducting microteaching sessions, i. e., presenting parts of prepared lectures in the classroom. Not only do course participants find switching to the student-centred interactive manner of teaching challenging, but they also show resistance to it, arguing that implementing active learning techniques will “spoil” students. However, domestic and international studies have revealed that when instruction is conducted through a foreign language, the more interactional features the lectures contain, the more accessible their content is to the audience [Suviniitty, 2013, p. 188; Belyaeva, Kuznetsova, 2018; Morell, 2020]. Moreover, it has been shown that “student-centred lecturing is, in fact, a much more important factor in the success of a lecture than the lecturer’s language competence” [Morell, Volchenkova, 2021].

Another manifestation of the trainees' adherence to traditional lecturing style and the "lack of care" for students is that they tend to underestimate the importance of techniques to create well-structured, clear, and comprehensible oral discourse. Their lectures and presentations often lack logic, coherence, and cohesion, while researchers claim that when a foreign language is used as an instruction tool, learning outcomes depend to a great extent on lecture structuring [Morell, 2018; Volchenkova, Kravtsova, 2021, p. 201]. One more factor that complicates the comprehension of lectures presented by the trainees is their speech itself, which abounds with long, syntactically overly complicated sentences and quasi-scientific vocabulary. Such "bookish" speech is difficult for the audience to comprehend and for the lecturers themselves to produce since they are forced to read the text of the lecture aloud rather than tell it. This is not the best of lecturing strategies as "spontaneous spoken language is easier for the audience to comprehend than written text read aloud" [Chafe, 2006], and the texts which were written to be read are the most difficult to understand when read aloud [Chafe, 2006; Suvinnitty, 2013, p. 24]. Furthermore, opting for the "reading-aloud style," lecturers are likely to make more pronunciation mistakes than there would be if they chose a more conversational style of lecturing.

Disciplinary literacy

"Disciplinary literacy refers to the ability to appropriately participate in the communicative practices of a discipline" [Airey et al., 2017]. It goes far beyond familiarity with the terminology of a subject area — it rather implies, as [Rainey, Moje, 2012] put it, "the shared ways of reading, writing, thinking, and reasoning within academic fields." They also wrote:

"Each discipline has unique ways of asking questions and solving problems. Similarly, each discipline has unique expectations for the types of claims made and how those claims are supported. These differences play out in how texts are written and in the demands those texts place on the readers. For these reasons, we can say that each discipline has its discourse community, a shared way of using language and constructing knowledge" [Rainey, Moje, 2012].

Consequently, disciplinary literacy includes quite a several aspects, and the most obvious of them are the following:

- the ability to produce oral and written texts using technical and non-technical vocabulary, syntactical constructions and stylistic devices in a discipline-specific manner;

- knowledge of the terminology of this discipline;
- understanding how the knowledge system of this discipline is constructed: what its key concepts are and how they relate to each other;
- awareness of the range of problems that are in the focus of today's research in this area, of what discussions are underway to solve them, what the results obtained are and how these results are interpreted.

In the field of disciplinary literacy — in all the aspects listed above — the course participants have the most substantial gaps. We found out that the lack of discipline-specific terminology generally signals a much deeper problem than it might seem and is much more challenging to solve. In many cases, the trainees have a very vague idea of how their subject area is represented in the international research. That is why it is not uncommon that they fail to find English equivalents of the Russian terms they require because the concepts they are trying to denote what does not exist in the international discourse of the corresponding disciplinary community. It became evident that despite being experts in their subject areas, many course participants are far from being well informed about how these areas are represented in the scholarly research beyond the boundaries of Russian disciplinary communities. Thus, gaps in disciplinary knowledge lead to terminological and lexical errors in oral and written texts generated by the teachers. Besides, they impoverish these texts content-wise, reducing their quality and value for domestic and international audiences. For this reason, not once have the EL instructors had to help the trainees find literature in English that would familiarize them with the global research underway in their disciplinary fields.

Discussion

Challenges faced by the trainees at Herzen University are not uncommon. To a great extent, they are shared by teachers enrolled in internationalization TPD programmes at other universities worldwide. For example, lack of EL proficiency has been constantly reported as one of the main difficulties programme participants encounter from Russia, Brazil, Finland, Spain, Italy and other countries [Martinez, Fernandes, 2020; Rubio-Cuenca, Perea-Barbera, 2021, etc.]. Research suggests that linguistic problems can be mitigated by embedding General English and EAP modules in the internationalization curriculum [Schmidt-Unterberger, 2018], and teaching the trainees to rely more on active learning techniques and

student-centred methodology [Morell, Volchenkova, 2021]. Both these strategies have proved to work well for Herzen TPD programme.

Some studies show that academic literacy may be a challenge as well. [Contero, Zayas, Tirado, 2018] reported that more than half of EMI lecturers do not adapt their lessons to involve students more and tend to translate their existing material from their native language merely. A similar situation has been observed by Russian teacher trainers, who note that course participants tend to be reluctant to change their style of teaching, resist to “active learning techniques and student-centred approach” [Volchenkova, Kravtsova, 2021, p. 185; Abramova, Ananyina, 2018, p. 91] and “still believe that EMI is just a matter of translating their course materials and slides from Russian into English and then delivering their courses in a teacher-led style” [Belyaeva, Kuznetsova, 2018, p. 436].

Herzen EL instructors working on the programme concluded that one way to enhance academic literacy is to apply a blended approach to learning. That is why the syllabus includes various online activities built around lectures uploaded on the internet by world-renowned universities. After completing the assignments, the trainees come to class ready and willing to share their impressions while participating in group discussions. This strategy has proved to be highly beneficial. It motivates the trainees to re-evaluate their attitudes towards student-centred lecture style and inspires them to incorporate interactive teaching methods into their classes.

Another factor facilitating the change in the trainees’ lecturing style is the exposure to a variety of teacher-student and student-student forms of interaction they engage in while doing the course. Pair and group work, discussions, debating and other types of collaborative activities, which are usual in EL instruction but not so common in teaching other subjects, are adopted and enthusiastically applied by the trainees in their classrooms.

Disciplinary literacy seems less of a problem for trainees at other HE institutions. Although some studies claim that teachers participating in internationalization TPD courses, especially those preparing to start EMI, “may feel apprehensive about their ... pronunciation of advanced field-specific terminology” [Tuomainen, 2018, p. 236], on the whole, lack of disciplinary literacy has not been cited as a significant impediment to student achievement in the programme. On the contrary, E. Belyaeva and L. Kuznetsova pointed out that subject-specific vocabulary does not seem to be a problem for the trainees enrolled in an EMI programme at St Petersburg University [Belyaeva, Kuznetsova, 2018]. In this respect, Herzen trainees stand out primarily for the reason explained below.

The lack of disciplinary literacy required in internationalization is quite understandable: there are significant differences in how knowledge

systems are structured in Russian and international science in many disciplines. This is especially true of the humanities and social sciences, which in Russia, as it is well known, were developing in isolation from world science for a long time. As for the main issues of interest to Herzen University trainees — teaching methods and educational research in general, these differences are especially significant. As I. Korotkina noted,

“Educational research is probably the most problematic research area in Russia because pedagogy was culturally and ideologically isolated from the global mainstream in the Soviet period, which resulted in methodological and terminological differences that impede international communication in the field” [Korotkina, 2018, p. 310].

In the context of internationalization, a competent university teacher must navigate both the Russian and international systems of disciplinary knowledge. They should also be able to compare these systems and find ways to communicate their knowledge to other discourse community participants within each of them. This means that for the trainees, the task of presenting research results to an international audience or developing and presenting their lecture courses in English is by no means limited to finding appropriate English terms and writing an accurate translation of their Russian-language materials.

That is a highly challenging task both for the trainees and the trainers. Not being experts in their trainees’ areas, the EL teachers working on the programme can hardly help the content teachers in discipline-related matters. However, there are ways to boost disciplinary literacy. For example, Herzen EL teachers have started implementing techniques to increase the trainees’ exposure to disciplinary reading. For this purpose, they allocate time for individual and group sessions where the participants give presentations on the research papers they have read and intend to use as material for their prospective lecture courses. Ideally, EL instructors should also be able to teach the course participants how to use the existing linguistic corpora and create personalized ones to acquire the necessary disciplinary-specific language skills.

Table 2. Recommendations on enhancing academic and disciplinary literacy

Academic literacy	Disciplinary literacy
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • activities built around lectures uploaded on the internet by world-renowned universities; • exposure to a variety of teacher-student and student-student forms of interaction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • individual and group sessions where the participants give presentations on research papers they have read in English; • teaching how to use the existing and create personalized linguistic corpora

Before proceeding to the conclusions, we would like to summarise the teaching techniques described above, which the trainers could use to help the trainees meet the challenges caused by the gaps in academic and disciplinary literacy.

Conclusions

In line with international research findings, our study has revealed that the most significant challenges the trainees participating in the internationalization programme face are insufficient English language proficiency, lack of academic writing and lecturing skills, and gaps in knowledge of keywords and terms in their disciplinary area. However, concerning the latter, in the case of Herzen Pedagogical University, the lack of disciplinary terminology signals a more serious problem — that of the lack of disciplinary literacy in general. It may be assumed that this peculiarity should be attributed to the fact that pedagogical disciplines and the humanities prevailing in the university curriculum have experienced a long period of cultural and ideological isolation from global scholarly research. Rooted in the traditions of the previous decades, the content teachers find it difficult to broaden their disciplinary horizons and struggle to complete course assignments. The trainers consider the best strategy in facilitating this complex process to allocate as much time as possible for the tasks built around each trainee's disciplinary reading. Generally, the course participants are asked to present the research papers that they read in English and intend to use as material for the lecture courses they design.

Adherence to traditions might also pose a barrier to academic skills acquisition, especially in what concerns academic lecturing. However, the EL instructors reported that by the end of the course, the resistance of the trainees to interactive student-centred lecturing style in most cases gave way to the acceptance of this approach. They attributed it to the constant exposure of the trainees to a variety of interactive activities they are involved in while doing this course, especially to those based on watching lectures delivered by the world's best university lecturers.

We admit that this study has its obvious limitations: the small number of teacher trainers interviewed. Another one is the limited academic context of the investigation — we have only looked into the challenges and achievements of the internationalization TPD programme in one Russian university, which is not enough for broad generalizations. Nevertheless, we hope that the strategies used by Herzen university EL instructors to minimize the problems of the trainees might be applied for this purpose elsewhere. Moreover, we believe that our findings will draw attention to

the disciplinary and culture-related differences that should be considered when designing and implementing internationalization TPD curricula at HE institutions of various disciplinary profiles.

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INTERPRETATION POTENTIAL OF THE ENGLISH
LEXEME *UPPER CLASS*

The function of interpretation is one of the main functions performed by the language. Secondary interpretation is directed at already existing collective knowledge of categories and results in new knowledge of objects and events of the world. It can take place at different levels of the language. A promising direction of research is identifying secondary meanings at the lexical level. Of particular interest and relevance is the study of the interpretation potential of English lexemes denoting classes of society. The paper aims to identify the secondary meanings that the lexeme *upper class* can activate in evaluative contexts. Collectively the secondary meanings make up the lexeme's interpretation potential. The study is based on the hypothesis that the concepts of social classes can contain in their structure semantic elements similar with or identical to the elements pertaining to the cognitive domain "Qualities of People". The analysis is performed within the framework of cognitive linguistics using data from three English language corpora and complemented by the analysis of lexicographic sources. The data analyzed include over 1,200 examples containing the lexeme in question. The data show the activation in the context of a wide range of different secondary meanings including *privileged, exclusive, eccentric, idle, refined, snobbish, condescending, arrogant, untrustworthy, extravagant* and others. In an overwhelming majority of contexts, a negative evaluation accompanies the characterization of the upper class. The secondary meanings of the lexeme can be activated by single words, phrases or whole sentences.

Keywords: interpretation potential, secondary interpretation, secondary meaning, characteristic, connotative component, evaluative context, cognitive domain, corpus analysis.

А. Г. Минченков

ИНТЕРПРЕТАЦИОННЫЙ ПОТЕНЦИАЛ
АНГЛИЙСКОЙ ЛЕКСЕМЫ *UPPER CLASS*

Цель статьи состоит в выявлении вторичных смыслов, которые английская лексема *upper class* способна актуализировать в оценочных контекстах. В совокупности вторичные смыслы составляют интерпретационный потенциал лексемы, понимаемый как способность лексемы выражать смыслы для описания другой когнитивной области. Основной метод, применяемый в исследовании, — корпусный анализ. Анализ проводится с использованием данных трех корпусов английского языка и дополняется анализом лексикографических источников. Данные,

собранные в процессе анализа корпусов, показывают актуализацию в контексте широкого набора различных вторичных смыслов, включая *privileged, exclusive, eccentric, idle, refined, snobbish, condescending, arrogant, untrustworthy, extravagant* и другие. В подавляющем большинстве контекстов актуализация вторичных смыслов сопровождается негативной оценкой. Вторичные смыслы данной леммы могут актуализироваться отдельными словами, словосочетаниями или целыми предложениями.

Ключевые слова: интерпретационный потенциал, вторичная интерпретация, вторичный смысл, признак, коннотативный компонент, оценочный контекст, когнитивная область, корпусный анализ.

Introduction

The analysis of language units, functions, and categories allows one to claim that the language performs the cognitive and communicative functions and the function of interpretation [IW, 2017, p. 33]. Human beings interact with the world around them and, as it were, pass the accumulated knowledge through the prism of their perception of the world, “the prism of opinions and judgements, thus interpreting the knowledge acquired and creating secondary meanings” [IW, 2017, p. 274]. According to N. Boldyrev, interpretation, on the one hand, is based on the existing collective knowledge and, on the other hand, on the individual conceptual system [Boldyrev, 2012]. Linguists identify primary and secondary interpretations. Secondary interpretation is directed at existing collective knowledge of categories and results in a new understanding of objects and events of the world, which is often evaluative. Lexemes acquire secondary meanings and are used in different cognitive domains based on the similarities between the cognitive domains in terms of their organisation. In secondary interpretation, the interpreter’s role is to identify specific new characteristics of objects, phenomena, and world events [IW, 2017, p. 26–32].

Secondary interpretation can take place at different levels of the language. A promising direction of research is identifying secondary meanings at the lexical level. Of particular interest and relevance is the study of the interpretation potential of English lexemes denoting classes of society. Following E. Chistyakova, the interpretation potential is understood here as the capacity of lexemes “to express meanings to describe other cognitive domains” [IW, 2017, p. 276]. The interpretation potential of a lexeme includes secondary semantic characteristics that this lexeme has acquired in its historical development and make up the connotative component of its meaning instead of the denotative part. Secondary characteristics are typically activated, and can thus be revealed, only in interpretative, evalu-

ative contexts [IW, 2017, p. 31], where the focus is not the denotative component, but “information showing the author’s attitude to what is being expressed” [Teliya, 1986, p. 18]. The interpretation potential of lexemes in a particular language is culture-specific. O. Kornilov attributes this to the freedom of “national associative thinking” [Kornilov, 2003, p. 236]. The connotative component of a lexeme’s meaning is often due to cultural and historical realities [Kornilov, p. 246]. A particular feature or feature that becomes the object of evaluation reflects specific cultural values comparable to a standard. As the standard changes with time, so do the cultural values, and, consequently, the connotative component of the meaning of culture-specific lexemes also tends to change [Teliya, 1996].

Our study was initially based on the hypothesis that social classes’ concepts can contain semantic elements similar to or identical to the details about the cognitive domain “Qualities of People”. In the first stage, the study focused on the interpretation potential of the lexeme *middle class*. The analysis performed fully confirmed the hypothesis [Minchenkov, 2021]. This paper presents the results of the second stage, which was to explore the interpretation potential of the lexeme *upper class*. The primary method adopted in the research is corpus analysis. All in all, three corpora were used — the Collins Cobuild WordBank (CCWB), the British National Corpus (BNC) and the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA). The study also utilised data from monolingual dictionaries of the English language.

Upper class lexeme: origin and meaning

It is believed that the names of social classes are lexemes that initially, at the stage of primary nomination, were not associated with evaluation or emotions. According to Etymonline, the term *class* ‘a division of society according to status’ dates from 1763 [Online Etymology Dictionary]. At approximately the same time, the lexeme *upper class* began to be used, and the frequency of its use reached its peak in the late 19th — early 20th century [Collins Online Dictionary]. Since the second half of the 18th century was when aristocratic oligarchy dominated the political scene in Britain, the term *upper class* was initially associated with the aristocracy or noble classes [Online Etymology Dictionary]. In 1836, the lexeme *upper crust*, which initially referred to the top crust of a loaf of bread, began to be used as a synonym of *upper class* [Online Etymology Dictionary].

In the course of the historical development of British society and the societies of other English-speaking countries, particularly the United States, the aristocracy lost its dominant role. The structure and compo-

sition of the upper class changed, leading to changes in the *upper class* concept. Modern dictionaries of the English Language give the following definitions of the *upper class*: *the group of people in a society who own the most property and have the highest social status, and who may not need to work for money* [CALD]; *the highest social class, a small social class whose members often have noble titles (in Britain and some other European countries), own a great deal of land, and are usually thought of as being very rich* [ELC]; *the class occupying the highest position in the social hierarchy, incredibly the wealthy and the aristocracy* [CED], *the group of people in a society that are considered to have the highest social status and that have more money and power than other people, the upper class is sometimes used to refer just to the aristocracy but is often used with a broader meaning including the gentry and sometimes also business and professional people with enough money to buy the property, education and culture* [Oxford]. As can be seen, the above definitions are not evaluative. Taken together, the data from the dictionaries show that the *upper class* lexeme has a meaning whose denotative component does not contain evaluation. Dictionaries allow one to identify only the core elements that constitute the meaning of the lexeme in question, the namely *highest status, wealth, social superiority*, and some additional non-evaluative characteristics, such as *leisured, noble, landed property, culture, power*, which are not activated in all contexts.

Identifying the secondary meanings of the *upper class* lexeme proved to be a challenging task, one that could not be fulfilled through dictionary analysis because of the minimal amount of relevant data. It should be noted that the dictionary data and many of the examples found in the English language corpora mentioned above illustrate the use of the lexeme in its denotative meaning in non-evaluative contexts. *Upper class* functions in these examples either as a compound singular or plural noun or as an attribute in combination with another noun. The models found included such combinations as *upper class families, upper class backgrounds, upper class people, upper class neighbourhoods, upper class areas, upper class women, upper class men*, in each of which the lexeme denoted only the belonging to a particular social group with its characteristic status, income, living conditions, etc. However, the study also revealed other examples, ones that demonstrate that the *upper class* has an appreciable interpretation potential. Predictably, these are examples where the lexemes *upper class* and *upper crust* are used in evaluative contexts. The most significant number of these kinds of models was found in COCA.

Upper class lexeme: secondary meanings

Based on the data collected from the three corpora (the total number of all examples found — 11 in CCWB, 167 in BNC and 1028 in COCA), let us examine the characteristics of the lexeme *upper class* can activate in evaluative contexts. As mentioned before, these characteristics are semantic elements that, on the one hand, are part of the cognitive domain “Qualities of People” and, on the other hand, constitute the connotative component of the meaning of the lexeme in question. One of the most frequently activated characteristics is *privileged*. There are examples in which this characteristic is explicitly denoted by the word *privilege* or *confidential*: *privileged upper crust* [CCWB]; *privileged because she is upper class*; *upper class acted to lock in its privileges*; *upper class with rights and privileges not afforded the common riffraff* [COCA]. In other examples, the characteristic is activated by descriptive phrases: *upper class have had everything too good for too long* [COCA], *upper class people are business-minded, and business normally wants...special favors* [CCWB]. The analysis reveals that a whole sentence can also activate *privileged*. One such example shows that the members of this class are given privileges and advantages at birth: *an upper class white male born with a silver spoon in your mouth, wealth is given to you at birth* [COCA]. Another one contains an opinion that wealth gives those who have it an opportunity to receive a better education and live a sheltered life: *upper class that used wealth to buy education and quiet* [COCA]. An unfavourable evaluation always accompanies the activation of the characteristic *privileged*.

Another essential characteristic of the upper class lexeme frequently activated in evaluative contexts is *exclusive*. Like *privileged*, this characteristic can be named explicitly by the adjective *exclusive* [BNC]. In other examples, it is activated by phrases or phrasal verbs that denote a high degree of exclusiveness about the different classes in society; for instance, *upper class enjoys a high degree of social closure relative to classes below* [BNC], *the new upper class has become sealed off from the rest of America* [COCA]. Longer phrases and whole sentences can also activate the characteristic. For example, in *private boxes reserved for the upper crust* [COCA] or in *upper crust men drifted into marriage within their own tight circle* [CCWB]. *Exclusive*, like *privileged*, carries with it a negative evaluation.

Some of the characteristics activated in evaluative contexts are conceptually linked to the non-evaluative core, and additional attributes of the *upper class* were identified earlier based on dictionaries' data. For instance, the activation of the characteristic *wealth* or the conceptually similar distinctive *rich* can be accompanied by a negative evaluation, when the

concepts *disgust* or *annoyance* are evoked at the same time, which means that the excessive, from the point of view of the speaker/writer, a wealth of a member of the upper classes annoys or disgusts them. The following examples illustrate this: *the upper class keeps all the money, a fat bank account, nauseating wealth* [COCA]. Closely connected with wealth that annoys is the characteristic *extravagance*, which is also activated in several examples showing a negative evaluation: *the British upper crust who paid 200 pounds a head for salmon mousse and champagne; the nation's upper crust departing on luxurious cruises; the endless appetite of its upper class for conspicuous consumption* [COCA]. The latter characteristic can also be explicitly expressed by the adjective *extravagant*: *the upper class is extravagant and irresponsible* [COCA].

The previously identified characteristic *leisured* can be activated as *idle* in negatively evaluative contexts. In other words, belonging to the upper classes can be associated with idleness and the possibility of not working because others are working for you. This characteristic is activated, for instance, in the analysis of the following examples: *people who do not have to work for a living* [CCWB], *the upper class who spent their lives in leisure, in idleness* [BNC]; *the upper class can afford never to work; upper class parasites* [COCA].

Another essential characteristic that is revealed in the analysis of the corpus data can be described as *untrustworthy*. From the point of view of many ordinary people, one cannot trust members of the upper class as they tend to deceive and fraud. The examples found show a wide range of different kinds of deception and fraud, among them false politeness disguising an attitude that is negative and condescending, a downright lie, dishonest or illegal activities, or tax evasion: *superficial impression of warmth and worldliness — typical of upper crust* [BNC]; *evasion schemes and downright lying by upper class; upper class ... pays none of the taxes; people in the upper crust may be more likely to engage in lying, cheating; the upper crust does shady deeds; a world of upper class double-dealing* [COCA].

At the same time, many members of the other classes think that the wealthy elite often do not even care to hide their contempt for them and show their superiority and condescending attitude towards those they consider to be of a lower status. Examples that illustrate this activate the characteristics *snobbish*, *arrogant* or *condescending*: *snobby upper class Oxford accent; air of superiority, condescending manner and sense of entitlement; upper class with a sense of self-importance; caddish upper class fellow; upper class characters are thoroughly unlikeable in their air of superiority; because he had his cockney accent the upper crust would not hire him; upper class gentlemen not only rejected the working class as equals, but as fellow men* [COCA].

It is worthy of note that the corpus analysis allowed us to find examples activating a characteristic that we described as *eccentric*. Ordinary people see the behaviour of some members of the upper class as unusual, odd, peculiar or indeed wild. Interestingly, some have long believed that eccentricity to be a typical feature of the British aristocracy. The data show that this characteristic can still be associated with the upper classes: *the English upper class is so famously odd; people who do not have to work for a living ... can indulge themselves in ... peculiarities of behaviour [CCWB]; acts that were wild or eccentric ... would always intrigue the English upper class [BNC]. As seen in the examples, the activation of this characteristic is typically accompanied by negative evaluation.*

Another characteristic that has been identified is *refined*, conceptually linked to *culture* identified earlier based on the dictionary analysis. It can imply refinement of different kinds — accent, manners or clothes. As is the case with the other characteristics, this one can be activated directly by the adjective *refined* or the noun *refinement*: *people like herself — upper class and of obvious refinement [BNC], or evoked in the analysis of a broader context — phrases or sentences: received upper class English pronunciation; upper class accent [BNC]; the English accent was so upper crust; dressed in an upper class fashion and with mannerisms to match; courtly, elegantly dressed, they are clearly of the upper crust [COCA]. It is worth noting that the evaluation that accompanies this characteristic is often unfavourable (e. g., hatred... for anybody with an upper class accent [CCWB]) but can also be positive.*

A few more secondary meanings of the lexeme were revealed in the analysis, but they were expressed in only a few examples. These include *not common*, *loving power*, *silly* and *moralistic*.

Conclusions

The study has confirmed that the lexeme *upper class* has an appreciable interpretation potential revealed in evaluative contexts, which are often also emotive. Data collected in the corpora analysis show the activation in the context of a wide range of different secondary meanings, including *privileged*, *exclusive*, *eccentric*, *idle*, *refined*, *snobbish*, *condescending*, *arrogant*, *untrustworthy*, *extravagant*, *not common*, *loving power*, *silly* and *moralistic*. In an overwhelming majority of contexts, the characterisation of the upper class is accompanied by a negative evaluation. Positive evaluation can sometimes accompany only the activation of the characteristic *refined*. Because of the negative assessment, sentences containing the *upper class* lexeme often also evoke negative emotive concepts associated

with the upper class: *annoyance, disgust, anger, indignation, and hatred*. Words, phrases or whole sentences can activate the secondary meanings of the *upper class* lexeme. Finally, the study has demonstrated that neutral characteristics that constitute the meaning of a lexeme out of context can activate themselves in negative contexts with added negative meaning and thus effectively transform into negative traits.

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“NEW” GESTURES OF GREETING ACROSS THE GLOBE DURING THE PANDEMIC OF THE COVID-19

With much research conducted on new words related to the COVID-19, shifts in nonverbal communication inflicted by the coronavirus infection received very little scientific attention. The paper is devoted to current trends in non-verbal behaviour and analyzes new gestures of saying hello and goodbye that have come into use during the pandemic across the globe. The purpose of the research is to identify new behavioural patterns and the influence of pandemics on human communication. The objectives are: to determine what greeting gestures have been adopted as alternatives to traditional ones; to classify them on the basis of several criteria. The hypothesis is that the COVID-19 etiquette calls for new safer gestures requiring minimum or no close physical contact between communicators. When needed such gestures may be created by a society or borrowed from other cultures. The research is based on twelve online mass media articles devoted to the new covid etiquette, history of gestures, and two articles on medicine related to gestures and infection transmission. Methods include a partial selection of gestures with their further description, classification, and analysis. The study has identified nine widespread alternative gestures, with only one artificially created. Most cultures prefer using already existing gestures, so the other eight are borrowings either from other cultures or the peripheral areas of nonverbal signs within a given culture. All nine gestures require minimum contact during communication providing a healthy alternative during the pandemic.

Keywords: COVID-19, coronavirus, covid etiquette, etiquette, greeting gestures, nonverbal communication, etiquette.

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«НОВЫЕ» ЖЕСТЫ ПРИВЕТСТВИЯ И ПРОЩАНИЯ В РАЗНЫХ СТРАНАХ В ЭПОХУ ПАНДЕМИИ COVID-19

В статье анализируются жесты приветствия и прощания, рекомендованные как альтернатива традиционным рукопожатиям, поцелуям, объятиям в разных культурах и странах с начала пандемии COVID-19 в разных странах мира. Материалом для исследования послужили российские и иноязычные статьи в СМИ, посвященные вопросам нового ковид-этикета, фото- и видеоматериалы из сети Интернет, а также медицинские статьи. Цель исследования состояла в том, чтобы 1) выявить, какие именно жесты были рекомендованы и используются в качестве альтер-

нативы в определенной стране; 2) классифицировать жесты по признаку: а) новый; б) уже существующий; 3) для уже существующих жестов определить, является ли жест а) традиционным для данной культуры; б) частично освоенным данной культурой или в) новым заимствованием для данной культуры. В рамках исследования был выявлен один специально придуманный жест — уханское приветствие, созданный специально для уменьшения риска заболеть коронавирусом. Для существующих жестов было установлено, что большинство культур предпочли исконные и частично освоенные жесты в качестве альтернативных (брофист, удар локтями, эйвала и др.). В статье также выдвигается гипотеза о причинах, препятствующих широкому распространению новых жестов приветствия и прощания, которые отвечают нормам нового ковид-этикета.

Ключевые слова: жесты приветствия, COVID-19, коронавирус, ковид-этикет, невербальная коммуникация, пандемия, этикет.

Introduction

For about two years, humanity has been going through the COVID-19 pandemic, which has drastically changed life on the planet and given us several new words connected to the coronavirus and measures of protection against it, such as *covidiot*, *covideo party*, *WFH* (working from home), *covexit*, etc. Such neologisms have immediately become the study subject for many researchers worldwide. Nevertheless, we see little research on nonverbal communication and its changes during the pandemic.

The paper aims at filling this gap and analysing alternative gestures of saying hello and goodbye, which have been recommended instead of traditional ones across the globe during the pandemic.

This group of gestures has been chosen intentionally. During the pandemic, common gestures used for greeting and saying goodbye in many countries, such as a **handshake**, a **kiss on the cheek**, sometimes performed twice or thrice, and a **hug**, have been damaged more than others, as they require a close physical contact between communicators, which increases the risk of getting infected with COVID-19. That is why soon after the global spread of the coronavirus, many medical and governmental institutions, mass media and public figures, for example, Dr. Sylvie Briand, director of the Global Infectious Hazard Preparedness department at the World Health Organization, started calling for the use of new safer gestures that can decrease the risk of contracting COVID-19 [Fitzgerald, 2020].

Methods and material

The goals of the study were 1) to determine which greeting gestures have been recommended and come in mass use as a safer alternative to traditional ones globally; 2) classify these gestures based on the criterion of newness into new (artificially created during the pandemic) gestures and already existing ones; 3) to classify already existing gestures into sub-categories: a) traditional for a given culture, b) partially assimilated in a given culture or c) new borrowings.

The research is based on the Russian and foreign mass media articles devoted to various issues of new covid etiquette, photos and video on the internet and reports on medicine. With this aim, we have selected the nine most popular alternative gestures for saying hello and goodbye, now extensively used across the globe.

Results

According to 'newness', all alternative gestures were divided into two groups: 1) new, or intentionally created, during the pandemic, and 2) old or already existing ones. The first group comprises only one gesture, while the second has the remaining eight.

We suggest naming these new gestures created during the pandemic to decrease the risk of contamination *gestural neologisms*. The study has identified only one gestural neologism: the **Wuhan shake** or **greeting**, also called **foot shake**.

The Wuhan shake is a greeting performed by tapping the inner part of the foot of one communicator against the foot of the other communicator crosswise. Ironically it originated in Wuhan, where the first cases of the coronavirus were reported. The Wuhan shake kicked off in March of 2020 after videos of the new greeting were posted online and immediately went viral across the globe [Dally-Steele, Terry, 2020]. In 2020 Tanzania's President John Magufuli tapped feet with the opposition party Maalim Seif Sharif Hamad. Mohammed Barkindo, secretary-general of OPEC, shook the foot with Russian Energy Minister Alexander Novak.

Although other high-profile figures have used it at international conferences and summits, the Wuhan shake is less popular than other alternative greetings. Despite ample press coverage, it has not become routine or even widely practised in other parts of China or globally. Firstly, it is an artificially created gesture. Even in China, it has few chances to become customary. The Chinese have a well-developed system of national bows that can easily substitute any greeting requiring close physical contact be-

tween communicators. Secondly, humanity has very few gestures involving the use of feet. In physiology, we need legs and feet to move or stand; thus, using them for gesticulation is not reasonable. Finally, the foot shake evolved as a light-hearted mimicry of a social interaction now forbidden by social distancing and is unlikely to stay when the pandemic is over.

Gestures of the second group, which comprises gestures that already exist in a given culture, were further subdivided into subcategories based on the criterion of assimilation of a gesture by culture: a) traditional for a given culture, b) partially assimilated in a given culture or c) new borrowings.

The first subgroup includes traditional gestures assimilated by a given culture a long time ago. The group has four gestures that will be described below.

Eyvallah is a traditional greeting of the Ottoman Empire. The word “eyvallah” has Arabic roots and means “we entrust God”. Though it can vary slightly from country to country, the greeting is also used in many Muslim states.

In general, all Turkish greetings reflect the country’s Islamic heritage, hospitable culture, and elders’ social role. Young people clasp the hand of an elder relative, kiss it and then touch it to their forehead, particularly during holidays. In the wake of COVID-19, Turks turned to their history to find a pandemic-friendly greeting that preserves the values of their culture.

The eyvallah is a centuries-old gesture used by the Ottomans that is performed by placing the right hand over the heart and making a slight bow. In all Arab cultures, the right hand is reserved for eating meals and greeting people, which follows in the tradition of the Prophet Muhammad, who favoured his right hand for such actions. The left hand is considered the dirty one and is typically used to clean oneself after going to the bathroom. The gesture of eyvallah signifies that a person is in your heart and indicates both respect and endearment [Dally-Steele, Terry, 2020].

In Turkey, before the pandemic, the gesture was a standard cross-gender greeting within more socially conservative Turkish communities. Since 2014, after being shown in the hit Turkish historical series *Diriliş: Ertuğrul*, a show about the 13th-century leader Osman who founded the Ottoman Empire, it has enjoyed growing popularity nationwide. During the pandemic, the popularity of eyvallah soared when the Turkish president opted for it to greet world leaders at summits and meetings. For example, on March 9, 2020, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan made it to greet NATO Secretary-General Jens Stoltenberg.

Greeting with a hand wave and a slight bow. The United Arab Emirates officially recommend abandoning the use of time-honoured

Bedouin male greeting, consisting of a simultaneous touch of the communicators' noses and a handshake and customary cheek-kisses practised by women. Instead, the authorities encourage using other already existing but safer gestures. Since then, many Emirati have been replacing traditional Emirati greetings with a right-handed salute, a hand wave, and a slight bow with a hand pressed to the heart. The latter is a gesture whose form and meaning are similar to *eyvallah* [Dally-Steele, Terry, 2020]. Pressing a hand to the heart was already a standard greeting among Emirati of the opposite sex before the COVID-19 pandemic. Still, contactless same-sex greetings are a new cultural norm that Emiratis adopt.

Greeting with a hand wave has also been observed in Afghanistan due to the spread of the coronavirus. Traditional Afghan greetings, such as handshakes, hugs and kisses, express warmth, love and a fierce love of God and country. In some provinces of the country, as many as eight kisses may be given during a single greeting. Social distancing has made Afghans start using a hand wave daily; the gesture formerly used to greet someone distantly.

Zuòyī, or **the fist and palm bow**, is a traditional Chinese bow with two gender-dependent forms. The male gesture is to clench the fist of the right hand and cover it with the left hand with the arms stretched forward, accompanying it with a bow. Women cover their left fists with their right hand and bow. By combining the greeting with a bow, the gesture indicates celebration or congratulations and respect and humility. The gesture originated in China during the reign of the Zhou dynasty (21st–3rd BCE) [News of China, 2020] and since then has been in regular use on several social occasions. The most typical use of the fist and palm bow is during the Chinese wedding ceremony when husband and wife declare their commitment to each other.

After the pandemic, the gesture has been reintroduced in several Chinese schools, becoming an obligatory formal gesture for pupils greeting their teachers. It is widely practised in the city of Quzhou in the province of Zhèjiāng, which is the largest centre of Confucianism and guardian of ancient traditions in southern China. Also, in the spring of 2020, the gesture was used by a group of Communist Party members at the meeting between legislative delegates and political advisers in the city.

The second subgroup includes gestures that are partially assimilated by a given culture. They were borrowed some time ago, yet they have not become customary for most people and are used within a particular social group/groups or subculture. The research has identified two gestures of this group.

A fist bump (also known as a **bro fist** or **power five**), an American gesture, is now performed globally. To make it, communicators touch each other's fists, imitating a bump. The fist can be oriented vertically and horizontally, with the gesture performed with either hand.

The gesture is said to have a few origins. The fist bump can be traced to boxers at the boxing ring, where they used to touch gloves at the start of a competition. Some researchers trace the gesture to American baseball player Stanly Musial, who used it already in the 1950–1960s. Musial believed he was catching too many infections by picking up germs while shaking thousands of hands each year, so he adopted the fist bump as a friendly alternative. Others trace the gesture to the Wonder Twins, minor characters in the 1970s Hanna-Barbera superhero cartoon *Super Friends*, who touched knuckles and cried, “Wonder Twin powers, activate!” American NBA player Fred Carter has frequently used the gesture to greet other players in the 1970s [Kennedy, 2012].

Until recently, the fist bump had been used predominantly among athletes to express joy and unity within the team or to greet the opposing team at the beginning or end of a game. Eventually, the fist bump grew in popularity within the US Afro-American youth culture and has become widespread worldwide in recent years.

Barack and Michelle Obama famously fist-bumped when he got the Democratic presidential nomination in June 2008, making the gesture very cool in some circles, but causing outrage in others. A Fox News analyst suggested at the time that the then soon-to-be First Lady offering the fist bump to her husband was akin to a “terrorist’s fist jab” [Kennedy, 2012; Reynolds, 2020]. However, three years later, the editors of the Merriam-Webster dictionary included the fist bump as official English in 2011. In 2019, Donald Trump shared a three-fist bump with then-Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi at the G20 summit, long before the beginning of the coronavirus spread.

Before the pandemic, the fist bump was a safer alternative to a traditional handshake. In 2009, Canadian authorities recommended using it instead of a handshake during the swine flu pandemic.

In 2013, famous American magazine *The Atlantic* published an article on the hygienic advantages of the fist bump over the handshake, especially for the medical staff, who, according to the latest research, do not give enough attention to washing their hands, which, in its turn, facilitates the spread of various infections inside hospitals [Hamblin, 2013]. In 2014, Harvard University published a similar article encouraging the hospital staff to use antiseptic more frequently and substitute a handshake with a safer gesture, for example, a fist bump [LeWine, 2014]. One of the

recent medical articles of 2020 gives convincing evidence that the number of bacteria passed with a fist bump might be several times smaller than with a handshake [Jones et al., 2020].

The COVID-19 pandemic has made the fist bump an official healthy alternative to traditional gestures of greeting in several countries worldwide, as shaking hands was discouraged. There are two reasons which account for this quick success. Many world leaders have used a fist bump, including presidents of the USA, Greece, Cyprus, Kenya, France, etc. Moreover, before the pandemic, it had already found its way into many cultures via American films, cartoons, sports broadcasts and music.

An Elbow bump is another American gesture. Performing it, communicators slightly bump each other with their elbows. The gesture is believed to have originated in the 1980s among US athletes. It is sometimes assumed to be derived from the fist bump. It has been steadily growing in popularity since the 2000s when interest in this greeting was renewed during the avian flu epidemic of 2006, the 2009 swine flu pandemic, and the Ebola outbreak of 2014.

After the COVID-19 pandemic, the elbow bump has started taking off. In 2020, US Surgeon General Jerome Adams demonstrated the elbow bump to reporters, urging Americans to rethink the handshake for a while at a press conference. US Vice President Mike Pence, whom the Trump administration appointed to tackle the coronavirus outbreak, set an excellent example of the growing trend to use an elbow bump as he greeted Governor Jay Inslee in 2020. Canadian and British Prime Ministers Justin Trudeau and Boris Johnson performed an elbow bump at the 47th G7 summit in 2021. European leaders have been actively welcoming each other with elbow bumps at meetings since 2020, thus setting a behavioural pattern for their nations.

The research conducted recently showed that an elbow bump is a much healthier alternative to a handshake than a fist bump. During the pandemic, elbow bumps have been advised by the governments of several countries, for example, Great Britain, the USA, France, and Germany. Leaders of these countries and their citizens have started greeting each other with elbow bumps often [Taylor, 2021; Oaklander, 2020].

The third subgroup includes new gestures in a given culture and before the pandemic was not a part of its system of nonverbal communication. The subgroup has two gestures.

Namaste is a famous Indian-Nepalese gesture that has been adopted during the pandemic in Europe and the USA. In Sanskrit, Namaste means 'bow me you' or 'I bow to you'. In South Asian culture, it is most often used as a greeting of deep respect, reserved for elders, teachers or other hon-

ourable in various situations, including yoga practices, dances or religious rituals. Apart from being used as a greeting, it is also a part of the sixteen upacharas, or religious rites, used during formal worship in a temple or other holy place. When it comes to worshipping a deity, namaste signifies ‘greeting the God’.

The gesture is performed by pressing hands together at the chest level or higher and is accompanied by a slight bow. The position of hands in a namaste can be different, depending on the addressee of the gesture. If the gesticulator’s social status is equal or lower than that of the addressee, pressed hands to remain at the chest level, not far from the heart. If the addressee’s social status is higher or older, the palms are raised and pressed on brow level.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, many described the namaste as “virus-proof” that has gone global as several world leaders adopted it. After returning from India’s tour in February 2020, US President Donald Trump said that he did not shake any hands in India but did a namaste. Continuing the newly adopted habit of healthy greetings, Trump and the Irish Prime Minister Leo Varadkar opted for a namaste during their meeting in Washington. French president Macron folded his palms in the traditional Indian manner. It bowed slightly when he greeted Spain’s King Felipe and Queen Letizia at the Elysee Palace in Paris in March of 2020. In August of the same year, Emmanuel Macron welcomed German Chancellor Angela Merkel at his Mediterranean holiday retreat with a namaste. Likewise, in Britain, Prince Charles and his spouse Camilla use the namaste-style greeting instead of a handshake to greet their guests.

The **wai** is a Thai greeting gesture whose form, meaning and use are identical to namaste [Fitzgerald, 2020]. The wai is usually offered to those in higher social standing and is not given to a younger person except as a reply to their wai. Wai-style greetings are also used in Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia and other South Asian countries. In Indonesia, for example, the wai-style greeting is found in parts of Java and is called the *sembah*. Malaysians and people in Brunei use the gesture as a sign of gratitude.

During the pandemic, the wai, like the namaste, has gone global. At Brighton College Prep School in England, teachers asked their Thai students to teach the wai to their classmates as a safer greeting alternative.

Several countries, including Great Britain, the USA, Germany, France, and Israel, simultaneously recommended using these two Asian gestures during the pandemic [Joshi, 2020; Chang, 2020; Sridhar, 2020]. Their leaders showed an example encouraging their citizens to use safer greetings. In March of 2020, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu advocated the Indian-style salute to his people and demonstrated it at a

press conference. Even in India, where the urban population had adopted European handshakes a long time ago, similar recommendations were made by Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

However, we tend to find public recommendations to use a wai or a namaste, which are always accompanied by a bow, surprising. European culture used to have a wide range of bows, which were performed in a variety of contexts, in particular, for welcoming people and saying goodbye. Nowadays, bows are rarely made in Europe, but being traditional gestures of western culture, they would, to our mind, make a better alternative than Asian greetings. This might explain that the namaste has not been widely disseminated in western culture despite mass media propaganda.

Conclusion

During the pandemic of COVID-19, people are trying to compensate for the lack of customary greeting gestures introducing safer alternatives, which require less physical contact and immense social distance between communicators. However, these attempts have not become a common practice yet. The system of nonverbal communication is primarily out of human control, and changing once adopted patterns of behaviour and etiquette norms is very complicated [Volpe, 2020]. Humanity hopes that the current pandemic will soon be over. People will return to the pre-covid lifestyle and behavioural norms, with alternative gestures remaining strategic reserves for a new epidemic.

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CONCEPT ANALYSIS METHOD IN ESP TEACHING (the case of linguacultural concept ‘American Dream’)

Experts in the field of international relations are supposed to know the culture and values of the people they are communicating with. Therefore, teaching English for specific purposes especially in the field of international relations needs a range of different methods and approaches for the students to be proficient in the language and culture. The article demonstrates the result of conceptual analysis method applied to such socially and culturally significant texts as inaugural addresses by the presidents of the USA. This type of texts enables us to reveal and study the main characteristics of the “American Dream” concept since inaugural addresses preserve the core values of the American society. The main goal of the research is to reveal the efficiency of the conceptual analysis method for ESP teaching at the School of International Relations of St Petersburg University. The method contributes to students’ understanding of American society culture and values; fosters sociocultural competence and speaking skills; helps students to acquire the methodology of conducting concept analysis, namely generalisation, analysis, comparison, systematisation of the information. The effectiveness of this method has been confirmed when conducting practical classes for the second- and third-year students of International Relations of the B2+ level according to the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR).

Keywords: conceptual analysis, linguacultural concept, cognitive criteria, values, ideals.

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ПРИМЕНЕНИЕ МЕТОДА КОНЦЕПТУАЛЬНОГО АНАЛИЗА ПРИ ОБУЧЕНИИ ИНОСТРАННОМУ ЯЗЫКУ (на примере лингвоконцепта «American Dream»)

В статье представлен результат применения метода концептуального анализа в таких социокультурно значимых текстах как инаугурационные речи президентов США при обучении английскому языку студентов международных отношений СПбГУ. Основная цель исследования — выявить эффективность использования метода концептуального анализа при обучении профессионально ориентированному английскому языку. Данный метод анализа способствует развитию общекультурной и социокультурной компетенций, а именно формированию представле-

ния о культуре и ценностях американского сообщества, а также коммуникативной компетенции, т. е. развитию речевых навыков и умений в процессе всестороннего изучения концепта. Исследуются понятийная и ценностная составляющие концепта «American Dream» при обучении специальному английскому языку. Эффективность применения данного метода анализа доказана в ходе проведения практических занятий для студентов-международников второго и третьего курсов обучения с уровнем знания английского языка B2+ общеевропейской шкалы иноязычной коммуникативной компетенции (CEFR).

Ключевые слова: концептуальный анализ, лингвокультурный концепт, признаки концепта, ценности, идеалы.

Introduction

The main aim of university programmes in International Relations of Saint Petersburg State University is to educate highly qualified professionals, having comprehensive specialist knowledge enabling them to be proficient in foreign affairs, conduct international negotiations, and defend the interests of their country on the global political arena; this knowledge must be combined with communication skills and proficiency in several foreign languages. ESP skills form a crucial part of degree courses in International Relations and may be included in the teaching content early into the university course [Rubtsova, Dobrova, 2020].

Studying foreign languages aims to develop communicative competence. It may comprise several components, including linguistic competence, discursive competence, sociocultural competence, etc. The sociocultural component features prominently in all areas of professional activity where English is used as a communication medium. It can be construed as the unique knowledge about the target country, its history, culture, traditions, values, and political and economic life facts.

Understanding culture is essential in studying the main issues of politics, economy and security of a given country. It is hardly possible to understand the intricacies of international relations without the background knowledge of the culture and values of its people. Therefore, a specialist in international relations should have excellent communication skills and know the cultural foundations of the country and specific information allowing to conduct negotiations adequately.

Various texts are used when teaching English to the students of International Relations. For example, lectures by politicians, news coverages, documentaries, interviews with various political leaders, etc. All these genres have their unique characteristics and complexity. Our research considers the texts of inaugural addresses by the US presidents in detail.

This type of text enables us to reveal and study the main characteristics of the “American Dream” concept since it praises the institute of presidency and government model and appeals to the values and ideals of the American culture. Moreover, the texts of inaugural addresses by the US presidents help deepen and expand both linguistic and extra-linguistic knowledge that the students of International Relations can further apply.

The research aims to present the application of the conceptual analysis method during the classes of English for a particular purpose and to reveal the efficiency of the technique for ESP teaching in the field of international relations. As a result of the ESP course, the students are supposed to get a general understanding of the American linguacultural community’s culture and values and master a specific vocabulary producing oral and written text in international relations.

The **relevance** of applying the conceptual analysis method when teaching English for particular purposes is supported by the general interest of the teaching methodology in studying the interaction and interconnection of the “person — language — culture” triad and examining the concept as the critical unit of consciousness and mentality.

The **novelty** of the research is demonstrated by the application of the conceptual analysis method when teaching English for particular purposes and the development of methodological recommendations on studying the “American Dream” concept when teaching English for specific purposes at a university.

Discussion

The theoretical framework of the research in the field of linguistics has been formed by the works of V. A. Maslova [Maslova, 2004], V. I. Karasik [Karasik, 2012], S. G. Vorkachev [Vorkachev, 2017], E. E. Petrova, S. Y. Rubtsova [Petrova, Rubtsova, 2019]. When developing the teaching methodology, we used the techniques of methodological lingua-conceptology, a new field in the modern methods of teaching Russian that unites lingua-conceptology and specific lingo-didactics. The area of methodological lingua-conceptology has informed the works by N. L. Mishatina [Mishatina, 2009], E. S. Bogdanova [Bogdanova, 2018], A. D. Demidova [Demidova, 2018] etc.

The basic unit of methodological lingua-conceptology is a linguacultural concept — “a verbally expressed a meaningful unit of a national consciousness that includes but is not limited by the notion, enriches itself of the cultural and individual associations and changes together with the development of the national language and culture” [Mishatina, 2009, p. 4].

Specialists in teaching methodology and conceptology offer several techniques in studying a concept. The main methods include “collecting” the portrait of the lingua-concept name, solving lingua-cultural tasks and writing a concept centric essay.

According to S. G. Vorkachev, the content of the concept as a scientific category is revealed through its constituent parts, including the meaning, image, values and significance [Vorkachev, 2017, p. 16]. Our research considers the semantic and axiological components of the “American Dream” concept. We carefully selected the material that enabled us to reveal the cognitive characteristics of the examined concept. We used various types of dictionaries to find the meaning of the concept. The texts of inaugural addresses of the US Presidents of the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries were studied when working on the axiological component.

Methods

In the following sections of our research, we will analyse the application of the conceptual analysis method in teaching English for particular purposes among 2nd and 3rd-year students in International Relations of St Petersburg State University and within the framework of this method encompassing general research methods (generalisation, analysis, comparison) and linguistic methods (analysis of lexicographic sources, text analysis, association analysis) we will design methodological recommendations to eliminate sociocultural unawareness. The method of conceptual analysis can be used when studying such disciplines as “International Communications”, “Practical Course of the English Language”, “Analytical Reading”, “Literature of the UK/the USA” etc.

Results

Traditionally, the inaugural address by the US presidents is considered a part of laudatory discourse, designed in a lofty style without controversial statements and assertions. The speech offers a reinterpretation of the American nation’s historical past and prospects because of the current events and appeals to the national traditions, values, and ideals. In other words, the inaugural address to the American nation is based on the concepts that preserve the core values of American society. Studying these values allows for the specific features of the national worldview to be revealed.

In our research, we considered the speeches of the following American presidents: Thomas Jefferson, Harry Truman, Ronald Reagan, Bill

Clinton and Barack Obama, to determine cognitive criteria of the “American Dream” concept.

Below, we present the methodological structure of applying the conceptual analysis method when teaching English for particular purposes to second- and third-year students at the Faculty of International Relations at St Petersburg University. The “American Dream” concept illustrates this.

Introduction phase

We marked the first stage as the Introduction phase. It includes three steps. During the first step, we declare the topic, come up with images and associations caused by the examined concept, discuss the notions of *culture* and *identity* and their interconnection. In the lesson, students offered the following associations to the “American Dream” concept: *money, property (beautiful house, car, dog), well-paid job, McDonald’s, freedom, capitalism, happy family, skyscrapers, parties, Manhattan, family barbecue, Yuppie subculture*.

We give the linguocultural information about the concept and define its meaning during the second step.

The “American Dream” concept is one of the central concepts of the American conceptual framework. It is considered that the word combination “American Dream” was introduced by James Truslow Adams in his book “The Epic of America” for the first time. “If, as I have said, the things already listed were all we had had to contribute, America would have made no distinctive and unique gift to humanity. But there has also been the “American Dream”, that dream of a land in which life should be **better and richer** and fuller for every man, with **opportunity** for each according to ability or achievement [Adams, 1931, p. 404]. According to J. Adams, the American dream is the “dream of a land in which life should be **better and richer** and fuller for every man, with **opportunity** for each according to ability or achievement”.

To determine the meaning of the “American Dream” concept, we consulted with a few dictionaries. Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture offers the following definition: “the idea that the **US is a place** where everyone has the chance of **becoming rich and successful**” [LDEC, 1998, p. 35]. The Macmillan Dictionary gives the following definition: “the idea that the **US is a place** where anyone can become **successful** if they **work hard** enough”¹. The Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines the

¹ Macmillan Dictionary. Available at: <https://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/the-american-dream?q=american+dream> (accessed: 21.09.2021).

concept in the following way: “an American social ideal that stresses **egalitarianism** and especially **material prosperity**; the **prosperity** or life that is the realisation of this ideal”². The Oxford Learner’s Dictionary offers the following definition: “the belief that America offers the **opportunity** to every one of a **good** and **successful** life achieved through **hard work**”³. Let’s turn to William Safire’s Political Dictionary: “the ideal of **freedom and opportunity** that motivated the nation’s founders; in oratory, an evocation of **the great hopes** of the nation. ...The American System is considered the skeleton and **the American Dream the soul** of the American body politic”⁴.

The third step includes the discussion, generalisation, comparison and systematisation of the information obtained during the second step. Having discussed the concept origin and the definitions, we have concluded that the interpretations of the concept underscore the country’s uniqueness since it is the state itself that provides every person with an opportunity to achieve their goals. Another essential aspect is freedom that promises success and leads to flourishing and equality in terms of rights and options that enable the hard-working people to achieve material prosperity and wealth. Thus, having defined the content of the “American Dream” concept, we determined the following main criteria of the concept: *exceptionalism*, represented in dictionaries by the notion of “a place where everyone has the chance/can become” that marks the criterion; *freedom, wealth, opportunity, prosperity, hard work* represented by the same lexemes; *success* represented by the lexeme “successful”; *equality* represented by the lexeme “egalitarianism”.

Basic phase

During the next stage, called the Basic phase, we determine the axiological or value component of the concept. The American presidents’ texts of speeches are examined to find cognitive criteria of the idea. Let’s give some examples illustrating the concept criteria revealed by the students at the lesson.

The first speech was given by one of the most prominent presidents and Founding Fathers of the USA, the author of the Declaration of Inde-

² Merriam-Webster Dictionary. Available at: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/American%20dream> (accessed: 21.09.2021).

³ Oxford Learner’s Dictionary. Available at: <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/us/definition/english/the-american-dream> (accessed: 21.09.2021).

⁴ Safire’s Political Dictionary. Available at: <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=Dt3QCwAAQBAJ&pg=GBS.PA17&hl=ru> (accessed: 21.09.2021).

pendence, Thomas Jefferson. The speech was delivered on March 4, 1801. During the analysis and discussion of T. Jefferson's speech, the following cognitive criteria were found: *equality* — "All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle... that the minority possess their **equal rights**, which equal law must protect, and to violate would be oppression"; *freedom* — "**freedom of religion; freedom of the press, and freedom of person** under the protection of the habeas corpus"; *prosperity* — "lead our councils to what is best, and give them a favourable issue for your peace and **prosperity**"; *exceptionalism* — "**Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one-quarter of the globe... too high-minded** to endure the degradations of the others; possessing a **chosen country**, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation"⁵.

The second speech under consideration was delivered by Harry Truman, the 33rd President of the USA, on January 20, 1949. The following criteria were found: *equality, opportunity* — "We believe that all men **have a right to equal justice** under law and **equal opportunity** to share in the common good"; *freedom* — "...we hope to help create the conditions that will **lead eventually to personal freedom** and happiness for all mankind"; *prosperity* — "Greater production is the **key to prosperity** and peace"; *exceptionalism* — "The United States is **pre-eminent among the nations** in the development of industrial and scientific techniques"⁶.

In the inaugural address made by the 40th president of the USA, Ronald Reagan, in 1981, the following criteria of the concept were determined: *exceptionalism* — "We are a nation that has a government — not the other way around. And this makes us **special among the nations of the earth**"; *freedom* — "...we as Americans have the capacity now, as we have had in the past... to preserve this last and greatest **bastion of freedom**"; *equality, opportunity* — "Well, this Administration's objective will be a healthy... economy that provides **equal opportunities for all Americans...**"; *prosperity* — "If we look to the answer as to why for so many years we achieved so much, **prospered** as no other people on earth..."⁷

The fourth speech was made by the 42nd president of the USA, Bill Clinton, in 1997. The following criteria of the concept were determined:

⁵ Thomas Jefferson Speech First Inaugural Address. Available at: <http://www.famous-speeches-and-speech-topics.info/presidential-speeches/thomas-jefferson-speech-first-inaugural-address.htm> (accessed: 21.09.2021).

⁶ Harry S. Truman, Inaugural Address. Available at: <https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/harrystrumaninauguraladdress.html> (accessed: 21.09.2021).

⁷ Ronald Reagan, First Inaugural Address. Available at: <https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/ronaldreagandfirstinaugural.html> (accessed: 21.09.2021).

equality — “The promise of America was born in the 18th century out of the bold conviction **that we are all created equal**... Along the way, Americans... and deepened the wellspring of justice by making a revolution in **civil rights** for African Americans and all minorities...”; *exceptionalism* — “America **stands alone as the world’s indispensable nation**. Once again, our economy is the strongest on Earth. Once again, we are building stronger families, thriving communities, better educational opportunities, a cleaner environment... A bridge wide enough and strong enough **for every American to cross over to a blessed land of new promise**”; *opportunity* — “The preeminent mission of our new government is **to give all Americans an opportunity** — not a guarantee, but a **real opportunity to build better lives**... Parents and children will have time to work and read and play together. And the plans they make at their kitchen table will be those of a **better home, a better job, the certain chance to go to college**”; *prosperity* — “Fellow citizens, let us build that America, a nation ever moving forward toward realising **the full potential** of all its citizens. **Prosperity and power**, yes, they are important, and we must maintain them”; *freedom, exceptionalism* — “May those generations whose faces we cannot yet see, whose names we may never know, say of us here that **we led our beloved land into a new century with the “American Dream” alive** for all her children; with the American promise **of a perfect union** a reality for all her people; with America’s bright flame of **freedom** spreading throughout all the world”; *work* — “Our rich texture of racial, religious and political diversity will be a Godsend in the 21st century. Great rewards will come to those who can live together, learn together, **work together**, forge new ties that bind together”⁸⁸.

The last speech considered in the research was delivered by Barack Obama, the 44th president of the USA, on January 20, 2009. The following cognitive criteria of the concept were found in the text: *freedom, equality, opportunity* — “The time has come ...to carry forward **that precious gift**... that **all are equal, all are free**, and all deserve a **chance** to pursue their full measure of happiness”; *prosperity* — “We remain **the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth**”; *wealth* — “Nor is the question before us whether the market is a force for good or ill. Its power to generate **wealth** and expand freedom is unmatched”; *success, hard work* — “But **those values upon which our success depends** — honesty and **hard work**...”; *exceptionalism* — “**America is a friend of each nation** and every

⁸ Second Inaugural Address: President Bill Clinton. Available at: <https://australianpolitics.com/1997/01/20/second-inaugural-address-president-bill-clinton.html> (accessed: 21.09.2021).

man, woman, and child **who seeks a future of peace and dignity**, and we are ready to lead once more”⁹⁹.

Thus, completing the main stage of working with the concept, we made the following conclusions: 1. While defining the concept’s meaning, we found six cognitive criteria of the “American Dream” concept — *exceptionalism, freedom, wealth, success, opportunity, prosperity, equality, hard work*. 2. While revealing the axiological component of the concept, we concluded that the lingua-cultural concept “American Dream” is the key concept of the national world view of the American society that establishes its values. The criteria of the “American Dream” concept revealed in the inaugural addresses contain the cultural meaning ordinary for all representatives of the American society. This shared meaning also includes the axiological component of the values that can unite the nation mentally. The “American Dream” is an ideal that has preserved its primary focus over the centuries without significant changes. It is a particular driving force towards success and standards of happiness and wealth in the culture of the American people.

Final phase

During the final stage, the students are offered to perform little research in the form of a presentation on the following topic: “The criteria of the ‘American Dream’ concept in the inaugural addresses of the U. S. presidents of the 20th and 21st centuries”. The Faculty of International Relations students are offered a presentation about an inaugural address by one of the 20th or 21st-century presidents with the description of historical events social changes in the country during the considered historical period. As part of the project, students should offer a list of the topics mentioned in the speech and schematically demonstrate the frequency of lexical units representing the cognitive criteria of the concept. Thus, the structure of the project is as follows:

1. Name, date.
2. Historical reference.
3. Speech issues.
4. Frequency of lexical items representing the cognitive criteria of the concept (diagram).
5. Conclusion.

⁹ President Barack Obama’s Inaugural Address. Available at: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2009/01/21/president-barack-obamas-inaugural-address> (accessed: 21.09.2021).

Survey results

To evaluate the effectiveness of the method of conceptual analysis, we held surveys among students after the second and third phases. These surveys aim to find out what aspects were the most difficult.

According to the survey carried out after the Basic phase, the students pointed out the following difficulties — difficulties with finding some cognitive criteria of the concept, challenges with understanding some vocabulary, grammar structures and challenges associated with the specific inaugural addresses. The survey results suggest that finding some cognitive criteria of the “American Dream” caused the most significant troubles. 25% of the respondents had some difficulties with unknown words, and 20% of the students faced grammar difficulties while working with inaugural addresses. In general, the style was the least difficult. See Fig. 1.

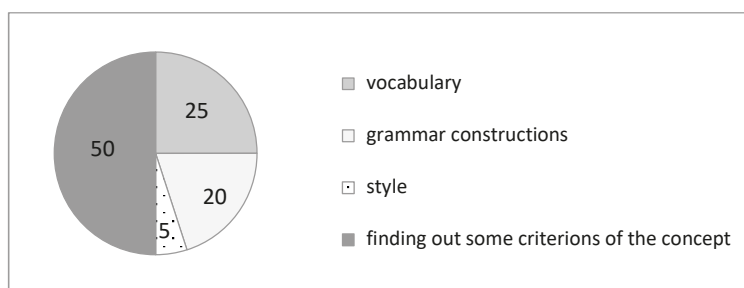


Fig. 1. Students' difficulties at the basic phase

The survey held upon completing the final phase showed that most students (50%) found it difficult to generalise and systematise information and draw conclusions from the data acquired. Generalising and systematising information is a universal academic skill; students often experience difficulties in different subjects, as we have seen again. 30% of the respondents had some problems identifying the frequency of lexical items representing the cognitive criteria of the concept. Finding a suitable inaugural address and identifying historical references and background that had influenced a president and his speech, as a rule, caused fewer troubles. See Fig. 2.

Moreover, after the Final Phase, we asked students to participate in a survey concerning the usefulness of this method for the formation of different skills. The majority of students pointed out that the process of conceptual analysis is helpful in understanding the culture and values of a given country. In addition, an approximately equal number of stu-

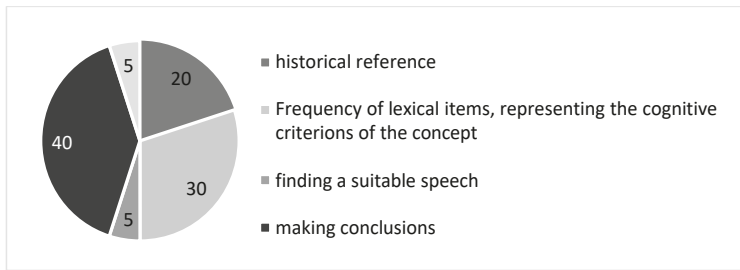


Fig. 2. Difficulties with the project

dents (around 20 %) emphasised the method's effectiveness in developing speaking skills, analytical skills, and generalising information. Thus, the method of conceptual analysis can contribute to creating a set of skills. See Fig. 3.

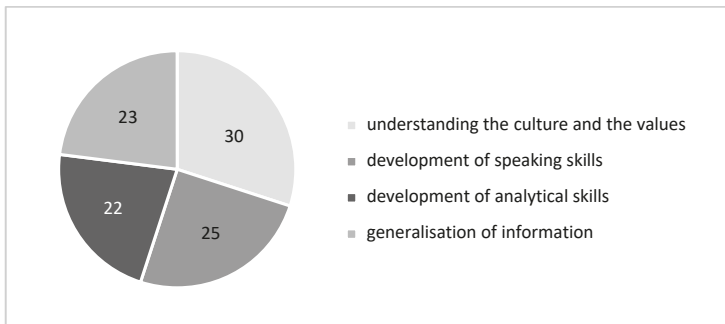


Fig. 3. Usefulness of the method for different skills

The results of the surveys held after the Basic and Final Phases demonstrated that some difficulties that arose at different stages do not prevent students from completing the tasks. Consequently, the method of conceptual analysis can be applied at ESP classes to develop socio-cultural and general competencies.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it should be noted that the method of conceptual analysis contributes to the development of general cultural and socio-cultural competencies of students, namely, understanding the culture and values of American society. A comprehensive study of the concept also contributes to the development of speaking skills. Such work at the lesson helps

to increase the motivation to study the foreign language and culture by reading and discussing the authentic texts of presidential inaugural addresses. Moreover, students acquire the methodology of conducting concept analysis. With the help of dictionary definitions, students compare, generalise and systematise the information to define the meaning of the examined concept. Through reading, research and discussion of inaugural addresses, students reveal the cognitive criteria of the contested concept. When preparing the project, students study the concept criteria and create a diagram demonstrating the frequency of the lexical units representing the concept in the speech. The survey results have confirmed that the method of conceptual analysis can be applied at ESP classes to develop socio-cultural and general competencies.

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FUNCTIONING OF ACRONYMS IN GERMAN-LANGUAGE PANDEMIC DISCOURSE

The article considers the main tendencies in the development of the abbreviation system of the modern German language occurring under the influence of the global COVID-19 pandemic. It describes the main models of the abbreviated lexical unit's formation: initial, syllabic abbreviations, partially abbreviated words, simple and complicated truncations, telescopic formations, and mixed forms of abbreviations. The article also specifies the use of abbreviations in the pandemic discourse. The purpose of the article is to analyze the main functions performed by various types of abbreviations in German media texts covering the topic of coronavirus. Some aspects of the operation of the law of language economy are considered, the specifics of the functioning of medical abbreviations are revealed, and the stylistic potential of abbreviations is analyzed. The source of the linguistic material is the corpus presented in the online dictionary of pandemic neologisms of Leibniz Institute for the German Language, and texts of the German Internet media. The methodological basis of the study is cognitive word formation. A descriptive method, methods of component and contextual analysis are used. The study proved the high degree of adaptation in the language of neologism abbreviations and their word-formation activity. The stylistic functions of abbreviations are mainly to express an assessment or to soften a statement. It is emphasized that the use of abbreviations within the framework of pandemic discourse is an effective way to introduce lexemes from highly specialized areas and international lexical units into general use. This greatly contributes to increasing the communication effectiveness.

Keywords: acronyms, abbreviation, functions of abbreviations, telescopic formations, derivatives from abbreviated formations, pandemic discourse.

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ФУНКЦИОНИРОВАНИЕ АКРОНИМОВ В НЕМЕЦКОЯЗЫЧНОМ ПАНДЕМИЧЕСКОМ ДИСКУРСЕ

В статье проанализированы направления развития системы аббревиации современного немецкого языка под влиянием глобальной пандемии COVID-19: описываются основные модели образования сокращенных лексических единиц (инициальных, слоговых аббревиатур, частично-сокращенных слов, простых и осложненных усечений, телескопных

образований и смешанных форм сокращений), а также специфика их употребления в дискурсе о пандемии. Целью статьи является анализ основных функций, осуществляемых аббревиатурами различных типов в немецкоязычных публицистических текстах, посвященных теме коронавирусной инфекции: рассматриваются некоторые аспекты действия закона языковой экономии, выявляется специфика функционирования медицинских терминов-сокращений, анализируется стилистический потенциал аббревиатур. Источником языкового материала послужил корпус лексики, представленный в онлайн-словаре пандемических неологизмов Института немецкого языка им. Лейбница в Маннгейме, а также тексты публицистического характера немецких интернет-СМИ. Методологической основой исследования является когнитивное словообразование. Использован описательный метод, методы компонентного и контекстуального анализа. Исследование дало возможность сделать выводы о высокой степени адаптации в языке сокращений-неологизмов и об их словообразовательной активности. Авторами описываются широкие функциональные возможности аббревиатур, связанные прежде всего с действием закона языковой экономии. Анализу подвергается стилистическая функция сокращений, в том числе их использование для выражения оценки или в целях смягчения высказывания. Подчеркивается, что употребление аббревиатур в рамках пандемического дискурса служит эффективным способом введения в общее употребление лексем из узкоспециальных сфер и интернациональных лексических единиц, что в большой степени способствует повышению эффективности коммуникации.

Ключевые слова: аббревиатура, аббревиация, функции аббревиатур, телескопные образования, отаббревиатурные образования, пандемический дискурс.

Introduction

The coronavirus pandemic is having a significant impact on the life of modern society. Language is also a subject of various changes that are of interest to linguists. Linguistic units and systems receive a new powerful impetus for their development. Contemporary discourse about the pandemic is being formed. The discourse is a communication system that creates and ensures a vast communicative space and determines its characteristic features, mechanisms and components [Shiyan, 2020; Dolgova, Plisov, 2021]. One of the essential characteristics of the emerging discourse is the rapid growth in the number of abbreviated vocabulary, the continuous development of the abbreviation system, manifested in the emergence of new lexical units and structural types of abbreviations. The current situation prompts us to address some of the formation and use of abbreviations as an essential component of the lexical and semantic level of the “pandemic” discourse.

Discussion

Contradictory trends in recent decades have characterised the development of the abbreviation system in the German language. On the one hand, researchers recognise the abbreviation as one of the most common ways of creating nominative units [Yarmashevich, 2013]. The strengthening of the tendency towards lexicalisation of abbreviations and their active integration into the language's vocabulary is a recognised fact [Manerova, 2005]. However, the rapid increase in the number of abbreviations and the frequency of their use interferes, at the same time, with the "quality of their perception", and the impossibility of an unambiguous interpretation of some abbreviations violates the "law of saving efforts" by J. Zipf [Maksimenko, 2017].

By abbreviation, we understand "the process of creating units of a secondary nomination with the status of a word, which is realised by truncating any linear parts of the source of motivation and which, as a result, leads to the appearance of such a word, which in its form reflects any part or parts of the components of the original motivating unit" [Kubryakova, 1981, p. 71]. An abbreviation or an abbreviated lexical unit is the process product mentioned above. The main models of lexical abbreviations are simple truncation and three subtypes of complex ones, resulting in which complex abbreviated words, syllomorphic and telescopic formations are formed. The model of telescopic contraction, involving the merging of two or more truncated stems or words, is considered by us, following M. A. Yarmashevich, in the general context of the abbreviation [Yarmashevich, 2015]. The structural classification of abbreviations has been developed and described in domestic and foreign linguistics [Tkacheva, 1987; Bellmann, 1980; Fleischer, 1995; Schippan, 2002; Steinhauer, 2000].

Methods and Materials

The study aims to identify the structural and semantic originality and specific features of the implementation of abbreviations within the framework of a pandemic discourse. The methodological and theoretical-linguistic basis of the research is the works of E. A. Dyuzhikova, M. A. Yarmashevich, V. Fleischer, A. Steinhauer [Dyuzhikova, 1997; Yarmashevich, 2004; Fleischer, 1995; Steinhauer, 2000].

The primary research method is a descriptive method based on several research techniques — observation, comparison and generalisation. For the analysis of the data obtained, we also used a quantitative methodology, component and contextual analysis methods.

The research material for this study is about 70 abbreviations and more than 600 abbreviated derivatives, selected from the online dictionary of pandemic neologisms of the Leibniz Institute for the German Language (NNWC) and journalistic texts in German online media on the topic of coronavirus infection.

Results and Discussion

In the analysed sample of abbreviated lexical units (hereinafter ALU) mainly two-, three- and four-letter initial abbreviations are represented: *AU* — *Arbeitsunfähigkeitsbescheinigung*, *KBV* — *Kassenärztliche Bundesvereinigung*, *NRGS* — *Nationale Reserve Gesundheitschutz*. This type of contraction is characterised by the highest number of Anglicisms: *PCR* — *polymerase chain reaction*, *PIMS* — *Pediatric Inflammatory Multisystem*. Only an abbreviated version of a lexical unit is often borrowed, and the full version is copied: *PCR* — *Polymerasekettenreaktion*. Many borrowings from the English language within the framework of the studied discourse can be explained by their important pragmatic function of facilitating international communication.

There are also syllabic abbreviations, more precisely, abbreviations using the first two letters of a word or a composite component (*Munaschu* — *Mund-Nasen-Schutz*), partially-abbreviated words (*R-Zahl* — *Reproduktionszahl*), apocopy and medial truncations (*Corona* — *Coronavirus*, *Gastro* — *Gastronomiebetriebe*, *Schpuckscheibe* — *Schpuckschutz-trennscheibe*).

The model of telescopic contraction, which is not widespread, according to researchers, in German [Yarmashevich, 2015, p.82], within the framework of the “pandemic” discourse, is characterised by increased productivity: *Coronachten* (*Corona* + *Weihnachten*), *Hockdown* (*hocken* + *Lockdown*), *Impfie* (*impfen* + *Selfie*), *mütend* (*müde* + *wütend*). Perhaps this is due to the intensification of people’s word creation during the period of forced isolation.

Various mixed forms of abbreviations in the sample deserve special mention. One of the notable trends in the development of the abbreviation system in the German language is the regular occurrence of abbreviated units, which are exceptions to the rule. For example, the abbreviation *Munaske* is *Mundnasen (schutz) maske*, which uses both the initial letters of the components of the full name. It corresponds to the rules for the formation of a syllabic abbreviation. At the same time, it uses the final letters, which is more typical for telescopic constructions. The units *Ü50-Inzidenz* — *Inzidenz bei Personen über 50 Jahre*, *U-60-Impfstopp* —

Einstellung der Vakzination von unter 60-Jährigen resemble partially abbreviated words in external form with unusual and extremely capacious first components. Such figures, in which a specific sequence of letters is used as the first component, sometimes in combination with numbers and signs, are quite frequent (*AHA-Regel* — a combination of letters means *Abstand, Hygiene, Alltagsmaske, FFP2-Maskenpflicht* — *Filtering Face Piece, B.1.1.7-Mutante*).

ALUs are a rather heterogeneous phenomenon in their totality. However, all the units carry out a nominative function — “the function of defining and denoting the world” [Kubryakova, 2004, p. 407]. The nominative possibilities of abbreviations are not limited to this. The overwhelming majority of abbreviations have derivational potential and can act as productive stems. Thus, ALU *-corona-* and *-covid-* show high word-formation activity in the German-language “pandemic” discourse: word-formation nests formed by these bases number 388 and 103 units, respectively, created according to various word-formation models (NNWC).

ALUs are a product of the law of linguistic economy. Their use helps to concentrate information and saves time and communication participants’ speech efforts. Researchers recognise this function as one of the essential functions of abbreviation [Grebovic, 2007, p. 80]. It manifests itself most clearly in the process of universalization or in the reduction of multicomponent compound words: *STIKO* — *Ständige Impfkommision*, *AU* — *Arbeitsunfähigkeitsbescheinigung*. However, abbreviated variants can be formed from relatively short lexemes: *C-Krise* — *Coronakrise*. Such examples confirm one of the principles of the formation of abbreviations — frequently used units of high social significance are subject to reduction. As a rule, the newly formed abbreviation is accompanied by “decoding” in the text. However, the regular use of one or another ALU in high demand can lead to such a unit being included in the general use, and its decoding becomes redundant. So, in the spring of 2021, the press actively discussed introducing rules according to which visits some public places were allowed only to groups of people with a special “health status”: vaccinated, having a negative PCR test result or a certificate of recovery from COVID-19. To denote these groups of persons — “Getestete, Geimpfte, Genesene” in the German-language media, the abbreviated name “3G” was immediately created (NNWC). The relevance of these rules for modern society remains relevant today; the abbreviation “3G” is widely used in the texts of the German-language Internet media:

- (1) *Mitarbeiter aus Testzentren sollen 3G kontrollieren... Ein starkes Augenmerk müsse auf der Kontrolle der 3G-Regeln liegen und hierzu werden 50 Mitarbeiter aus den Testzentren herangezogen.*

In the presented example, the law of economy of speech efforts is reflected on two levels. Firstly, ALU “3G” functions as an independent lexical unit without decoding, and secondly, it participates in forming a new word-formation unit as its component “3G-Regel”. The “economic” function is combined in this case with the nominative and text-forming.

Within the “pandemic” discourse framework, there are frequent cases of the use of lexical units, which full and abbreviated variants are borrowings and represent highly specialised terms: *PIMS* — *pediatric inflammatory multisystem syndrome*, *R-Zahl* — *Reproduktionszahl*, *ECMO (-Bett)* — *extracorporeal membrane oxygenation*. However, an average native speaker who does not know a foreign language and is not a specialist in the sphere does not need to know the complete form of a word to use the abbreviated form meaningfully and appropriately. S. Grebovic calls this aspect of the “economic” function of abbreviations “information economy” [Grebovic, 2007, p. 84].

Medical terms constitute a significant part of the corpus under study. Within the framework of professional communication, the use of such ALUs serves practically the only purpose — to save speech efforts. However, according to researchers, their use in journalistic texts is directly related to the informative function of the mass media. Readers become familiar with new abbreviations from highly specialised fields through the media, and a primary understanding of their meanings is formed [Fluck, 1996]. At the same time, it is very likely that in the future, the ALUs of this type will come into general use will be “determinologized” [Grebovic, 2007]:

- (2) *Bei den bisher gebräuchlichen PCR-Tests — PCR steht für Polymerase Kettenreaktion — muss das genetische Material des Coronavirus erst extrahiert werden — eine recht zeitaufwändige und teure Methode.*

Let’s turn to the stylistic potential of abbreviations. One of the notable features of modern journalistic texts is the tendency to use colloquial elements. So, various truncations are often used in the Internet media, colloquial as a rule — “*Coronademo*, *Schnutenpulli*”. With the help of them, journalists try to create a familiar, trusting atmosphere for readers:

- (3) *Schon eine Woche nach der erste Hygienedemo griffen auch sie die Versammlungsverbote sowohl praktisch als auch juristisch an.*
- (4) *Experten halten Masken und die sogenannten Spuckscheiben an der Supermarktkasse für wirksame Mittel.*
- (5) *Zwar sieht man unter der Munaske nur das halbe Gesicht, aber, auf unserem Platz angekommen, dürfen wir die Munasken alle wieder abnehmen.*

One of the characteristic features of the German-language pandemic discourse is the active use of telescopic units. This is explained not only by their semantic capacity, the ability to express a complex concept concisely, but, above all, by the ability to show expression or evaluation (more about an axiological aspect of texts devoted to coronavirus infection [Plisov, Oladyshkina, 2021]). In the context of the current situation, the negative or ironic attitude of the addressees to the designated objects and phenomena is quite logical:

- (6) *Skneipe (Skype + Kneipe);*
- (7) *Impfie (impfen + Selfie): Was ja gerade so richtig trendet, ist das **Impfie**. Schockdown (Schock + Lockdown): **Schockdown** — absehbares Runterfahren in Deutschland [Überschrift];*
- (8) *Pandemüde (Pandemie + müde): Gerade nicht jetzt **pandemüde** werden [Überschrift];*
- (9) *Panikdemie (Panik + Pandemie): Diagnose der **Panikdemie** und Chancen für Therapie [Überschrift].*

The euphemistic potential of abbreviations is also of interest. The abbreviations “C-Wort” “C-Krise” are an attempt to avoid the use of the words “Corona” and “COVID”, the regular repetition of which can cause anxiety and panic of recipients:

- (10) *Viele Menschen können es nicht mehr hören, sie ertragen die ständigen Horrormeldungen nicht mehr, sie schalten ab, wenn das C-Wort erwähnt wird.*
- (11) *Alle erleben sie sorglose Tage, geschützt von der C-Krise: Die Identität bleibt hinter hellblauen Gesichtsmasken gewahrt.*

Conclusions

The results of the analysis allow us to draw the following conclusions:

1. The abbreviations that constitute the corpus under study are structurally heterogeneous. The tendency to form ALU mixed forms (or with violation of abbreviation rules) is manifested. Abbreviations-neologisms are easily adapted in the language, often becoming a productive basis for new abbreviated units.
2. ALUs reveal broad functionality, primarily associated with the operation of the linguistic economy law, and carry out a nominative, text-forming function and the function of a stylistic marker.

3. Within the framework of pandemic discourse, English borrowings, Anglicisms as components, and medical terms are often used. Thus, abbreviations help increase the effectiveness of communication due to their compact form and information richness and their ability to introduce international lexical units and lexemes from highly specialised fields into general use.

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**CONTACTS AND MUTUAL INFLUENCES AS
REFLECTED IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE WORK OF
CHRISTIAN-ARABIC LITERATURE *THE TRAVELS OF
MACARIUS, PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH***

This paper examines borrowings in a manuscript dedicated to the travels of Patriarch Macarius in the middle of the 17th century to Muscovite Russia. It was created in the special religious and ethnic environment of the Christian Arabs of Syria whose language was not constrained by the strict traditions of Muslim literature. A number of extra linguistic factors contributed to the reflection of numerous influences and contacts in the language of this work. The study focuses on an etymological and the subject-conceptual classification of borrowings, their phonetic and morphological adaptation, the formation of religious terminology and the reflection of foreign culture in the language of the manuscript. The main place among borrowings is occupied by Turkisms (primarily military, administrative and household vocabulary) and Grecisms (primarily religious terminology). Syriac and Hebrew borrowings are represented mainly by the religious terms, known for a long time in the Arabic literary language. The sphere of the use of Turkism and Iranisms has been expanded to include dialect vocabulary. This paper brings together and summarizes for the first time the results of research of borrowings in the language of this work and shows that the living Arabic language widely perceives and assimilates foreign words. The findings are useful for the study of the history of Arabic and at the linguistic level reflect the most important directions of intercultural interactions in Syria in the 17th century.

Keywords: Christian-Arabic literature, 17th century, Syria, Macarius of Antioch, Paul of Aleppo, Middle Arabic, borrowings.

Г. З. Пумпян

**ОТРАЖЕНИЕ КОНТАКТОВ И ВЗАИМОВЛИЯНИЙ В ЯЗЫКЕ
ПАМЯТНИКА ХРИСТИАНСКО-АРАБСКОЙ ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ
«ПУТЕШЕСТВИЕ ПАТРИАРХА МАКАРИЯ АНТИОХИЙСКОГО»**

В статье исследуются заимствования в памятнике, посвященном поездке патриарха Макария в середине XVII в. в Московскую Русь и созданном в особой религиозно-этнической среде арабов-христиан Сирии. Ряд экстралингвистических факторов способствовал отражению в языке памятника многочисленных влияний и контактов. Осуществлены этимологическая и предметно-понятийная классификация заимствований, анализ их фонетической и морфологической адаптации, образования

конфессиональной терминологии и передачи иноземных реалий. Главное место среди заимствований занимают тюркизмы (прежде всего военная, административная и бытовая лексика) и грецизмы (в основном религиозная терминология). Сирийские заимствования и гебраизмы представлены в основном конфессиональными терминами, известными в арабском литературном языке. Употребление тюркизмов и иранизмов расширено за счет диалектной лексики. В статье впервые сведены воедино и обобщены результаты исследования заимствований в данном памятнике, что важно для изучения истории арабского языка и отражает на лингвистическом уровне важные направления межкультурных взаимодействий в Сирии XVII в. Можно утверждать, что живой арабский язык широко воспринимает и усваивает чужие слова.

Ключевые слова: христианско-арабская литература, XVII в., Сирия, Макарий Антиохийский, Павел Алеппский, среднеарабский язык, заимствования.

The work of Christian-Arabic literature *The Travels of Macarius*, Patriarch of Antioch is dedicated to describing Macarius's trip to the Moscow state in 1652–1659 to collect alms for the patriarchate and was written by his son Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo, who accompanied the Patriarch. The travellers crossed the territory of Syria, the Turkish part of the Ottoman Empire, Moldavia and Wallachia, parts of modern Ukraine and entered Russia through Putivl. Several factors contributed to the reflection of numerous influences and contacts in the language of the monument: a) its creation in a particular religious and ethnic environment of Christian Arabs, whose written language was not constrained by the puristic traditions of Islam and reflected a freer penetration of foreign elements into the language; b) its creation on the territory of Syria, which was a crossroads of various national and cultural contacts, with a powerful influence of Turkish in the era of Ottoman rule; c) descriptions of church life and as a result, many religious terms in the manuscript, most often borrowed mainly from Greek; d) its belonging to the genre of geographical literature and hence the necessity for transmitting unfamiliar cultural phenomena in the native language. An etymological classification and a statistical analysis of borrowings state that most of the borrowings are Turkisms and Grecisms.

Military, administrative and household vocabulary prevails among Turkisms, although there are borrowings from other fields. These observations also coincide with V. Gordlevsky's opinion on the nature of the interaction between the Turks, who were well organised militarily and possessed administrative power, and the Arabs, who were culturally superior [Gordlevsky, 1930, p. 282]. In terms of Arabic and Turkic synonyms,

the Turkic vocabulary is often preferred, indicating its broad distribution among the Arabs of Syria in the seventeenth century. In the analysed fragments of the text, we see the Turkic الجى *ambassador* used 11 times and not once the Arabic سفير; the Turkic سنجاق *the banner* 16 times, the Turkic بيرق, too, four times and the Arabic علم only two times. Most of the marked Turkisms are dialectal. Many are not known in the modern Syrian dialect, for example, most of the words relating to military vocabulary, e. g., صوباشى *police officer* or ruler as in the text, يوزباشى *captain*, بلطجى *mine-sweeper* from the Turkic بالتهجى *making hatchets, axes, minesweeper, palace servants appointed to hard work* from بالنا بالطا *axe*; household vocabulary, e. g., فوجيه *wagon, carriage*, قاجبيته *cart*, باچه in the expression على باچه سمورى *lined with sable* from پاچاه or پاى چاه *the lower part of a ram's leg*, كلاه *hat* from كلاه *head, animal head, dome, maiden skullcap*. Some Turkisms are used concerning historical phenomena, sometimes found in some areas or among specific population groups, sometimes with a different meaning. According to the respondents, the natives of Syria, the word اولاق *messenger* is now used only by Kurdish speakers in some regions of Syria; the word جوق or جوخ *cloth* is more common in Egypt; the word قلیق *hat* is used in the modern Syrian dialect to mean *a lid for a pan*; the word عثمانى *currency* is now used in Syria in the form of عثمانلى and only about Turkish gold coins; the word اغا is found in the Syrian dialect to mean *influential, honourable, hospitable person*; some words are used in the dialect in their previous meanings, e. g., چاکوک and چاکوکه (from چاکوچ) in the form of [chakuch] *hammer*, بقسامات *biscuit, biscuits*, خشاٹ *stewed fruit* along with some words which are also available in Modern Literary Arabic, e. g., قایق *boat* and قماش *cloth*. In some cases, vocabulary from other languages penetrated Arabic through the medium of Turkish: the German غرش *Groschen*, the Hungarian قوجيه *cart* and the Italian فورطونه *storm*.

The manuscript contains a large number of borrowings from Greek. Military, commercial and cultural contacts with Byzantium contributed to the enrichment of Arabic with Greek vocabulary in various spheres. Syria experienced the most substantial influence of the Greek-Hellenistic and Greek-Byzantine cultures. It is reasonably expected that there are many Grecisms related to religion, theology, and the church in *The Travels of Macarius*. Along with well-known words, there are highly specialised terms that are not registered in dictionaries, for example, اندیدار *antidore* (ἀντιδωρον), دسکالوس *didascal* (διδάσκαλος), names of prayers and entire phrases (e. g., خر یسطوس انستى [P330a] “Christ is risen!” Χριστός Ανέστη!).

There are some Greek borrowings from other areas: military affairs, administration, finance, household, construction, nature and geography, and proper names.

Persian loanwords are among the oldest and well-studied in Arabic. Most of them are registered in the dictionaries of Literary Arabic, but there is also dialectal lexis. The scope of the use of Iranians is more significant due to the use of military, administrative and household vocabulary, related to nature and colour designations: سلاحدار *squire*, جباخنه *powder store, ammunition*; شربدار *cupbearer*, دفتردار *secretary*, خزندار *treasurer*, بازارگان *merchant*, شانش *turban*, ديباج *brocade*, سراى *palace*, سرداب *basement*, چول *desert*, لچورد *azure*, بنفسجى *purple*. The word بازار means *city* in the text of this work, probably trade city, e. g.,

[P296a] <...> واتينا يوم الجمعة الى بازار طورجوك

“<...> and on Friday we arrived at a bazaar (trading city) named Torzhok”.

[R397/P73a] وكذلك كان حولها اربع بازارات اخرى

“And so, there are four other cities around it”.

Syriac and Hebrew borrowings in the monument's text belong mainly to the well-known in Literary Arabic religious terms. Hebrew names for holidays, Church services include: *Easter* فصح; *Trinity* العنصره; *Church* كنيسة; *the Bible* تورا; *the Pentateuch* ثورة (العزارة), *entry* כניסה; *Hallelujah* הללויה and الليلويا and الليلوبيا; *sermon* مكرازه [Krachkovsky, 1960, p. 454], *Baptism* معمدية = اماد and غطاس [Krachkovsky, 1960, p. 454; Kussaim, 1967, p. 197, note. 295; Graf, 1905, p. 79; Brockelman, 1928, p. 529b]; *The 2nd day of Easter* باعوث; *Assumption* نياخ [Kussaim, 1967, p. 194, approx. 241; Brockelman, 1928, p. 131, 419]; *bell* ناقوس; *cross* صليب; *Ever-Virgin* البتولية [Krachkovsky, 1960, p. 454], *monastery* دير. The listed words entered the language early, some are found in old poetry, e. g., *ناقوس* [Krachkovsky, 1922, p. 280]. There are also other quite rare borrowings from Syriac: *the law* ناموس; *The Sacred Law* المقدس; *plant, scarlet colour* سماقى; *pear* انجاس (in the dictionaries اجاس).

Foreign borrowings are subject to phonetic and morphological adaptation. The specificity of Arabic graphics makes it possible to evaluate the graphical representation of words.

There are specific patterns of graphical transmission of borrowings, of course, taking into account the peculiarities of the phonetics of the source language. Most are relatively accurately expressed using Arabic graphics, except the sounds that are not available in Arabic. Thus, [p] is often expressed in Arabic letters as ب (*bā*), the Turkish sound [ch] is often

described as ج (*jim*). Sometimes, the letters of the Persian and Old Ottoman alphabets are used with characteristic icons (چ، پ), e.g., چول *desert*. The Persian sound [g] is expressed as ك (*kāf*): بازاركان instead of بازارگان. The nasal Persian sound ng is expressed as a combination of the نك (*nun-kāf*).

There is a variability of forms in the text, caused in some cases by the influence of dialect pronunciation, e.g., the absence of difference in pronunciation between emphatic and non-emphatic consonants, between interdental and dental, and a degree of adaptation. Words that serve to denote more common concepts have undergone greater Arabization, e.g., بطرك (along with form بطريك reflecting more accurately the Greek pronunciation). Sometimes the nature of phonetic adaptation may indicate an intermediary language. Thus, اسقف probably entered through the medium of the Syriac (*efisuf*), it is indicated by the transition of π (*pi*) to ف (*fā'*) [Kussaim, 1967, p. 166, note 47]. The Middle Greek and Modern Greek pronunciation is also manifested in the text: thus, τ (*tau*) is expressed as د (*dal*), e.g., قنداق (κοντάκιον); β (*beta*) is expressed as ف (*fā'*), and not ب (*bā'*), e.g., oats فرومی βρώμη. The Greek χ (*hi*) with the exception of the words σταίχάριον and ἄρχων is replaced by ش (*Shin*): ابرشيه (ἐπαρχία), which may be linked to the phonetics of some Greek dialects in which χ (*khi*) is pronounced before the sounds [e] and [I] as [sh] [Kokovtsov, 1932, p. XXXIV, note 2].

The same word can be graphically framed in different ways, e.g., the word *omophor* (a detail of the church vestments) is sometimes written with و (اموفورن), sometimes without و, the word *synod* with و (سينودوس) and without و. The longitude here, obviously, was not pronounced, and served as an indicator of the corresponding vowel instead of the vocalization. There is a graphic representation of words that is different from the one accepted in dictionaries, e.g., مجانيق in the text and منجانق in the Arabic dictionaries (it is rather a transliteration of the Greek word μαγγανικόν; the form noted in the dictionaries reflects more accurately the Greek pronunciation because in Greek the combination of two γ (*gamma*) — that is, γγ — gives in pronunciation [ng], i. e. [manganicon]).

In some cases, ¹ (*alif*) appears to eliminate the two-consonant beginning, e.g., اقليم *region*, климат *clergy*, white surplice استيخاری, *clergy*. But, on the other hand, there is no initial sound in the word قنستاس *iconostasis*, which would correspond to the initial vowel in the Greek original, because in the perception of a native Arabic speaker, the two-consonant beginning is eliminated here due to the pronunciation of ق with a vowel.

Instead of the Greek spiritus asper (thick breath at the beginning of the word), خ appears in the Arabic, e.g., in خوری (ἱερέυς) *priest*.

The phonetic adaptation of the Hebrew and Syriac borrowings takes place following the correlation between sounds in related Semitic languages.

In the field of morphology, one can note the adaptation of frequently used borrowings to the norms of Arabic grammar: using the Arabic definite article ال, forming derivatives according to the rules of Arabic grammar (adjectives ending with the Arab ي- and formation of such new words as شرطية *ordination* from شرطن *ordain*); using proper and broken plural (شمعدنين مطارنه), and, typical of the dialect, using the feminine endings of plural ت and singular ة (ة) for the formation of the plural from the words of the masculine, e. g., باكاوات, باكات, انجيليه, بلطجيه.

The Turkish word-formation affix -جى is used to denote a profession. It becomes productive and replaces the Persian گان and دار even in Iranian versions, e. g., بازرجى instead of بزرگان. There are Persian words with derivational affixes, including the word with a Turkish stem باشكير pl. باشكير. Substitute morphemes are found in loanwords. Thus, the feminine ending "ta marbuta" ة (ة) appears in Greek words without their endings, e. g., ايقونة (ة) *icon*, εικών, طروبارية (ة) *troparion* τροπάριον, قلاية (ة) *cell*, κέλλιον.

Sometimes, Greek words are adapted into Arabic with a Greek ending, e. g. ارشيبايسكوبس *archbishop*, ἀρχιεπίσκοπος. Presumably, ايصودن *entrance* and اسبارينون *vespers*, judging by the endings, were borrowed in an indirect case (the accusative) εἴσοδον and ἐσπερινόν of Greek words εἴσοδος and ἐσπερινός. There are also cases of semantic tracing, when a word acquires a new semantic meaning by analogy with its use in the source language, e. g., غطاس *baptism* (Greek βαπτισμός *dipping, baptism*).

The manuscript contains materials for analysing the features of reflecting the cultures of Slavic peoples (Muscovy and Ukraine) into Arabic. In his descriptions, Paul touches upon different aspects of life, from the state structure and church affairs to the peculiarities of everyday life. He uses three ways of describing foreign cultural phenomena in his native language: a) using an Arabic equivalent of the Russian word that would carry the functional content of the latter; b) transliterating the Russian word using Arabic graphics (exoticism), which observes the pronunciation of the word in Russian; c) a descriptive method.

There are some native Arabic words the author uses as equivalents of foreign concepts, e. g., ملك *tsar* and ملكة *tsarina*, ابيار *ice-holes* (the dialect pl. form of the بنر *vodka*). When describing forests in Russia, he uses the word cedar ارز, or ارز على, to refer to a *pine tree*, e. g.:

فى حرش شجر. ثم مشينا مقدار ثلاثون فورستى اى ستة اميال. وحرش عظيم طويل عريض
[P121a] الارز وغيره

“The forest thickets are large, high, wide. We drove through the forest for 30 versts, that is, 6 miles, there are cedar trees in it [i. e. pine or spruce, the author describes the area near Sevsk, on the road from Putivl to Moscow]”.

Borrowings from Turkish are often used, sometimes from Persian and Greek. For example, the word *lapti* is expressed as Turkish جاروخ; the word *kopeck* is explained using عثمانى; the word *uezd* (county) is defined as سنجق, and the phrase *prikaz* (ministry) is written as ديوان. When listing the tsar's titles, he names him lord افندى نوفغورود (*Efendi of Novgorod*). Turkish and Persian terms are used to denote military ranks and court positions, e. g., يوزباشى pl. ينكجارية (*streltsy* (literally: janissaries); sotnik (literally: captain), قوناقجى *pristav* (quartermaster), جاشنيكي *stolnik* (*a courtier serving at the tsar table*)).

Greek words are *uezd*, e. g., ارخن, pl. اراخن in the meaning of *boyar*, *boyars*, along with Arabic اكابر. Sometimes, Modern Greek is used when describing nature: فرومى *oats* βρώμη, lime tree *lime tree* بلامرد *βλαμμουρία*, and فريزا *rye* βριζα, e. g.:

زخيره من حنطه و بقسماط و فريزا و طحين و شعير <...> و ارسل له لسمولانسكا
[P229] و فرومى للخيل

“And they sent him provisions to Smolensk <...> wheat, crackers, rye, flour, barley and oats for horses”

In the following examples, the use of the Turkish words خشاف (stewed fruits) in the meaning of *sweet compote* and ينكجاريه (literally: janissaries) in the meaning of *the warriors*, *strel'tsi* is noted:

واما الملك والمكله فان عاداتهم فى كل سنه انهم يصوموا هذه الثلاثة ايام مواضبين على
كما تحققنا الان ايضاً، والمطانيات والتقشف فى الكنايس ليلاً ونهاراً [؟] الصلوات و السحرنات
[217a] الى ان حضر القداس يوم الاربعاء و فطر على خشاف حلو حسب عادته الدائمة

“As for the king and queen, it is their custom to fast for three days every year, diligently devoting themselves to prayers, bowing both night and day in their churches and abstinence, as we have now also seen. Finally, he (the tsar) attended mass on Wednesday and ate sweet compote according to their custom.”

و متى ما يسمع عن احد خطاء حتى عن السكر ينفى ذلك الانسان للحال لان الينكجاريته دايره
يسجنونه بكل هو ان..... دايماً في المدينه متى ما وجدوا احدًا من الكهنه و الرهبان سكران
[P1846]

“And whenever he [i. e. Patriarch Nikon] hears of any wrongdoing, even drunkenness, he immediately imprisons this person, since his arch-

ers [in the original: janissaries] are constantly prowling around the city and, as soon as they find one of the priests and monks drunk, they beat and put him in prison with every kind of humiliation.”

The second method is transliteration: تصارى سودارى *tsar* along with ملك, while through iotisation he tries to convey soft sounds in words *tsar'* and *sudar'*, كنيازى *prince (kniaz)*, فويوفا *governor (voevoda)*, برىصابطوس *quartermaster (pristav)*, صانیه *sleigh pl. صانيات (sani)*, فودفودس *cart (podvoda; with a Greek ending) فورست verst (versta)*, pl. ورسنيات, فورسات, *interpreter (perevodchik; with a Greek ending)*, e. g.:

وبعد ان جاء الملك ارسل الوزير الينا باريفوجيكس اى ترجمان الملك يتخير سيدنا البطرک عن
[P163b] .صفة الهدية التى جابها للملك

“After the tsar arrived, the minister sent us a barifudchiks, i. e. an interpreter, so that he inquired from our lord the patriarch about what gifts he had brought for the tsar”.

Sometimes, the Moscow pronunciation كافارى [k(g)avari] and the church pronunciation هوسبودى بوميلوى [hosbodi bomiluy] are reflected in the text.

The third method is a descriptive one, e. g., العربيات قواعد *shafts* (literally: cart holders, bases), خشيش يابس *hay* (i. e., dry grass). The dialect word شغاب is used to refer to the *rake*, a tool used in harvesting (the use of this word in the meaning of *rake* is not registered in the dictionaries of the Arabic literary language). The author of *The Travels of Macarius*, Archdeacon Paul, uses this word to characterise this instrument and additionally explains it with the word اصابع fingers:

واما مونه دوابهم جميعها فخشيش يابس يقطعوه فى ايام الصيف. وبيبقوه بارضه للشتاه واما
[P122a] الحرقات التى لهم
فى الحصاد و المناجل و الشغاب اى الاصابع التى يجمعوا بها الحصاد والخشيش فعجيبه جدًا

“As for the stock for all their pack animals, this is hay (literally: dry grass), which is harvested (mowed) on summer days and left on the ground for the winter. As for the tools used for the harvest, these are the sickle and shiggab, i. e. the fingers with which the harvest and grass are harvested, and they are very amazing”.

The manuscript's theme allows us to trace the features of the formation of church terminology. These are:

1. Borrowings from Syriac, Hebrew, Greek (to a greater extent) and even occasionally Turkish (hood قليب, بيريقي banner), e. g.:

[P161a] واول البيارق المذكوره عليه صورة نياح السيده

“On the first mentioned banner is the image of the Assumption of the Virgin [literally: the Lady/Mistress].”

The terms denoting the most common concepts and cultural phenomena come from the Syriac and Hebrew languages and are the oldest borrowings. The words that represent a complex system of church worship, hierarchy, vestments, architecture are borrowed mainly from Greek (see also the examples below, paragraph 3):

و في اجيوس اوتاس على التريصاجيون كان يضع التريكارى على الانجيل شكل صليب
[R126]

“At the words “Holy God” in the trisagion, he made the sign of the cross on the Gospel with a trikirion (i. e. a three-branch candle).”

[R410,3-4/P 77a, 3-4] <...> و فوق الترتكس الكبير اماكن بدرابزين

“Above the large narthex, there are places with a balustrade <...>.”

[R138] و هو لابس البتراشيل و الاموفورن

“And he put on the stole and the omophoron.”

2. A reinterpretation of the native Arabic vocabulary (شمسة *chest icon*, literally: small sun), sometimes as a semantic tracing of Greek words (see above غطاس).
3. The formation of a term using the root of the native language, taking into account the meaning inherent in the newly formed term. Thus, in the definition of Ascension (as ascension to Heaven), the Arabic الصعود (literally: ascent) is used, cf. with the similar Russian term and Latin ascensio (ascension action) from the verb ascender (ad-scendere) to ascend. It is done somewhat differently in Greek: to denote this phenomenon, the term ἀνάληψις is used (ἀνα — from the bottom up and λαμβάνω to understand, take, i. e. taking up).

In the following two fragments, there are religious terms formed in different ways:

والاعظم من هذا انه لما جا الى [قرب؟] ديرنا. التفت نحو دير الراهبات وهو على اسم الصعود الالهى به قبور جميع الباكات. وكانت الرئيسه وبقية الراهبات واقفات فسجد ثلاث مطنيات كبار للارض على التلج نحو الايقونات التى على بابه وسكع لهم براسه فسكعوا له

جميعهم. وقدم له **ايقونة الصعود** ورغيف خبز اسود كبير يحمله اثنان. فقبله. وذهب مع [P 1616–162a] **البطرك الى الكنيسة العظمى وخضر الاسباريونون**. ثم سعد الى قصر.

“The most remarkable thing is that when he [i. e. the tsar] approached our monastery, he turned to the convent named Ascension of the Lord [i. e. Voznesensky Convent], which contained the graves of all the princesses. [There] the abbess and the rest of the nuns stood. He [the tsar] made three big bows to the ground in the snow towards the icons above its gates [i. e. the gates of the Ascension Monastery] and bowed to them with a nod of his head. They all bowed to him. He was presented with an icon of the Ascension and a large loaf of black bread, which two people carried, and he kissed it and went with the patriarch to the great **church**, where he attended vespers and then went up to his palace.”

ثم انه صام ايضاً من هذه الليلة الى ضحرة يوم السبت حضر **القداس وتناول الاسرار** والاندبارا. ثم فطر وفي هذه الجمعة كلها لا ينظر احدًا وجهه اصلاً الا اذا عرض امر ضروري في مملكه وهكذا على هذا المنوال كل الاكابر يفعلون في هذه الجمعة كلها. مثابرين على صلواتهم في كتابهم نهاراً وليلاً. وكذلك سابر العوام لا يبيعون ولا يشترون بها الا مواضبون الصلاوات في **الكنائس**. واما حانات للخمر والعرق وبقية المسكر وزاروا عليه لجناد الملك وختموا جميعهم. ولا زالوا مختومين الى بعد اربعة **الفصح**. ويا ويل ان وجدوا احدًا سكرانا. او بيده وعاء مسكر...>. وبالاكثر عليهم ضبط في هذه الجمعة الاولى. والاربعاء والجمعة والجمعة الالام. واربعة ايام **الفصح**. ليلا يسكرون لانهم يجلدونهم بغير رحمه ولا مشفقون. وكذلك عادة الملك ان يصوم مع اكابره **جمعة الالام**. [P217a,b] لا يفطر لبعده [الابعد؟] تناول الاسرار عشية خميس الكبير. ويطوى ايضاً الى ليلة **الفصح**

“Then he again fasted from night until early Saturday morning, attended mass and partook of the Holy Mysteries and tasted the antidore. Then he had breakfast, and no one saw his face at all during the whole week unless important events were taking place in the state. All the nobility did the same throughout this week, enduring day and night prayer in their churches. Also, the rest of the residents did not sell or buy during it, praying diligently in churches. As for shops with wine, vodka and other alcoholic drinks, the tsarist troops bypassed them and sealed them all. They remained sealed until the end of Easter Wednesday. Woe to the one who was seen drunk or with a vessel with an intoxicating drink in their hands! <...>. The supervision of the residents so that they do not get drunk is rigorous during the first week of Lent, on Wednesdays and Fridays, during Holy Week and on the first four days of Easter. Otherwise, they are whipped without any pity and mercy. The tsar and his nobles usually also fast during Holy Week and take food only in the evening on Holy Thursday, having partaken of the Holy Mysteries, then fast again until the night of Easter.”

About God, the words **الباري** *Creator, Maker*, رب (in prayers) and **الللاه** (without *tashdid*) or **الللاه التعالى** *Lord Almighty* are used. Virgin Mary is referred to as **الست** (the dialectal *الست*) **السيدة**, عذراى يتوليه يتول, (the dialectal *الست*)

Lady. Sometimes the same terms in both Islam and Christianity are used, although with some subtle differences in meaning, e.g., رسول *messenger* in Islam and *apostle* in Christianity; some standard terms in Islam and Christianity: الصلاة *prayer*, صوم *fast*. These are concepts peculiar to all monotheistic religions (general religious vocabulary) [Timirkhanov, Mikhailova, 2017, p. 484].

A comprehensive analysis of the vocabulary of a religious-ethnic group, the puristic traditions of Islam did not constrain whose written language shows that the living Arabic language widely perceives and assimilates foreign words. By defining a subject-conceptual classification of borrowings and subjecting them to statistical analysis, we were able to identify at the linguistic level the areas in which contacts with different cultures and languages were significantly influencing.

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EXPANDING TRANSLATION BORDERS: FROM MONO- TO POLYSEMIOTIC NATURE OF A SECONDARY TEXT

The article studies the entry and further functioning of an original text of fiction into "other" semiotic systems, as well as into the semiotic spaces of "other" languages and their respective cultures. Special attention is paid to the concept of an image-symbiosis formed by the fusion of primary and secondary images presented in an original text and its versions into a polycode and multimodal hyper-image. According to our assumption the following components were used in the creation of secondary texts: intralingual, interlingual and intersemiotic translations correspondently presented by mono- and polysemiotic secondary texts, form a complex semiotic object (some kind of "palimpsest" in its metaphorical understanding), the information potential of which is enhanced by the appearance of polycode phenomenon, the degree of which depends on the number of semiotic systems which signs. The first Agatha Christie's detective novel and its film adaptations created in different time served as the research material. The hermeneutical approach to the information under study determined descriptive and prescriptive approaches to the considered material, as well as the usage of the methods of observation and analysis of the scientific literature. The undertaken research revealed that the perception of aesthetic information of any original and secondary texts through various receptive channels increases the original text translatability, transforming the primary verbal monomodality into the multimodality of aesthetic neo-object and ensuring successful cultural preservation of the original and its interpretations. The further study of the issues under consideration could make contribution to intersemiotic translation theory.

Keywords: intersemiotic translation, semiotics of translation, interpretation, adaptation, translatability, secondary text, unit of translation, hyper-image.

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РАСШИРЕНИЕ ГРАНИЦ ПЕРЕВОДА: ОТ МОНО- К ПОЛИСЕМИОТИЧНОСТИ ВТОРИЧНОГО ТЕКСТА

Статья посвящена вопросам вхождения оригинального текста художественной литературы в «другие» семиотические системы, семиотические пространства «других» языков и культур и его дальнейшему функционированию. Межъязыковые и межсемиотические переводы, являющиеся, соответственно, моно- и полисемиотическими вторичными текста-

ми, образуют сложный семиотический объект (некий палимпсест в его метафорическом понимании), чей информационный потенциал усиливается за счет появления поликодности, степень которой зависит от количества семиотических систем, знаки которых использовались при создании вторичных текстов. Восприятие эстетической информации оригинала и вторичных текстов через различные рецептивные каналы увеличивает переводимость оригинала, трансформируя изначальную мономодальность вербального текста в мультимодальность эстетического необъекта и обеспечивая успешное культурное сохранение оригинала и его интерпретаций. Материалом исследования стал первый детектив Агаты Кристи и его киноадаптации, созданные в различные периоды времени. Особое внимание уделяется понятию образа-симбиоза, образуемого слиянием первичного и вторичного образов в поликодовом и мультимодальном гипер-образе.

Ключевые слова: межсемиотический перевод, семиотика перевода, интерпретация, адаптация, переводимость, вторичный текст, единица перевода, гипер-образ.

In the widely known article *On Linguistic Aspects of Translation*, R. Jakobson [Jakobson, 1959] introduces a semiotic approach when classifying the types of translation and suggests a classification trichotomy, which is further regarded as a fundamental truth — intralingual, interlingual and intersemiotic translation types. The abovementioned research paper is still essential, as it contains an essential and useful methodological idea that any translation can be a semiosis, but not any semiosis can pretend to be a translation. Jakobson introduced a broad notion of translation to language sciences, which steps out the language systems and enters a vast semiotic space; thus, he identifies this type to interpret verbal signs by non-verbal units. Therefore, the source and target (secondary) text, created through the process of intersemiotic translation, are bound by obligatory equivalence but at the same time have a different semiotic nature.

Addressing intersemiotic translation (translation in its broad sense) forms the necessity to understand a text in a general sense as well. Through the angle of cultural semiotics, Yu. M. Lotman [Lotman, 1992] notes a potential semiotic duplication of the source text (as a result of translation) and a controversy in various semiotic worlds in translation. The way semiotics sees a text goes far beyond a natural language since a semiotic text is considered any sign system characterised by meaning and coherence. Lotman [Lotman, 2010] suggests that a text is an ultimate formation with a specific structure, clear boundaries, and interpretability, essential for any translation. Regardless of the semiotic nature, the meaning of each source

text can be interpreted: this is how new information is generated, and the semiosphere that sets the text generation can function.

In the late 20th century, Lotman's semiotic approach was enriched by cultural- and socio-semiotic findings. The recent integration of translation theory and semiotics has led to a new branch in significantly developing and steadily changing Translation Studies, i. e., Translation Semiotics — namely, a manifestation of cross-disciplinarity in the modern humanities discourse. Translation Semiotics aims to describe possible approaches and mechanisms of intersemiotic translation and, undoubtedly, grounds its methodology. P. Torop [Torop, 2008], a well-known pioneer in Translation Semiotics and an author of the popular theory of total translation [Torop, 1995], believes that this direction is only starting its way. Indeed, the same thing can be said about intersemiotic translation, which can and should be considered through the ideas of Translation Semiotics and still requires a detailed theoretical understanding and description. In this way, D. Gorlée [Gorlée, 1994] assumes that translation theory and semiotics more often focus on using, interpreting, and manipulating messages or texts, i. e., signs. At the same time, it is emphasised that semiotics and translation theory have ignored each other for a dramatically long period due to quote reasonable ontological differences. Worthwhile, to understand the nature of intersemiotic translation means that the mechanisms of sign-generation and sign-interpretation bridge semiotics and translation studies.

Noting the multidimensionality of translation phenomenon, H. Gottlieb [Gottlieb, 2007] distinguishes mono- and polysemiotic texts. At the same time, the semiotic identity of the source and target texts allows distinguishing intrasemiotic and intersemiotic types of translation (Jakobson's intralingual and interlingual translation). Relying on semiotic changes in the target information channels, the following translation sub-species can be found (as to compare with the source text): isosemiotic (identical information channels); diasemiotic (different channels); supersemiotic (increased number of channels) and hyposemiotic (reduced number of channels). For Gottlieb, intersemiotic translation involves the interaction of other information channels. It falls into several subtypes: non-verbal-non-verbal, verbal- (not only)-verbal, non-verbal-verbal, non-verbal-verbal, verbal- (not only)-verbal. Among them, the most explored one is the verbal- (not only)-verbal, which includes literary texts adaptations by the "language" of cinema. In the process of such intersemiotic translation, a mono code literary original is transformed into a poly code film text. The polycode density is counted by the number of semiotic systems used by the "translators" (film text creators) when generat-

ing the secondary texts. Significantly, the source aesthetic information (a dominant type of information in any literary work) and the secondary one perceived through various channels increases the degree of original translatability, transforming the initial monomodality of the verbal text into the multimodality of a neo-object — a result of the film adaptation. In science, film adaptations reveal several issues that still require the attention of the specialists in various areas of the modern humanities, e. g., what is the nature and structure of the film translation unit(s), what are the possible boundaries of translatability per se and translatability, as well; what is so much special about interpretation and adaptation, etc. [Dusi, 2010; Razumovskaya, 2019].

Let us exemplify the “life” of a literary text, the author of which (according to UNESCO translation database) is the most translated one (7236 entries) [Index Translationum] — Agatha Christie. Apart from being the most translated literary texts, Christie’s creative works are the most published (following the Bible and W. Shakespeare’s heritage). The British site dealing with translation issues *Tomedes* says that A. Christie’s works have been translated into 103 world languages. The total number of released book copies (since 1920) is more than two billion [Tirosh, 2021]. The history of the creation and circulation of Christie’s works in the world literary and cultural space of translation remains a popular target for a comprehensive analysis. To describe the centuries-long history of numerous translations, one can use data science, which helps to study the spread of the translated literature and effectively involves extensive data analysis. To give examples, this approach is used in the research conducted by a Spanish scholar D. Roig-Sanz and her colleagues [Roig-Sanz, Fóllica, Vimr, 2019] in the framework of *Big Translation History (BTH)* — large-scale research in a framework of a European project implying the computational analysis and involving a wide range of heterogeneous and non-structured sources.

The Mysterious Affair at Styles, a detective novel written in 1916 and first published in *The Times Weekly Edition* (magazine version) and then revised as a separate book in *The Bodley Head*, in 1920 (in the US) and 1921 (in the UK) happened to become the first crime story of A. Christie. The story is certainly interesting due to being an opening work of the world-renowned “queen of crimes”: the first published novel (Christie’s detective canon includes 66 works), as well as a crime story with new characters which will remain on the pages of her texts for a long time, e. g. Hercule Poirot (33 novels, 54 stories and one play), his friend Captain Arthur Hastings (a narrator in the first crime story and certain other works) and James Harold Japp, a Scotland-Yard Inspector — an “eternal antagonist” of

Poirot. It is noteworthy that in subsequent reports the main characters often recollect the first novel's plot with them inside. Styles is a starting point of Poirot's adventures and a place where the series of detective cases with the clue-based and psychological investigations conducted by Belgian detective ends (a novel *Curtain: Poirot's Final Case*, 1975). Thus, the topos of the pilot story, which introduces a "closed room" plot principle, cyclically closes Christie's long-standing literary series. It is also worth pointing out that, being the author's first crime story, this work is not recognised as the best one, traditionally against such masterpieces of detective genre as *The Mousetrap*, *Murder on the Oriental Express*, or *And Then There Were None*. Nevertheless, in her first detective story, A. Christie appeared as an absolute master of plot and intrigue creation accompanied by many elements and motives used for a successful psychological detective narration (unexpected and numerous turns in the investigation, a detailed reconstruction of the victim's last days and the crime per se, many suspects, the ending — climax, etc.).

Christie's first novel has been more than once translated into many languages. Its first foreign versions turned out to be German (translated by A. Dravet) and Swedish (translated by E. Wahlenberg) (both in 1929); 1932 also brought Italian (by L. Graziani) and French (by M. Loge) translations. Currently, the reading world gets an opportunity to get acquainted with the original story created primarily in English in many European and Eastern languages. Moreover, the story has numerous translations into specific languages for several reasons: the examples of translation plurality are Portuguese, Italian, Serbian, Greek, Chinese, Persian, Japanese, Turkish, Thai versions made by different translators at different times. Such translations demonstrate the translation multiplicity even in the space of one language. One should also say that a permanent interest of readers and undeniable commercial success of the translators' creative work results ensured the reprinting of specific translations, thus, making some of the actual "long-livers", e.g., a Swedish translation by E. Wahlenberg (1860–1948), the first edition of which dates back to 1929, and the last one — to 2020 (edited and revised by H. Lyngmark).

The Russian readers got the chance to meet Christie's first crime story after the author's death. The lesser popularity of this text can explain it compared to other Poirot's adventures. In 1987, A. Smolyanskiy translated *The Mysterious Affair at Styles* ("Таинственное происшествие в Стайлз") and published it in *Prostor*, a Kazakhstan literary and art journal, in Russian. There are also other Russian versions: *Загадочное происшествие в Стайлзе* (by A. Vassilchikov, 1992), *Загадочное происшествие в Стайлз Корте* (by A. Kresnin, 1992), *Таинственное происшествие в Стайлзе*

(by S. Shpak, 1994), *Загадочное происшествие в Стайлз* (by A. Vaschenko, 2002), and *Загадочное происшествие в Стайлзе* (M. Yurkan, 2015).

The year 2020 marks the 130th anniversary of Agatha Christie's birth, who remains the most published and translated author and a master of artistic words — all this makes her works the most popular object for film adaptation. The author's first novel does not make any pretence to be the most screened among the whole of Christie's oeuvre. Still, each time a new film translation appears, it plays an integral part in developing R. Jakobson's ideas about the essence and strategies of intersemiotic translation. The exciting and sometimes dramatic story of Christie's texts intersemiotic versions is no exception.

The first full-length film version of the novel under our present consideration was created only 70 years after the novel's publication, that happened already after the death of the author of the original source text. The TV premiere occurred on September 16, 1990 — the next day after the author's centenary. This version was included in the famous *Agatha Christie's Poirot* TV series and had the same title and plot, characters, and narrative line of the primary Christie's text. The episode based on the original novel lasts for 104 minutes; R. Devenish (director) used K. Exton's script to create the film version; and the leading roles were played by David Suchet (Hercule Poirot), Hugh Fraser (Lieutenant Arthur Hastings) and Philip Jackson (Inspector James Japp). The film adaptation was highly recognised by the critics and TV viewers and became a leader in the ITV rating within a week [Aldridge, 2016].

The year 1990 also brought a Latvian film version — *Slepkavība Stailzā* — directed by J. Čelkus. The three-part mini-series lasted 200 minutes; Arnolds Liniņš played Hercule Poirot, and Roman Bermane — Captain Hastings. The creators largely preserved the actual events and details. Nevertheless, there are two significant differences from the source text — the absence of the hearing scene (the main scene) and the final scene was transferred from the living room to the courtroom. The second difference is not explained by the director's own decision but is based on the ending of the unpublished, original text version created by Christie herself.

An obvious freer interpretation of the analysing Christie's text was in 2016 film — a part of the French television series *Les Petits Meurtres d'Agatha Christie / The Mysterious Murders of Agatha Christie* — and was named *La mostèrefuse affaire de Styles* — an accurate French translation of the original English title. The film-makers changed the original narrative in quite a cardinal way — the British estate in Essex became a French spa-hotel *Style* (keeping the “closed room” principle); the time was moved from the period of the First World War (1917) 50 years forward, to the

early 1960s; the characters and their names were also changed (substituted with French ones). Still, the creators of the French adaptation preserved the plot and the scheme of the crime described by Christie: an elderly rich woman was poisoned by her young husband and his accomplice. Despite such significant changes, this adaptation is linked to the original by A. Christie quite explicitly by preserving the original title and the author's name through the entire television series.

Referring to the 90-year history of film adaptations of Christie's works, M. Aldridge [Aldridge, 2016] emphasises the importance of her first novel (prequel) for understanding her oeuvre and the character of H. Poirot. The film adaptations and their popularity ensured creating the heroes' images, which can be visually and audibly. The film images joined together in the readers' and viewers' perception, which often leads to the erosion and blending of the primary (book) and secondary (film) images and arises a specific symbiotic image, e. g., the images of Poirot and Hastings. While, in the process of reading the novel, the reader creates images of heroes relying primarily on the author's descriptions, their speech or actions, as well as awareness of historical and cultural context, then when watching the film, the viewer gets acquainted with the image that was created by joint efforts of the director, operator, make-up artist, costume designer and, of course, by the actor. In this way, the character acquires a specific appearance, voice, or walking manner; quite often, their appearance on the screen is accompanied by one particular recurring musical theme. All the facts mentioned above provide multimodality of the character's image, making it more extensive and "living". If the viewer has previously read the source text, the original image mixes with the film image, forming an image-symbiosis. Undoubtedly, Poirot's image is no exception. So, suppose a viewer first turns to the original crime story only after watching the film adaptation. In that case, the reconstruction of the detective's image in the process of reading is likely to appear based on the polycode and multimodal film image, which the reader has met earlier.

The image of a Belgian amateur detective, who successfully solve any complex crime in British society, has passed a long way since its first publication on the pages of the following novels into a hyper-image (symbiotic image). Firstly, it concerns the author's transformation of the novels and stories (more than eighty texts), which involves the "little Belgian". The history of the image lasts from 1920 (and even then, he was not young at all) to 1975, when on August 6, the character was recognised by an actual obituary in *The New York Times*. Preserving his main traits and appearance, Christie step by step (in small portions) informs us about his family, previous life, and work in Belgium before emigrating to England — some-

times in a not-so-flattering way (inactivity, pedantry, manic passion for order and cleanliness, egocentrism, vanity, lack of modesty, strange taste preferences, old-fashioned clothes, and shoes) explicating her attitude to him as a vile, theatrical, and disgusting, although feeling undoubtedly sympathetic for him.

In the movies, the character of Poirot was played by many actors: Austin Trevor (1934, the only Poirot without a moustache), Heini Göbel (1955), Martin Gabel (1962), Tony Randall (1965), Horst Bollmann (1973), Albert Finney (1974), Peter Ustinov (1978, 1982, 1985, 1986), Anatoly Ravikovich (1989), David Suchet (1989–2013), Alfred Molina (2001), Konstantin Raikin (2002), Kenneth Branagh (2017). Interestingly, the image of Poirot was created not only in film adaptations of Christie's novels but in many autobiographic films dealing with Christie's life and work (Ian Holm) and parodies (Ed Begley, James Coco, Hugh Laurie, Dudley Jones). Being created for over more than eighty years, the created images of Poirot, undoubtedly, have had other success. The undoubted leaders are the screen adaptations, with Peter Ustinov and David Suchet playing the Poirot's role. Moreover, the author had an opportunity to meet with some film versions (images) of her hero and left her impressions in the memoirs.

The stable features of Poirot's image, which make it more recognisable, are his egg-headed head, small stature, a perfectly symmetrical large moustache, patent leather shoes, a cane, bow tie, his walking manner, and his accent. David Suchet also complements Poirot's appearance with a double chain pocket watch, a boutonniere, a pince-nez, and a swan-topped cane. His remarkable verbal and non-verbal behaviour allow creating a linguocultural type of a foreigner and a rummy fellow. Obviously, in the traditional "ours" — "others" opposition, the image of Poirot presented through different codes belongs to the area of "others". The movie images facilitate the visualisation of the hero through mandatory cinematic polymodality. And in this case, an undoubted leader is the one played by David Suchet — both because of his extended "screen life" and widely recognised accuracy of getting into the famous Christie's character.

In the Russian dub TV series *Agatha Christie's Poirot*, the role of Hercule Poirot was voiced by the actor Rudolf Pankov. The voice of the recognised dubbing master was successfully superposed on the visual appearance of Christy's character on the screen, which significantly contributed to the incredible popularity of the series among the Russians.

Interestingly, other versions of intersemiotic translation can also be examples of the novel's "film translations". Thus, in 2005 BBC created a radio play based on the novel by Christie (supplier M. Bakewell); there, Her-

cule Poirot was performed by J. Moffatt and Hastings — by S. Williams. F. Jackson, who played the role of Inspector Japp in the 1990 British television version, repeated this role in the radio show, which further fixed his recognisable voice to the image of the crime inspector. On May 21, 2021, *The Mysterious Affair at Styles* premiered at the Austin Theatre (Texas, USA). The pandemic led to a TV show (a virtual theatre), for which each actor was filmed individually, and the audience was involved in interactive communication. This performance became a highlight of the theatrical season [The Home of Agatha Christie]. The cultural value of the novel determined its e-book publication in 1997 under the Gutenberg project, and several audiobooks — one of them (1996) was recorded by D. Suchet, who played the detective on the screen made the image associations steadier. In 2009, a casual game was released in which the image of Poirot was copied from Suchet's famous film incarnation. The 2019 audiobook was recorded by several actors and narrated by M. Clifford. Whereas Captain Hastings presented the original plot, the writer herself becomes the narrator in its secondary version.

The performed analysis has shown that interlinguistic and intersemiotic translations, which are respectively mono- and polysemiotic secondary texts, form a complex semiotic object (of a “palimpsest” type), the information potential of which is characterised by a polycode nature and multimodality, which multiplies its possible translations in a quantitative aspect and expands the boundaries of the source translatability in a qualitative part, ensuring the original text successful preservation in cultural space and time (synchronically and diachronically).

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RATIONALE FOR ADAPTING SOME OF THE ESP MODULE TASKS TO ONLINE AND MIXED LEARNING

The paper deals with issues that arise from the urge to adapt some types of work in ESP module in the transit from offline to mixed and online education formats in pandemic and post-pandemic reality. The authors examine and compare the reasons underpinning adaption in different modes of S-S and S-T interaction. The examination of prior publications and the results of the survey allowed the authors to classify the factors causing the urge to adjust the use of job related films (film episodes) in delivering ESP modules to students of arts and humanities. In order to maintain motivation, we promote the change in approach to including films in education at tertiary level. Relocating integrated and interactive tasks built with such instruments as *Learningapps*, *Playposit*, *H5P* beyond contact hours will allow students to spend sufficient time to acquire the skills in an enjoyable way. At the same time, the authors consider possible solution to meet the syllabus requirements to provide objective assessment of students' input. The authors' stance is that direct transfer of exercises as well as controlling tools converted to pdf (previously used in offline format) is not acceptable. The authors suggest thoughtful implementation of multi-grade ranking system to assess independent work, which will allow developing learner autonomy.

Keywords: principles of adaptation, formats of education, edutainment, maintaining motivation, software, technical facilities.

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ОБ АДАПТАЦИИ НЕКОТОРЫХ ВИДОВ УЧЕБНОЙ РАБОТЫ К ОНЛАЙН И СМЕШАННОМУ РЕЖИМАМ ОБУЧЕНИЯ

В статье рассматриваются проблемы, связанные с необходимостью адаптировать к новым реалиям пандемического и пост-пандемического периодов офлайн-занятия, включавшие просмотр фильмов, посвященных профессиональной деятельности. В работе сопоставлены причины для адаптации в режимах офлайн и онлайн, выделены факторы, представляющие сложность успешной реализации самостоятельной работы

по освоению модуля ESP. На основании полученных результатов обучения авторы предлагают изменение подхода к включению фильмов в учебный процесс для обеспечения должного уровня мотивации и эффективности. Во-первых, предложен перенос работы с этим учебным материалом во внеаудиторное время, во-вторых, необходим пересмотр временных рамок на выполнение заданий, в-третьих, рекомендовано использование в качестве элементов эдьютейнмента интегрированных в видеозаписи (интерактивных) заданий, созданных с помощью инструментов доступных на платформах *Learningapps*, *Playposit*, *H5P*. На основании проведенного анализа авторы считают неприемлемым переносить приемы работы и конвертированные в pdf-формат раздаточные материалы, а также некоторые виды контрольно-измерительных материалов, использовавшиеся при офлайн-обучении в режим онлайн-обучения. Авторы предлагают начисление баллов на основе балльно-рейтинговой системы за самостоятельное выполнение заданий с целью развития навыков автономного обучения и поддержания мотивации.

Ключевые слова: принципы адаптации, форматы обучения, эдьютейнмент, техническая оснащенность, программное обеспечение, инструменты мотивации.

Introduction

The article aims to show methods and techniques implying ICT, which allow adapting the ESP module to provide comfortable classroom and independent work. Since total digitalisation of education and transit to online format was neither the choice of students nor the teaching staff, the study is performed within an anthropocentric approach to adult education. This illustrates the research's novelty in the context that challenges the learning and teaching for Arts and Humanities [Freese, Shramko, 2020]. The preliminary needs analysis ensures possible practical applications. The sample in question were 70 students of arts and humanities, namely, journalism and PR and advertising, who study in different formats: offline, online, and mixed¹. The proposed principles for adapting the ESP module tasks in transition to digitalised educational reality may be used for students of other disciplines. The research questions were as follows: 1) to analyse the syllabi designed before 2017 and changed later to adjust to virtual reality since 2020; 2) to compare activities with films for ESP module in different modes of learning ESP; 3) classify the factors

¹ The term blended learning has become an umbrella term and, therefore is quite ambiguous. To distinguish the formats we use the term mixed, i. e. students have some classes online and some classes offline.

enhancing/decreasing student motivation and causing the shift in the variety of activities.

Methods and materials

The examination was given to the curricula of arts and humanities courses and the syllabi of English (St Petersburg State University) and foreign languages (St Petersburg State University of Film and Television); films and tasks successfully implemented offline format; tools for developing assignments and platforms providing for storage and user-friendly stable access for students. We used a survey method and comparative, descriptive, and interpretative analyses for data collection and examination.

Results and analysis

The SPbU curriculum for “Journalism” still includes hands-on approach courses such as “Technologies of Interviewing”, “Student TV Technologies of News Journalism”, “Basics of International Journalism Practices”, “International Business Journalism” etc. St Petersburg State University of Film and Television curriculum for “Journalism” includes hands-on approach courses such as “Theory and Practice of Contemporary TV Journalism”, “Psychology of Journalism”, “Stylistics and Editing”. Hence, the focus should be on language and communication skills related to ESP, and partly EAP.

Over the last two years at SPBU some disciplines have been taught online synchronously, and students in the asynchronous mode have done independent work. To control students’ attendance and execute the final examination LMS Blackboard has been used, while practical classes and seminars are delivered in synchronous mode by means of Microsoft Teams. Such a situation forces to exclude learning with films from synchronous mode [Klyachko et al., 2021, p.13]. The official LMS used to conduct synchronous online learning at St Petersburg State University of Film and Television is Moodle, allowing implementation of a wide range of interactive tasks, including those embedded in video clips, both for synchronous online practical classes and an asynchronous training format. In this sense, the teaching staff and learners of the University of Film and Television seem to be in a more favourable position. Meanwhile, the professors and students of SPBU have to use two (or even) more platforms and apps, which causes needless time consumption and worthless effort.

Since 2020, the new syllabus “English 700 000” has been in force at SPbU. It implements the progressive increase in contact hours for the ESP

module: from 25 % to 75 % depending on the trajectory². The summative assessment is implemented throughout the course, i. e. 50 % for portfolios and 50 % for progress tests each semester. Nevertheless, at the end of the period, students of all faculties take a unified exam, which does not cover ESP module topics³. That is why re-distribution of time is necessary so that during the final semester, students concentrate on exam preparation.

Discussion

Apart from the above-mentioned anthropocentric approach, the framework for our study is shaped by the integrative approach (CLIL) [Gorbaneva, Izmailova, Fuchs, 2020]. The set of soft and hard skills, which Bachelor students have to develop by the end of the course, is also considered. Previously we have described the integration of films in the traditional classroom [Rokhlina, Golubeva, 2020]. Despite criticism towards “added value for teaching” [Bugreeva, 2021, p.177], the effectiveness of film analysis as an element of edutainment and its impact on motivation and involvement have been verified in the previous research [Bugreeva, 2021; Swain, 2013; Petrenko, Philippov 2017; Smithikraia, 2016].

An adaptive approach to job-related movies was practised successfully offline from November 2018 to November 2019 on the sample of six groups at SPBU. Characteristic variables were: 1st year Bachelor to 1st year Master students; command of English B1 — C1; specialisations — “Journalism” and “Public Relations & Advertising”; the total number of students (who provided feedback at the end of the year) — 59. Various techniques and tasks for contact and independent work alongside controlling materials to assess spoken and written speech within the ESP module were probed.

A comparative analysis of the techniques and technologies presented in the film⁴ and those used by Russian reporters and TV presenters ensures the maintenance of students’ interest. Moreover, this task contributes to the development of soft skills, namely, using a foreign language in a professional routine (the ESP module), critical analysis of the sounding

² The work program of the discipline “The English Language”. Reg. no. 700000. St Petersburg: St Petersburg State University, 2018.

³ Finale grade is granted upon the ESP module portfolio score and final three-component GE exam.

⁴ A point in case is *Life or Something Like it*. The episodes with filming on location, control room and studio anchors running news, in studio interviews; team work, conflict at work: 02:57 — 03:29 min; 04:52 — 05:19 min; 05:29 — 09:45 min; 12:30 — 15:40 min, 46:20 — 50:25 min, 1:18:30 — 1:27:00 min.

text (the EAP module), and indirectly hard skills (for example, interview technology, running order for news production).

The offline mode's adaptations contemplated the level of foreign language proficiency, knowledge of basic professional concepts and practical skills (experience), and prior experience of using films in language learning. However, with the transit to online and mixed formats, adjusting to a new model of education underpins adaptation. Consequently, there are three main factors: formal organisation (changed method of interaction and changes in syllabi); psychological (both students and professors need time to adjust to peculiarities of various LMS etc.) [Elfaki, Abdulraheem, Abdulrahim, 2019]; technological (choice of devices and platforms which support video formats and apps).

As Smith, Ferguson and Caris mentioned, distance learning requires new ways of interaction between students and professors, clear, detailed instructions (particularly for the asynchronous mode), and a reliable, user-friendly web platform [Smith, Ferguson, Caris, 2001]. At present, the realisation of the third factor seems implausible. Although insufficient provision for technical equipment and reliable broadband Internet connection should be referred to as socio-economic problems, they profoundly affect academic and virtual classroom management and S-S and S-T interaction [Bobritskaya, Lyubomirova, 2020; Favale et al., 2020]. The researchers from Higher School of Economics University (Russia) estimated that the digital educational environment created even in leading universities failed to provide a smooth learning process since it was not supposed to be utilised by many users simultaneously⁵ [Klyachko et al., 2021, p. 12]. Thus, the change of educational format and technical issues have become a serious obstacle. Furthermore, adequate and objective assessment is a questionable issue.

The optimal solution is to work with films out-of-class: we suggest that students do this during independent work (according to the syllabus). The students' motivation arises: informal education, they want to receive grades for all tasks performed in the academic discipline. Kononykhina points out that the research finding elucidated two primary factors that shape motivation: 1) academic/classroom management and syllabus 2) students' characteristics [Kononykhina, 2021]. Adopted in St Petersburg State University and St Petersburg State University of Film and Television, a multi-grade ranking system allows the teacher to give specific points (in percentage terms) for independent work. According to the curriculum for the Bachelor degree in SPbU, the classroom and independent work efficiency are assessed on a broad scale, with 30 % of the total score

⁵ Authors' translation.

for the semester (70 % is the portfolio work). Personal characteristics and interests must be analysed before syllabus and task design [Jaggars, 2014].

At this moment we present the results of the survey: Fig. 1 demonstrates students' willingness to work independently with job related movies; Fig. 2 shows preferred types of tasks for independent work.

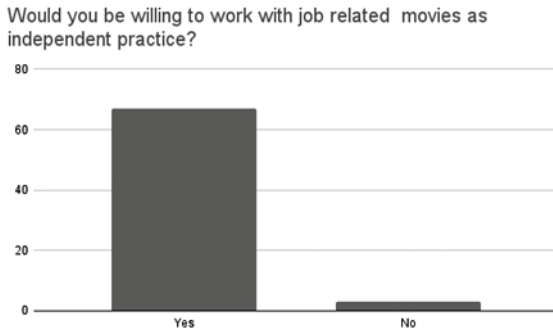


Fig. 1. Readiness to independent (guided) work with films

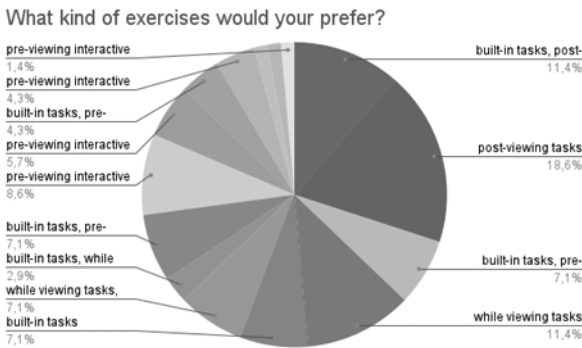


Fig. 2. Preferred types of tasks

Another important finding of the survey supports the anthropo-centric approach we advocate: students need feedback from the teacher and interaction with groupmates. Here are some quotes from the survey: 1) *“write a list of debate topics you can discuss with your teacher and groupmates. delve into the topic shown in this movie and then hone your skill in conversation”*; 2) *“We could answer questions about movie’s plot or express our opinions on debatable themes of the movie, have a discussion to practice our speech skills!”*

We believe it is possible to adapt the following controlling tools used offline: 1) do a crossword with the target vocabulary items (interactive

animated tasks); 2) answer the questions (built-in task); 3) recognise the terms and give Russian equivalent (the most difficult). The latter implements “freeze frame” technique, therefore, in the mode of distance asynchronous learning it requires colossal levels of motivation and self-discipline. Hereby we present an excerpt from this task:

a wrap = the end of a day during the filming of television programme — ‘законченная программа, окончание записи или эфира’;

footage = a length of film that has been shot; a motion-picture scene or scenes — ‘продолжительность эпизода; последовательность съемки сцен фильма’;

piece = a journalistic article in a print medium, a broadcast — ‘статья или новостной сюжет’;

go network = to communicate with people who are influential and prominent in your field — ‘выстраивать связи для продвижения по карьерной лестнице’ и т. д.

Critical observation of episodes from the films helps to memorise terms and gain knowledge of vocational tasks⁶.

While the offline format allowed measuring students’ output with such tools as a group project “Analyse the representation of journalism daily routine/problems during interviews/work hazard in two or three movies”, the realisation of this task online seems to be implausible. Essay assignments such as “Give your opinion about the way the film presents professional routine of a reporter/presenter” and “In you view how well the title *Life or Something Like It* corresponds to the message of the film” are inappropriate in terms of objective assessment [Kitova, 2020]. Since this is not a portfolio paper, students do not get usual grades: in an offline format, the maximum score for the paper was 10 % of the total portfolio grade. This means that their commitment will depend entirely on their intrinsic motivation. Another means of control that is impossible in the proposed scheme is a group discussion. While working in class, the teacher can observe each student’s contribution to the debate, evaluate students’ preparedness, and objectively evaluate students’ efforts. When students run the discussion in closed groups on social networks, or even in the chat on the university’s official LMS, it is necessary to work out criteria for objective assessment, i. e. not to understate (or overstate) students’ input. Moreover, these activities can only be graded under the rubric “classroom participation and independent work” of the syllabus. The latter gains 30 % of the total score; classroom activity takes up to 15 %, and

⁶ Term Paper in Special Seminar: “Urban Culture and Lifestyle: Journalistic Context”. The language of instruction is English.

all the work done outside the class receives 15%. Students might find this unfair, which may trigger demotivation.

In the online mode, a full-length film should be replaced by a selection of episodes (about 5 min) from different films related to a specific activity or a specific issue. There are two reasons for this change: since episodes with embedded tasks are dynamic and less time-consuming, students are likely to watch them to the end; moreover, officially accepted LMS imposes a size limit for uploadable videos⁷.

For instance, to develop skills of preparing, doing an interview and writing an interview-based article⁸, we propose to design a task for critical viewing based on several episodes from such films as *Veronica Guerin*, *Life or Something Like It*, *The Newsroom* etc. The tasks allow students to observe interacting with an interviewee, scope for news coverage etc. As a result, they develop both soft skills and hard skills. The careful design of online tasks to adjust to students' needs, interests, and goals is crucial. The survey findings demonstrated students' preferences: post-viewing activities — 62.9%, previewing interactive tasks 40%, built-in exercises — 42.9%, while viewing tasks — 37.1%.

Conclusions

Adaptation in the context of total digitalisation has to fulfil the requirements of the curriculum and meet the needs of students: within the framework of CLIL to ensure the possibility of developing soft and hard skills in the mode of education. The main adaptation methods based on student preferences are: 1) taking work with films outside the classroom activity; 2) replacing a full-length film by a selection of episodes; 3) using integrated and interactive pre-viewing and post-viewing tasks.

Placing independent work assignments on the official learning platforms presents a significant challenge due to administrative and technical constraints. In addition, evaluating independent work and providing quality feedback outside the classroom is difficult. We agree with some researchers that it is necessary to improve professional software to organise effective communication between students and teachers, using the internal resources of the universities. The new tools are often unavailable or require significant investment⁹ [Bazaliy, 2020; Kononykhina, 2021]. Hence, organisational support from university authorities is crucial: tech-

⁷ For example, officially used at SPBU LMS *MS Teams* has a built-in app *Stream*, which allows a teacher to upload a video no longer than 15 min.

⁸ One of the tasks in ESP module, 10–15% of total portfolio grade.

⁹ Authors' translation.

nical advancement (coding customised software) should be done closely with teachers and programmers.

Furthermore, there is another distance learning task, namely, maintaining motivation. While there is a vast body of research and literature on basis across a wide range of learning environments and different student groups, more and more surveys highlight motivation as an issue that needs further study in an online context. Hartnett, St. George and Dron, in several studies, have shown that “motivation is a complex, multifaceted, and situation-dependent construct in which learners, their teachers, the learning design, the technological, and the organisational context play important and mutually constitutive roles” [Hartnett, St. George, Dron, 2014, p. 48].

Huang and Liaw exploring the problem of self-efficacy, autonomy and motivation of students in distance learning, concluded that students’ perception of independence determines both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. “Learners should have more self-regulation and self-determination over their learning activities in e-learning environments. ... at their own pace and self-regulated online instruction should be possible” [Huang, Liaw, 2007, p. 584, 585]. We believe that using video-integrated episodes and various interactive tasks will create a comfortable, active environment for distance learning and increase motivation. We hope that other ESL teachers will be inspired to generate valuable ideas of adapting some of the ESP module tasks for online and mixed learning.

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PRECEDENT NAMES IN THE FORMATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE COMPETENCE OF FUTURE TRANSLATORS

Taking into account the scale of globalization and an increasing number of professional international contacts, it is especially important to introduce future specialists in the field of foreign language and translation to the features of cultural worldviews of representatives of various language communities. Case names are an integral part of the background linguistic and cultural knowledge, they contribute to the stereotyping of ideas concerning the world, as well as to a certain assessment of the phenomena of reality in the national picture of the world. The research of the most common case names promotes familiarization with the national culture of the country in question. The analysis of the perception of cultural codes that change over time, including case names, is extremely important for effective communication with different generations of representatives of different cultures. The research was conducted using the online service Google Forms. About 70 Russian and 50 Chinese students were included in the survey. The article presents the results of the analysis of a number of precedent names that characterize three cultures: English, Russian and Chinese. The article develops recommendations for the more effective intercultural competence fostering of undergraduates of the Master's Degree programs in translation undergraduates.

Keywords: precedent names, cross-cultural communication, linguistics, proper nouns, cultural studies, foreign languages, interdisciplinarity.

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ПРЕЦЕДЕНТНЫЕ ИМЕНА В ФОРМИРОВАНИИ ИНОЯЗЫЧНОЙ КОМПЕТЕНЦИИ БУДУЩИХ ПЕРЕВОДЧИКОВ

В данной статье анализируется ряд прецедентных имен, характеризующих три культурно-семантических поля (английское, русское и китайское). Прецедентные имена чрезвычайно важны для осуществления межкультурной коммуникации в условиях глобализации, они способствуют стереотипизации и оценке действительности в народном сознании, формируют и развивают национальную картину мира, помогают в приобщении к национальной культуре и традициям с одной стороны, а с другой — учитывают общечеловеческие ценности. Изучение изменяющегося восприятия в отношении различных культурных кодов, в фор-

мировании которых участвуют и прецедентные имена, представляется чрезвычайно важным для обучения как культурологии, межкультурной коммуникации, так и иностранным языкам.

Ключевые слова: прецедентные имена, межкультурная коммуникация, лингвистика, имена собственные, культурология, иностранные языки, междисциплинарность.

Introduction

With all the opportunities of the modern global world, intercultural communication has come to the fore. The fundamentals of the theory of intercultural communication are an integral part of the foreign language communicative competence of a linguist, translator, teacher of foreign languages, as well as any specialists who have to interact with foreigners, participate in negotiations conversations, deliver lectures for a foreign language audience, and overcome cultural barriers that complicate the communication process.

It is necessary to study the basics of intercultural communication in all its interdisciplinary entities in schools and universities. It is no coincidence that the concept of “cultural competence” (CQ) has recently emerged, with the complexity of its components being continuously enlarged. The Cambridge Dictionary gives the following definition of this term: “knowledge or understanding of how a person from a particular country, race, religion, etc., lives and behaves, and how this affects the way they do business” [The Cambridge Dictionary].

Initially, deciphering cultural codes were mainly vital for members of the business community because it directly affected success in the financial sector. Now CQ refers to valuable skills that TED Talk speakers discuss, well-known authors write articles about, and universities focus on educational programs. The Faculty of Modern Languages of St Petersburg State University has launched the Master’s programs on intercultural communication and translation in different professional spheres. Students expand and systematise their ideas concerning socio-psychological, cultural and linguistic communication mechanisms, getting a clear understanding of the successful communication factors.

The article focuses on the problem of precedent phenomena in intercultural professional communication. Undoubtedly, precedent names are cultural signs and symbols rather than proper names used to designate a person. They help integrate into the foreign cultural space better, as they are an essential component of the national worldview. Future translators need to master this layer of lexis within the framework of the MCC theory. Precedent names are proper names in their various communicative

modifications. As a result, they retain many features of proper names and not infrequently turn into common names, depending on their integration into the language in question. Precedent names contribute to the stereotyping and evaluating the reality in the national consciousness form and develop a national worldview. They help language learners familiarise with national culture and traditions, on the one hand, and take into account universal cultural values, on the other hand.

Discussion

Yu. Karaulov developed the concept of precedent units/phenomena/names. He defines precedent texts as ones significant for an individual from cognitive and emotional allusions with specific persons or phenomena that are well-known for a particular environment or stratum, including the predecessors and contemporaries. Such allusions need to be renewed repeatedly in the discourse of the linguistic personality [Karaulov, 1987].

Such linguistic units, integrated into the cultural thesaurus of the language, are commonly called precedent phenomena. Precedent texts are part of the general cultural and linguistic competence of a modern native speaker. Interestingly, direct quoting is often not based on the original text but is mediated by the “cultural baggage” of a native speaker. The cultural background can be enriched with precedent units in various ways, namely through quoting by other people through popular books and films. Ultimately, such precedent units may turn into catchphrases fixed in the language (while using them, speakers are not necessarily familiar with the origin of such). Sometimes they are used with distortions, accidental or intentional, to create, for example, an equivoque or a wordplay [Rubtsova, 2015].

According to the definition of V. Krasnykh, a precedent name (precedent names) is an individual name associated either with a widely known text (for example, Pechorin, Terkin) or with a precedent situation (for example, Ivan Susanin, Stakhanov). This is a kind of a complex sign, referring not only to a certain denotatum but also to a set of different connotations of the precedent names [Krasnykh, 2007].

Precedent names are stored in the personal “cognitive database” as linguistic phenomena, as well as a set of specific allusions and connotations that make them precedent. D. Gudkov proposed a similar understanding of precedent names in the Dictionary of Linguoculturological Terms: “a precedent name is an “embodied” proper name associated with a widely known text, situation and/or a fixed set of certain qualities that can be regularly used denotatively (intensively), acting as a semantic predicate” [Gudkov, 2020].

Recently, the number of precedent names and their types has grown rapidly. The frequency of their usage is also increasing, which is due, in particular, to the peculiarities of the postmodern paradigm, characteristic of modern communication mentioned by D. Gudkov, V. Krasnykh and E. Nakhimova. Yu. Karaulov described precedent phenomena about texts as 1) being significant for a particular personality in cognitive and emotional terms, 2) having a superpersonal character, i.e. well-known to the general environment of this personality, including the predecessors and contemporaries, and, finally, 3) bearing allusions repeatedly renewed in a particular environment [Karaulov, 1987, p.216]. V. Krasnykh and D. Gudkov somewhat expanded Karaulov's theory [Gudkov, 1999; Krasnykh, 2007].

E. Nakhimova in the monograph "Precedent names in mass communication" argues that depending on the researcher's affiliation to a particular scientific direction, various terms are used to denote precedent phenomena: 1) intertextemes (intertexts, manifestations of intertextuality, precedent names, precedent cultural signs); 2) historical (social, political) or literary (theatrical) metaphors; textual reminiscences; 3) logoeπισtemes; elements of vertical context; 4) allusions as varieties of rhetorical tropes and figures; 5) proper names used in the meaning of common names [Nakhimova, 2007, p.8–9]. It is noteworthy that all these terms do not entirely coincide (although they overlap) in content since they reflect different views on the belonging of the corresponding phenomena to the mental, linguistic, cultural or conceptual spheres and the relations between these spheres. Each of these terms is used in its scientific paradigm and reflects a system of general and professional views. Precedent names are used depending on the genre of discourse and its functions, on the author's intentions and the pragmatic impact of the corresponding precedent name on the addressee.

Precedent names refer to cognitive phenomena that are inaccessible to direct perception, which not infrequently depends on communicants' educational and cultural background. Many researchers turn to heuristics of discourse analysis when studying precedent concepts and mental projections. Precedent names are objectified directly in discourse. Therefore, the analysis of precedency naturally relies on the cognitive-discursive paradigm as the theoretical and methodological basis of the study. The high interest of researchers in the study of precedent names is associated with the cognitive-discursive ontology of the subject under investigation and the critical pragmatic role of precedent units. M. Fludernik notes that only a pragmatic approach can help understand how a language works since even a mathematically accurate grammatical description cannot do this [Fludernik, 1993].

Precedent names are closely connected with the concept of “intertextuality”. The term *intertextual frame* was introduced by U. Eco about narrative texts. The intertextual frame is understood as actualised in the text narrative typical situation/functions/plots/procedures, hypercoded in earlier texts [Eco, 1979; Panagiotidou, 2001; Rubtsova, 2019].

Precedent names were first described in fiction [Salimova, Puchinina, Panasyuk, 2019; Andaniyazova, 2020]. Still, today the use of precedent names has become an integral feature not only of fiction texts analysis but also of scientific and business discourse description [Dolzhich, Dmitrichenkova, 2021; Ermoshina, 2017; Dmitrieva, Golomidova, 2020].

It should be noted that inappropriate perception of precedent names can reveal cultural lacunae of the addressee. It may be incredibly confusing for a person of a significant social position and frustrating for an interpreter, leading to a communication failure. Accordingly, mastering the main corpus of precedent names (intertexts, onomastic metaphors, historical and literary metaphors, textual reminiscences, and figurative use of proper names).

Interpreting foreign-language precedent phenomena is one of the most minor developed problems in translation theory [Leppihalme, 1997]. Many precedent phenomena are beyond the scope of attention of explanatory and bilingual dictionaries, textbooks, manuals for translators. But this lexical category has complex formal, meaningful and associative characteristics. Precedent phenomena may include proper names (anthroponyms, toponyms), dates, phraseological units, winged expressions/catchphrases [Lenintseva, Burukina, 2015]. Naturally, foreign language teaching and fostering translators’ linguacultural competence at a high level is impossible without familiarising students with precedent phenomena.

Methods and Materials

The methodology of precedent names analysis in the national consciousness is still being developed. The theory of precedence, in particular, focuses on the figurative use of proper names. This issue refers to many research domains such as lexico-grammatical theory, rhetoric, literary studies, postmodernism and intertextuality/ vertical context/ textual reminiscences, theory of intercultural communication, lexicology (polysemy, metaphor), cognitive studies [Nakhimova, 2007, p. 37–50]. In modern linguistics, the issue of criteria for identifying precedent names is actively discussed. The high importance of the following factors is argued: 1) correlation of precedent names with classical literary works/films/historical events, etc.; 2) the majority of linguistic community awareness of the rele-

vant phenomena (D. Gudkov, V. Krasnykh, E. Nakhimova). The following criteria are also considered essential: regular reproducibility, repeatability of the corresponding names in the texts, non-denotative use of a particular name in the function of a cultural sign [Nakhimova, 2007, p. 57].

At the moment, there are six main methods of precedent names analysis: 1) the methodology of the study of precedent names from a certain culture; 2) the methodology of the study of precedent names united by the target sphere; 3) the methodology of functional analysis of precedent names; 4) lexicographic methodology of precedent names research; 5) the methodology of discursive research of precedent names; 6) the methodology for analysing precedent names translation variants [Budaev, 2021]. On the one hand, the research must be based on the methodology of certain cultures precedent names analysis, namely Russian, English, Chinese. On the other hand, the research implies the choice of a certain source of precedence and analysing precedent names united by a specific conceptual sphere. For example, the researchers examined the following sources “History” [Romagnoli, 2006; Rubtsova, 2015] “Politics and media discourse” [Shcherbinina, Budaev, 2020; Rubtsova, 2019], “Cinema” [Kosarev, 2008], “German Chancellors” [Chernomoret, 2009].

Curiously, precedent names of a certain culture can serve as a source for other languages. It is worth mentioning that some researchers focus on analysing a single precedent name. In this case, the following methodology is used: along with defining the source of such a name, the actualisation of its conceptual features is under scrutiny. So Nakhimova considered the following precedent names: Napoleon [Nakhimova, 2007], Kerensky [Nakhimova, 2008], Alexander Nevsky [Nakhimova, 2010], Pinochet [Nakhimova, 2013.]. Segal dedicated his work to precedent names Lenin and Stalin [Segal, 2019], the French precedent names Napoleon is considered by Bogoyavlenskaya and Buzheninov [Bogoyavlenskaya, Buzheninov, 2015]. Based on the papers mentioned above and our studies, it can be stated that precedent names may lose their connection with the source data. Moreover, their meanings can be modified to obtain or lose certain connotations, with their conceptual features being thus transformed.

Another methodology implies comparing two single precedent names in a pair of languages. E. Tomashevskaya and Y. Bogoyavlenskaya compared the precedent name Napoleon Bonaparte in French media texts and Napoleon Bonaparte in the British media [Tomashevskaya, Bogoyavlenskaya, 2018].

When studying precedent phenomena, one should consider that precedent names in various types of professional discourse may have their specific characteristics. However, this paper highlights the linguistic com-

munity general awareness of a set of precedent names regardless of professional spheres.

It is common knowledge that, due to the specificity of the Chinese language, with its lack of sufficient grammatical and syntactic arsenal to produce figurative speech constructions, its primary means of emotional expressiveness lies in its lexis. Therefore, precedent names play a pivotal role in the Chinese worldview bearing many cultural background information. According to some researchers, precedent names are often used in the colloquial speech of modern Chinese. The traditional Chinese worship of their civilisation's historical and cultural heritage seems to be the primary explanation [Lenintseva, Burukina, 2015]. Our survey covers three languages, namely Russian, English and Chinese, with English being a foreign language for Chinese and Russian students. Thus, we checked students' background cultural awareness of Chinese, Russian and English precedent names, defining cultural and cognitive lacunae of the Master's degree students in interpreting and translation.

As it has already been noted before, the belonging of specific proper names to precedent ones depends on several factors such as generation, social stratum, professional and educational background, etc. Our analysis is confined to one social stratum (students) and one age group (20–24 years old).

Despite their belonging to nationally labelled units, the names we have chosen for the study have acquired the status of precedent ones thanks to their high importance for Russian, English and Chinese cultures. The educational background of our students stipulated the selection of precedent names sets in these three languages. The Chinese-speaking students have command of both English and Russian (though at different levels), while Russian — speaking students are good at English, and some are learning Chinese. This implies they are supposed to be knowledgeable about corresponding cultures to some extent.

One of our research tasks is to determine whether our students perceive the selected names as precedent ones being transmitted from previous generations to the generation of our students. It should be taken into consideration that the frequency of use and recognisability of a specific precedent name in the Russian cultural environment and other language communities may vary significantly, “recognition” at home does not imply the same awareness abroad. Understanding the cultural values of a particular community is the key to successful communication. Therefore, the description of precedent names acquires special significance from the perspective of teaching foreign languages and translation studies. At present, a well-known and effective way to obtain reliable statistics is an anony-

mous online questionnaire. The research was carried out with the help of the Google Forms online service. About 70 Russian and 50 Chinese students from the age group from 20 to 24 years took part in the survey.

We have conditionally divided the precedent names into three groups: anthroponyms, heroes of cinema and literature, toponyms.

Results and Discussion

So, the students were offered to take a survey with three groups of precedent names. The first group includes anthroponyms, widespread proper names used to refer in a figurative sense to a person who is more or less similar to the real person with this anthroponym. This metaphorical device allows you to draw parallels between the views, occupation, personal qualities of the relevant subjects of activity, to express an attitude towards these people and, most importantly (this is especially clearly seen in political discourse) — to have an emotional impact on the addressee of the text. As anthroponyms, we have chosen the following names of real-life people who have glorified themselves in various fields: Lobachevsky, Kashpirovsky, Gagarin, Ivan Susanin (Russian socio-cultural space); Rothschild, JP Morgan (English-speaking socio-cultural space); Confucius, B. Li, Mao, D. Wu (Chinese socio-cultural space). We asked students to identify their associations with the precedent names given above.

Both Russian and international students agreed that N. I. Lobachevsky is a well-known Russian scientist (87.5 % and 80 % of respondents, respectively), and Yuri Gagarin is the first person to fly into space (99.2 % and 100 %). Interestingly, previous generations would have associated Lobachevsky's name with exceptionally gifted and intelligent people. Over the years, this connotation has almost been erased.

As far as A. M. Kashpirovsky is concerned, the following trend is observed: if our compatriots associate the name of this person with charlatanism and deception (42 %), the Chinese students did not even choose this answer option, thinking that Kashpirovsky is a statesman (60 %), or a famous healer (40 %). It should be noted that the Russian respondents received almost an equal number of votes for the options “famous healer” (31 %) and “statesman” (26.2 %), so we do not observe a large gap between the three answer options.

With Ivan Susanin, whose name was a household name until recently, the situation looks like this: both Russian and foreign citizens agreed that Ivan Susanin is a national hero who saved M. Romanov from the Polish-Lithuanian detachment (62 % and 71.4 %, respectively), and only the second most popular answer is “association with a person who, not knowing

the road, leads people intentionally along a different route.” 10.1 % of Russian students still remembered the opera of the same name by M. I. Glinka.

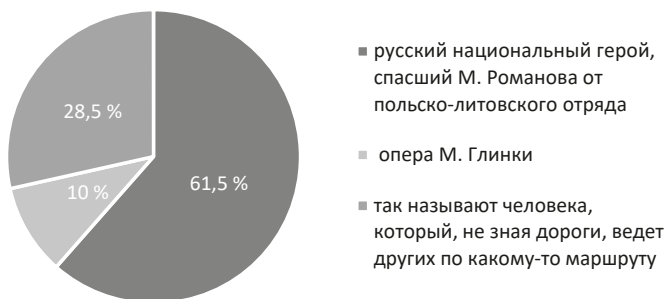


Fig. 1. Ivan Susanin (Russian students)

Note: Dark grey defines a person who, not knowing the road, leads people intentionally along a different route, gray denotes a national hero who saved M. Romanov from the Polish-Lithuanian detachment, light gray defines opera by M. I. Glinka.

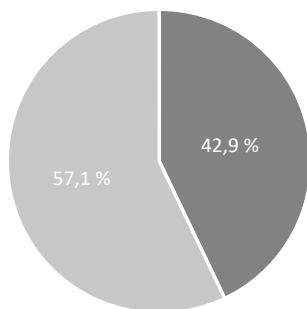


Fig. 2. Ivan Susanin (Chinese students)

Note: Dark grey defines a person who, not knowing the road, leads people intentionally along a different route, light gray denotes a national hero who saved M. Romanov from the Polish-Lithuanian detachment.

As for the surnames Rothschild and Morgan, all respondents were unanimous, choosing the options “surname of the dynasty of bankers” (Rothschild) and “American financial holding” (JP Morgan).

Regarding the names of the Chinese cultural field, there is a uniformity of the survey results. Thus, Confucius is associated with philosophy in 93 % of Russian respondents, and 100 % of foreign respondents, the name of Mao Zedong is associated with communist China in almost 70 % of Russian-speaking respondents and more than 70 % of Chinese. It is interesting to note that a relatively large percentage of students from Russia scored the option “dictator” (31.7 %).

The absolute majority is sure that John Wu is a director (almost 70 % of Russian respondents and more than 85 % of foreign ones).

The difference of opinion is observed only about Bruce Lee. The responses of Russian young people were divided between the options “unsurpassed martial artist” (68.5 %) and “Chinese actor” (30.7 %). In comparison, almost 60 % of foreigners believe that Bruce Lee is an actor and only then a martial artist (nearly 43 %).



Fig. 3. Bruce Lee (Russian students)

Note: Dark grey — unsurpassed martial artist, light gray — Chinese actor, gray — short life.

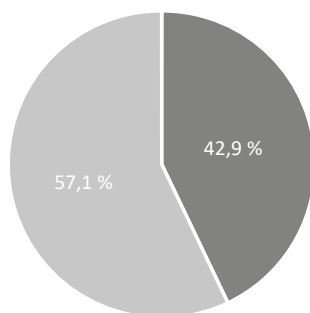


Fig. 4. Bruce Lee (Chinese students)

Note: Dark grey — unsurpassed martial artist, gray — Chinese actor.

The second group of precedent names contains toponyms: Rublevka, Lubyanka, Khodynka (Russian cultural and semantic field), Scotland Yard, Klondike, Golden Gate (English cultural and semantic field) and Wuhan, Hong Kong, Harbin, the Great Wall of China (Chinese cultural and semantic field).

It would be obvious to assume that Rublevka has a long-standing association with the life of millionaires, but judging by the survey. Its results

seem impressive, the Russian generation Z believes that this is primarily the name of a village near Moscow (almost 52%). Most foreigners (nearly 60%) just think that this place is directly connected with wealth and luxury.

Lubyanka and Khodynka do not belong to those toponyms that can be considered widely known among the generation of the 2000s. Still, if Lubyanka confirms the guesses, then an exciting trend is observed about Khodynka. This geographical name, after the events of 2010, dramatically changed the associative series. So, Lubyanka, both Russian and Chinese students, is now associated with a Moscow metro station (50% and 71.4%, respectively). It should be noted that the second most popular answer among Russians was “the building of the FSB of the Russian Federation” (35.2%); about this connotation, as well as about the connection with spies and intelligence agents, 28.6% of foreigners remembered, dividing their votes equally between these two positions.



Fig. 5. Lubyanka (Russian students)

Note: Dark grey — the building of the FSB of the Russian Federation, light gray — a Moscow metro station, gray — spies and intelligence agents.

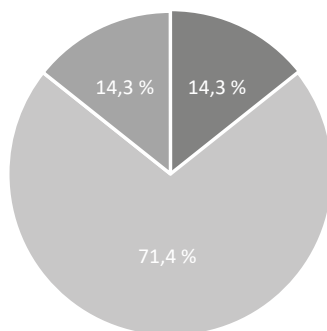


Fig. 6. Lubyanka (Chinese students)

Note: Dark grey — the building of the FSB of the Russian Federation, light gray — a Moscow metro station, gray — spies and intelligence agents.

Regarding Khodynka (we deliberately left the colloquial abbreviated name of the Khodynka field so that a clear hint remained), the survey results are exciting. The absolute majority associates this toponym primarily with a historical event at the end of the 19th century, but not with pickets and rallies. However, it would seem that the events of 2010 that the younger generation should have remembered quite well.

The classic British marker Scotland Yard is expectedly associated with the headquarters of a police institution by Russian respondents (64.2%); the second most popular answer is a street in London (26.8%). Almost 60% of foreigners believe that Scotland Yard is just a translation of “Scottish yard”.

Chinese and Russian students agreed that Klondike is a place of untold wealth (57.1% and 46.4%, respectively), which caused surprise since it is not often possible to hear this word on the modern agenda. The second most popular answer was expected to be “gold rush” (it was chosen by 28.6% and 44.8%, respectively).



Fig. 7. Wuhan (Russian students)

Note: Dark grey — a catastrophe, light gray — industrial centre, gray — trade centre.

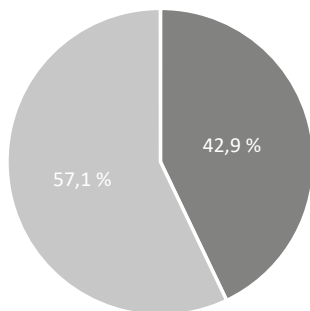


Fig. 8. Wuhan (Chinese students)

Note: Dark grey — a catastrophe, light gray — industrial centre.

About toponyms representing the Chinese cultural field, the following picture is observed: given the recent events in the city of Wuhan, which entailed dramatic consequences for the whole world, the majority of Russians associated it with a catastrophe (65.9%), among the Chinese it was the second most popular answer (42.9%), while the option “industrial centre” became the leader (57.1%).

Hong Kong was unanimously recognised as the financial centre of Asia: almost 75% of Russian and 100% of Chinese respondents agreed with this. The same unity is observed about the city of Harbin. Russian Russian was associated with almost 60% of Russians and more than 70% of the Chinese.

Discrepancies are observed about the main symbol of China — the Great Wall of China. For foreigners, it is associated with military defence (100%), the opinion of Russian students was divided between three options: 45.7% of respondents had an association with eternity, 39.4% with military defence and 15% with construction.

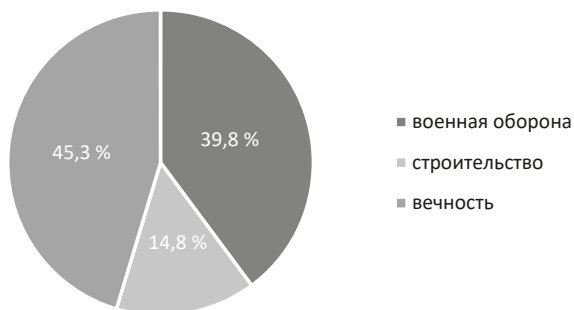


Fig. 9. The Great Wall (Russian students)

Note: Dark grey — military defence, light gray — construction, gray — eternity.

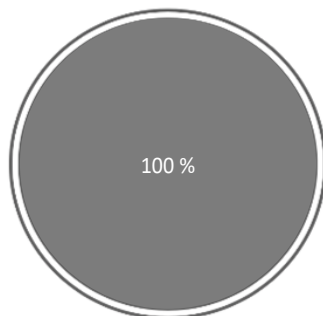


Fig. 10. The Great Wall (Chinese students)

Note: Dark grey — military defence.

The third group of precedent names could have been included in the first section of anthroponyms. Still, it seemed appropriate to us to single out the heroes of literature and cinema in a separate category. So, in the Russian cultural and semantic field, Oblomov, Sasha Bely, and Shvonder are represented in the English cultural and semantic area Sherlock, Harry Potter, and Rambo.

It is noteworthy that most Russian and Chinese students refer Oblomov to the novel by I. A. Goncharov (76 % and 71.4 %). However, it would be natural to assume an association with laziness and idleness. Generation Z, who lives in Russia, is well acquainted with the cult series “Brigade”, having recognised its main character Sasha Bely (almost 60 %) and the actor S. Bezrukov who played in the film (26.6 %). To foreigners, on the contrary, this name did not mean anything. They associated it with the dashing 90s (almost 60 %), which is the most popular answer). The majority associated the hero of Bulgakov’s story “The Heart of a Dog” with the destructive power of the proletariat (63.6 % of Russian respondents and 57.1 % of foreign ones).

As for the heroes of the English-speaking world, there is complete agreement in choosing the most popular answers. Sherlock, for everyone is, first of all, a detective from the novel by A. K. Doyle (almost 72 % of Russian and Chinese students think so). For the absolute majority, Harry Potter is associated with the main character of J. Rowling’s books (around 90 %), and Rambo has a direct reference to the action movie that made S. Stallone famous.

Conclusions

Any person whose work is somehow connected with representatives of different cultures is simply obliged to know the basics of intercultural communication; they are also necessary for all members of society. MCC skills are essential for everyday communication because in the modern world, many ethnic, religious, and social groups live on the territory of each state, which is in contact with each other. Understanding the differences between cultures, their essence and external manifestations enriches the individual and expands his ideas about himself as a representative of a certain culture (cultures). The mastering of precedent names in the theory of MCC is simply necessary because it expands the idea of interdisciplinary connections of linguistics in its applied meaning and also teaches the mechanisms of “decoding” cultural (in different senses) information contained in speech, thereby developing analytical skills, expanding the understanding of the possibilities of language as a repository of information. The survey results

showed that most discrepancies are observed in toponyms, significantly when geographical names and locations have changed the associative series associated with them over time. We see the uniformity of opinions in anthroponyms associated with heroes of literature and cinema.

Thus, the research showed that associations caused by a particular case name depend on the generation. Besides, Russian students are more aware of Chinese culture, while Chinese students mainly focus on American culture. British culture is not so attractive. Russian culture is familiar to Chinese linguistic and cultural representatives due to their stay in our country. Still, the centre of interest in America, possibly because all the respondents were students of Master's Degree programs in translation in various fields. At the same time, they all had English as their second foreign language (the first Russian).

The analysis of the survey results made it possible to develop the following recommendations for the effective formation of intercultural competence of undergraduates of Master's Degree programs in translation. First, at seminars on UK Country Studies, students should be given tasks to prepare a presentation on one of the topics covered, including comparing the phenomena of English culture with the traditions of their native one. Second, when choosing texts for interpretation and translation topics, pay equal attention to American, English, and Russian authors. It will allow students to expand their understanding of the respective cultures.

Finally, while choosing the topics of final qualifying papers, give preference to issues in which there is a comparison of linguistic phenomena in all the above-mentioned linguistic cultures: Chinese, American, English and Russian.

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SOME FEATURES OF TRANSLATING MANGA AND ANIME BEING LITERARY WORKS TRANSLATION

It is quite difficult to describe literary works in terms of functional stylistics because of a large variety of forms and genres. However, the main task of a literary work, which is to affect the recipient aesthetically, makes it possible to study different works in an integrated way. Translators face the task of providing a quality translation of manga and anime into Russian language. We suggest using common translation rules for manga and anime being a specific form of literature. As the aim of adequate translation is to transmit communicative tasks of the text, the translator is supposed to provide the same aesthetic effect on the recipient of the translation, as on the recipient of the original work. In this article, we analyse translating problems of several anime and manga works which we encountered in our translation experience. We undertake comparative analysis and evaluate adequacy and equivalence of translation from the point of view of the theory of functional equivalence. We prove that manga and anime translation follows the laws of translation theory, which lets us use the same ways of transmitting communicative tasks of the text, as in translation of literary works. At the same time, the translator has to maintain length of phrases due to physical volume restrictions, and cannot give footnotes or references. Visual part of the text also influences the translation, and onomatopoeic words in manga require special attention as they are used as part of visual information and not as the verbal component.

Keywords: anime, manga, functional equivalence, translation of literary works.

Н. Г. Румак

ОСОБЕННОСТИ ПЕРЕВОДА МАНГИ И АНИМЕ КАК ЛИТЕРАТУРНОГО (ХУДОЖЕСТВЕННОГО) ПЕРЕВОДА

Огромное разнообразие форм и жанров художественных произведений, а также существование индивидуальных авторских стилей затрудняет адекватное описание художественных текстов в терминах функциональной стилистики. Однако если рассматривать основную задачу художественного текста — оказание образного, эстетического воздействия на читателя, — можно обеспечить единый подход к изучению самых разных художественных произведений и способов их перевода. Интерес читателей и зрителей к японской манге и аниме ставит перед переводчиками задачу обеспечения качественного перевода произведений этих жанров на русский язык. Если рассматривать мангу как

одну из форм литературы и одновременно изобразительного искусства, а аниме — как продолжение манги, то к ним следует применять общие правила перевода, где главной задачей является передача коммуникативных задач текста, то есть обеспечение такого же эстетического воздействия на реципиента перевода, как на реципиента оригинала. Мы анализируем встреченные нами в работе сложности перевода различных произведений аниме и манги на примерах из двух полнометражных анимационных фильмов, анимационного сериала, а также из трех серий манги и ранобэ с точки зрения теории функциональной эквивалентности, пользуясь сравнительным анализом и оценкой адекватности и эквивалентности перевода. В ходе исследования мы подтверждаем гипотезу о том, что в целом перевод манги и аниме подчиняется законам переводческой теории, и для передачи коммуникативных задач текста используются те же приемы, что и в переводе художественной литературы. Вместе с тем особая форма рассматриваемых произведений накладывает некоторые ограничения в связи с необходимостью укладываться в определенный физический (пространственный и временной) объем, невозможностью давать пояснения (сноски) в тексте, влиянием визуальной составляющей, особенностью употребления оноματοпоэтических единиц и т. д.

Ключевые слова: аниме, манга, функциональная эквивалентность, художественный перевод.

Introduction

Not all linguists agree that fiction works style is a distinct functional style. But if we regard not just stylistic features of different literary works but their functions, it is possible to point out at least one (but very important) thing. The task of journalistic style (besides transferring information) is to form a public opinion; business style is to make recipients follow set rules and instructions, scientific style explains and proves scientific information. As for literature, we may state that the task and one of the main features of literary works style is to affect the recipient esthetically (see, for example, [Brandes, 2004]).

Methods and materials

The methodology of the present study is mainly based on comparative analysis and evaluation of equivalence resulting from the use of different translating methods. We use examples from our own translation experience, analysing them from the point of view of translation theory, thus providing reliable scientific results.

Discussion

Some researchers suggest that manga is a form of visual art, but even then, they point out that manga follows the traditions of different literary genres [Leonov, 2012; 2013]. Kukharenko (2014) insists that manga and graphic novels are a kind of “alternative literature”, Efimenko (2013) also sees manga as literature and, at the same time, a visual art form. Petrova and Stepanova (2005) regard manga as a fully functional text of a creolised type.

We agree with Efimenko that manga cannot be seen as a united literary genre because of the variety of works of this type. Still, it is evident that, despite some peculiarities of this form (combination of verbal and iconic text in more or less equal proportion, among other things), we can regard manga or graphic novel as one of the literary forms. More critical, popular science or social-political comic books instructions with pictures supported by text give us the possibility to say that manga does not differ much from “purely verbal” works from the perspective of functional style theory.

Some researchers also see cinema works as literary work structure [Lotman, 1994; Snetkova, 2008]. We think that anime differs from a feature film, only using image creation while demonstrating the same means of communication. More than that, anime is often seen as an extension of manga, and some researchers even point out the cinematographic features of manga [Leonov, 2013]. So, we can suggest that these two literary forms are linked closely.

One may suggest that standard rules of translating literary works could also be applied to the translation of manga and anime. From the point of view of functional equivalence and communicative way theory by Komissarov (1990), Shvejcer (1988), Nida (1978) etc., the main goal in functional translating should be to transmit communicative tasks of the text. It means that a fictional (literary) work, translated to a recipient’s language, should affect the reader (or spectator) in the same way as the original text. Hence, one can equally use standard practices described in translation theory — translation on different levels, transliteration, substitution, antonymic translation etc. — while translating manga and anime.

At the same time, both types of texts have their unique aspects.

Analysis and results

For example, one of the more important for translating features of these two forms is their physical limit in length or volume. A bubble with

characters' words or a frame, where characters' thoughts and other information are placed, has its limits in the manga. In anime (as well as in any other "audio-visual content" or "audio-medial text" as in [Snetkova, 2008; Janina, Muhametshina, 2019]) translated speech should last approximately the same amount of time as the original speech. A sub-title should be no more than two lines with a limited number of characters (43 or even less in Russian), as a recipient (a consumer of the content) should be able to read and understand it during a limited time. If an anime is dubbed, the articulation of sounds should also more or less match the original representation. This means that the translator's choice of a phrase syntax construction, synonyms or any other figure of speech is limited not only by the style of the work or by speech characteristics of a character (which are the demands of any literary work translation). Such nonlinguistic things as length or volume of the text or even phonetic similarity are also essential. And, if one considers the fact that an average Russian word, and, thus, a phrase is longer than a Japanese word of phrase, meeting the length/volume demands becomes even more difficult.

For the same reason, it is impossible to make a footnote, either in manga or anime. In most cases, the use of periphrastic or explanatory forms is also excluded. This narrows the translator's manoeuvres even more. It's a pity that some part of the information is lost in such cases, mainly connected with the so-called cultural background. It means that while the text itself is translated in total, there are still "cultural gaps" that could otherwise be explained in footnotes [Glotova, 2012; Mozzhegorova, Il'ina, 2020].

For example, there is a short episode in *Spirited Away* anime [Suzuki, Miyazaki, 2001]. The main character signs a contract with a witch, writing four kanji of her name and family name. The witch takes away three of the four kanji. She tells the girl, whose name is Chihiro, that she will be called Sen. From now on, the episode takes only several seconds. It is impossible to explain to the spectator what has happened unless they know the peculiarities of the Japanese writing system. To fully comprehend the episode, one should understand that a kanji can have several readings depending on whether it is used separately or in a combination. The anime itself is so full of cultural reminiscence that colleagues in the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO University) even created a workbook to study this anime [Sladkova, 2020].

In both manga and anime, the context, which is so vital in any translation, particularly in translation from Japanese, depends on visual elements, which can make the translator's job either easier or more difficult. It is almost impossible to translate any of these forms without visible part,

so solving may become a nightmare if the client only presents a dialogue continuity of an anime (which may happen, though rarely). A translator cannot even guess the character's gender.

Visual content can save the trouble of understanding the context. But, at the same time, screen image may contradict the text. For example, in *Tales from Earthsea* anime [Suzuki, Miyazaki, 2006], based on Ursula K. Le Guin's cycle *A Wizard Of Earthsea*, the antagonist — Kumo (Spider) — looks like a woman and is voiced by a woman seiyu. But, neutral as his speech maybe, twice he uses elements characteristic of the male's speech: a male pronoun *ore* and an exclamatory particle *zo*, which lets the translator define his gender without a doubt (gender speech characteristics are described, for example, by Krneta (2003, 2020, 2021) etc.).

As for manga, here verbal elements add to visual components: many onomatopoeic and mimetic words are used here, describing sounds, visual, kinesthetic and other sensations. Alekseeva (2017) described the problem of onomatopoeic and mimetic words translation in the manga. We have also thoroughly researched this problem [Rumak, 2007; 2018], so here we shall only do so shortly dwell upon difficulties of this lexical unit translation.

When translating onomatopoeic and mimetic words in the manga, one should consider that they are part not of the text but the image, so translating these units should differ from solving the same lexemes when they are a part of the verbal narration. While in journalistic, fictional literature, advertisement and other texts, onomatopoeic and mimetic words are usually translated using traditional ways, described in translation theory (these may be borrowing, formal equivalents, echoism or sound symbolism, onomatopoeic verbs, verbs with adverbs, idiomatic phrases et cetera — see [Rumak, 2007]), in manga some translation methods can be used characteristic only of this kind of texts.

First of all, to produce the same effect — direct reproduction of a sound, kinesthetic or visual sensation — one should use an echoism or shortened form of an onomatopoeic word (in Russian, that would be *shurh, bah, pryg, sverk, skolz*). Secondly, as not all Russian verbs have shortened forms, a translator has to use an occasionalism, a standard method for manga with its vast amount of occasional onomatopoeic words. Thirdly, Japanese onomatopoeia is much richer than Russian onomatopoeia — to say nothing of mimetic words, which almost do not exist in the Russian language — sometimes one Russian lexical unit corresponds to several Japanese lexical units, which allows us to regard this method as a generalization. For example, grass rustling sounds *saku* in Japanese (we don't mention structural variations such as *sakusaku, sakut*

and so on), clothes swish with a *goso* sound, powder makes *sara* rustling, sheets moving under a person's body make a *moso* sound, wheat whispers *kasa*, and hair in the wind make a *basa* sound. But there are just rustling, swishing and whispering (*shurshanie* or *shelest*) in Russian and if it is a shortened verb form than *shurh* (rustle) alone will be possible (see, for example, [Kajiya, 2018]).

Another nonlinguistic difficulty of translating manga and anime depends on some features of the translation market for these works. Official (legal) interpreting of these art forms is relatively young, and a translator, an exhibitor or a publisher must struggle with a “fandom” already existing. These connoisseurs of manga/anime works or even series have got used mainly to illegal and not always quality translations. Sometimes, a translator has difficulties explaining his choice of words or even surrendering to an existing tradition.

For example, those knowing *The Wolf and Spices* series [Araki, Takahashi, 2009] were not satisfied with the name Eve given to an anime character: in Japanese, this foreign name is transcribed as *e: bu* (prolonged *e* sound, which may be a diphthong *ei*, and a reduced *u* after the consonant). The French name (Eve Boland in romaji transcription) and the need to choose a name, which can be both a female and a male one, suggested choosing Eve. At the same time, in *ranobe* (light novel, *rai(to) nobe(ru)*) series [Hasekura, n.d.], the character's name has already been fixed as Abe, which is not a preferable variation being associated with an American male name.

On the contrary, during the translation of *Made in Abyss* manga series [Tsukushi, 2019], due to “Reanimedia” group help, it was decided to entrust edition of the text to a group of fans, who saved the translator, not knowing the world of manga deeply enough, from making mistakes.

Conclusion

We can conclude here that translation of such literary forms as manga and anime, on the whole, follows common laws and rules of functional translation theory. While manga and anime belong to literary works, their primary function and the communicative task is to affect the reader or spectator aesthetically. Therefore, the translator needs to transmit this task to achieve the same effect in the translation language as in the original language. In this process, the translator uses all the necessary transformations described in the translational theory.

At the same time, some features are distinctive only of these forms, such as length or time restrictions, as the “bubble” in the manga is rela-

tively small, and the translated speech of a character should not be longer (or shorter) than the original speech. Besides, a specific form of these literary works gives no opportunity to use footnotes or references, which leads to omitting some information. However, it may be relevant for the reader or spectator.

Researchers regard manga and anime as creolised type texts, so the role of the visual part is quite important in both, and it should be considered during the translating process. The manga also affects the function (and thus the translation) of onomatopoeic words, so the translator has to use shortened forms of mimetic and onomatopoeic words, occasionalism and generalisation method.

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PRAGMATIC PECULIARITIES OF THE FRENCH TRANSLATION OF ELECTRIC VEHICLES AND ECOLOGICAL TERMS

The emergence of new terms requires their accurate translation that deals with their forms and meaning. When translating, the pragmatic adaptation of new terms allows to convey the volume of information from a sender to a recipient. Terms value is revealed through a comparative study of vocabularies of electric vehicles and ecology, which includes the overview of their formation and establishing the correlation in the translation from French to Russian. As a hypothesis, a period of development of a specialised vocabulary can influence on pragmatic adaptation. The comparative analysis deals with terms from modern scientific and technical literature on electric vehicles and ecology. Methods include the description of their peculiarities (ways of translation, structure, etc.) and determination of their differences in analysed. The study has established the correlation between the pragmatic adaptation of the translation of terms and their functional characteristics (time of creation, translation transformations, etc.). The temporal characteristics of a terminology and its elements can affect the accuracy of the translation, i. e. new terminologies have a higher pragmatic adaptation of their terms. Further research can consider elaborated approaches while comparing characteristics of specialised vocabulary in other domains.

Keywords: terms, specialised vocabulary, terminology, ecology, electric vehicle, pragmatic adaptation, translation transformations.

Ю. А. Сахаров

ПРАГМАТИЧЕСКИЕ ОСОБЕННОСТИ ПЕРЕВОДА НА ФРАНЦУЗСКИЙ ЯЗЫК ТЕРМИНОВ ЭЛЕКТРОМОБИЛЕСТРОЕНИЯ И ЭКОЛОГИИ

Возникновение новых терминов влечет за собой необходимость точного перевода, который затрагивает форму и значение термина. Прагматическая адаптация имеет большое значение для перевода входящих в терминологию специальной лексики и терминов. Для понимания значения прагматической адаптации при переводе новых терминов было проведено сравнительное изучение терминологии электромобилестроения и экологии, включавшее их развитие, функциональную характеристику терминов и корреляцию переводов с французского на русский язык в прагматическом аспекте. Сделано предположение, что время формирования терминологии может влиять на прагматическую адапта-

цию. Материал исследования составили термины из современной научно-технической литературы. Методы включали в себя описание особенностей и установление различий у терминов в рассматриваемых языках. Была установлена корреляция между степенью прагматической адаптации при переводе терминов электромобилестроения и экологии с французского на русский язык и их функциональными характеристиками (время образования, переводческие трансформации и т. п.). Временная характеристика терминов может оказывать влияние на точность перевода, т. е. степень прагматической адаптации выше у давно образованных терминологий. Дальнейшее исследование прагматических особенностей термина проводится с использованием примененного в данном исследовании подхода.

Ключевые слова: термины, специальная лексика, терминология, экология, электромобилестроение, прагматическая адаптация, переводческие трансформации.

The development of scientific, cultural and economic relations between countries is traditionally accompanied by the emergence of new lexical units that expand existing terminologies in the language or contribute to the formation of new terminological systems. These processes connected with the expansion of the vocabulary of a language (including a language for special purposes) affect the need for the translation of new terms to ensure their correct usage and understanding. One of the main requirements for translating terminological units is the accurate translation of the form and content of the source term into the target language. When translating the denotative and connotative components, the pragmatic element, which represents the relationship between the senders and recipients of information, should also be considered. The pragmatic aspect of translation is one of the critical factors determining how to transfer the meaning of a term and the volume of transmitted information.

At the same time, the analysis of translation methods in the pragmatic aspect is of specific interest. In particular, its application in the study of the ways of translation of terms through a comparative analysis of their equivalents in terminologies in other languages, which were formed at different times. This requires specifying the peculiarities of pragmatic adaptation of scientific and technical literature, characterising the formation and development of the studied terminologies and analysing the functional characteristics of the translation of their terms.

Linguistic pragmatics covers several issues dealing with understanding by the participants of one communicative process of a sign, which other participants create. C. Morris and C. Peirce were among the first to suggest this idea. Receptors' understanding of the translation of some

terms depends on their linguistic and extra-linguistic experience. The participants' lack of background knowledge necessary to understand a concept or an object leads to pragmatic adaptation of the text or any linguistic units included in it.

The characteristics and peculiarities of pragmatic adaptation are analysed in foreign (J.-P. Vine and J. Darbelnet) and Russian (L. L. Nelyubin, R. K. Minyar-Beloruchev, A. D. Schweitzer, V. V. Sdobnikov, V. N. Komissarov, etc.) researchers. Their views on the nature of adaptation differ: some understand adaptation as an independent type of language mediation; others understand it as a necessity in translation. For example, V. N. Komissarov refers to pragmatic adaptation as some changes introduced into the translated text to "ensure the desired impact on the recipient of the translation" [Komissarov, 1990].

According to A. Neubert [Neubert, 1978], scientific and technical styles (and linguistic units included in them) do not require pragmatic adaptation, as they are oriented to those who work in a particular scientific field. It means that the translator is familiar with general translation techniques that can help convey the meaning of the source text and make it comprehensible for recipients.

However, translating lexical units in a scientific or technical text may require pragmatic adaptation. It may be necessary for the following cases: a newly formed terminology in the source language or a new branch of knowledge is actively developing, implying the formation of new terminological units; no formed terminological system in the target language; the translation is addressed to a particular recipient (for example, metaphorisation for knowledge transfer in educational activities).

The ecology terminological system studied in this article has been evolving for a long time in the French language. The term "ecology" itself was proposed by the German zoologist and evolutionist E. Haeckel in 1866. However, approaches to the study and evaluation of natural phenomena began to be formulated in the period of Antiquity in the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus. The notion of ecology consisted of a series of generalisations about the world around us. The Renaissance and geographical discoveries of that time extended the knowledge about flora and fauna. They positively influenced the development of ecology until its establishment as a scientific discipline in the 19th century. In the mid-20th century, the ecological vocabulary is enriched by the terminology of nature management and environmental protection, considered new terminological systems. The scientific vocabulary consists of terms with Greek and Latin roots and terms formed using metaphors and comparisons: fr. *le développement durable* — rus. *устойчивое развитие*.

The study of the terminological system of electric vehicles has revealed that it is dominated by Latin and Greek origin and phrases borrowed from English, Italian, Spanish, and other languages. The main factors of the development of the electric vehicles terminological system are the work of translators, inventors and scientists (borrowing of a particular vocabulary and creation of words); the lexicographic activity (production of specialised dictionaries by the French Academy and industrial associations); the restriction of borrowing of foreign terms by the French government (e. g. laws on the protection of the French language and the selection of terminology). The prerequisites for forming a terminology system of electric vehicles can be traced long before L. Da Vinci created a prototype of modern cars — the “self-propelled carriage”. Beginning in the 2nd century B. C., the French language was enriched with technical vocabulary, often borrowed (*l'anomalie, la lampe, le balai*), which would later become part of the automobile and electric vehicle terminological systems. Active development of the vocabulary of the electric vehicle terminological system takes place at the beginning of the 20th century with the emergence of the first car companies (Ford, Peugeot, Renault, Delaunay-Belleville) in the industrialised countries. In addition to production cars, companies also produced prototypes of the first electric cars [“La Jamais Contenté”, 1900]. Later, the production became serial and was accompanied by the development of the terminological system of electric vehicles due to linguistic and extra-linguistic factors (work of terminology commissions, activities of translators to translate documentation into other languages, borrowing of particular vocabulary, etc.).

Since the compared terminological systems have developed thanks to the activities of translators, the influence of pragmatic factors on the translation of terms may indicate the timeframe of its development. Thus, terms translations of emerging terminological systems have a higher level of adaptation of terms in the target language than established terminological systems in the same vocabulary. This adaptation varies the amount of information conveyed to the translation recipient. The translator's task is to transfer their meaning from the source language to the target language and retain its volume in the absence of an equivalent term or the novelty of a terminological unit for the recipient. In this case, the transfer of the meaning must be accessible to its recipient: one part of it can be expressed in the term; the second part can be implied by the importance of the term if the recipient of the translation is familiar with it, which is not always possible in the given case.

As a result, the following translation adaptations can be observed when comparing translations of terminological units of electric vehicle

engineering and ecology from French into Russian, which has been taken from modern scientific and technical literature:

Additions to a terminological unit. When translating terminological units of the electric vehicle terminological system, it is typical to add explicit information to translations: fr. *le câblage additionnel auto-partage* — rus. *дополнительная электропроводка в комплектации для краткосрочной аренды автомобиля*; fr. *le moteur mixage droit* — rus. *электродвигатель привода правой заслонки смешивания воздушных потоков*; fr. *la gestion flotte professionnel* — rus. *система профессионального управления автопарком*; fr. *le capteur ultrason alarme* — rus. *ультразвуковой датчик охранной сигнализации*. In translations of ecology terms, this type of adaptation is less common, and mostly in translations of recently created terms with several components: fr. *le principe du pollueur-payeur* — rus. *принцип возмещения ущерба виновником загрязнения*; fr. *la dislocation* — rus. *смещение земной коры*; fr. *l'interfécondité* — rus. *плодовитость при скрещивании*; fr. *la turbine* — rus. *турбинный двигатель*.

Single-component terms, which have existed for a long time in the terminological system, usually have an equivalent in the target language and do not require pragmatic adaptation. For example, ecology terms with morphemes of Greek and Latin origin: fr. *l'homéostasie* — rus. *гомеостаз*; fr. *la biocénose* — rus. *биоценоз*; fr. *la lithosphère* — rus. *литосфера*; fr. *l'activité sismique* — rus. *сейсмическая активность*. The terms of the electric vehicle industry, the use of which is regulated by the General Commission on Terminology and Neologisms also have equivalents (fr. *le sac gonflable* — rus. *подушка безопасности*; fr. *le déflecteur* — rus. *спойлер*; fr. *le feu de détresse* — rus. *огни аварийной сигнализации*), or the term is part of a related terminologies (fr. *le balai d'essuie-vitre* — rus. *щетка стеклоочистителя*; fr. *le porte-lampe* — rus. *патрон*; fr. *le système anti-blocage des roues* — rus. *система антиблокировки колёс*).

Abbreviated translations and the omission of certain elements are more characteristic of the newly created terms of electric vehicles. For example, fr. *le groupe motoventilateur refroidissement* — rus. *электровентилятор системы охлаждения двигателя*; fr. *l'unité de contrôle électrique habitacle* — rus. *коммутационный блок салона*; fr. *les faisceaux électriques* — rus. *жгуты проводов*; fr. *le self antiparasites* — rus. *помехоподавительный дроссель*.

Another type of adaptation of these terms is the descriptive translation, where the unit explaining its meaning replaces the translated unit: fr. *le véhicule utilitaire* — rus. *грузо-пассажирский автомобиль*; fr. *le câblage domestique* — rus. *бытовой зарядный кабель*; fr. *le BioDiesel* — rus.

биодизельное топливо; fr. *le harmonie intérieure* — rus. цветовая гамма салона; fr. *le climat grand froid* — rus. модификация для стран с очень холодным климатом; fr. *laide au parking* — rus. система парковки; fr. *le capteur toxicité* — rus. датчик содержания вредных веществ; fr. *le capteur pluie / lumière* — rus. датчик дождя / датчик интенсивности солнечного освещения. This type of adaptation is less represented in translations of ecology terms: fr. *la politique d'approvisionnement écoresponsable* — rus. политика экологически безопасного снабжения; fr. *laquaculture* — rus. разведение водных животных и растений.

Concretisation, as a translation adaptation, consists in replacing a term in the source language with a broad meaning with a term in the target language with a specific meaning. This type of adaptation is not directly related to the number of components included in the term, but to the peculiarities of transferring the meaning of individual components. For example, fr. *tous chemins* — rus. внедорожные условия; fr. *le chassis long* — rus. длиннобазное шасси; fr. *la cartographie* — rus. карты; fr. *le kit poussière* — rus. комплект защиты от пыли; fr. *la radio et périphérique de communication* — rus. аудиоустановка и коммуникационное оборудование; fr. *la direction assistée électrique* — rus. рулевое управление с электроусилителем; fr. *le correcteur en site des projecteurs* — rus. дистанционный корректор света фар; fr. *le bruiteur de véhicule électrique* — rus. звуковой сигнал электромобиля. This is also observed in translations of ecological terms: fr. *les normes internationales de comportement* — rus. международный стандарт деятельности; fr. *l'évaluation de la conformité* — rus. подтверждение соответствия чего-то чему-то; fr. *la carte aérométrique* — rus. аэрофотосъемка; fr. *thermorésistant* — rus. переносящий высокие температуры.

The explication is necessary when a term is borrowed, has no translation equivalent, or has recently been created. Explication means adding extra information to the translation to fill in the missing background knowledge of the translator. For example, fr. *le haut parleur tweeter avant gauche* — rus. левый передний высокочастотный громкоговоритель; fr. *le radar de proximité* — rus. радар обнаружения препятствий; fr. *les rétroviseurs extérieurs* — rus. зеркала заднего вида; fr. *le contrôle de trajectoire* — rus. система стабилизации траектории движения; fr. *le signal LIN (diagnostic) de véhicule électrique* — rus. сигнал мультимплексной сети LIN электромобиля (диагностика). The following units of special vocabulary can be given as examples of translations of ecology terms: fr. *l'écoétiquette* — rus. правила безопасного взаимодействия с окружающей средой; fr. *l'antipollution* — rus. направленный против загрязнения окружающей среды; fr. *laérogénérateur* — rus. генератор-

ветродвигатель; fr. *l'environmentaliste* — rus. *специалист в области защиты окружающей среды*.

The study of the peculiarities of translation of terminological units of technical (electric vehicle industry) and natural science (ecology) terminologies from the point of view of the pragmatic aspect has shown the existence of a relationship between the structural and temporal characteristics of the term and types of pragmatic adaptation. Thus, the time of formation of a terminological system can affect the precision of translation of its terminological units.

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STRATEGIES OF CONTEMPORARY ANGLOPHONE WOMEN'S WRITING: EXAMPLE OF J. WINTERSON

Establishing the basic laws of narrative formation and tracing certain trends in its development is always an interesting and fruitful subject of study. The purpose of the research was to conduct a structural and semantic analysis of examples through English-language women's prose using the example of Jeanette Winterson's writing. A new method of analyzing modern women's prose has been developed. It is based on the provisions of feminist criticism, hermeneutical research, literary works of female authors, and works on the theory of sign. An important methodological tool is the provisions of the modern philosophy of postmodernism, in particular the views of the classic post-structuralist Gilles Deleuze. The result is the identification of common patterns that are formed in English-language women's prose. They are: including less structuring, emotional saturation, heterogeneity of the text, and a general eco-sensitivity to linguistic means of expression. The study also describes Contemporary British women's writing along the lines of post-colonial writing. The example of J. Winterson has been chosen for this article to illustrate contemporary tendencies. Among the meta-modernist trends, we determine the following: the principles of "oscillation", "flickering" (the meaning of words, motifs, etc.), and the principle of "compression" (which manifests itself in attention to a single word or symbol). The syncretic nature of women's writing and its approximation to the poetic text is studied separately. This study can be used for lectures on English-language literature, in the process of teaching reading skills.

Keywords: women's writing, anti-narrative practices, post-colonial writing, meta-modernism, feminist theory, J. Winterson.

Н. Ф. Щербак

СТРАТЕГИИ СОВРЕМЕННОЙ АНГЛОЯЗЫЧНОЙ ЖЕНСКОЙ ПРОЗЫ (НА ПРИМЕРЕ ТВОРЧЕСТВА ДЖ. УИНТЕРСОН)

Установление основных законов формирования повествования и отслеживание определенных тенденций в его развитии всегда является интересным и плодотворным предметом изучения. Целью исследования было провести структурно-семантический анализ англоязычной женской прозы на примере творчества Джанет Уинтерсон. Разработан новый метод анализа современной женской прозы: основанный на положениях феминистской критики, герменевтических исследованиях, литературных произведениях женщин-авторов и работах по теории знака. Важным методологическим инструментом являются положения

современной философии постмодернизма, в частности взгляды классического постструктуралиста Жюль Делёза. Результатом исследования является выявление тех общих закономерностей, которые формируются в англоязычной женской прозе, включая меньшую структурированность, эмоциональную насыщенность, неоднородность текста и общую экологическую чувствительность к языковым средствам выражения. Современное британское женское письмо изучается в русле постколониального письма. Пример Дж. Уинтерсон иллюстрирует современные тенденции. Исследование может быть использовано для лекционных курсов по англоязычной литературе, в процессе обучения навыкам чтения. Среди метамодернистских тенденций очевидны принципы «колебания», «мерцания» (значения слов, мотивов и т. д.) и принцип «сжатия» (который проявляется во внимании к слову или символу). Отдельно изучается синкретический характер женского письма и его приближение к поэтическому тексту.

Ключевые слова: женское письмо, антинарративные практики, постколониальное письмо, метамодернизм, феминистическая теория, Дж. Уинтерсон.

Introduction

This article aims at showing the vector of Anglophone women's writing development. It reveals what shapes the identity of a contemporary woman (the character's as well as the writer herself). Thus, this study assists in developing literature courses for university-level (BA, MA or PhD) and could be used for intermediate to proficiency reading skills development.

This writing aims to study common patterns that women's writing is characterised by. The Third Feminist Movement gives way to theoretical works on feminism and produces a new report. Prose by Sylvia Plath feels depressing yet talks about the true nature of problems related to a woman's true identity more than before. In the 60s, women's writing took a different turn; University figures like Iris Murdoch would establish the identity of a strong woman, opposing herself to a man, struggling not for her ambitions but, above all, for the idea of liberation and independence. Jeanette Winterson attempts to eliminate gender opposition by making gender fluid. Her prose is sometimes treated as traumatic discourse and a most tender and poetic manifestation of oneself. Post-colonial writing shows that the return to more traditional values is seen in the post-modern tendency to unite tradition and cultural backgrounds. She was treating them with kind humour, respect, and irony. To sum up, a British women writer of the present wants from life almost everything, what she can take from tradition, and what she can happily generate from new opportunities.

Methods and Materials

Feminist theories: tradition and innovation

Initially, the term “women’s writing” was introduced in work *The Laugh of the Medusa* by Hélène Cixous [Cixous, Cohen, Cohen, 1976]. One of the key works for fundamentally understanding women’s writing is the book by S. Gilbert and S. Gubar, prominent representatives of literary feminism and feminist theory. *The Woman Writer and the Literary Imagination* [Gilbert, Gubar, 2000] of the 19th century became a milestone for feminism in the 1970s and is considered a key research text for the “second wave” of feminism. Within feminist criticism, the term “women’s writing” is used in the Derridian sense. The Frenchman introduced the concept of “feminine writing” and applied it to a particular type of creativity characterised by a rejection of the mental clichés of logo-centrism and a fundamental semantic multiplicity. No less important for understanding the prose of women authors is the position of feminist criticism about what is specific to women’s reading. Russian literary critics have analysed women’s writing on many occasions, including the latest monograph by O. Sidorova [Sidorova, 2020] research of contemporary Irish and Scottish women’s writing by N. Shcherbak [Shcherbak, 2021].

Post-modern Philosophy, Digitization and Meta-modernism

Post-modernism

In his famous research work *Toward a Concept of Post-Modernism* [Hassan, 1987], Hassan outlined the most apparent tendencies in developing post-modern narrative. For example, the substitution of “presence” for “absence”; “the open form” becoming a more typical pattern than that of the “closed form”; “silence” substituting “speech”. The framework offered by Hassan observes main-characteristics of post-modernism, which are also seen in the general “hierarchy” principle giving way to “anarchy” of the form; the “rhizome” concept occupying the place of the “tree structure”; “intertextuality” being more evident in texts than “genre”, “difference-repetition” opposition (a term introduced by Deleuze) [Deleuze, 1998] being a new pattern of the study of texts, that substitutes the traditional “representation” principle.

Metamodernism

A recent trend in developing literary texts is coined as a metamodernist tradition. It was defined so by its founders who proclaimed a cer-

tain degree of the “end of art” and ‘the end of history” [Vermeulen, van den Akker, 2010]. Main principles guiding metamodernism adhere to a contemporary paradigm observed in music that includes “shimmering effect of sounds”, “compression of sound”, and “global intertextuality”, which sometimes turns metamodernism into the culture of “total quoting”. Metamodernism is a term that has been widely criticised, yet it could be well identified in most contemporary 21st century literary practices, including women’s writing [Groys, 2015].

Symptomatic and surface reading revisited

The best vivid example of a contemporary famous critical article on hermeneutics has been published under the title *Surface Reading* [Best, Marcus, 2009, p. 1–21]. It enumerates different possibilities in approaching the text, stating that it provides enormous scope for information. It is unnecessary to bring meaning into it, as it reveals immense depths just by offering the content. Surface or symptomatic reading often locate outright absences, gaps, and ellipses in texts, and then ask what those absences mean, what forces create them, and how they signify the questions that motivate the reader, but that the text itself cannot articulate” [Best, Marcus, 2009, p. 3]. Thus, when studying contemporary women’s writing, surface reading ideas are highly relevant.

Therefore, analytical readers need to see what is on the surface of women’s writing and the surface of her text. It is essential to decode what is written make a possible judgement regarding if it is a biography, an experiment, or a trauma being manifested explicitly or hidden.

Results and Discussion: main tendencies and research areas

Modern women’s writing has a wide range of options. It has a detailed history of its own. There is a specific “classical” model of contemporary literature, so women’s prose is a classical pattern. You have Oxford writers such as Antonia Byatt, with her famous novel *Possession* (1990). Such a deep philosophical attitude is not the only strategy a woman writer takes. It could be exploring the tradition and convention of the Victorian era by giving special attention to women’s sexual preferences and repression (Sarah Waters), or it could be a particular focus on poetry and life journey as in E. Groshalz’s writing. One could mention Angela Carter and her adherence to magic realism, women writers expressing interest in contemporary Gothic novel Elly Griffiths or Diane Setterfield among recent women’s writers. Some women writers show the ability to address the biographi-

cal and pseudo-biographical genre, paying attention to historical drama and detective stories. An exciting trend is the phenomenon of Irish and Scottish novels as different from British or English ones (see forthcoming [Shcherbak, 2021]). Zadie Smith and her *White Teeth* (2000), an excellent example of post-colonial women's writing, compose a text characterised by heterogeneity, playing with motives and agendas, a heroic, full of humour attempt to bridge the gap between traditions new voices. One of the most critical problems for women's literature is what Spivak, a theorist of post-colonial literature, calls "global sisterhood" [Spivak, 1985].

Considering the diversity of contemporary women's prose and for the sake of convenience, we have chosen writings by J. Winterson as a striking representative of modern women's literature. An excellent example of contemporary writing which stands against the background of the British literary tradition and at the same time maintains it in the most vivid and talented way.

The example of J. Winterson as a contemporary British author, patterns of narrative

Psychoanalytic theories and the prose by J. Winterson

An important issue that has been taken into account, and rightly so, is the fact of referring to trauma and trauma narratives when addressing Winterson's writing. Above all, this concerns the issues of, for instance, several unsuccessful love affairs being shown in her book and then comparing them to one romantic story (as in *Written on the Body*). [Horvitz, Deborah, 2000]. Trauma is usually revealed in texts through the constant search for the "solution", as if the character positions herself in the same situation, this recurring event shows attempts to "heal the wound", that is, try and break the "wrong scenario". Winterson's "search for the right one" so well revealed in the *Written on the Body* is also quite evident in the fact of the death of the main character, a very detailed description of her illness, as if "taking apart" the body as well as any "hope" of peaceful reconciliation with the object of desire.

In *The PowerBook*, the narrator Ali writes of Rembrandt: no artist had so conspicuously made himself both the subject and the object of his work" [Winterson 2014, p.214]. Childs argues this is something that could be said of Winterson, not that her writing is extraordinarily autobiographical but that it is ultimately concerned with the emotions and feelings of the individual self, which are revealed and scrutinised, displayed, and studied [Childs, 2005, p. 255–281].

Some researchers have recently identified the phenomenon called “transgenerational trauma”, which aims to study how specific complexes or difficulties in one’s psyche are not only fixed within one mind but influence reactions and mental schemes of future generations. In the article by Reina C. van der Wiel *Writing the Body: Trauma, Woolf, Winterson* [van der Wiel, 2014], the author explores the classical notions of psychoanalysis. It is stated in the research that the analytical work is to help patients to own or re-own that which has been projected into the body, usually as a result of the fact that feelings have been unbearable and unthinkable. Such a view explains the idea of *Written on the Body* extrapolating it to other novels. An interesting point to make here is that post-modern theories (including the ones by G. Deleuze) completely changed the perspective of research and literary texts. “Body without organs” is the concept introduced by Deleuze, and very much a continuation of psychoanalytical view, yet entirely different from it.

Post-modernism, rhizome and J. Winterson’s writing

In Winterson’s prose, the “repetition” of the patterns of love stories is a good example not necessarily (or not only!) of “overcoming” the traumatic experience, but an excellent example of a new type of prose development, with patterns of “static repetitions” that come instead of the traditional “different” characters, motifs, and events introduction. In J. Winterson’s writing, isomorphic connections are very well seen in *The Power-Book*. You have a combination of different time sub-systems and other possibilities realised for characters simultaneously.

A passage in *Gut Symmetries* seems to bring together Winterson’s preoccupations. “To live differently, to love differently, to think differently or to try to”. Is the danger of beauty so great that it is better to live without it (the standard model?) or fall into her arms, fire to fire? There is no discovery without risk and what you risk reveals what you value. Inside the horror of Nagasaki and Hiroshima lies the beauty of Einstein’s E=mc² [Winterson, 1997, p. 103]. To recognise and embrace the gamble of loving is to risk having your world blown apart to experience something beautiful pointed up here by the direct echo of a phrase from *The Passion* (the novel is also referred to in *The PowerBook* [Winterson, 2001, p. 26]).

According to Childs, “to love differently emerges as a goal achieved by telling stories differently of re-imagining and remapping life. Throughout her fiction, Winterson returns to the theme and provides different metaphors for that re-imagining” [Childs, 2005, p. 255–281].

I can't take my body through space and time, but I can send my mind and use the stories, written and unwritten, to tumble me out in a place not just existing — my future. The stories are maps. Maps of journeys that have been made [Winterson, 2001, p. 53].

This passage in *The PowerBook* occurs when the narrator has been told, "I think someone has cut out your heart" (PB 52), which is another recurring trope of Winterson's fiction. In *The Passion*, this carving out has happened "literally" to Villanelle when her heart is kept in a jar in the house of the Queen of Spades. This also allows them to cross the limits and have no boundaries.

In *Gut Symmetries* and *Salon Interview*, dated back to April 28, 2017, Winterson writes:

"There is a physical reality, the table, the chair, the cars on the street, which appears to be the solid, knowable world, subject to proof. But there is also the reality of the psyche, imaginative reality, emotional reality, the things which are not subject to evidence and never can be. We understand the world as oppositions. Black/white, good/evil, male/female. What can be found and what can't be. But what's invisible to us also so crucial for our well-being or health" [Winterson, 1994, p. 263].

The concept of silence in J. Winterson's writing

Post-modern principles that were well explained by Hassan (1987) included the change of "presence" into "absence", the "anarchy principle" coming instead of the rigid order that grand narratives were famous for. "Silence" is another important concept here, and it comes instead from the speech itself. As J. Winterson's prose is famous for its syncretic characteristics, silence as a post-modern concept will be highly relevant to understanding and analysing her writing.

The aesthetic function of silence, the realisation of the motif, is associated with the process of "vital activity of sound", its accentuation, which is realised due to the fact that modern authors often use musical notes and musical scores directly in their literary works. At the same time, unexpected provocative metaphors are played out, which, like a piece of music or any other work of art, are designed to excite, shock, and leave a trace. Known for her outrageous plot and radical feminism, J. Winterson, in her novel *Art & Lies: A Piece for Three Voices and a Bawd* attaches a musical score at the novel's end. The author uses many onomatopoeic elements, sound repetitions, creating prose works about three brilliant creators, its poetics in many ways reminiscent of the poetic form.

Consider examples from Winterson's prose works in which the combination of sound and colour chiaroscuro creates additional meanings, which, according to critics, "complicates and encrypts the plot" [Musatova, 2009, p.77–80]:

"...from a distance, only the light is visible, a speeding gleaming horizontal angel trumpet out on a tricky bend. The note bells. The note bells the beauty of the stretching train that pulls the light in a long gold thread. It catches in the wheels; it flashes on the doors that open and close in commuter rhythm" [Winterson, 1994, p.3].

The example implements a situation that talks about the movement of a passing train. A grammatical metaphor is used when describing the surrounding sounds (trumpet out, the note bells): nouns denoting musical instruments (trumpet, bell) are actualised as verbs. Colour phenomena are described in terms of their colour (golden thread) and energy characteristics: sparkles, flashes, turnings on or off as a current (in the text gleaming, seconds), which makes the narrative multi-layered, voluminous, intense. In the middle of the 20th century, auditory ecology became an absolute value of literary creativity with musical creativity. The latter is characterised by the highest threshold of sound sensitivity and increased attention to microscopic sound elements, to the minor nuances of changing sonority. Musical creativity is characterised by silence becoming a full-fledged sound material and acquires aesthetic "legitimacy" [Lavrova, 2013]. Such attention to the slightest sound elements in the analysis of a literary text is manifested.

Human and transcendental in Winterson's writing

The transcendental is one of the critical concepts of post-modernist writing. However, its nature has been studied at large throughout centuries. Winterson's choice of Mary Shelley's image refers immediately to Romantic tradition, including Coleridge and Keats. However, the language used by Winterson highlights her modernist "mode" as well, as if bridging the gap not only of the Romantic era and the present but also refers to the beginning of the 20th century and the whole history of British poetry. Romantics have introduced different vital notions in poetry, including that of "imagination" and "fancy" that Coleridge famously wrote about. The introduction of a different poetic technique, the attention to word and its form, the sound, as in T. S. Eliot's writing, allowed poetry to get to a different stage of development. However, the development of prose (including that of women writers) along the lines of poetry (and poetry developing in a similar way to music) allows *Frankissstein: A Love Story* to pass a differ-

ent message. The one that is also rendered in the title refers to the famous work by Mary Shelley, and at the same time (in a very meta-modernist way, using “compression”) allows one to say that it is a highly contemporary piece of writing.

Of course, the idea of Frankenstein was to show that intellect on its own doesn't mean much without the human component. A similar idea is expressed in any book that refers to religious matters (and this is the subject that Winterson enjoys arguing with and opposing). Religion inspires to believe that people are Godly creatures. In contrast, science and any post-Darwin idea would support the more mechanical side of the human entity and the belief in artificial intelligence, digitisation, etc. Therefore, making Frankissstein out of Frankenstein is a challenge to a woman writer. As Winterson said herself in one of her video interviews, M. Shelley wrote a book (that impressed Byron so much, as she wrote it at such a young age) to speak about a woman's identity that is so weak as it lacks confidence, being so much lost and in isolation. The contemporary version allows us to explore the topic anew (with the present scene having a surgeon and a few trans-gender characters that add to the whole story). However, I believe it is not only about transgender or queer issues (though there is a specific reference to H. Stein in the title), but it is definitely about the opposition of something “mechanical” and “monstrous” to something human.

Technological and human in Winterson's writing, psychoanalytical perspective

The topic of human versus technological has been widely discussed in the literature. Contemporary advances in technology allow us to speak about a new stage in the development of humanity. However, the topic of human nature remains far more critical.

Firstly, it is worth mentioning that the beginning of the 21st century has been marked by all its possible technological advances. Yet, its value for many writers remains to be questioned. Secondly, an important thing to mention is that state-of-the-art literature, cinema, theatre, and art opt for neo-romanticism and pragmatic idealism, as the technical side of life can't (and should not) eliminate its humane needs.

J. Winterson's novel *Frankissstein: A Love Story* is artistic. It explores fluid gender characters living at present. One of them is a surgeon, and the other one — a scientist. The author organises her novel so that it has two historical planes. One is present, and the other one was two centuries ago. The scene is set in Switzerland, and the main characters are Byron, Marry Shelley, and other famous poets of the Romantic era. The title refers to the

monster Frankenstein that Mary Shelley famously described at eighteen. The appearance of a beast developed by a scientist always raises the question of to what extent science and technological advances allow people to remain humane. Are culture and technological advancement equal (in some literature, the opposition is called civilisation versus culture). Mary Shelley was a famous woman writer of the 19th century. By introducing her into the narrative, J. Winterson raises another question of how a woman writer was forced to become a monster when it was almost impossible for her to form her own identity.

Hence, a monster is a distorted image of a woman writer in many ways. “Frankissstein” as a title has got another interesting feature. The three *s*, in a way, is a good illustration of the meta-modernist principle of “compression” of sound, the author’s deliberate attempt to “compress” a text and reduce it to a hieroglyph: the most picturesque manifestation of the world. The three *s* allow to “compress” the whole story into this strange “whistle of wind”. “Stein” as a root also refers (implicitly) to Gertrude Stein, a famous writer, host, and owner of the famous saloon in pre-War Paris, who was friends with James Joyce, Ezra Pound, Picasso, and whose image is so well described in Hemingway’s *The Moveable Feast* (1964).

The title of J. Winterson’s book raises a question of the power of language and its role in the life of humans. Language bears traces of world culture and its main patterns. Speech and the well-established language of a poet can show the complexity of the world and its complex nature.

The possibility of looking at the text from the psychoanalytical perspective allows us to see certain traces of madness in the characters and the overall pattern of the story (in the novel, it is compared to a psychoanalytical session). Manifesting a character as an object, in other words showing them as having numerous aspects of possible identities, is very characteristic of contemporary fiction. This is, above all, a debate of organic versus non-organic substances being characters.

A view ahead

The main focus of contemporary hermeneutics is to concentrate on surface reading and symptomatic reading, which allow the tracing of cultural and historical patterns through the development of different aesthetic paradigms. Many strategies characterise contemporary Anglophone women’s writing. Some of them follow the post-modern paradigm, including “open ending”, isomorphic structure, attention to the acoustic properties of the word, and notions like silence and repetition. It also follows meta-modern tradition and is characterised by “oscillation”, “com-

pression”, and “global quoting”. Anglophone women’s writing will incorporate post-colonial writing and follow practices of different genres. Scottish, Welsh, and Irish women’s reports will be maintaining their older patterns and developing new ones, adhering to the opposition global-local. Radical feminism will attentively explore the possibility of social issues and the language and its potential for bringing text closer to poetry and music. The example of J. Winterson allows us to see the general “compression” principle in the text; it also allows us to explore the trauma question and decode her texts from a different perspective, seeing it not as a radical feminist manifestation only. Syncretic and synesthetic properties of her writing shape peculiar specifics of women’s prose. The humanistic focus of women’s writing is of high importance in the age of technology.

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THE SPHERE OF “MIGRATION” CONCEPT IN THE GERMAN MIGRATION DISCOURSE*

The article examines the elements, structuring the sphere of the concept of *migration* in the German migration discourse. Discourse represents a set of discursive practices. The author of the article considers the concepts of *migration* and *multiculti* as the elements of the sphere of concepts. The aim of the article is to give model fragments of the *migration* concept sphere. Being a key concept of the migration discourse, *migration* is considered as a permanent or temporary process of language transformation, which directly depends on the categories of space, time, motivation and socio-cultural factors. The object of the study are the concepts of *migration* and *multiculti*, the subject is the means of verbalization of these concepts based on the material of German media discourse. The purpose of the study is to analyze the *migration* concept sphere in terms of its expansion and identification of new components that allow identifying new facets of migration that affect the social development of society both within the framework of the formation of a tolerant attitude towards migrants and migration processes in the context of globalization, and in the aspect of linguistic conflict. Based on the analysis of Corpora Collection corpus data of the University of Leipzig, the characteristic features of the studied concepts *migration* and *multiculti* are highlighted and presented in the article in the form of semantic modules. The article refers to the sphere of researches on discourse analysis and migration linguistics, as a new trend, the origins of which are reflected in the research work of German scientists.

Keywords: migration, migration discourse, migration linguistics, *multiculti*, semantic module, discursive practice.

С. В. Шустова

КОНЦЕПТОСФЕРА «MIGRATION» В НЕМЕЦКОМ МИГРАЦИОННОМ ДИСКУРСЕ

В предлагаемой статье рассматриваются элементы, структурирующие концептосферу миграции в немецком миграционном дискурсе. Дискурс представляет собой совокупность дискурсивных практик. К элементам концептосферы автор статьи относит концепты *migration* и *multiculti*. На основе работы с корпусными данными Corpora Collection Лейп-

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цигского университета выделяются характерные особенности изучаемых концептов, которые представлены в статье в виде семантических модулей. Работа включается в круг исследований по дискурс-анализу, миграционной лингвистике, нового формирующегося направления, истоки которого фиксируются в исследованиях немецких ученых. Целью работы является моделирование фрагментов концептосферы *migration*. Являясь ключевым концептом миграционного дискурса, миграция рассматривается как постоянный или временный процесс трансформации языка, который напрямую зависит от категории пространства, времени, мотивации и социокультурных факторов.

Ключевые слова: миграция, миграционный дискурс, миграционная лингвистика, *migration*, *multikulti*, семантический модуль, дискурсивная практика.

Introduction

The focus of our attention is the *migration* sphere of concepts, which is actualized in the German migration discourse. The research is carried out within the framework of migration linguistics, a new scientific aspect. Migration is studied in various sciences as a complex social process, affecting almost all spheres of a human being. The increasing scale of migration demonstrates its importance and migration is considered as a tool for enriching the culture of work and becomes on a par with tourism, as a phenomenon of modern life, on the one hand, and as a problem of global proportions, on the other hand, *migration* is considered by us as one of the key concepts of migration discourse. Migration linguistics is an actual and rapidly developing interdisciplinary tendency in Europe and Russia [Gugenberger, 2018; Krefeld, 2004; Stehl, 2011; Kosteva, 2019].

Methods and materials

The linguistic representations of the concepts *migration* and *multiculti* correlate and arise from the social context and, accordingly, relate to the social environment. In order to analyze the language material, we use hypothetical-inductive and hypothetical-deductive methods, contextual analysis, as well as the modeling method in relation to the fragments of the migration sphere of the concepts *migration* and *multiculti*. The corpus data of the Corpora Collection of the Leipzig University are used as the material of our research.

Discussion

Being a key concept of migration discourse, *migration* is considered as a permanent or temporary process of language transformation, which depends on the categories of space, time, motivation and socio-cultural factors. The *migration* concept is included into the conceptual sphere of migration. This sphere is an unobservable mental entity, it is a sphere of mental images, units representing structured knowledge of people, and discourse is considered as a set of discursive practices — communicative situations mediating a certain sphere of activity: discussions, judgments about migration, migration processes, migrants, as well as discursive practices in the field of communication of migrants with other migrants and migrants with the representatives of the titular nation.

In the German migration discourse, the concept of *migration* is represented as follows: as the result of wars and military actions; as a reason for the weakening of social support; as a cause of inner-party discussions and confrontation; as a means of separation in territorial and cultural aspects; as a source and cause of crime; as a cause of uncontrollability by the state; as a means of struggle for power; as a cause of economic collapse, on the one hand, and vice versa, as a means of improving the welfare of citizens, on the other; as a source of creativity; as a reason for changing the legislation of the country; as a process required by the settlement as a means of uniting the society; as a means of “regeneration”, renewal of the society; as a means of cultural enrichment in the country.

Results

The concept of the German migration discourse is also the concept of *multiculti*. One of the leading trends in the development of the world community is the recognition of its diversity, multiculturalism, awareness of the need to educate a citizen of the world in the process of the dialogue between different cultures.

Bassam Tibi considers multiculturalism as a threat, believing that German culture is the only foundation that allows German society to develop successfully [Tibi, 2001, p. 2–3]. The perception of multiculturalism as a threat has long-standing roots and is associated with the development of the migration movement and the influx of foreigners to Germany. In the early 60s of the last century during the peak of labour migration, a typical guest worker was young and energetic and after a certain time spent in Germany, he returned to his homeland, without competing with native Germans. Basically, migrants were in demand in areas of “unpopu-

lar” professions associated with risk, or in seasonal jobs, and therefore, intercultural interaction with the representatives of foreign cultures was episodic, spontaneous and did not involve special pedagogical actions aimed at their integration into German society.

The journalist of the *Spiegel* newspaper, Özlem Geze, published the article “Ein Jahr nach dem Hanau-Attentat” [Der Spiegel]. In this article, the journalist shared his opinion on the position of the titular nation in relation to the terrorist act committed on February 19, 2020 in Hanau-am-Main, traditionally Hanau, a city in Germany, in the land of Hesse (Hessen). There were 9 people killed in two hookah cafes. The killings are believed to have been motivated by national and religious hatred. Among 9 persons killed, three were German citizens, two were Kurds, and one was a Gypsy. They were citizens of Turkey, Bulgaria and Romania. The suspect of the murder, a 43-year-old Tobias Ratien, had a permit to own a hunting gun, and shared, as it is assumed, extreme right-wing neo-Nazi views. On February 21, 2020, the German Interior Minister Horst Seehofer stated that “the crime in Hanau is clearly a racially motivated terrorist act”.

Özlem Gezer wonders about the reason for the lack of reaction to this crime, comparing it with the mass protests and marches in the United States in connection with the murder of George Floyd: “There were demonstrations, statements of solidarity, but there was no nationwide reaction”: *Da waren sie plötzlich sichtbar, Menschen, die man sonst kaum hörte. Menschen, die deutsche Autobahnen mit aufgebaut hatten, Schichtführer in Industriebetrieben waren, Busfahrer oder Schreiner. Ihre Kinder waren Heizungsinstallateure, Anlagenmechaniker, ... Hausmeister und Kammerjäger. Nützliches Personal für die deutsche Wirtschaft. ... Ermordet wurden am 19. Februar 2020 Kinder und Enkel von Menschen, die in den vergangenen 60 Jahren in dieses Land gekommen sind, damit es ihnen oder ihren Kindern eines Tages “besser geht”. Ich weiß, für Leserinnen und Leser ohne Einwanderungsgeschichte ist das wahrscheinlich eine alte Migrationsfloskel. ... Unsere Abschlüsse und unsere Jobs sind die Medaillen unserer Eltern und Großeltern.* (Here they suddenly became visible, people who are usually almost inaudible. The people who built German highways, worked as shift conductors at industrial enterprises, bus drivers or carpenters. Their children were heating installers, equipment mechanics, ... janitors and chamberlains — useful staff for German economy. On February 19, 2020, the children and grandchildren of the people, who had come to this country over the past 60 years for the reason that they or their children would one day “get better”, were killed. I know that for the readers without immigration history, this phrase, probably, means nothing. Graduation and work — these are the medals of our parents and grandparents...’ — *our translation*).

The problem covered by Özlem Gezer is directly related to multiculturalism, tolerance, intolerance, and conflictogenity. For example, with the school attending of migrant children, the conflict situations among the representatives of different cultures and native Germans have become more acute. There was a need for measures to integrate migrants. In the 70s of the 20th century, “pedagogy for foreigners” was developed [Chock, 1993]. This pedagogy had a twofold goal, firstly, to promote the integration of migrant children into the school environment, and secondly, to preserve the national and cultural identity of adolescents in the event of a possible return to their homeland. The concept of *Ausländerpädagogik* of this period was based on the principle of homogeneous learning and pursued the goal of assimilation and/or re-emigration. Society was not ready to respond to the contradictions that arose. Along with *Ausländerpädagogik*, *Migrantenpädagogik* or *Migrationspädagogik* was developing [Müller, 1999; Mecheril, 2016]. Migration pedagogy was focused on the study of the relationships of individuals and groups with national-ethno-cultural attitudes of belonging to a particular ethnic group. The need for “painless” integration, promoting equality and justice in a multicultural environment required a transition to the policy of “recognition of differences”, “multiculturalism as a chance” — the more colourful, the better [Richter, 2005].

We have performed the analysis of the *multiculti* concept based on the corpus data, German newspapers and speeches of German politicians. The concept of *multiculti* is actualized in the form of semantic modules represented by the following contextual uses [LC, 2020]:

- (1) Semantic module „Unity of Germany“: *kulturelle Identität Die gleiche ist stärker als ein Multikulti.*
- (2) Semantic module „Cause of complications of interpersonal relations“: *„Multikulti Durch das sind sie geworden aggressiver“, erzählt sie weiter.*
- (3) Semantic module „Islam“ *Man hört immer nur von den bösen Linksradikalen, aber die Rechtsradikale sind auch nicht gerade ohne, kann es nicht sein, das dabei von der AfD will ablenken, die auch nicht für Multikulti in Form von Muslimen sind.*
- (4) Semantic module „Destruction of Germany and the German society“: *Multikulti kläglich gescheitert ist, sie zerstört die deutsche Gesellschaft.*
- (5) Semantic module „Obstacle to the progress of society“: *Und nein, mit „romantischen Vorstellungen von Multikulti“ kommen wir wirklich nicht mehr weiter.*

- (6) Semantic module „Stimulus“: *Von Multikulti er will nichts hören; Multikulti ein Leben lang und die Frage: Wem wurde der Blues in die Wiege gelegt?*
- (7) Semantic module „Negative characteristic, sign, trait“: *Kneipen, Multikulti, Rotlichtviertel: Der Osten der Stadt Karlsruhe soll von seinem schlechten Ruf befreit werden und künftig ein attraktiver Stadtteil sein; Man hat also so automatisch Multikulti, explodierende Preise vor allem bei Immobilien und logischerweise internationale Klanskriminalität sowie Moscheen an jeder Ecke (Ibid.). Semantic module „Means of manipulation“: *Ja, Ihre Erkenntnisse sind gut und richtig, doch gerade das sollte jedem Deutschen zu denken geben, wird doch links-grün und auch Merkel seit Jahren nicht müde den Deutschen Multikulti als heilbringende Lösung zu verkaufen; Multikulti ist die größte Lüge, die man uns einsuggeriert; Die Nachrichten, Medien und TV haben Jahrzehnte lang mit manipulativen Mitteln den Menschen Multikulti als gut verkauft.**
- (8) Semantic module „Menace to the society“: *Alle, aber auch wirklich alle Freilandversuche von Multikulti weltweit beweisen, dass dies nur zu einer erhöhten Kriminalität, Mord, Totschlag, Vergewaltigungen, Drogen und zur Ghettobildung, Hass und Abschottung der Kulturen untereinander führt.*
- (9) Semantic module „Diffuseness“: *Orbán zufolge gibt es zwei Konzeptionen in den europäischen Debatten: die liberale, linke, die Migration und Multikulti befürwortet, und die andere Seite, die die christliche Kultur bewahrt, für Familien und nationale Identität eintritt.*
- (10) Semantic module „Means of Islamization of Germany“: *Die bewusste und zielstrebige Islamisierung Deutschlands, erzwungen mit Hilfe von Multikulti, lässt sich auch nicht mehr leugnen.*

In general, the supporters of Ausländerpädagogik formulate the following goals: the development of tolerance towards an alien lifestyle and the style of behaviour; awareness that cultural differences and foreign cultures affect a person's emotional sphere, become a source of his experiences and needs; the development of the ability to differentiate notions within a foreign culture, the ability to evaluate value systems and norms according to their degree of historically specific importance for certain types of activities; formation of the ability to integrate elements of other cultures into your own system of thinking and values [Sukhova, 2010, p. 225; Nieke, 2002; 2008].

The analysis of the corpus data, representing publications from the German newspapers and magazines at the request of *multiculti*, dem-

onstrates an indication of the critical nature of German-language communication. The critical judgment implements a confrontational strategy supported by lexemes, functional structures, and metaphors of negative connotation: *scheitern, verfolgen, ausdienen, ablehnen, fremd, gefährlich, verhindern: Multikulti ist gescheitert in Deutschland, das hat schon Merkel vor vielen Jahren erkannt!; Multikulti war bereits einmal voll gescheitert, sagte sogar Merkel vor Jahren; Multikulti hat längst ausgedient und wird von den meisten Menschen abgelehnt!;*

im Stich lassen; für eine Lebenslüge halten; einen schlechten Ruf haben; am Ende sein: Multikulti ist schon lange am Ende, die Behörden aber machen so weiter, wie Frau Merkel 2015 anfing;

die Identität verlieren; auf Multikulti schimpfen; die deutsche Gesellschaft zerstören; Haß auf Multikulti; "romantische Vorstellungen"; aggressiver werden; mit Distanz aufwachsen; mit manipulativen Mitteln; den Blues in die Wiege legen; Kneipen, Multikulti, Rotlichtviertel; die bewußte und zielstrebige Islamierung; mit Hilfe von Multikulti erzwingen; die Ablehnung von Multikulti; ein Irrweg sein; nicht mit Einheitsbrei wechseln: Es war eigentlich auch vor über 30 Jahren bereits für jedermann absehbar, dass „Multikulti“ nur als totalitäres System existieren kann; Dazu gehört eben der Haß auf Multikulti genauso wie Rassismus und Antisemitismus (LC); Und wenn wir von Multikulti sprechen, dürfen wir das nicht mit Einheitsbrei verwechseln; „Multikulti halte ich für eine Lebenslüge“ (Rede von Luis Durnwalder, 12.12.2006).

Conclusion

The current situation demonstrates that even acculturation, i.e. mastering the values of the host culture, is not sufficient to be accepted by an alien society. "In the depths of the melting pot, another process was born — minorities began to fight for the declared rights and freedoms which were to coincide with the social practice, Society was not ready to respond to the contradictions that arose. This period was characterized by such phenomena as increasing unemployment among foreigners, racism, especially towards Turks, marginalization among migrants, an increase in the number of neighborhoods with the so-called ethnically coloured infrastructure" [Sukhova, 2010, p.225]. Perhaps this was the result of the formal approach to solving problems related to migrants in the field of education and training. Thus, the study of the *migration* conceptosphere involves an appeal not only to the migration discourse as such, but also to its genres — pedagogical, educational, academic, media and many others.

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NARRATIVE STRATEGIES IN AN ENGLISH- LANGUAGE ART CRITICISM TEXT

The article observes the complex genre of the exhibition catalogue which being addressed to the general public seeks to be engaging and accessible as well as educational and profound. The ambivalent nature of the exhibition catalogue is evident in the way art historians construe events. The article suggests the concept of the event based on narratological premises. The event is viewed as a unit of a narrative communicating both the story and the discourse. The article aims at establishing narrative strategies typical of the exhibition catalogue. The catalogue *Revolution: Russian Art 1917–1932* chosen for the present study discusses the highly dramatic event which is likely to evoke an emotional response and facilitate the shift towards a narrative modality. The study employs methods of textual analysis, such as structural-syntactic analysis, lexical-semantic analysis, narratological and descriptive methods. The most common strategies of a fictional narrative employed by the authors of the catalogue are the use of adverbs and adverbial constructions, end-to-end repetition, associative groups, tautology, and fronting. The strict academic style of art criticism is loosened with somewhat expressive and emphatical structures. The text of an exhibition catalogue is characterized by the intrigue of a lineal prosaic narrative alongside explicit assessments of the omnipresent narrator and stereotypical interpretation of historical events. The study has revealed how art criticism discourse shifts focus from describing the properties of art objects onto telling a story of the artist against historical background.

Keywords: narrative strategy, art criticism, intrigue, worldview, modality, dynamics.

В. Г. Силантьева

НАРРАТИВНЫЕ СТРАТЕГИИ В АНГЛОЯЗЫЧНОМ ИСКУССТВОВЕДЧЕСКОМ ТЕКСТЕ

В статье рассматривается сложный жанр выставочного каталога, который, будучи адресован широкой публике, стремится развлекать и просвещать, быть доступным и глубокомысленным. Двойственный характер искусствоведческого критического текста каталога выставки проявляется в том, как авторы искусствоведы моделируют события. В статье предлагается нарратологическая концепция события в искусствоведческом тексте. Событие рассматривается как единица повествования, передающая как план повествуемого, так и план повествования. Цель исследования состоит в том, чтобы определить повествовательные стратегии, типичные для каталога выставки. Каталог «Революция: рус-

ское искусство 1917–1932», выбранный для настоящего исследования, посвящен чрезвычайно драматическому событию, которое может послужить поводом для автора прибегнуть к повествовательной манере изложения. В исследовании используются методы текстологического анализа, такие как структурно-синтаксический анализ, лексико-семантический анализ, нарратологический и описательный методы. Наиболее характерными примерами нарративных стратегий в каталоге являются использование наречий и наречных конструкций, сквозные повторы, ассоциативные лексические группы, тавтология и выдвижение. Строгий академический стиль искусствоведения послабляется в выставочном каталоге с помощью маркированных и эмотивных структур. Текст каталога выставки характеризуется наличием интриги линейного прозаического повествования, инстанции вездесущего рассказчика и единой стереотипной интерпретацией исторических событий, представляющей фон повествования. Троиединство нарратора, канвы и картины мира является неотъемлемым свойством нарратива. Исследование убедительно показало, что искусствоведческий дискурс может переходить от описания свойств предметов искусства к рассказу об историко-культурных событиях.

Ключевые слова: повествовательная стратегия, искусствоведение, интрига, мировоззрение, модальность, динамизм.

Introduction

The linguistic approach to contemporary art criticism has introduced three basic parameters for a text featuring an art event or an art object: polycode, discursive, and evaluative features. Semiotics offers to observe the polycode nature of the so-called creolised text on art, which implies interaction between the visual image in the text and the text's language [Vedmanova, 2009; Selivanova, 2006; Minyar-Beloruicheva, 2017]. Discourse analysis seeks to establish the discursive nature of art criticism, which reveals a comprehensive reliance of art discourse on fictional, journalistic and advertising discourses [Govorukhina, 2010; Khasanova, Miletova, Bugaenko, 2014; Pavlenko, Mike, 2018]. Cognitive studies choose to discuss evaluative characteristics of art criticism manifested in the form of tropes or compositional speech units [Khomyakova, 2020; Erokhina, 2017; Petukhova, 2017].

Irrespective of the chosen methodology, research into art criticism relies on the concept of a complex art history text characterised by various techniques, structures, and types of evaluation. It is argued that, unlike most academic texts, art criticism targets a more general public. Therefore, art criticism involves a whole set of so-called compositional-speech functions (“message”, “reasoning”, “description”, “narration”), communi-

cative strategies and tactics (“informational”, “regulatory-persuasive”, “interpretive”) [Pyatkovskaya, 2009, p. 224], which define the text on an art event or an art object as a somewhat hyper-humanitarian text.

The idea of art discourse being complex in its form and message laid the groundwork for the current research and formed the basis of this article. Since art criticism surpasses the institutional academic genre and approaches fictional or journalistic discourses, it should be characterised by clichés and strategies specific to narrative texts. This, in turn, would mean that in the process of creating a text on an art event or art object, the author might borrow narrative techniques used by writers or journalists. Just as there are different types of artistic narrative, genre formulas and figures, other art historians, depending on the object of criticism, the vector of utterance and historical context, will rely on a particular narrative strategy when writing their text.

Methods and material

The methodology of the present study is based on structural-syntactic analysis, lexical-semantic analysis, and narratological and descriptive methods. The reliability of the scientific results is supported by the convincing analysis of the texts authored by prominent art historians for the exhibition *Revolution: Russian Art 1917–1932* held from February to April 2017 at the Royal Academy of Arts in London. The introductory chapter of the exhibition catalogue includes sections written by two curators specialising in the Russian avant-garde and an essay on post-revolutionary Russia by the famous British historian Ian Christie, who died seven years before the exhibition. The other texts belong to the Russian art historian and researcher Christina Lodder, specializing in Russian constructivism; John Milner, an art historian specialising in the history of the art of Russia and France of the 20th century; the Italian art historian Nicoletta Misler specialising in Russian avant-garde; the Russian art historian, director of the State Tretyakov Gallery Zelfira Tregulova; the American art historian John Ellis Boulton, a specialist in Russian culture of the late 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century; Professor Mike O’Mahony of the University of Bristol, an expert on Soviet fine and cinematic art.

Discussion

It should be noted that this article does not define a text of art criticism as a conventional narrative. Initially, a narrative is viewed as a double-layered structure of a story and a discourse, which, in turn, implies that

either of the two components would involve a corresponding strategy of what and how is being narrated. Thus, the events of a story and storytelling events are constructed against different parameters [Brooks, 1984, p. 47].

This research observes the genre of the exhibition catalogue, which includes a historical review, critical commentary, and elements of biographies of artists and historical figures. Complex as it might be, an exhibition catalogue is unlikely to deliver a consistent story similar to a fictional narrative. Dealing with a history in art criticism, we found it reasonable not to divide the text into two levels, as is done in classical narratology, but rather to focus on distinct ways of mimicking a narrative in a modern art history text.

The term *narrative strategy* hereafter means the strategy of relaying the experience of an exhibition with general rhetorical parameters and telling a story with artists or art objects being the characters. Either way, the art discourse's narrative strategy aims to engage the reader [Iovva, 2018, p. 125].

The narrative strategy for an art history text means the unity of three constructive factors: intrigue, worldview and narrative modalities. Modality defines the narrator's position about the narrated events, worldview corresponds to the general ideology of the text, and intrigue manipulates the receptive intention of the addressee. Since the article does not address sociolinguistic profiling of art historians, the choice of narrative strategy is viewed as not directly corresponding to the particular author's worldview, preferences or interests, but rather as dependent on the position occupied by the subject about the area of objects they are talking about [Foucault, 2004, p. 72]. Thus, the choice of narrative strategy is bound to be determined by the contemporary genre of art criticism.

Results

The purpose of the study was to determine the influence of fictional, literary or artistic narratives on the academic, humanitarian, non-fictional text of art criticism. The task involved considering texts written by different art critics for the same topical exhibition; analysing statements demonstrating constructive elements of the narrative; identifying repetitive lexemes and synonymous series forming associative fields in the text characteristic of artistic records and used by them to impact the recipient.

Let us consider the narrative features established in the texts by art historians written for the exhibition on Revolution. The most characteristic part of the catalogue is the international team of authors adhering to different art historical traditions. More established scholars from Russia,

Italy, Britain, and the US tend to rely on the narrative strategy. At the same time, budding researchers, irrespective of their native language, seem to stay within the academic domain. For example, the article by Masha Chlenova, a researcher of Russian origin, the youngest of the authors presented, is characterised by a variety of genre characteristics: it contains elements of academic discourse and spontaneous narrative. The features of academic discourse include end-to-end and synonymous repetitions of lexemes.

- (1) Each period was to be depicted dialectically as a struggle between vanguard and conservative artistic groups. The period of War Communism was portrayed as dominated by radical-leftist and especially non-objective art... The Reconstructive period was presented as dominated first by the struggle for proletarian art... (Revolution, p. 27)¹.

Example (1) presents the classical structure in the English academic text, organised according to the tautological principle. Three consecutive sentences contain subjects with the same nuclear lexeme *period* ('each period', 'the period of war Communism', 'the Reconstructive period') and three passive predicates with synonymous verbs ('was to be depicted', 'was portrayed', 'was presented'). The example also uses the principle of amplification, the gradual complication of the subtext due to the introduction of a new element ('as dominated').

- (2) dominated by leftist art... dominated by David Shterenberg (p. 29).

Example (2) demonstrates a similar strategy and, along with the previous example, indicates the end-to-end repetition characteristic of academic discourse: the construction *as dominated* is generally repeated seven times in the text. In this case, the repeated lexeme contributes to the structuring of the text and communicates the suggestive function of the text: *dominated* evokes the idea of power and suppression. Other lexemes also support this implication; for example, the word *struggle* is used five times in the text.

- (3) This prompted the need for the exhibition to signal the end of factionalism and fierce competition between the different groups publicly... (p. 28) the bitter rivalry and infighting between numerous groups (p. 29). Yet the competition between the artists for inclusion in the canon of the history of Soviet art was fiercer than ever (p. 29).

Example (3), unlike the neutral first paragraph of Chlenova's article, demonstrates the dramatic function of end-to-end repetitions similar to

¹ Цит. по: [Milner, Murray, Murray]. (Далее — номера страниц). P. 29.

that of a fictional narrative. Over two pages, the competition topic is being escalated ('fierce competition' / 'bitter rivalry and infighting' / 'the competition was fiercer than ever'; 'between the different groups' / 'between numerous groups').

The following example shows numerous cases of using synonymous pairs with the conjunction *and*, which also indicates that the text belongs to the academic genre:

- (4) 'such a broad and detailed historical overview' (p. 28); 'a milestone in constructing and institutionalising' (p. 27); 'he was seeking objectively and exhaustively' (p. 27).

Elements of academic style are replaced by rhetorical journalism techniques or dramatic literary techniques.

- (5) But just what did maturity mean at this historical moment? What were the criteria for measuring it, and who was empowered to do the measuring? (p.28)

In example (5), neutral reasoning gives way to a series of rhetorical questions. The conjunction *but* is used as an initial construction with opposition, which is not typical of academic style. This is followed by the emphatic adverb *just*, which and emphatic *but* aim to stop the reader in their track. Alongside rhetorical characteristics, the example demonstrates narrative features. The adverbial construction of time *at this historical moment* with the demonstrative pronoun *this* empathises the coincidence of the event of the story with the author's time point, which is a narrative event. Thus, the emotional involvement of the art critic in the described events is modelled, and the emotive component of the text is enhanced.

Another narrative strategy in Chlenova's text is the psychological perspective, which implies that the author describes characters' feelings and thoughts with a distinct assertion level.

- (6) Punin, who undoubtedly even if cautiously advocated the inclusion of leftist art in the exhibition... (p.30).
- (7) Yet even though he was not giving up his struggle for what he called New Art, Malevich was painfully aware of the false recognition he was receiving (p.31).

Examples (6) and (7) demonstrate the author's perspective and the character. In the first example, Punin's doubts are transmitted to the author and modelled by a cluster of contradicting adverbs and the conjunction *even if*. In the second example, the artist's emotional state is directly designated: 'was painfully aware'. In either case, Chlenova does not give

references to any diaries or letters, which could indicate the actual feelings of the artist.

Another narrative strategy typical of Chelnova's style is the lack of the modality of doubt, characteristic of the academic style. Doubts are conveyed in a lexical way; the author does not use complex modal predicates. Most sentences are written in syntactic indicative.

The Russian-speaking researcher Zelfira Tregulova, who also performed all translations from Russian into English for the catalogue, has a literary basis: Tregulova chose the poem *Twelve* by A. Blok to refer to and speculate on in three different fragments of the text.

Another narrative technique of a fictional text used by Tregulova in the article is marking chronology with adverbs and adverbials of time, introductory structures with a temporal meaning.

- (8) 'it was a long time before'; 'the vague formula was not announced until'; 'the professional unions had not yet been formed'; 'in the meantime' (p.101); 'this was also the start of a long relationship' (p.102); 'at first'; 'the old guard, who were now the bearers of a useless cultural heritage' (p.103).

Examples (8) either create suspense or enhance the dynamism of the narrated events: the author translates the idea of an impending tragedy. This type of narrative strategy is associated with the omnipresent narrator [Prince, 2009, p. 405], whose knowledge exceeds the knowledge of the character, therefore, artist. Another narrative technique associated with the institution of the omnipresent narrator used by the art critic is the rhetorical methods of persuasion, asserting the absence of an alternative perspective on the events described:

- (9) 'apparently' (p. 101); 'evidently' (p. 102); 'as might be expected' (p. 102); 'disconcertingly obvious' (p. 103); 'it was not simply a message' (p. 103); 'an undoubted sign' (p. 104); 'the real aim was' (p. 105).

Among other manifestations of the narrator in the text are moral and ethical comments addressed directly to the reader of the article:

- (10) At a time of uncertainty and change in socio-economic, moral and ethical issues, everyone takes their view, adding a few quotations and speeches where necessary (p. 104).

Due to their preachy tone, similar statements are likely to be found in the fictional or journalistic narrative and are hardly characteristic of the academic genre, where didactic sentences give way to arguments.

The involvement of the reader in Tregulova's text is also maintained syntactically. Among syntactic structures associated with the narrative strategy in the article is fronting with inversion.

- (11) A figure closer to the conventional limits of art, avoiding the usual techniques, forms and meanings of two-dimensional art was Sofia Dymshits-Tolstaya (p.103). Into this world strode Kustodiev's proletarian figure... (p.103). Still more concrete, non-illusionary and materialist is Mikhail Matiushin's Movement in Space... (p. 103).

Examples (11) demonstrate various types of nominations: the author fronts objects, prepositional phrases, or attributes. Most of the fronted elements are extensive and even tautological, which details and personalises the narrative. Therefore, the importance of factors and their special role in the events is reinforced. Indeed, the hedged elements acquire extra focus, which, in turn, enhances the general dynamics of the narrative. This is especially evident when the structure in the focal position refers to the new character.

In general, the article written by Tregulova contains more narrative features than Chlenova's article and departs from the formal requirements of academic style. Tregulova's text is characterised by maxims, evaluations, suspense, allusions, inversion and fronting, while Chlenova relies on repetitions as the primary narrative strategy.

Nicoletta Misler writes about Russian religious fine art, describing paintings and speculating on the feelings and aspirations of historical personalities and communicating a rather emotional assessment of historical events.

- (12) Immediately after finishing *In Russia*, Nesterov entertained the idea... (p.209). But Nesterov had also intended his picture to express the spiritual values of Holy Russia (p.209); an ardent protector of pre-revolutionary values (p.212); the tightness of these bonds can be seen... (p.212).

In the first fragment of example (12), Nesterov's aspirations are localised in time with the modifier 'immediately after', which defies the chronological order of the text and presents the artist as a character. Since Nesterov emerges as an independent entity, his feelings appear credible. Distancing the narrator's perspective from that of the essence though positioning both in the temporal framework is one of the characteristic features of the narrative strategy.

In the following fragment of example (12), the art critic resorts to her most favoured linking device, the conjunction *but*, which she places at

the beginning of the sentence colloquially. The technique of starting sentences with the conjunction indicating unexpected contrast enhances the dramatic effect in the narrative. The author reveals the conflict between the artist and the power, between Nesterov's aspirations and his expectations.

The latter two fragments in the passage (12) contain examples of clichéd evaluation, which can be attributed to the narrator rather than the character. After outlining the intrigue in the first paragraphs, the author proceeds to define the character and his experience comprehensively. Therefore, the author exploited the narrative strategy as part of the argument structure.

Miller's assessment of the historical events under consideration appears to be predominantly negative. Similarly to Tregulova, the art historian develops the concept of an impending tragedy.

- (13) 'the approaching apocalypse'; 'the imminent upheaval'; 'the storm'; 'the atheist onslaught' (p. 209); 'that eschatological moment' (p. 210); 'old Russia had been swept away by the Revolution' (p. 211).

Given the religious pathos of the artist's paintings, the tragedy tends to be compared to the Doom's Day: the end of the old Orthodox Russia is perceived as the end of the world. The narrator's and the character's perspectives seem to coincide, creating a sensitive type of narrative. This interpretation of the historical context can also be considered the technique of improper direct speech: Mislér conveys Nesterov's perspective without referring to the artist and without marking expressions with citation marks.

In some statements, the author avoids direct assessments, expressing doubt or scepticism:

- (14) The ambiguous iconography; not least, in some measure, in their more audacious moments (p.210); almost a history of material culture and a sociological rebuilding; rather (p.211); albeit briefly (p.212).

Emphatic narrative is interspersed with art criticism techniques:

- (15) Here we see a young peasant lad (p.209). These important facts should prompt us to correct (p.209).

Mislér directly addresses the reader, which can characterise both the guided tour narrative and the didactic narrative. In either case, this technique is not typical of academic discourse since it brings the interaction

between the author and the reader to the forefront, violating the formal requirements of the academic genre.

Analyzing examples (1)–(15) from art history narratives by bilingual, Russian-speaking, and Italian-speaking experts have revealed that the eminent art historians Zelfira Tregulova and Nicoletta Misler tend to resort to the narrative techniques of the fictional narrative. In contrast, the new generation art critic Masha Chlenova prefers to comply with academic text standards.

Among the catalogue articles written by native English speakers who do not speak Russian, Ian Christie's early history of Soviet cinema is of particular interest. It should be noted that the text was not dedicated to the exhibition since its author died seven years prior its opening. The main idea delivered by Christie in this article is that Eisenstein's unique style and technique are an established misconception. In fact, according to the historian, the famous director followed in the footsteps of foreign contemporaries and relied on the cinematography of the former Russian regime.

- (16) Throughout Western Europe, and subsequently, in New York, Los Angeles and Mexico City, celebrities in all branches of the arts clamoured to meet the maker of *The Battleship Potemkin*, which had become, simultaneously, the most admired and most notorious film of the post-First World War world (p. 33).

Example (16) from the article's introductory paragraph sets the general tone for the entire narrative. The preposition *through*, the adjective *all*, the verb *clamour*, the adverb *simultaneously*, the superlative *the most* give the impression of universal popularity of Eisenstein's creative work.

The article is characterised by modal and semi-modal verbs, rhetorical adverbs, adverbs of degree that convey doubt. These lexemes are typical of both academic discourse and some prosaic texts of a didactic message.

- (17) It would seem that Stalin must have been aware that Soviet films enjoyed high prestige... But the movie that won the highest praise was hardly the product of any systematic Soviet policy towards the medium during the 1920s (p. 33).

Example (17) discusses Stalin's delusion about the success of Soviet cinema. The antithesis with the conjunction *but* is constructed as follows: Stalin knew about the state of things, but hardly the high status of Soviet cinema resulted from his policy. The logic of the statement is loose. The author seeks to convince the reader and introduces the character of Stalin into his reasoning. Similarly, Christie discusses what he believes to

be Lenin's genuine attitude to the cinema. The involvement of historical personalities adds dynamics to the text, and consistent reference to their feelings and beliefs in the absence of quotation marks enhances the credibility of the characters.

To increase the dynamical properties of the text and introduce dramatic effect to the historical narrative Christie uses constructions with the adverb *increasingly*.

- (18) Stalin's increasingly authoritarian attitude; this increasing degree of control (p. 37).

In example (18), the adverb *increasingly* is combined with the lexemes *authoritarian* and *control*, emphasising the narrated events' intensity.

Apart from lexical, syntactic and psycholinguistic elements of the fictional narrative, Christie's text tends to rely on the chronological account of events, a vital narrative parameter. The article describes the development of cinema against the unfolding political events that took place with Lenin and then Stalin in office.

Various narrative techniques are found in the texts by John Milner, the curator of the exhibition, who wrote an introductory chapter and two chapters on Kazimir Malevich. Similarly to Masha Chlenova, Milner introduces repetitive structures to organise his narrative. Likewise, Ian Christie Milner uses constructions with the adverb *increasingly* to enhance the dynamism of the narrative.

- (19) Dynamic and radical innovations increasingly challenged conventional art forms (p. 17).

Debates at the Institute became increasingly hostile to him. Personally, he left for Germany... (p. 18).

From 1921 Soviet Russia was increasingly recognised internationally (p. 18).

The powerful impact of photographic images that ordinary people increasingly encountered and understood (p. 20).

This projected happiness was continuously postponed, and many people died in the interim (p. 187).

Examples (19) demonstrate that Milner, unlike Christie, uses *increasingly* not only when describing increasing tension ('increasingly challenged', 'increasingly hospitable') but also to convey positive changes ('increasingly recognised', 'increasingly encountered and understood').

Miller resorts to another literary method of dramatisation, anticipating events the characters are not aware of. The same narrative strategy of

introducing the omnipresent narrator who observes the imminent tragedy is exploited by Tregulova and Misler.

- (20) There had been many signs of alarm in the late 1920s (p. 19).
Absurdity of this kind can present a serious message... (p. 19).
But making the perfect future absurd was to risk disapproval (p. 19).
Premonitions of conflict (p. 184).
A conflict of ideology was inevitable (p. 184).
By 1932 the avant-garde was experiencing serious and menacing attacks (p. 153).
For the artist it was the last chance to show the achievement and range of his Supremacism (p. 154).

In the first sentence of example (20), 'signs of alarm' occurred before the described events, as marked by the Past Perfect tense. In the second passage, the author reinforces the risks of a specific creative path in any political context, not only in the context of post-revolutionary Russia. The modal verb *can* in the present tense may also indicate the author's perspective, as opposed to the Past narrative tense of the characters. In the following sentence, the conjunction *but* at the beginning of the sentence and the semi-modal verb *was to may* mean that the narrator, unlike the character, foresees the outcome of the events. The following three examples describe the impending threat using the lexemes *premonitions*, *inevitable*, *menacing*. In the last passage, the author anticipates further events in his character's life: "This was the last chance for him to demonstrate achievements." These examples are characterised by the entity of the omnipresent author: a space-time viewpoint that surpasses the character's perspective.

Conclusion

The three components of the narrative strategy, namely the worldview, the modality, and the intrigue, were established in all the catalogue articles. The worldview is mainly delivered with associative groups, which comprise lexemes stereotypically associated with the revolution. The worldview of the narratives in view is predominantly tragic. The modality, which is the spatio-temporal perspective of the narrator, can be both diegetic and non-diegetic. Whether the narrator immerses in the events or distances themselves, they sympathise with the characters. The intrigue is maintained with various syntactic and lexical units: the conjunction *but*, the adverb *increasingly*, temporal adverbs, adverbs of degree are some of the many.

The narrative strategies exploited in the catalogue are typical of traditional linear narrative with consistent chronology and a high level of didacticism. The more eminent authors with the established reputation of art historians tend to rely on narrative strategies more willingly than those with recent academic experience. The former seek to make their articles entertaining, targeting the general public.

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COHERENCE PRINCIPLE IN FAKE NEWS ANALYSIS

The paper touches upon a very up-to-date problem of fake news and reveals a new approach to define them. We analyse three types of coherence in mass media discourse: semantic, pragmatic and syntactic. The purpose of this research is to compare fake and actual news as a part of mass media discourse from the point of view of their coherence. Three types of coherence — semantic, pragmatic, and syntactic — are investigated together in a combined and complex method. According to this method, the term “coherence” is interpreted generally, as a whole, as the ability of media texts to detect semantic, thematic, connections, author-audience references and syntactic hypertextual and multimodal references to other sources within mass media discourse. To visualise the results, we compare three dimensions of coherence in the fake news story “*45,000 Dead from COVID-19 Vaccines within 3 Days*”, *Sparks Lawsuit Against Federal Government*” published by VAERS and in the parallel similar story of a reliable source “*Coronavirus: Plans to End Free Rapid Tests in England ‘Reckless’*” from *The Guardian*. As a result, the hypothesis is confirmed that the more coherent an article is the less fake it is. This research allows to improve the process of fake news detection and as a prospective; establishes a background for creating algorithms and automatic fake news detection.

Keywords: fake news, coherence principle, mass media, discourse, computer-based discourse analysis.

Е. С. Солнцева

ПРИНЦИП СООТВЕТСТВЕННОСТИ В АНАЛИЗЕ ФЕЙКОВЫХ НОВОСТЕЙ

Данная работа представляет собой комплексный трехмерный анализ фейков в сравнении с настоящими новостями. Целью исследования стало сопоставление правдивых и ложных новостей как части медиадискурса с точки зрения их связности. Материалом исследования послужили статьи из «USA Today», «The Guardian» и «Reuters» в качестве проверенных источников, а также из «NewsPunch», «Gateway Pundit» и «VAERS» в качестве источников фейков. Три типа связности — семантическая, прагматическая и синтаксическая — исследуются вместе в едином комплексном подходе, при котором термин «связность» интерпретируется в целом как способность медиатекстов обнаруживать семантические, тематические, связи, а также прагматические связи с автором и аудиторией и синтаксические в виде гипертекстовых и мультимодальных элементов в медиадискурсе. Среди семантических характеристик анализируются номинации, их значения и связи с реальными объектами, которые говорящий актуализирует для составления текста.

Прагматические черты объединяют текст с его автором и аудиторией и проявляются в цитатах и эмоциональных реакциях. Синтаксические параметры включают в себя более формальные, структурные характеристики, в большей степени технические ссылки на некоторые внешние ресурсы, которые говорящий реализует для связи с другими компонентами медиадискурса, например фото, видео или веб-страницами. Результатом исследования стало подтверждение следующей гипотезы: чем большей связностью обладает статья, тем более она правдива. Настоящее исследование способствует улучшению процесса обнаружения ложных новостей и в перспективе создает основу для создания алгоритмов автоматического распознавания фейков.

Ключевые слова: фейковые новости, принцип связности, массмедиа, медийный дискурс, компьютерный анализ дискурса.

Introduction

Fake news analysis is becoming more and more vital for today's society, which is a mass media society in many ways. Fake news means purposefully made-up content (textual, auidial or visual) where authors imply to mislead, terrify or cheat readers. In mass media, a fake pretends to be news. Both fakes and facts perform similar functions when they aim to entertain, persuade, advertise, or make money. Still, on the other hand, the procedures differ because fake news tries to mislead readers, to damage them whilst real news wants to inform in the first place [Higdon, 2020]. This divergence leads to linguistic and extra-linguistic differences that can be analysed and spotted. They appear in particular, as we claim here, in the coherence of fake news.

Therefore, the purpose of this research is to compare fake and actual news as a part of mass media discourse from the point of view of their coherence. Three types of coherence — semantic, pragmatic and syntactic — are investigated together in a combined and complex method. The term “coherence” is interpreted generally, as a whole, as the ability of media texts to detect not only lexico-grammatical local connection at the sentence level (cohesion) but also a more general, semantic, thematic, or global, connection (coherence, or integrity). In the case of electronic publications, this connection goes beyond the scope of individual texts, headings, or publications and further tends to the endless space of the Internet. Moreover, we include pragmatic coherence as the author-audience references and syntactic hypertextual and multimodal references to other sources within mass media discourse. We analyse fakes and verified news as a part of mass media discourse using this all-inclusive three-dimensional approach and hypothesise that the more coherent an article is, the

less fake it is. We think that real news and fakes possess different coherence features in its semantic, pragmatic and syntactic way.

In the investigation, about 100 articles were analysed in English mass media. The most popular sites of fakes and fact-checking included the sources *Neonettle*, *Gateway Pundit*, and *Snopes*. Some fakes were also followed through *Facebook*, *Twitter* and *VK*. The verified sources included *The Times*, *The Guardian*, *The New York Times*, *USA Today* and *Reuters*. The texts on coronavirus were analysed through the prism of their coherence to visualise the results. Thus, objective news and fakes imply different coherence features in their semantic, pragmatic and syntactic way. To show this, we compare three dimensions of coherence in the fake news story “45,000 Dead from COVID-19 Vaccines within 3 Days”, *Sparks Lawsuit Against Federal Government*” published by *VAERS* and in the similar parallel story of a reliable source “*Coronavirus: Plans to End Free Rapid Tests in England ‘Reckless’*” from *The Guardian*. The results were presented and discussed at the III International Conference “Synergy of Languages and Cultures: Multidisciplinary Research” in September 2021 at St Petersburg State University.

Literature overview

Fakes can be compared with other genres of literary genres at first, for instance, a fairy-tale, a satire, an epic or a joke, and some mass media genres like an advertisement [Allcott, Gentzkow, 2017; Levi et al., 2019]. Nevertheless, one of the most potent distinctions is that the reader does not expect a fairy-tale or a joke to be accurate and perceives these texts as a priory false or created to entertain in the first place. On the contrary, these readers’ expectations of getting more facts than fiction are commonly growing regarding a piece of news.

To deal with fakes in our everyday life, standard rules of fact-checking were introduced to the public. They include cross-reference checking, user surveys, reverse search or professional fact-checkers analysis. One of the most critical criteria to judge the trustworthiness of facts is the reputation of a news agency or a reporter. But all these measures seem to be not enough as we still find more and less funny fakes on the Internet, especially those connected with more extensive topics like coronavirus.

Therefore, some researches focused on linguistic and computational analysis of fake news. To identify fakes, there were several parameters investigated; among those, the most attention was given to coherence as a semantic connection and cohesion as a structural one. They were estimated for computational text and discourse analysis to provide information

on the content and structure of texts for different fields of research, for instance, psychology, IT, learning, translation etc. As a result, some computer programs and tools for linguistic and computational text analysis appeared [Feng, Banerjee, Choi, 2012; Conroy, Rubin, Chen, 2015].

However, fakes are not only texts, photos or videos; they belong to a broader notion of mass media discourse that possesses many more characteristics than were merely applied from text analysis. Mass media discourse is defined in linguistics as the entire set of media texts and extra information, the means of their creation and the conditions of existence, the full range of texts, images, videos created by professional journalists in the media space [Zheltukhina, 2007]. Mass media discourse being in its substance several linguistic and extra-linguistic elements, a text in the context [Arutiunova, 1999], implies the existence of three dimensions — semantics, pragmatics and syntax — as it used to be applied to readers [Morris, 1971], but under a different angle. Like texts, discourses are provided with semantic, pragmatic and syntactic characteristics, but their realisation differs to a certain extent.

The actual mass media discourse is a diverse phenomenon that unites a lot of varied elements: types of information, genres, language parameters, codes and modes, types of coherence, etc. This type of discourse is often regarded as a way and a place for constructing language reality [Dijk, 2013]. Furthermore, the discourse analysis methodology is under examination [Wodak, Meyer, 2015]. Scholars who examine mass media discourse analyse in particular semantic peculiarities of texts as elements of mass media discourse [Milevskaya, 2001]; their pragmatic orientation, cognitive aspects [Wilson, Sperber, 2004]; multimodal features [Luhmann, 1996] and hypertextual links stemmed from the virtuality of this discourse [Chernyavskaya, 2013]; they also deal with specific formal parameters, such as the length of the text and keywords that make possible the computer processing of media texts [Marquardt, 2019]. These features are always unique for each text. Moreover, some characteristics establish the connection of different elements inside mass media discourse, thus providing endless expansion for this type of discourse.

However, there is a strong need for a combined approach counting the semantic, pragmatic and syntactic coherence of the whole discourse. In this research, we focus on several aspects of mass media discourse that separate the truth from the fakes and thus offer a new approach to analysing media texts. Starting from traditional classic Charles Morris' semiotic approach to the analysis of language elements [Morris, 1971] that was further developed by J. Oller [Oller, 1972], we see in mass media texts the exact three dimensions: semantics, pragmatics and syntax. Additionally,

we regard the notion of coherence as a wide characteristic of both readers and discourses, which is based on this triad. Every text inside mass media discourse gets a set of connections to very different elements. First of all, to semantics — to the meaning and the actual objects, situations or facts in the outer world, for example, keywords or nomination lines of the subject clues to stories in mass media discourse. Then, to pragmatics — to authors and their audiences, to their surrounding and extra-linguistic context, historical, social etc. which means emotions or appeals, references or quotations. Third, to syntax — to structural elements that build the ground for text development, pure formal things like discourse markers or hyperlinks that visualise connections between different parts of a mass media text. Within the framework of the current analysis, we call all three types of connection “coherence” and distinguish only between semantic, pragmatic and syntactic types of coherence. Without denying the terms of “cohesion” and “coherence” in-text linguistics, we broaden the analysis of connections in mass media discourse and establish a more complex approach including three, not two, dimensions.

Results

Semantic coherence. Semantic relations are widely represented in each text via the nomination chains. Therefore, they are easy to follow in the line of nouns throughout the text. As we can see in the example below from The Guardian, the following words came to be semantically coherent for coronavirus media coverage:

England’s coronavirus testing strategy has been criticised as “reckless” amid plans to end the free provision of rapid tests and relax the monitoring of cases from abroad.

Families and businesses will have to pay for lateral flow tests from next year in an overhaul of Downing Street’s approach to the pandemic.

More than 95m of the 30-minute tests have been used since they were made freely available in England from April. Reported to cost £5–£30 each, they have identified more than 620,000 cases, mostly in people without symptoms but who could still transmit the virus. [Coronavirus: plans to end free rapid tests in England ‘reckless’, 2021]

The nomination line for the regarded abstract looks the follows:

England’s coronavirus testing strategy — plans to end the free provision of rapid tests — the monitoring of cases from abroad — Families and businesses — lateral flow tests — an overhaul of Downing Street’s approach to the pandemic.

More than 95m of the 30-minute tests — England — April — symptoms — the virus.

The nominations in this abstract refer to place (*England, Downing Street*), time (*April*), participants (*families and businesses*), subject in question (*coronavirus testing strategy, plans, monitoring, overhaul etc.*). This is important to notice that several roots are repeated constantly (*tests, England*) to refer to the same thing. Thus, the author stays within the story, and there can be found a specific basis and background for the plot's development. The references to well-known agencies like *Downing Street* additionally make the story sound truthful.

Here is what we see in a fake text:

Thomas Renz, an attorney, based in Ohio has started a lawsuit against the federal government for covering up the true number of deaths from the COVID-19 vaccines.

According to Renz, a whistle-blower — referred to as Jane Doe — who is an insider and has seen information on the Vaccine Adverse Events Reporting System (VAERS) allegedly passed on the numbers and relevant information to him.

At an event hosted by Awaken America, Renz said: “We have someone that has sworn under penalty of purgery that there have been at least 45,000 deaths.” [45.000 Dead from COVID-19 Vaccines within 3 Days]

The nomination line contains the following word groups:

Thomas Renz, an attorney based in Ohio — a lawsuit against the federal government — covering up the true number of deaths from the COVID-19 vaccines — Renz — a whistle-blower — Jane Doe — an insider — information on the Vaccine Adverse Events Reporting System (VAERS) — the numbers — relevant information — an event hosted by Awaken America — Renz — penalty of purgery — 45.000 deaths.

As it was the case in verified texts, the nominations of a fake also refer to participants (*Thomas Renz, a whistle-blower, Jane Doe, Awaken America etc.*), place (*Ohio*) and subject (*a lawsuit, VAERS, the true number of deaths, penalty etc.*). The frequency of nominations is the same — some of the referring occur twice (number and deaths) or three times (Renz).

The very difference can be seen in the character of nominations. Each nomination referred to a specific person or object in the regarded texts of verified news. In the fake text, we see more cryptic nominations that are improper for a verified text: “*insider, whistle-blower, Jane Doe*”. Several nominations are used with the indefinite article (*an attorney, a lawsuit, an event*) that shows undefined relations to objects in real life. The person re-

ferred to in the example above is neither well-known nor reliable (*Thomas Renz, an attorney in Ohio*), which is further proven in the syntactic coherence. Moreover, some of the nominations contain descriptions with negative connotations that tend to create some tension in readers: *covering up the true number of deaths, penalty of purgery*.

All in all, the fake stories seem to be a bit darker from the beginning. Although there are catastrophes described in the verified texts (e.g. *coronavirus*), they are reported in a milder way, and authors are trying not to aggravate. In the fake text, instead, one of the author's intentions is to imbue the audience with fear and uncertainty.

Pragmatic coherence

For pragmatic coherence, it is crucial to have connections to the author and audience. Thus, here we regard this coherence as the author's words and expressions to support his/her ideas or appeal to the audience. They may be quotations or emotional characteristics, demands or requests.

For instance, in the following abstract, we find the following:

Mayors, teaching unions and directors of public health said charging for lateral flow tests was a “backward step” that threatened to throw schools back into chaos, accelerate the spread of the virus and deepen health inequalities.

Paul Whiteman, the general secretary of the school leaders' union NAHT, said: “The best way to minimise disruption to children's education is to keep the number of Covid cases in school as low as possible. Testing is critical to this. Removing free access to Covid tests while cases are still high would be reckless. Nor can schools bear the cost of paying for tests for all their pupils and families.” [Coronavirus: plans to end free rapid tests in England 'reckless', 2021]

Here, the author tries to support the story and stays objective using quotations of reliable people (mayors, teaching unions etc.). In contrast, Paul Whiteman appears with the complete reference (*the general secretary of the school leaders' union NAHT*). All characteristics are in quotation marks (“backward step”, “critical”, “reckless”, etc.), and the authors themselves allow no emotional reactions.

In the fake article, the author also seems to be supporting ideas with the help of quotations:

Renz stated that whilst he cannot currently prove the information, he said that with America's Frontline Doctors — a team of medical profession-

als fighting for medical freedom for Americans — he has been “empowered” to file the lawsuit in Alabama.

Allegedly, the whistleblower stated that there are around 11 VAERS systems reporting adverse reactions and deaths across the US, and one system alone has **allegedly** reported the shocking 45.000 deaths from the Covid jabs.

However, **Renz believes** that this number is “**immensely higher**” and is calling for immediate investigations into the VAERS system.

“**How many have really died and why are they covering it up?**”, **Renz told** the Awaken America crowd. [45.000 Dead from COVID-19 Vaccines within 3 Days]

The difference between the verified and the fake text can be seen in the reliability of sources and quotations’ character. While the verified text has references to more profound and more sustainable words and uses authoritative people for sources, the fake text quotes the same person everywhere (*Renz said, Renz believes*), and his quotations stay more emotional than informative (“*immensely higher*”, “*how many have really died?..*”). Moreover, some information references “*allegedly*”, which cannot be regarded as reliable.

Syntactic coherence

Syntactically, meaning structurally, verified and fake texts have the difference that is the best to track. Hypertextual and multimodal connections easily prove we deal with a fake. For instance, the verified text contains links to the author of the article, all photos that come across as well as additional news coverage:

Coronavirus — **latest updates**

See all our **coronavirus coverage**

People will have to pay for lateral flow tests under plans unveiled by the government from next year. **Photograph: Gareth Everett/Huw Evans/Rex/Shutterstock**

Josh Halliday

More than 95m of the 30-minute tests have been used since they were made freely available in England from April. Reported to cost **£5–£30 each**, they have identified more than 620.000 cases, mostly in people without symptoms but who could still transmit the virus. [Coronavirus: plans to end free rapid tests in England ‘reckless’, 2021]

The link to the photograph proves that the photo exists somewhere else, and the reference to names of photographers (*Gareth Everett/Huw Evans/Rex/Shutterstock*) makes the link look more realistic. The connec-

tion to the article's author (*Josh Halliday*) enables readers to contact the author directly and see his further works. The link inside the text (*cost £5-£30 each*) redirects the readers to Financial Times, a reliable source of additional information on the topic.

In the fake text, the syntactic correlation is far too weak. The same hyperlinks and external resources occur not to be reliable at all:

45.000 people have allegedly died from the COVID-19 vaccine within three days, according to a US whistle-blower, which has sparked a lawsuit against the federal government.

BY CAPTAINDARETOFLY ON JULY 19, 2021 • (28 COMMENTS)

Thomas Renz, an attorney based in Ohio has started a lawsuit against the federal government for covering up the true number of deaths from the COVID-19 vaccines.

According to Renz, a whistle-blower — referred to as Jane Doe — who is an insider and has seen information on the Vaccine Adverse Events Reporting System (VAERS) allegedly passed on the numbers and relevant information to him.

*At an event hosted by **Awaken** America, Renz said: “We have someone that has sworn under penalty of perjury that there have been at least 45.000 deaths.” [45.000 Dead from COVID-19 Vaccines within 3 Days]*

The author appears to be a pseudonym (*Capitaindaretofly*), the link to the main source of all information in the fake article (*Thomas Renz*) redirected to his small profile in a misleading site, *AmericasFrontlineDoctors* which in a couple of days was left unable to connect to the origin server, and the link to *Awaken* redirects to an error page which does not even exist.

As seen from syntactic analysis, structural coherence is the weakest of all in fakes compared to verified news. Fakes mainly redirect to false, archived or misleading sites with no semantic connection with the original text. Additional links to authors or photos can hardly be traced on the Internet, making fake detection easy.

Discussion

The structure of mass media discourse and its components include a wide range of semantic, pragmatic, and syntactic parameters. Among semantic features are words, meanings, and references to natural objects that a speaker actualises to compose a text. Pragmatic features unite the text with its author and audience and can be seen in quotations and emotional reactions. Syntactic parameters include more formal, structural characteristics, more purely technical links to some external resources

that a speaker implements to refer to other components of discourse, e. g. photos, videos, other web pages.

As we can see from comparing real and fake stories, there is an inevitable divergence of coherence between them. Therefore, we imply that complex multi-dimensional analysis can contribute to fake news analysis and establish three-level connections other than reliable news. Regarding three types of coherence in verified and contrived texts, differences appeared in all three dimensions. Semantically, the difference exists in more emotional connotations of a fake text with an apparent author's intention to frighten and arouse panic. Moreover, nomination lines proved different for a verified and a fake text. More cryptic and indefinite nominations with the same frequency of repetitions create a more tense atmosphere than the verified text. Pragmatically, authors of fakes support their ideas mainly using one and unofficial sources, while verified sources show complete reference to sources and people they quote. Structurally, a fake has weaker connections with external sources of information and, as a result, is less sustainable.

On the contrary, external resources are honest and trustworthy in a verified text. In general, the connections of verified news are more sustainable; they appeal to existing people, agencies, or documents to confirm our hypothesis and conclude that the more coherent an article is, the less fake it is. Thus, the all-inclusive three dimensional semantic, pragmatic and syntactic analysis presented here contributes to the definition of reliability in mass media texts and can help develop computerized algorithms in this field.

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REALISATION OF CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR “IMMUNANTWORT IST KAMPF” IN GERMAN POPULAR SCIENCE MEDICAL DISCOURSE

The article deals with the relevant problem of how conceptual metaphors function within popular science medical discourse. According to the cognitive linguistics' postulate, human reasoning is based on a metaphorical conceptual system and to study how this mechanism functions is an important task for linguistics. The purpose of the paper is a complex study of the realisation of the conceptual metaphor *Immunantwort ist Kampf* (“Immune response is fight”) in German popular science medical discourse. The presumption is that this metaphor can be defined as a compound metaphor and unfolds into particular cases of verbal metaphors on different levels. The data for the analysis are the works of cognitivists who develop the theory of conceptual metaphor (Lakoff, Grady, Fauconnier etc.). The study is novel in that it employs the method of conceptual metaphor's contextual modelling by Kövecses within the framework of discourse analysis which impact the functioning of the metaphor within discourse through its priming. The analysis revealed that the discourse and conceptual-cognitive contexts are relevant factors for conceptual metaphors within popular science medical discourse. They define the specifics of the communication situation and include previous texts on this topic and its established conceptual-metaphorical system. The study's outcome justifies the validity of the contextual model's use and proves that all relevant context types must be activated to achieve the needed pragmatical effect. Further research can focus on the functioning of this metaphor in other European languages to elicit the regularities of its realisation in different cultures.

Keywords: cognitive linguistics, conceptual metaphor, contextual model of conceptual metaphor, popular science medical discourse, discourse analysis.

E. С. Степанов

РЕАЛИЗАЦИЯ КОНЦЕПТУАЛЬНОЙ МЕТАФОРЫ IMMUNANTWORT IST KAMPF В НАУЧНО-ПОПУЛЯРНОМ МЕДИЦИНСКОМ ДИСКУРСЕ ГЕРМАНИИ

В настоящей статье исследуются особенности функционирования концептуальных метафор в научно-популярном медицинском дискурсе. В соответствии с постулатом когнитивной лингвистики человеческое мышление базируется на метафорической концептуальной системе, и изучение функционирования этого механизма представляет собой важную задачу для лингвистов, что определяет актуальность работы.

Целью работы является комплексное изучение реализации концептуальной метафоры *Immunantwort ist Kampf* («Иммунный ответ — это борьба») в научно-популярном медицинском дискурсе. Для достижения поставленной цели было изучено понятие составной метафоры и были проанализированы языковые реализации метафоры в их связи с контекстом. Предполагается, что изучаемая метафора может быть рассмотрена как составная метафора и разложена на частные случаи языковых метафор различного уровня. Анализ основывается на трудах когнитивистов-представителей теории концептуальной метафоры (Дж. Лакофф, Дж. Грейди, Дж. Фоконье и др.). Новизна исследования заключается в применении метода контекстуального моделирования концептуальной метафоры в рамках дискурс-анализа. Этот метод, разработанный З. Ковечешем, подразумевает изучение различных типов контекста, посредством прайминга накладывающих отпечаток на функционирование метафоры в дискурсе. В ходе исследования было установлено, что релевантными факторами в случае с концептуальными метафорами в научно-популярном медицинском дискурсе являются дискурсивный и концептуально-когнитивный контекст, определяющие специфику ситуации коммуникации, а также включающие в себя предыдущие тексты данного дискурса и его устоявшуюся концептуально-метафорическую систему. Результаты исследования подтверждают правомерность использования контекстуальной модели и доказывают, что для достижения требуемого прагматического эффекта должны активироваться все релевантные типы контекста одновременно. Дальнейшие исследования могут включать в себя анализ функционирования данной метафоры в других европейских языках для выявления закономерностей ее реализации в разных культурах.

Ключевые слова: когнитивная лингвистика, концептуальная метафора, контекстуальная модель концептуальной метафоры, научно-популярный медицинский дискурс, дискурс-анализ.

Study's background and material

During the formation of cognitive linguistics as a separate science, language was proclaimed to be the key to understanding the phenomenon of human thinking. There are several approaches to studying the relationship between human language and reasoning, one of which is investigating the role of metaphor in the process of thinking. As the authors of the theory of conceptual metaphor J. Lakoff and M. Johnson [Lakoff, Johnson, 1980, p. 3] state, “metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language, but in thought and action”, and “our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature”.

Conceptual metaphors stored in the cognitive base of the individual and community “do not relate to individual objects of reality, but concep-

tualise integral semantic spaces” [Khamitova, 2011, p.156]. We observe the results of this process in speech as the implementation of particular cases of metaphor. Verbal metaphors are thus an external manifestation of human reasoning [Skrebtsova, 2018, p.37].

In the present paper, the process of conceptual metaphor’s realisation in the language is examined on the material of popular science articles on medical topics, selected from the online resources *spektrum.de* and *focus.de*. The papers collected by the continuous sampling method fall into the “Immunology” section and exist within the popular science discourse.

The discourse in this study, following S. Larcher [Larcher, 2015, p. 16], is understood not only as of the corpus of texts on a particular topic but also as a set of pragmatical, socio-cultural and psychological factors that affect the interpretation and categorisation of reality by people. Popular science discourse is a subclass of scientific discourse and belongs to the institutional type [Chernyavskaya, 2006, p.39]. While scientific discourse is an instrument of primary manifestation and translation of scientific knowledge [Bagiiian, 2014, p. 34], popular science discourse popularises scientific knowledge by introducing various scientific data to non-specialists.

Conceptual metaphor’s structure

J. Grady [Grady, 1997, p. 37] talked first about “primary metaphors”, which are the basis of all subsequently created conceptual metaphors. For example, the scholar included the metaphors *similarity is closeness*, *persistence is being erect* etc., into this class. Primary metaphors can be combined into complex, “compound metaphors”.

These metaphors are organised into a “metaphor network” [Fauconnier, Turner, 2008, p. 54] or, in other words, a system of related metaphors. Such systems can be organised according to different principles:

- metaphors can be collected in a strictly hierarchical order, in which source and target spheres are specific instances of higher-level concepts;
- a conceptual metaphor may express particular aspects of a primary metaphor;
- one particular common aspect of different primary metaphors may serve as a factor in organising specific metaphors into a unified system;
- finally, the target sphere may be a specific case of the immediate target sphere, which, in turn, forms an independent system of conceptual metaphors, etc.

The metaphor *Immunantwort ist Kampf* (“Immune response is fight”) examined in this article can be decomposed into the primary metaphors *Infektion ist Angriff* (“Infection is attack”), *Virenbekämpfung ist Verteidigung* (“Virus fight is defense”) and *Immunsystem ist Werkzeug/Waffe* (“Immune system is tool/weapon”). This is a classical hierarchical model of conceptual metaphors. These metaphors are partial realisations of the composite metaphor *Immunantwort ist Kampf* and, in turn, also consist of lower-level metaphors. A diagram of the hierarchical structure of the examined metaphor is shown in Figure 1.

Let us elaborate on the lower-level metaphors.

In the *Infektion ist Angriff* metaphor, the infection acts as an aggressor, an invader, and the organism is represented as a victim, which can be traced in the following passage that describes how the infection penetrates the brain and attacks the CNS’s microglia:

*Welche Art von Erregern es besonders oft schaffen, vom Körper aus das Gehirn **anzugreifen** und psychische Krankheiten auszulösen, wissen die Experten noch nicht so genau. (Mikrogliazellen) zählen offenbar zu den ersten **Opfern einer Attacke** durch jene Zellen, die es durch die Blut-Hirn-Schranke schaffen* (“Experts do not yet know exactly what kind of pathogens particularly often manage to **attack** the brain from within the body and to trigger mental illnesses. (Microglial cells) are apparently among the first **victims of an attack** by those cells that make it through the blood-brain barrier”) [Mayer, 2019].

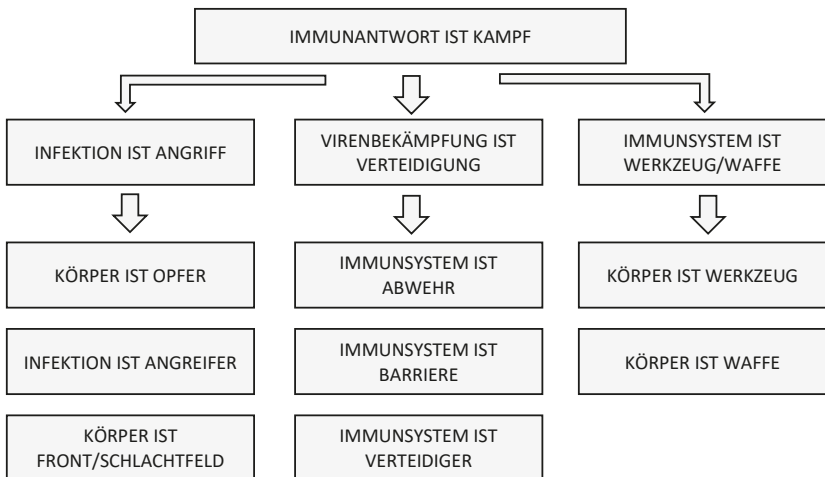


Fig. 1. Diagram of the hierarchical structure of the metaphor *Immunantwort ist Kampf*

The body, in this case, is often depicted as a battlefield on which military action, such as the erection of barricades, is taking place:

*Manche **Eindringlinge** lassen sich davon aber nicht kleinkriegen. Sie **errichten Barrikaden*** (“But some **intruders** don’t let that keep them down. They **erect barricades**”) [Röcker, 2019b].

The metaphor *Virenbekämpfung ist Verteidigung* includes the image of fighting infection in terms of resistance and defence:

*Ihre Immunzellen haben Antikörper gebildet, die teilweise, wenn auch nicht komplett **vor einer erneuten Infektion schützen*** (“Their immune cells have produced antibodies that partially, though not completely, **protect against re-infection**”) [Röcker, 2019a].

With this metaphor, the organism can be reinterpreted either as an inanimate barrier:

*Die aus einer dünnen Haut und Zellen der Blutgefäßwand bestehende **Barriere** zwischen dem Blutkreislauf und dem Zentralnervensystem **schützt** das Gehirn vor Giften, Hormonen und Krankheitserregern* (“**The barrier** between the bloodstream and the central nervous system, consisting of a thin skin and cells of the blood vessel wall, **protects** the brain from toxins, hormones and pathogens”) [Mayer, 2019].

Or as an active defensive warrior:

*Dabei treffen sie zuerst auf hier cyangefärbte **Verteidiger**, die speziellen Makrophagen des so genannten subkapsulären Sinus* (“Here, they first encounter cyan-stained **defenders**, the special macrophages of the so-called subcapsular sinus”) [Osterkamp, 2019].

Finally, the metaphor *Immunsystem ist Werkzeug/Waffe* serves to draw an analogy between an organism and a weapon or a tool:

*CRISPR-Cas9 ist das erste **Immunsystem-Werkzeug** dieser Art, das Wissenschaftler entdeckt haben* (“CRISPR-Cas9 is the first **immune system tool** of its kind discovered by scientists”) [Röcker, 2019b].

*Ein Mantel aus Wirtsproteinen ist aber nicht immer eine gute **Tarnung**, manchmal bringt er auch Nachteile mit sich* (“However, a mantle of host proteins is not always a good **camouflage**, sometimes it also has disadvantages”) [Röcker, 2019a].

Contextual model of conceptual metaphor

Z. Kövecses [Kövecses, 2008, p.178–179] developed a contextual model of conceptual metaphor. It implicates that it is possible to trace how creativity is expressed in the choice and creation of new conceptual meta-

phors when taking the context into account. Such metaphors are called “context-induced metaphors” [Kövecses, 2010, p. 721]. They can be based not only on universal primary metaphors but also on cultural features, communication conditions and discourse characteristics. This allows us to argue that the emergence of metaphor is a creative process in which there is a place for the speaker’s individuality and his creative abilities.

In general terms, Kövecses’ contextual model is presented in Fig. 2. It includes the following components:

- Situational context (physical environment, social conditions and cultural features of communication).
- Discursive context (discourse itself, in which the communication situation takes place, all previous texts on a particular topic).
- Conceptual-cognitive context (conceptual system of metaphors peculiar to the discourse, ideological elements and attitudes of the communicators).
- Bodily context (experience of human interaction between the participants of communication).

The discursive and conceptual-cognitive factors are relevant for the metaphors from popular-scientific medical discourse studied in this paper. They are closely intertwined with each other, are realised in their totality and are directly dependent: the activation of one factor irreversibly entails the realisation of the other.

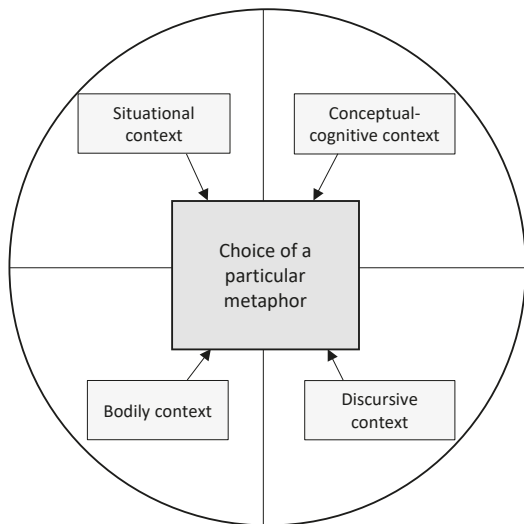


Fig. 2. Contextual model of conceptual metaphor

Discursive context

Within the discursive context, the overall communication situation should be considered first and foremost. It takes place via a written communication channel, with the producer of the text being a specific journalist, the author of the article, speaking on behalf of the portal's editorial team and addressing a collective recipient — the general public interested in receiving scientific information in an accessible form. The mass recipient factor dictates both the choice of popular science discourse and the use of the particular metaphor *Immunantwort ist Kampf*, as the analogy method is ideal for explaining complex phenomena and processes from the field of immunology. Communication is represented by popular science articles, which are generally multimodal texts. The inclusion of images in the text illustrates the article's content and demonstrates the facts described in it. An example of such a combination of verbal and visual components is shown in Fig. 3.

The illustration in the article schematically depicts a virus covered by a mantle of proteins that should have disarmed it initially. Still, as a result of the failure, it gives the virus a defence against the forces of immunity. The title of the article reads:

Ein Mantel, der Viren gefährlicher macht (“A **mantle** that makes viruses more dangerous”) [Röcker, 2019a].

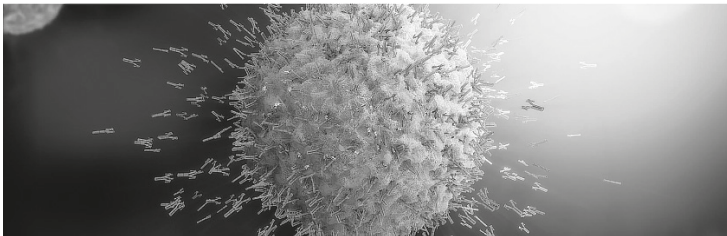


Fig. 3. Multimodal text “Ein Mantel, der Viren gefährlicher macht”

A mantle of proteins can be interpreted as one of the body's tools to defend itself against attacks by viruses. This metaphor of the *Immunsystem ist Werkzeug* type is therefore revealed using an image in the article.

Another discursive context factor relevant in this case is the consideration of previous texts of the respective discourse. When creating popular science articles, authors rely on the typical features of this type of text. The structure of a paper always has a particular scheme: it consists of a title, a lead (an abstract), the main text; the inclusion of subheadings and

illustrations is also possible [Kolesnichenko, 2020, p.96]. Metaphors are primarily used in the article's main text, but they can sometimes be found in the title. For example, in writing on the functional principle of human immunodeficiency virus, the metaphor of an attack is already found in the title (Fig. 4):

*Die bunte erste **Angriffswelle** von HIV* (“The colourful first **wave of HIV attack**”) [Osterkamp, 2019].

Here, too, conceptual metaphors are found further on in the article's lead:

*Das Immunsystem **attackiert** HI-Viren zwar, es agiert dabei aber schon sehr bald ganz im Sinn des Erregers. Im bunten Durcheinander der **Abwehrschlacht** reicht eine Immunzelle das Virus weiter an die nächste* (“The immune system **attacks** HI viruses, but very soon it acts entirely in the sense of the pathogen. In the colourful confusion of the **defence battle**, one immune cell passes the virus on to the next one”) [Osterkamp, 2019].

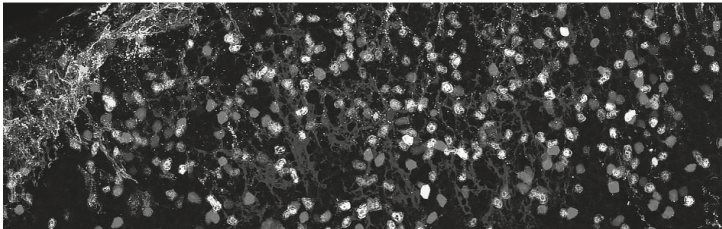


Fig. 4. Conceptual metaphor in the title of the article
“Die Bunte erste Angriffswelle von HIV”

In our view, intertextuality also plays a significant role in shaping the discursive factor. Looking at the content of the articles, one can find a large number of intertextual elements in the form of references to previous studies and publications. There are metatextual elements in the articles that indicate quotations or indirect references:

*Eine Forschergruppe an der Berliner Universitätsklinik Charité **untersucht in einer kontrollierten Studie** mit rund 160 Patienten, **ob** Minocyclin, ein Verwandter des Doxycyclins, Menschen von hartnäckigen Depressionen befreit* (“A group of researchers at the Charité University Hospital in Berlin **examines in a controlled study** with about 160 patients **whether** minocycline, a relative of doxycycline, relieves people of persistent depression”) [Mayer, 2019].

Intertextuality is also expressed in the use of metaphors from preceding texts:

*Die Malariaexperten Danushka Marapana und Alan F. Cowman kommentieren die neuen Erkenntnisse in einem Begleitkommentar in "Science": Üblicherweise kombiniere man Artemisinin heute mit Mitteln, die die Hämoglobinverdauung des Erregers **attackieren** ("Malaria experts Danushka Marapana and Alan F. Cowman **comment** on the new findings in an accompanying commentary in "Science": Today, artemisinins are usually combined with drugs that **attack** the haemoglobin digestion of the pathogen") [Osterkamp, 2020].*

Conceptual-cognitive context

The next type of context — conceptual-cognitive — is expressed primarily in the fact that a fixed conceptual-metaphorical system is stored in the mental space of a person. Concepts that are regularly used metaphorically concerning each other gradually enter into solid associations between them. The presence of the established metaphor *Immunantwort ist Kampf* in popular science medical discourse involuntarily leads to its realisation in various texts of this discourse, which will not necessarily be related to each other. Based on this well-established conceptual-metaphorical system, authors are very likely to choose metaphors from the military sphere to explain the principle of the immune system. For example, to nominate the method of alerting the immune system to the threat of viruses or bacteria, lexemes with the meaning of *raising the alarm* or mobilising are predominantly used rather than constructions like *sending a signal* or *notify*:

*Gleichzeitig **alarmierten** menschliche Immunzellen aber die Körperabwehr stärker über die **Virusattacke** ("At the same time, however, human immune cells **alerted** the body's defences more strongly about the **virus attack**") [Röcker, 2019a].*

Metaphors denoting the result of this action make use of the term *high-alert mode* in particular:

*Sie aktivieren Immunzellen und **versetzen** Körperzellen **in einen** besonderen **Alarmzustand**, der es Viren schwer macht, sich zu vermehren ("They activate immune cells and **put** body cells **in a special high-alert mode** that makes it difficult for viruses to multiply") [Fischer, 2021].*

Conclusions and perspectives

It seems reasonable to say that in the case of popular science medical texts, the discursive and the conceptual-cognitive contexts are closely

linked. The combination of these contextual factors serves as a means of priming by realising the metaphor in discourse. Popular science medical discourse has its conceptual-metaphorical system: the very nature of discourse determines the choice of particular metaphors, but the use of certain conceptual metaphors also constitutes elements of speech. If we elaborate this thought further, the popular science medical discourse is defined as such precisely because of the existence of conceptual-metaphorical systems that supply it with conceptual metaphors to create texts within discourse.

The prospects of the study include a contrastive analysis of the conceptual-metaphorical systems used in popular science medical discourse in other European languages (English, Russian, etc.) to determine the patterns of functioning of the metaphor *Immunantwort ist Kampf* and the differences in its use in other linguacultural communities.

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SUBJECT OF DEONTICS IN SCIENTIFIC AND POLITICAL DISCOURSE (based on Russian and German languages)

The description of the functional semantics of a modal utterance becomes possible only by an integrated approach, i. e. taking into account its semantic and structural features, as well as its use in various contexts. The article deals with one of the actual problems of modern linguistics — the influence of discursive characteristics on the forming of the pragma-semantics of deontic utterance. The article provides an analysis of the functioning of the deontic statement in institutional discourse. The aim of the study is to identify the semantic types of the deontic subject (obligatory structural component of the utterance) in the German and Russian scientific and political discourses. The material of the study was the texts of prototypical genres of these discourses: transcripts of politicians speeches presented on official government websites, as well as scientific articles and monographs (in the field of linguistics). The samples in two languages and discourses are equivalent (398 000 words). The total amount is 1600 structures on the German and 2850 in the Russian material. The work uses the method of transformations and semantic analysis. The study shows discursive way of actualizing deontic subject in the grammatical structure of deontic utterance in scientific and political discourses. It reveals the opposition of semantic types of the deontic subject in political and scientific discourses. Oppositions of propositional verbs functioning in deontic constructions with identified subjects are defined. The sets of discourse-forming features are revealed that determine the discovered oppositions in the studied discourses. The results of the study allow speaking about the discursive “filtering” of the structural components of the deontic utterance, opening up further prospects for the study.

Keywords: deontics, scientific discourse, political discourse, discursive feature, modal/deontic subject, propositional verb.

A. В. СЫТКО

СУБЪЕКТ ДЕОНТИКИ В НАУЧНОМ И ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОМ ДИСКУРСЕ (на материале русского и немецкого языков)

Установление и описание функциональной семантики модального высказывания становятся возможными только при комплексном подходе, т. е. с учетом его семантико-структурных особенностей, а также употребления в различных контекстах. Автор статьи затрагивает одну из наиболее актуальных проблем современной лингвистики — влияние дис-

курсивных характеристик на формирование прагмасемантики деонтического высказывания. В статье приводится анализ функционирования деонтического высказывания в двух видах институционального дискурса, политическом и научном. Внимание уделяется обязательному структурному компоненту высказывания, а именно: деонтическому субъекту, который модифицирует прагматику модального высказывания. Целью исследования является выявление семантических типов деонтического субъекта в немецко- и русскоязычном научном и политическом дискурсах. Материалом исследования послужили тексты прототипических жанров данных дискурсов: представленные на официальных правительственных сайтах транскрипты устных выступлений политических деятелей, а также научные статьи и монографии (в области лингвистики). Выборки в двух языках и дискурсах являются эквивалентными по количеству словоупотреблений (398 000). Общий объем материала составил 1600 конструкций в немецкоязычной выборке и 2850 структур — в русскоязычной. В работе используются метод трансформаций, метод семантического анализа. Описан дискурсивный способ актуализации деонтического субъекта в поверхностной структуре деонтического высказывания, т.е. грамматическая структура деонтических высказываний в научном и политическом дискурсах. Установлены оппозиции семантических типов деонтического субъекта в политическом и научном дискурсах. Определены оппозиции пропозициональных глаголов, функционирующих в деонтических конструкциях с выявленными субъектами. Выявлены наборы дискурсообразующих признаков, обуславливающие установленные оппозиции в изучаемых дискурсах. Результаты исследования позволяют говорить о дискурсивной “фильтрации” структурных компонентов деонтического высказывания, что открывает дальнейшие перспективы исследования.

Ключевые слова: деонтика, научный дискурс, политический дискурс, дискурсивный признак, модальный/деонтический субъект, пропозициональный глагол.

Introduction

The modal plan of any text is rigidly determined by discourse. The order of constructing meaning sets a specific semantic trajectory and substantiates the life of texts in particular rules of word application and syntax. Embodying a unique way of reflecting the world, adopted within a specific communicative sphere, discourse is a set of linguistic structures, or “a system of lexical and grammatical choices” [Benwell, 2006, p. 108]. Therefore, discourse organises modal constructions in various ways [cf. Foucault, 2004; Greimas, Fontanille, 2007].

In this work, we refer to the analysis of the deontic plan of two institutional discourses — scientific and political. The nuclear equivalent of the

deontic utterance, its skeleton, is the deontic construction. It represents itself as a structural-semantic whole, an idealised linguistic construct that includes such mandatory components as a deontic marker, a clear indicator of deontic modality, an infinitive of a propositional (semantic) verb, and a verb deontic subject. Any structural part of the deontic construction modifies the pragmatic of the deontic utterance. This analysis aims to identify the semantic types of the deontic subject in scientific and political discourses in German and Russian.

This component of the modal utterance is semantically variable and includes such types as concrete (*I* as the speaker and *you* in the role of the actual listener), generalised (*we* (exclusive and inclusive); *you*; *those who*; everyone/anyone), indefinite (*someone*). As a potential executor of an action to change the current situation, the deontic subject is often co-referential to grammar.

Methods and material

The material of the research was the prototypical genres of given discourses: on the one hand, scientific articles and monographs (in the field of linguistics), in which intermediate or concluding results of research activities are recorded; on the other hand, speeches of Russian and German politicians, realised in direct contact between the speaker and the audience. The sample selections for each language and discourse are equivalent (398 000 words). In this work, we use the method of quantitative calculations and semantic and transformational analysis.

Results and discussion

Scientific and political discourses represent highly organised open communication methods, quite formalised and regulated both “in content and form” [van Dijk, 1994, p. 13], with the inherent regular reproducibility predictability of the use of certain linguistic phenomena. They significantly differ in their objects, determining the functional distinctions of two discourses as a social activity. The object of the scientific discourse is to inform about scientific knowledge because of the cognitive activity of science subjects’ reflection on previous knowledge [Chernyavskaya, 2010, p. 24–25]. Accordingly, political discourse defines as its object, not a description, but an impact on an object (power and power relations), conviction of the necessity to participate in certain, “politically correct” actions. Political discourse manipulates the addressee, awakens intentions in him, prompts him to action, provides grounds for persuasion and provokes the

desired reaction [cf. Geis, 1987; Green, 1987; Vodak, 1997, p. 124–125; Chudinov, 2012].

The discourses objects determine their distinctive features. Scientific discourse demonstrates the priority of the universal and the essential over the individual and the involuntary, which is realised through *objectivity*, *informativity*, *rationality*, *universality* and *non-subjectivity/impersonality*. Using political discourse as an instrument of political power determines the opposed set of features: *subjectivity* prevails over objectivity; *suggestiveness* does over rationality, *phatics* and *emotionality* — over informativity. In addition, political discourse is characterised by semantic uncertainty and distancing [cf. Sheigal, 2000, p. 24, 33–42]. These discursive characteristics dictate the realisation of a limited set of deontic subjects in each of the studied discourses exemplified by a predictable binary opposition: concrete, such as the *I-subject*, and generalised subject.

The deontic 1st person subject in scientific and political discourses

The deontic *I-subject* coincides with the speaker, representing the subject of the corresponding discursive ideology, particularly the subject of scientific cognitive activity and political practical activity. In compliance with different goals of these two discourses, the speaker plays a different functional role: he appears as an informing subject in scientific discourse, in political discourse — as a persuading subject.

A deontic utterance with a 1st person subject, namely with the *I-subject* in these discourses, is used only with communicative verbs and represents modularized representational performatives (*I must say / it is necessary to say*). Their communicative function emphasises the message introduced by the “deontic prefix”. The frequency of this modal subject in two discourses in German practically coincides 11% in a scientific text against 9% in a political text. In Russian, the use of the deontic *I-subject* in scientific texts is noted three times more often (20%) than in political ones (6%), which makes it possible to assume about the manifestation of more significant pressure on the addressee in Russian scientific communication.

In scientific discourse, where the speaker is not shifted to the foreground because of the key feature of scientific communication, namely *objective* nature of demonstrating any knowledge, detecting the deontic subject as the 1st person (*I-subject*) becomes possible only thanks to communicative verbs. The discursive “pressure”, or extralinguistic factor, identifies the minor differences in fundamental characteristics of the scientific texts of the studied languages with diverse grammar structures, i. e. deontic utterances are desubjectivated/depersonalized. On the contrary,

the subjectivity of political discourse determines the speaker's presence as political actor in the grammar structure of the deontic utterance. To compare:

- (1) *In diesem Zusammenhang **muss** nochmals sehr deutlich darauf **hingewiesen werden**, dass eine solche „Implikation“ keine „Implikatur“ ist* [Gévaudan, 2010, p. 56].
- (2) ***Ich muss** angesichts der Lage und auch der Verhandlungsverläufe der letzten Tage, <...>, **sagen**, dass ich, <...>, sehr schlechte Chancen sehe, uns in kurzer Zeit einigen zu können* [Speech by Chancellor Angela Merkel..., 2011].

In scientific communication, the 1st person deontic constructions demonstrate that the subject of scientific activity adheres to the most important principle of scientific discourse, such as clarity and consistency of presentation. They reflect the semantic hierarchy of content fragments, including the author's one. Consequently, in scientific communication, the speech verbs of only certain semantics are used, in particular: thematizing content (*sich die Frage stellen / рассмотреть вопрос о ...*), emphasizing scientific information (*подчеркнуть, отметить, что ... / darauf hingewiesen werden, dass ...*), complementing or concretizing information (*упомянуть, уточнить, что ...*), governing information understanding (*klargestellt werden, dass ...*). As the analysis of samples shows in the German discourse, the speaker most often thematises the content, providing the recipient more freedom in the perception of the scientific text.

In political discourse, the 1st person deontic constructions manipulate the addressee's attention, and along with subjectivity, they reveal such a sign of politics as suggestiveness. They allow the speaker to make the speech convincing and accentuate his position clearly while anticipating the parts of the text, significant within the framework of a given ideological interpretation. Such an emphasis on information (factual or evaluative) is necessary for a politician to convince the addressee to the required interpretation. To compare:

- (3) ***Считаю необходимым подчеркнуть** (и это очень важно): растущая военная мощь России — это надёжная гарантия мира на нашей планете, поскольку эта мощь сохраняет и будет сохранять стратегическое равновесие и баланс сил в мире, <...>* [Message from the President Putin..., 2018].
- (4) ***И нужно сказать, что у нас где-то 14–15 % законопроектов от этого объёма принято, то есть они всё-таки свою актуальность не утратили**, <...>* [Meeting of the President..., 2017].

In political discourse with its semantic uncertainty, deontic performatives most often (60 % in Russian and 84 % in German) operate with the illocutionary nonspecialised verb *сказать/sagen*, which embodies the idea of speaking in general, allowing the speaker communicatively to emphasise the proposition without increased categoricalness.

Generalised deontic subject in scientific and political discourses

However, both types of discourse demonstrate the dominance of a generalised deontic subject with different referential. Notice that the addressee is always included in the referential scope of the generalised deontic subject.

In the scientific discourse, the generalised subject is a subject of cognition, taken as an impersonal logical clot of intellectual activity. Thus, the potential referents of the generalised subject can be any participant of scientific activity, the speaker. The generalized subject (represented in 80 % in Russian and 89 % in German) is most frequently noted in constructions with mental verbs, such as *рассматривать/mitbetrachten; понимать/erkennen; исходить/ausgehen; различать, разграничивать/unterscheiden; помнить, иметь в виду, принять во внимание/beachten, achten* and *учитывать/einbeziehen, dazu denken*. For example:

- (5) *Следует также иметь в виду, что в тех примерах, где используется противопоставление 'и', нисходящий тон практически всегда может быть заменен положительным акцентом без каких-либо существенных (для уровня абстракции, принятого в данной работе) семантических и коммуникативных последствий [Shatunovskij, 1996, p. 51].*

On the one hand, such deontic utterances reflect the realisation of the distinctive discursive feature of scientific rationality. Thus, the speaker actualises his mental operations over judgments and, to optimise the perception of scientific information, guides the addressee towards rational-logical understanding. On the other hand, due to the presence of a referentially “blurred” addressee in the semantic scope of the deontic subject, these constructions express directive semantics, “forcing” the recipient of information to perform these mental operations in order him to confirm the correctness of the presentation and scientific position.

In combination with verbs meaning practical activity, the generalised subject is infrequent in scientific discourse. Such constructions provide the addressee with information about the rules, theoretical laws and axioms, which are the essential elements of scientific communication, indi-

cating to the subject of knowledge that it is necessary to act following the norms of a particular scientific system:

- (6) *In Beispiel (64) verlangen beide Sprachen den Konjunktiv, während der Nebensatz im Deutschen mit dem Modalverb sollen **konstruiert werden muss** [Gévaudan, 2010, p. 63].*

In political discourse, such features as inherent semantic uncertainty, distancing and the mass character of addressees represented by different social groups operating in the field of politics, who may not be aware of the essence of their activity, determine the referential deviations of the generalised subject. It is possible to correlate the deontic issue with an extensive range of referents or referents interpreted differently. Unlike scientific discourse, the generalised political communication subject most frequently combines in the deontic construction with verbs meaning practical activity. This fact and the addressee's reference, as well, allow the politician to use it to inspire, to instil an action:

- (7) *Разумеется, этот кластер **должен функционировать** в рамках российской юрисдикции, все нюансы **тщательно должны быть проработаны** заинтересованными ведомствами Правительства, и прежде всего, конечно, Министерством здравоохранения Российской Федерации [Plenary session of the Eastern Economic Forum, 2019].*
- (8) *Aber ich **muss den Bundesländern** auch sagen: Der Bund stellt das Geld zwar zur Verfügung; den Betrieb **muss man** aber vor Ort **organisieren** [Speech by the Federal Minister for Transport..., 2020].*

The generalised deontic subject is realised either by the 2nd person subject (*you*) or the inclusive *we*-subject. Both kinds of subjects is used in text blocks with a high concentration of deontic utterances, creating high expressivity, the inherent attribute of political discourse. The use of impersonal and passive structures with the elimination of the modal subject is only possible when referred to the previous statement. For example:

- (9) ***Нам необходимо серьёзно обновить** структуру занятости, которая сегодня во многом неэффективна и архаична, дать людям хорошую работу, которая мотивирует, приносит достаток, <...>. На этой основе **мы должны решить** одну из ключевых задач на предстоящее десятилетие — **обеспечить** уверенный, долгосрочный рост реальных доходов граждан, а за шесть лет как минимум вдвое **снизить** уровень бедности. На принципах справедливости и адресности **нужно выстроить** всю систему социальной помощи. **Мы** много об этом говорим, но это*

нужно в конце концов сделать [Message from the President Putin..., 2018].

- (10) **Вы должны донести** до людей позицию Президента по ключевым проблемам государственной политики. <...> **Полпреды** именно те люди, которые находятся на стыке федерального и регионального уровней и **должны помочь** центру полной и объективной информацией о состоянии дел в этой сфере. **Вы должны донести** до людей позицию Президента по ключевым проблемам государственной политики. Для такой огромной страны, как Россия, — это особенно актуально и важно. **Полномочные представители должны занять** более активную позицию в вопросах защиты безопасности государства [Speech by V. V. Putin at a meeting..., 2000].

The inclusive *we*-subject is occurring most often in political discourse (61 % in Russian and 55 % in German), along with an indefinite group of referents who are the addressees of political discourse, includes the speaker.

You-subject points to a particular addressee of the utterance (actual hearer), and more broadly, to every representative of the audience (mass addressee). The generalised *you*-subject is expressed by a collective noun, denoting a set of specific institutional roles (*scientists, government, youth*, etc.) and acting as a specialised sign of orientation typical for political discourse. For example:

- (11) *Deshalb möchte ich mich an die Jugend wenden: Sie sind in Deutschland ja Digital Natives und keine Digital Immigrants mehr. Das heißt, Sie wachsen schon in der Zeit der Digitalisierung auf. Sie müssen uns ab und zu Anstöße geben, wenn wir als Gesellschaft der Älteren noch zu langsam sind. Wir brauchen die Jugend dringend, um modern zu sein und bei neuen Entwicklungen mitzukommen* [Speech by Chancellor Angela Merkel, 2012].

All of the methods of representing a generalised subject mentioned above coexist in a concentrated manner in the textual continuum, which gives deontic utterances an inspiring character, creating social solidarity in discourse and expressiveness of political text.

Conclusion

Thus, the set of deontic subjects in scientific and political discourses correlates with their functions and distinctive features: informing for scientific communication vs manipulative for political communication. The

formalised character of the texts in studied discourses determines the functioning of the same opposition of deontic subjects, namely *I-subject vs generalized*. These deontic subjects, in turn, form discourse-distinct competitors according to the semantic type of the propositional verb used in modal construction: in scientific discourse, *communicative vs mental* verb, in political — *communicative verb vs verb meaning practical activity*.

In scientific discourse, the *I-subject* is appointed due to the informational content and universality of science. With its aid, the author explicates his conscious cognitive and communicative reflection on the stated content and uses such deontic construction to rational-logical accentuation. In political discourse, the *I-subject* is caused by subjectivity, demonstrating an ideological assessment of the importance of information and by the suggestiveness of political discourse.

The functioning of a generalised deontic subject is based on the rationality (the logic of argumentation) of scientific discourse, focusing on the intellectual potential of the addressee of scientific communication and its regulatory principles, such as consistency/conceptuality, universality and derivability/consistency. In political discourse, the use of generalised subject is caused by physics and suggestiveness, and it is focused on the solidarizing potential of political issues/various social groups.

The discursive factor determines the way of actualising the deontic subject in the grammar structure of the deontic utterance, forming its rationalistic or inspiring interpretation. In scientific discourse, non-subjectivity neutralises the structural and linguistic factors (grammatical personality/subjectivity). The way of expression of the deontic subject in political communication is determined, on the one hand, by the semantic uncertainty and distancedness of political discourse; on the other hand, it correlates with its phatics and suggestiveness.

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SOCIAL DIAGNOSIS OF COGNITIVE EXPERIENCE IN DISCOURSE: THEORETICAL ASPECT

This paper gives an overview of major directions in incorporating of social component into discourse studies from the vantage point of cognitive linguistics. New interpretive techniques in functional analysis of social component are introduced as an integrative component for identifying social meaning. Methodology of this functional analysis with social semiotics (U. Eco) and hermeneutics phenomenology of (G. Shpet). Social semantics allows identifying social meaningful configurations depending on human experience based on knowledge and interpretations indexes revealed in language. Material used for the analysis cover the diversity of social strata. Results obtained show the perspective of the explanatory interpretation as diagnosis for stereotyping.

Keyword: social semantic, functional semantics, interpretation, semiotics, hermeneutics, information.

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СОЦИАЛЬНАЯ ДИАГНОСТИКА КОГНИТИВНОГО ОПЫТА В ДИСКУРСЕ: ТЕОРЕТИЧЕСКИЙ АСПЕКТ

В данной статье представлены основные направления исследований, в которых социальный компонент является составной частью функционально-семантического описания. Представлены новые интерпретативные техники функционального анализа социальной составляющей как интегративного компонента для выявления социального смысла. Методология этого функционального анализа с социальной семиотикой (У.Эко) и феноменологией герменевтики (Г.Шпет). Социальная семантика позволяет идентифицировать социальные смысловые конфигурации в зависимости от человеческого опыта, основанного на индексах знаний и интерпретаций. Полученные результаты показывают перспективность объяснительной интерпретации как диагностики стереотипов.

Ключевые слова: социальная семантика, функциональная семантика, интерпретация, семиотика, герменевтика.

Introduction

The development of cognitive linguistics usually follows the functional approach in the analysis. Two main functional areas — cognitive and communicative — provide linguists with interpretive techniques

concerning identifying social meaning. At the same time, it is marked that the cognitive analysis alongside mental models considers data taken from historical, cultural and pragmatic contexts [Kubryakova, 2004]. The consideration of shaping knowledge taken from these contexts using language is inevitably related to the function-oriented approach by which we mean identifying functions used for the codification of information meaning performed by language in a sentence/utterance/text. The term *information*, derived from the Latin *informatiō*, denotes — clarification, presentation, awareness. It is one of the ways of reducing the uncertainty of our concepts and knowledge. The content of information relates to the ability of man to process information signals within specific systems as discrete, continuous and mixed codes. The involvement of different social groups in possession of information about the event or “knowledge about the event” with the introduction of new multimedia technologies and mass computerisation of many areas leads to the interaction of people in different information spaces.

The process of identifying the meaning is close to the operation of decoding meaningful verbal clusters by which people encode information. Moreover, delivering information data relates to the cognitive-interpretative component of the subject, who is also the author. Thus, we can say that there is also meta-discursive information associated with the author of the discourse that should be decoded as a meaningful [Boldyrev, 2018]. In the latter case, subject-oriented interpretation implies meta-information about the subject as representing society or a social group. Information relations connected with cognition (knowledge and interpretation) provoke, in turn some social movements connecting with accumulation and processing of knowledge realization of rational or irrational decisions.

The paper aims to present two major theoretical trends in the function-oriented analysis within the context of social understanding — semiotics and hermeneutics. It is argued that the social meaning is a poly-system phenomenon, “a set of options in meaning” [Halliday, 1978, p. 79]. Socially oriented discourse is a discourse that includes a whole range of components — subjects of discourse, individual, collective and/or institutionalised attitudes, cultural norms, etc. This discourse aims at making sense of an event or phenomenon in which a particular society has been involved and individuals have been involved.

The novelty of the research lies in identifying critical theoretical concepts of social semiotics and proving that the idea of the hermeneutic phenomenology by G. Shpet can help in deriving social information data from historical and modern texts. The term diagnosis (from Greek *diagōnōstikos* — ‘the ability to recognise’) shows that it is not only identifi-

cation, as it explains the potential vector of codification and explanation. Thus, we can say that information about the social systems is identified with the help of recognition that there are several vectors for opening further interpretation. It is necessary to add that the ability to recognise signs and combinations of characters is realised in social meaning discourses when personal subjective experience has already been socialised (L. S. Vygotsky).

Methods and material

New formats and communication codes are defined by categories of new systemic information relations, including social ties. The understanding of codes lies in the field of recognition of the informational accumulation of knowledge. On the one hand, there can be deformations of knowledge, inconsistency of the set tasks, lack of orderliness. On the other hand, the context as a premise for the analysis can eliminate multiple vectors. Moreover, we consider the systemic functional approach to consider language as a social system. This system is organised by the determinants that influence the system overall.

In this respect, one of the directions of diagnostics of social experience can be taken from semiotically oriented theories. L. S. Vygotsky wrote that a sign is always initially a means of social connection, a means of influence on others and only then turns out to be an impact on itself [Vygotsky, 1983, ch. 4]. It seems that such a semiotically oriented theory within the framework of the cognitive-discursive analysis allows defining social diagnostics many signs. Functional meaning discussed in the paper primarily concerns the performance of cognition of the character in terms of defining relevant context information, ways of verbal expression, an exchange of interpersonal contexts. This type of methodology was applied to Internet texts in the genre of Internet comments [Tret'yakova, Spiridonova, 2020].

Discussion

The discussion of social meanings as a set of options starts with interpretations of people's experiences in terms of context and social significance.

The social context of any event allows the analyst to model components of the event as a situational structural context. Understanding as a component of philological hermeneutics concerns two urgent questions — how does a person interpret the world, or how people from different cultural backgrounds can reach an understanding. The awareness

of the difficulties is a topic for examining types of different interpretations. Approximations of social meanings may be presented through subjective relations (G. Shpet). The second direction allows us to consider the reverse interpretation movement from society to the subject (U. Eco).

Hermeneutics is a very well-known field of knowledge for discourse studies. This approach allows defining the subjective, individual meaning, i. e. to grasp the essence of the possible social identification.

Gustav Shpet (1879–1937) is the founder of Russian semiotics. At the first who used the term semiotics in Russia in his works *History as a Subject of Logic* (1922) the very notion of meaning here is assumed either as something object-objective, or as psychologically-subjective. “The function in the perception of the word is predominantly semasiological” [Shpet, 2007, p. 239]. In his works it is possible to find methodological foundations that allow us to understand the problems of meaning and significance in the aspect of semiotic interpretation, as well as the psychological component, which is constantly present in the analysis of the process of discourse creation, regardless of the genre (artistic, political, technical) and media (written, oral, computer). It seems that the scientific heritage of this scientist corresponds to the main theoretical directions of modern cognitive linguistics. In particular, these are the problems of semiotics and hermeneutics in relation to the possibilities of interpretation, as well as the accessibility and inaccessibility of understanding, taking into account the ethnic and aesthetic components

Here are some provisions of G. Shpet’s theory that are of interest for social diagnostics of cognitive meaning: 1) singling out the communicative aspect: “The message is that element of consciousness in which understanding lives and moves. The reported is a sphere of hermeneutics. Data, which lead to the object of understanding and on which all its content is organized, are words as signs” [Shpet, 1991, p. 222]; 2) “Any sense perception of any spatial and temporal form, any volume and any duration can be regarded as a sign and, therefore, as a meaningful sign, as a word” [Shpet, 1991, p. 381–382]; 3) “Words retain all their meaning, but we are interested in some as if special intimate meaning with its intimate forms. The meaning of the word is accompanied, as it were, by co-meaning” [Shpet, 1991, p. 207].

Understanding as a function of reason is connected with interpretation. This is how, through experience and interpretation, the hermeneutical problematics goes into phenomenology.

Umberto Eco (1932–2016) put forward an important condition for social diagnostics of the process of social interaction. His social semiotics is discussed as a communicative phenomenon that can be explained with

the help of linguistic categories. Although he gets criticism for being eclectic, the semantic space format can be easily discerned from his works. Eco argues that signs are distinguished as codes within the plan of content and the plan of expression, text and message, content and referent; the concept of an interpreter, semantic markers and semantic model is used [Eco, 1976, p. 48–140].

U. Eco defines signs as S codes, which do not necessarily relate to linguistic nominative codes but are associated with the service of the subject in social and cultural life [Eco, 1986, p. 167–181]. The status of the sign in this approach correlates with the understanding of the sign as a cultural symbol that reflects literal and indirect contextual meanings as well as figurative, aesthetic meanings, including tropes, metaphors and other creative innovations [Eco, 1986, p. 133]. U. Eco finds codes and subcodes in messages to reflect the recipient's knowledge of information.

This is also the basis for the concept of interpretation, which is associated with introducing the concept of the “ideal reader”, who can understand the multiplicity of interpretative options. The “ideal reader” perception is by no means associated with a complete and comprehensive understanding of the proposed text-sign but instead with the formation of a socio-cultural subject with a particular set of limitations. At the same time, the fact that language begins to construct reality rather than simply reflect it takes on special significance.

The treatment of two significant researchers of semiotic problems of text interpretation seems to help identify the direction of the definition of social experience in the interpretation of texts, even as brief and fragmentary as media texts.

Here are some examples from *The New York Times* and *The Guardian*:

“The Coronavirus Quagmire. In the war on COVID-19, can America do better than a stalemate?” (NY Times); “Markets rally as Fed’s Powell pledges more ammunition to fight COVID-19 downturn” (The Guardian); “How France Lost the Weapons to Fight a Pandemic” (NY Times).

The interpretation of the social pandemic situation comes from the metaphor of war. The first strata concern the identifying of the situation. The nomination of the situation is present everywhere. The second strata deal with the emotional performative aspect — either place, time evaluation or some causal element produces some special sub- effect emotional attitude to the situation. The third strata are beyond the nomination. It can be defined through various vectors of interpretation.

The co-meanings (U. Eco) are aimed at forming an “intimate” perception of the information. In each example cited, the romantic mood of

mobilisation and an active attitude in the fight against the pandemic is the primary interpretation vector.

In general, the plot of the representation of the social situation may not be so “militant”. For example, the same theme of quarantine in advertising discourse became the context for the inclusion of this or that product in the context of quarantine (home environment, means of protection, remote communication), uniting a vast mass audience, which contributed to the formation of a new target audience.

If we turn to another socially significant situation, it can be attributed to the semiotic variants of postmodernism, associated with the direct formation of a public protest movement through the website of BLM (Black-Lives Matter) at: <https://BlackLivesMatter.com>:

... mission is to eradicate white supremacy and build local power to intervene in violence inflicted on black communities. <...> By combating and countering acts of violence, creating space for Black imagination and innovation, and centring Black joy, we are winning immediate improvements in our lives.

All nominations indicate to the perceiving subject what to campaign against (*to end, to eradicate, to intervene, to combat, to counter*) and what to achieve (*to support, to emphasise, to build, to win*) depending on the goal, i.e. how to eliminate the existing social order and establish a new one. The repetition of instructions and the addition of evaluative statements create a persuasive discourse built on object-subject relations.

Results

Theoretical discussion of the functional approach to identifying the social component concerns vectors of interpretation. These vectors are identifiable through the systemic functional presentation analysis. It should be noted that the new tendency of dynamic identifications of social meanings of texts and utterances can be derived through the interpretive techniques of social semiotics and phenomenological hermeneutics. Social diagnostics is derived through vectors of interpretation from the vantage points of situational contexts referring to the environment with individual or group actors and interactive relations of communicants as actors.

Conclusion

It is necessary to underline the fact that social factors in linguistics in information war times have become a dominant platform for devising

new research approaches. Thus hermeneutics for comprehension and interpretation, logical analysis for meaning and pragmatics for motivation help identify meanings in various situations.

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SEMIOTICS OF WOMAN'S SMELL IN LOVE DISCOURSE

The article analyses the semiotics of smells in love discourse. A specific element of this discourse is analyzed: the smell of a woman in the perception of a man in love with her, its symbolism and linguistic representation. Firstly, the authors emphasize that there is no conventionalized “smell vocabulary” in any language. Then three main ways of describing smell are considered: hedonic assessment of smell, naming the smell-reference, and metaphorical transfer of meaning. The choice of these methods and the frequency of their use depends on the individual preferences of the speakers. The empirical part of the paper describes the main thematic areas of the verbal representation of a woman's smell in love discourse: metaphorical nominations for the aggressive effect of smell on the partner's physiology, comparison of smell with a light intoxicating drug, synesthesia, representing the smell as a thirst-quenching drink or as a blanket enveloping a woman. A variety of positive-evaluative lexemes are used to describe the smell, which also serves as a means of expressing a woman's gender identity with an emphasis on the importance of self-presentation. In conclusion, the authors emphasize that smell is a semiotic quantity that creates the necessary framework conditions for communication between lovers. Olfactory dominant, in this case, is the scent of a woman, which acts as a means of seduction and attracting attention, necessary for a woman's self-expression.

Keywords: woman's smell, odoric, metaphor, synaesthesia, love discourse, olfactory semiotics.

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СЕМИОТИКА ЗАПАХА ЖЕНЩИНЫ В ЛЮБОВНОМ ДИСКУРСЕ

Статья посвящена рассмотрению вопроса семиотики запахов в любовном дискурсе. Анализу подвергается специфический элемент этого дискурса — запах женщины в восприятии влюбленного в нее мужчины, его символизм и языковая репрезентация. В начале статьи авторы подчеркивают, рассматриваются три основных способа описания запаха — гедоническая оценка запаха, название запаха-ориентира и метафорический перенос значения. Выбор этих способов и частотность их использования зависит от индивидуальных предпочтений говорящих. В основной эмпирической части статьи описываются главные тематиче-

ские области вербальной репрезентации запаха женщины в любовном дискурсе: метафорические номинации агрессивного воздействия запаха на физиологию партнера, сравнение запаха с легким дурмящим наркотиком, синестезии, представляющие запах как утоляющий жажду напиток или как окутывающее женщину покрывало. Для описания запаха используются разнообразные положительно-оценочные лексемы, которые служат и средством выражения гендерной идентичности женщины с акцентом на важности самопрезентации. В заключении авторы подчеркивают, что запах является семиотической величиной, создающей необходимые рамочные условия для общения влюбленных. Ольфакторной доминантой при этом является запах женщины, выступающий в качестве средства соблазна и привлечения внимания, необходимый для самовыражения женщины.

Ключевые слова: запах женщины, метафора, синестезия, ольфакторная семиотика, одорический, любовный дискурс.

Introduction

This paper considers the linguistic representation of the smell phenomenon, which, being a primitive instinct, “the brother of breath,” penetrates the very depth, right into the heart, and makes a categorical judgment about sympathy and contempt, about aversion and attraction, love and hatred [Trofimova, 2012, p. 188].

The smell is a complex, multifaceted phenomenon that is invaluable for a particular individual and his/her perception. This complex and ambiguously interpreted phenomenon has been an object of world scientific thought for many decades and is of genuine interest among scientists of various fields — biology and psychology [Berezina, 2013; Zucco, 2007; Schulz, 2004; Rosenzweig, 2009; Raab, 2001; Dubois, 2007; Brand, 2010 etc.], culturology [Classen, 1994; Weinstein, 2010 etc.]. Philology in general and linguistics, in particular, did not stay away from the processes of olfactory research, with the problems of linguistic interpretation of the olfactory phenomenon recently gaining popularity in academy [Rindisbacher, 2007; Molodkina, 2010; Kulikova, 2010; Wildgen, 2007; Fricke, 1996; Diaconu, 2005; Trofimova, 2012, Mamtseva, 2018, Ostapova, 2020; etc.]. At the same time, a whole range of issues related to the lingua-social and structural-semantic descriptions of odours have not been adequately covered in scientific works of recent decades. Among these little-researched questions is the topic of verbal representation of olfactory in the context of love communication weighed down by several issues: the lack of oral categories for olfactory impressions, the subjectivity of smell perception, psychophysiological features of each person, and the

transmission of odour information, a set of ethnocultural differences and traditions in the context of perception of odours etc.

There is a clear need for a comprehensive study of the characteristic features of the language designation of various olfactory nuances of lovers' communication. This is topical both for the theory of communicative linguistics and for understanding the essential foundations of social interaction in general. The preceding determines the relevance of this article, which represents a study of a phenomenon characterised by semiotic diversity and the complexity of linguistic expression.

The particular interest of the authors of the paper is connected with the study of the role and means of smell verbalisation in love intercourse, which is understood as the emotional interaction of loving individuals "who exchange emotive verbal and non-verbal signs" [Rents, 2011, p. 5]. The research tasks are solved based on text fragments selected from the modern love stories in German. These text fragments represent descriptions of emotional situations when the perception of lovers is precisely sharpened, and the smells of the partner become the vibrant background of communication creating a unique psychophysiological state of lovers. Since a woman is at the centre of a love discourse, the verbal representation of her scent is dominant in describing her relationship with a man. This aspect is the subject of research in this paper.

The structure of the paper is determined by the logic of the author's reasoning: section one of the paper outlines the main ways of linguistic smell description; section two, having several subsections, describes the most critical specificity of woman's smell description in love discourse; the last section (conclusion) summarises the results of the study.

The problem of smell description

The smell is a highly complex phenomenon because the perception of smell is very subjective. The description of smell is a significant problem due to the lack of odour vocabulary: "The semantic field of smells does not exist. The concept of smell includes only general terms for such subcategories as *stench* and *fragrance*" [Rindisbacher, 2007, p. 86]. In other words, the primary way to describe the smell is its hedonistic evaluation, that is, the division of olfactory into pleasant and unpleasant [Vroon, 1996, p. 99]. An adult person with some olfactory experience can verbalize the associative nuances of hedonistic evaluation with the help of evaluative adjectives *herrlich* or *schrecklich*, and their synonyms. In fact, we deal with a bipolar category of olfactory perception with two nuclear lexemes (pleasant/unpleasant), with all other verbal notations of smell being considered as

elements of this category, more or less distant from prototypical centres [Holz, 2007, p. 186].

Another traditional way of describing the smell is to indicate the source of the smell *x smells like y (fragrance of y)* with slight variations, by which we “grope” the exact association in memory to describe our olfactory sensation. Only a few German lexemes (*Geruch*, *Duft*, *Gestank* and the corresponding verbs) are used as the nucleus of odour word combinations used in the description of the smell. They differ in the direction of odour evaluation: *der Geruch (riechen)* indicates a neutral odour, simply stating a scent’s presence, not concentrating on its positivity or negativity. The lexemes *der Duft (duften)* and *der Gestank (stinken)*, odoric antonyms, denote a positive (pleasant aroma) and a negative (unpleasant, stink, smell) odor, respectively: *der Duft der Blumen*, *der Duft der Berge*, *der Duft von Holunder*; *der Gestank der Mülltonnen*, *der Gestank des Knoblauchs*. These tokens are convenient evocative signals, briefly, in one word, recreating a certain olfactory image in memory [Kulikova, 2010, p. 8]: *Summers souveräne Ausstrahlung*, *der Duft seines Rasierwassers*, *seine tiefe, sonore Stimme lullten Rünz ein*.

The third way to describe the smell is through metaphors that evaluate and explain the olfactory reality. The most representative class of olfactory metaphors are synaesthesia, integrating sensory perceptions of various modalities and thus achieving a significant cognitive intensity and communicative density of presentation/description of the state of affairs [Holz, 2005, p.66]: *Aber der schwere Duft eines Parfüms lag in der Luft, der vorher nicht da gewesen war, in durchdringender Geruch von Lavendel*. The adjective *schwer* is used in the above example, not in literal meaning. We can see a metaphorical transfer of meaning from the sphere of mechanics to the concept of smell. If we speak about hedonistic evaluation, this adjective represents an unpleasant (smell) domain rather: *riecht schwer = riecht unangenehm*; in this context, it is also determined by the psychological factor — the personal rejection of the person “wearing” the described smell.

Synaesthetic metaphors fill the description of smell with specific content that defines the signs of incense, which are essential in a given situation here and now. Included in the semantic structure of synesthesia, descriptions of emotional psychophysiological feelings of a positive or negative orientation convey the emotional experience of the olfactory sensation by the subject of perception of the smell [Molodkina, 2010, p. 124–125]. This fact is dominant in this study because it is an emotional perception that determines the choice of notation for the smell perceived in romantic communication.

Description of the woman's smell in a love discourse

Here we turn from the broadway of general thoughts on the smell semiotics to the path of particular smell descriptions in love discourse, i. e., intimate communication between man and woman. A specific feature of this communication type is glorifying the love object, the exaltation of its external beauty. The smell is one of the elements of this beauty; it creates a unique psychophysiological state of lovers and cannot be controlled by consciousness. The dominant feature of the “language” of smell in love discourse is the description of the woman's scent filled with imagery. The woman's scent and its perception in love communication will be the topic of our consideration below.

Woman's smell as a comparison with flowers and fruit

Traditionally, a woman's scent is described by comparison with fragrant flowers or fruits, i. e. images, usually presented as sources of fascinating aroma: *Du riechst nach Rosen und Sommer, Das gefällt mir; Du riechst nach Apfel; Du riechst wie Lilien, Jasmin und Tuberose.*

The fact that the smell of flowers and fruit arises in the recipient's mind is not accidental. Psychologists argue that there is a close relationship between the basic emotions and primary odours: the experience of a person's basic emotion leads to allocating a corresponding essential odour. On the other hand, the perception of the basic odour always leads to the emergence of a corresponding underlying emotion. The psychologists suppose the existence of links “the emotion of joy — the floral scent” “the emotion of pleasure is the fruity (etheric) smell” [Berezina, 2013, p.27–28]. The emotional information transmitted through the olfactory channel creates a dynamic background for romantic communication. It exists as an experience, as a nonverbal gestalt, which gives the whole mental and natural environment a specific individual meaning: *Du riechst immer noch nach Erdbeeren und das bricht mir das Herz.*

An interesting fact: the perception of the woman's scent does not stop when she leaves. Her smell remains in the long-term memory and occupies the most secret corners of consciousness, evoking memories of the experiences of the past: *Je öfter ich an dein Lächeln dachte, an deinen Geruch, desto stärker war mein Schmerz. Aber ich möchte den Schmerz, weil er du war.*

Memories of smell can be so vivid and vividly experienced that they can trigger specific physiological processes in the body of a man in love: *Ihr Geruch klebte noch an seinen Händen. Mehr, er wollte mehr. Sein Glied forderte pochend nach Erlösung.* Such an effect of odour on the psycho-

physiological state of a man is understandable. Biological research shows that the smell of the opposite sex is existentially attractive today this aspect of the perception of smell is even called the sixth sense. It allows us to choose a partner unconsciously, only by the scent. The perception of smell is so important in situations of romantic interaction that, to denote this process, instead of the verb *riechen*, the metaphor *atmen* is often used. This fact shows the correlation with the primitive instinct, the idea of life that does not require any “decoration” in the form of definitions or circumstances: *Deinen Duft atme ich, deine Lippen schmecke ich.*

Another interesting fact is that a neutral smell in the usual situation acquires a different, special meaning in the description of close love relationships.: *Sie roch gut, nach frischem Heu. Der Duft führ ihm in die Glieder.* The smell of just mowed grass, usually perceived just as a predictably pleasant one, is in this case associated with a beloved woman and instantly gives rise to a desire for intimacy. Our consciousness “draws” the picture of a young, healthy, strong woman, clean, not spoiled by artificial flavours.

And one more interesting fact: the state of love completely reorganises the sensory perception. It inverts the olfactory expectations: lovers have a high degree of tolerance to the unpleasant odours emanating from their partner. For example, the smell of women’s sweat, usually perceived as repulsive, unpleasant and hardly endurable, has, nevertheless, a particular attractiveness for the perceiving subject precisely because it is natural, not embellished artificially, and therefore most corresponds to the wild call of the sexes and acts as a trigger mechanism for the male biological signal system: *Wenn ich Frederikes Busen küsste, roch ich manchmal ihren Achselschweiß, was ich ihr nicht sagen durfte, weil sie nicht glauben mochte, dass Frauenschweiß manchmal genauso attraktiv war wie der Busen selbst.*

Woman’s smell as olfactory attack

It is obvious that the sensual component in the descriptions of the smell of a woman has some independent value. At the same time, the female olfactory, brought to the reality of sensations, gives expression to the aggressiveness of a woman’s smell’s effect on her partner’s mood, emotions, and behaviour. The scent of a woman a man loves has no boundaries; it is impossible to stop smelling; it is compulsorily present in the life of a man in love. He experiences now and then the possible consequences of a female smell “attack”: *Der Duft ihres Parfums überfiel ihn.*

Olfactory aggression is expressed by metaphorically reinterpreted verbs *verfolgen*, *durchdringen*, *entgegenschlagen* (to pursue, to penetrate, to strike against), denoting the inevitability of the odoric presence of a

woman in the life of her partner: *Der Duft ihres Haares drang immer tiefer in seine Nase und erregte ihn mehr und mehr; Bis in unser Hauptquartier in New York hat mich dein Geruch verfolgt; Die Wärme und der Duft ihres verlockenden schlanken Körpers schlugen ihm entgegen.*

The metaphorization of the meanings of the verbs *betören*, *betäuben*, *berauschen* contributes to the perception of the female scent as an aggressive “weapon of the female offensive”, killing a man on the spot or stunning him: *Sie riecht betörend; Fester und fester umschlang er sie und ihre Geruch berauschte ihn.*

The impossibility to resist the olfactory power of a woman and her inevitability is emphasized by the emotional-amplifying adverb *unwiderstehlich*: *Ihr Geschmack und ihr Duft stillten seine Sehnsucht und zogen ihn unwiderstehlich an.* An anthropomorphic metaphor in this textual fragment represents the smell as a secret saboteur acting on an invisible front and holding the subject of perception of smell in modernistic captivity.

Metaphorical comparison of odour with weapons of individual defeat indicates the strength of its impact on the partner. However, it is not necessary at all to use a powerful olfactory “attack”. The obsession with a woman is represented by comparing her smell with poison or drugs in small doses, capturing the feelings and thoughts of a man in love: *...ihr Parfüm. Es war wie eine sofort wirkende Droge, dabei absolut vollkommen in der Dosierung, eine Anwendung von geradezu aristotelischer Präzision, kein Ertrinken darin, sondern eine anhaltende Lockung.*

Thus, we can ascertain the sensuality of the woman’s smell its specific effect on the physiological state of the man in love. The smell is perceived as “sweet” aggression and pleasant inevitability. But the characteristics of female olfactoryness in love discourse is not always intensely militant. The scent of a woman is often followed by a hedonistic appraisal, and it is described by the perceptive adjective *gut* just as pleasant. In this case, it turns into an indicator of her gender identity and a decorator of her appearance: *Ann duftet ganz besonders gut. Sie riecht nach sich selbst und nach einem ganz dezenten Parfüm. Das macht mich richtig an.*

The strengthening of appraisal meanings and of the effect on a man is expressed by intensifiers *überwältigend*, *göttlich*, implying high intensity of emotions experienced: *Du riechst absolut wunderbar; Du riechst unglaublich gut.*

Metaphorical woman’s smell description

The smell of a woman is also characterised through taste and tactile sensations, the reinterpretation of which finds expression in the se-

mantics of odour-emotional synesthesia or synesthesia [Voronin, 2009]. Thus, the gustative synesthesia in describing the smell is expressed by the adjectives *lecker*, *süß*, identifying the object of adoration with some “deliciousness”, possessing the properties of an aphrodisiac: *Und wie du riechst! So süß!; Du riechst so lecker!*

The taste metaphors of the perception of a woman’s smell represent it as a life-sustaining food (*Du riechst zum Anbeißen gut;*), as a thirst-quenching drink: *Er riecht nur Magdalena, saugt ihren Geruch ein, berauscht sich schier an ihrem Duft.*

Another model of the synesthetic method of describing female olfactoryness is the transfer from the sphere of tactility to the globe of smell: *Du riechst immer so warm.* In this perception of a woman’s smell, there is a feeling of cosiness and warmth, harmony and comfort. It is not the smell of an incinerating passion partner, but the smell of affectionate tenderness, sweetly exciting and warming: *Mattias spürte den Duft von Sophias samtweicher Haut, der seine Sinne streichelte.*

The synesthetic transference to the sense of smell is also expressed through the verbs of being-possessive semantics *tragen*, *sich legen*, *auftragen*, which represent woman’s scent as an invisible garment or an element of her external image: *Was tragen Sie für ein Parfüm? Shi Seido? Es riecht wunderbar. Als wäre es speziell für Sie erschaffen worden.*

Woman’s smell as her decoration

The picture of a female olfactory is incomplete if we do not say a few words about the artificial smell, actively attracted by a woman to “decorate” her image. The desire to conceal the natural smells, suppress the body odour with an unnatural odour and make it more pleasant and attractive becomes an indispensable condition for the birth of “hot” desires. So, before the intimacy for the olfactory “decoration” of the body, smells of blossoming flowers are used, acting as an unequivocal symbol of the beloved’s innocence, freshness, and charm: *Nimm eine Crème mit anregendem Duft. Die von Chanel ist himmlisch. Und vergiss nicht dir kurz mit einem wohlriechenden Tuch über die Muschi zu streichen, mit Rosenwasser, das ist das Beste.* The picture of a woman’s sense of smell is incomplete, if not to say a few words about the artificial fragrance that a woman actively uses to “decorate” her image. The aromas of perfumed hygiene products hide the natural odours of the body, make the perception of a woman’s physical image more pleasant and become an indispensable condition for the generation of “hot” desires. The correct selection of aromas, a kind of

“body music”, makes the right emotional impression on a man; the atmosphere of communication is olfactory eroticised.

The symbolism of a woman's smell is closely related to the assessment of her external and internal qualities; in other words, the evaluation of a particular perfume property affects the assessment of a woman as a whole. A significant role in the descriptive characteristic of a woman's smell is played by the intensity, persistence of the perfume, its concentration in the air. So, in order to emphasize the elegance and the refinement of a woman even a drop of applied perfume (*ein Hauch Parfüm*) can create a vivid image, a unique “music” on the skin. *Noch eine feine Silberkette um den Hals und eine Hauch Parfüm hinter die Ohren, und sie fühlte sich gut bereit und gewappnet für die Eleganz im Casino von Monte Carlo.* But at least slightly exceed the concentration of spirits comfortable for others. The perception of the smell moves into the sphere of aggressive, depriving the ability to breathe, and hostile “attacking” metaphors of perception (*in die Nase stechen*): *Sie küsst ihn überschwänglich auf die Wange. Dabei sticht ihm ihr Parfum in die Nase.*

As you can see, the artificial scent of a woman in love discourse is endowed with a hedonistic assessment simply as a “pleasant scent”, but not only. Such “pleasantness” is also a means of external self-presentation of a woman; it is used to create a first impression, which then turns into an assessment of a woman's personality, her success. The smell, in this case, becomes a decorator of appearance and an intensifier of influence on the man. To describe the “pleasantness” of the smell, it is sufficient to use a positive-evaluative adjective (e.g. *gut* or *himmlisch*, *exotisch* etc.), which in combination with an intensifier (e.g. *verdammt*, *unglaublich*, *richtig*) creates the right impression: ... *dass ich ihr Parfüm roch. Es war himmlisch und erweckte den Wunsch, herauszufinden, ob sie so gut schmeckte wie sie roch; Und sie duftete so unglaublich verführerisch. Ihr Parfüm lag mir schon den ganzen Abend wohl in der Nase. „Du riechst super“, sagte ich ihr, als sie sich wieder zu mir setzte. „Und dein Kleid steht dir verdammt gut.*

The minimal structure of the linguistic expression for the olfactory evaluation of the artificial smell of a woman is not necessarily represented by adjectives related to the field of smell. The social olfactory identity of a woman is expressed, for example, by the adjective *teuer*, which actualizes in the scent context the idea of prestige, material well-being, the possibility of obtaining luxurious pleasure that has the hallmark of class: *Ihr eigenes graues Wollkleid präsentierte ihre Figur aufs Vorteilhafteste, dazu die Spitze am Kragen und eine lange Perlenkette <...> Ihr Parfüm roch teuer und süßlich.*

Conclusion

Even this brief look at the female olfactory nature shows the specifics of verbalisation of smell sensations in the context of lovers' communication. The description of smell in this context is always positive; even the aromas which are negatively evaluated in "real" life are transformed in love discourse and take on a new (positive) meaning.

The description of the female smell is filled with emotional metaphor; the smell is anthropologized and becomes an invisible participant in communication. In cases of male passion for a woman, her scent is aggressive; it is irresistible, present everywhere, it penetrates the consciousness of a man in love, permeates his memories, destroys his moral foundations.

The description of the female smell in love discourse is very synesthetic; the directions of synesthetic transfers are very different: the woman's smell is described as her light invisible clothing or veil covering her; it is delicious and sweet, gentle and sensual.

The top way of representing olfactory images in love discourse is the verbal metaphorization; the metaphorically rethought verbs describe the form of smell existence, its dynamic properties: verbs with the semantics of presence, appearance, rest, movement, human impact, etc.

Adjectives express a highly positive hedonistic assessment of the smell: they are not only qualification of the physical and emotional impact of the scent on the subject, but they are also a designation of socially significant discursive elements (social status, material well-being, physical health, etc. communicants).

Nouns denoting a smell-reference or smell-source are means of identifying a loved one (clothing, location etc.) — even after a while, the smell — the Proust phenomenon — helps to remember the most emotional moments of life.

Thus, we can conclude that the description of a woman's smell in love communication can be considered as a "model act of signification" (R. Barthes) of the meanings inherent in a love discourse. They — smells — create the necessary connotations and associations and build a specific semantic line that olfactory "frames" lovers' relationship.

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WAYS OF EXPRESSING IDEOLOGICAL MODALITY IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE POLITICAL MEDIA DISCOURSE: THE CASE OF OBJECTIFYING THE “ARMED CONFLICT” FRAME

The armed conflict which is conceptualized as a frame of “armed conflict” (a cognitive propositional model of a stereotypical conflict between large social groups) is one of the central issues of contemporary English-language political media discourse. The aim of the paper is to reveal the ways of expressing ideological modality when objectifying the “armed conflict” frame. Ideological modality is understood as a category that expresses evaluative attitudes based on certain political views. The linguistic material is taken from British and American newspapers and news agency reports for 2008–2021. This study uses continuous sampling, discourse analysis, and frame analysis to identify the structure of the frame. It was proved that ideological modality in the process of frame verbalization can be actualized both at the sentence and text levels. At the sentence level, it can be actualized lexically (the use of verbs with the opposite meaning to nominate one and the same situation, the use of an ideologically biased vocabulary with abstract verbs to denote the main participants in the situation — the subject and the object, the use of descriptive adjectives to denote the observer, the use of nouns of propositive semantics to express the predicate of the frame) and grammatically (passivization of the sentence, reciprocal diathesis). At the text level, ideological modality is actualized by means of changing the order of the presentation of information (by changing the chronological order of the scenes of a frame scenario). The basis of ideological modality can be either deontic modality or axiological modality.

Keywords: ideological modality, political media discourse, frame, *armed conflict*.

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СПОСОБЫ ВЫРАЖЕНИЯ ИДЕОЛОГИЧЕСКОЙ МОДАЛЬНОСТИ В АНГЛОЯЗЫЧНОМ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОМ МЕДИАДИСКУРСЕ ПРИ ВЕРБАЛИЗАЦИИ ФРЕЙМА ВООРУЖЕННОГО КОНФЛИКТА

Воруженный конфликт, который моделируется как фрейм *armed conflict*, является одной из центральных тем современного англоязычного политического медиадискурса. При вербализации данный фрейм приобретает дополнительные идеологические характеристики. Целью данной статьи является выявление способов выражения идеологической модальности при объективации фрейма *armed conflict*. Идеологи-

ческая модальность при этом понимается как категория, выражающая оценочные установки, основанные на определенных политических взглядах. Языковым материалом исследования послужили британские и американские газеты и сообщения информационных агентств за 2008–2021 годы. В работе используются следующие методы исследования: метод сплошной выборки, дискурсивный и фреймовый анализ. Исследование показало, что при вербализации компонентов фрейма идеологическая модальность может актуализироваться как на уровне предложения, так и на уровне текста. На уровне предложения она может быть актуализирована лексически и грамматически. Лексические способы: употребление глаголов с противоположным значением для обозначения одной и той же ситуации, использование идеологически отмеченной лексики с абстрактными глаголами для обозначения основных участников ситуации — *субъекта* и *объекта*, употребление дескриптивных прилагательных для обозначения *наблюдателя*, употребление существительных пропозитивной семантики для выражения *предиката* фрейма. Грамматические способы: пассивизация предложения, использование реципрокальной диатезы. На текстовом уровне идеологическая модальность актуализируется посредством изменения порядка подачи информации (путем изменения хронологического порядка этапов сценарного фрейма). Основой идеологической модальности может быть как деонтическая, так и аксиологическая модальности.

Ключевые слова: идеологическая модальность, политический медиадискурс, фрейм, вооруженный конфликт.

Introduction

Armed conflict is one of the central issues of modern political media discourse. According to International humanitarian law, the concept of armed conflict must be understood in its broad sense and includes any means of resolving international (between two or more states) and non-international (between government forces and non-government armed groups or only between non-government armed groups) conflicts by military force [How is the Term “Armed Conflict”..., 2008, p. 2]

In this study, armed conflict is considered conflicting social relations of large social groups (classes, social strata, nations, political parties, professional groups). The analysis of linguistic material has revealed that an armed conflict can be conceptualised as a frame of “armed conflict”. In cognitive semantics, the term “frame” means “a cognitive model that conveys knowledge and opinions about a certain frequently repeated situation” [Boldyrev, 2000, p. 61].

In our study, the “armed conflict” frame is a propositional cognitive model of a stereotypical conflict situation between large social groups; the verbs of social relations objectify it.

The “armed conflict” frame acquires additional ideological characteristics when verbalised in political media discourse. As defined in *The New Philosophical Encyclopedia*, ideology is a system of beliefs and ideas that expresses the interests, worldview, and ideals of various political actors such as classes, nations, society, political parties, and social movements [NPE, 2001].

Considering the relationship between ideology and discourse, T. van Dijck claims that ideologies “essentially function as the interface between the cognitive representations and processes underlying discourse and action, on the one hand, and the societal position and interests of social groups, on the other hand” [van Dijck, 1995, p. 18]. According to T. G. Dobrosklonskaya, ideology is expressed in discourse through the category of ideological modality, which is understood as “a way of constructing and interpreting events that reflects a certain system of values and guidelines” [Dobrosklonskaya, 2020, p. 48].

The category of ideological modality, as T. G. Dobrosklonskaya holds, is based on the linguistic concept of modality, which expresses both the relation of the utterance to reality (objective modality) and the speaker’s attitude to the content of the statement (subjective modality). Subjective modality is closely related to the concept of evaluation [Dobrosklonskaya, 2009, p. 86]. From the point of view of V. A. Maryanchik, ideological modality as a set of evaluative meanings and attitudes based on political views is a kind of axiological modality [Maryanchik, 2013, p. 16].

Thus, the study aims to identify ways of expressing ideological modality when objectifying the “armed conflict” frame, one of the most widespread frames of political discourse in modern English-language media. In other words, we will consider how a stereotypical situation of a military conflict, verbalised in the text, acquires evaluative characteristics by the intentions and political preferences of the author.

The collected linguistic material is taken from British (*The Guardian*, *The Telegraph*, *The Times*) and American (*The New York Times*, *Huffington Post*, *The Washington Post*) newspapers and news agency reports for 2008–2021. This study uses continuous sampling, discourse analysis, and frame analysis.

The “armed conflict” frame and its structure

To identify the structure of the frame, frame analysis was used. The study has shown that the “armed conflict” frame, together with the “opposition”, “protest”, and “competition” frames, is included in a higher-order superframe — the superframe of conflicting social relations. The super-

frame of conflicting social relations is profiled as one of these frames. The correspondent frames are separate parts of the cognitive structure with their own sets of components. Each frame is represented by its group of social relations verbs.

As a way of reflecting social reality in a person's mind, the "armed conflict" frame is a model of a situation that represents socially determined actions of the parties in an armed conflict. It can be an armed conflict between states, and armed clashes within a state, for example, the suppression of an uprising or a coup.

The research has revealed that the "armed conflict" frame is objectified by such verbs denoting social relations as *fight*, *war*, *struggle*, *operate*, *combat*, *campaign*, as well as by the analytical verb phrases *fight a war*, *make war*, *wage warfare*, *hold war*, *carry on fighting*, *carry on hostilities*, *wage civil war*, *wage guerilla (partisan) war*, *wage (hold, carry) military operation*, *wage (hold, carry) anti-terrorist process*, *carry out counterterrorism operation*.

These analytical verb phrases are similar in their denotative status to verbs. It is believed that phrases of such a type belong to a special kind of phraseological nomination. Analytical verb phrases of social relations are, in fact, military terms, which acquire the character of socio-political vocabulary in the news discourse.

The analysis has shown that social relations verbs and phrases are abstract in their semantics since they generalise a number of heterogeneous elementary actions aimed at a common goal. This explains the vagueness of their referential, that is, sensually perceived image, which can differ significantly from person to person.

The analysis of dictionary definitions of these verbs and verb phrases has revealed that the verb *fight* is prototypical for the "armed conflict" frame. The systemic meaning of this verb describes a conflict situation in the most generalised and neutral way: **fight** — '(against smb.) to take part in a war or battle against an enemy' [OALD, 2005]. The meanings of other verbs and verbal word combinations are interpreted through this verb.

Close to the verb *fight* are the verbs *battle*, *combat*, *war*, *operate*, and the verb phrases *wage war*, *wage warfare*, *make war*: action — '(very formal) to fight an enemy or opponent [MED, 2007]; **wage war**, **wage warfare** — 'to fight a war against someone' [DMT, 2007]; **operate** — 'to carry out military activity' [DMT, 2007]. The semes of the instrument or the way of acting, which are usually specific distinctive features of verbs in general, are generally absent in the meaning of these verbs.

However, it should be noted that the degree of abstraction in the verbal military terminology that objectifies the frame is not the same, which

indicates, first of all, the heterogeneity of this group nominating different types of conflict social interaction. Thus, the verb phrases *campaign*, *wage (hold, carry) military operation*, *wage (storage, carry) anti-terrorist function*, *wage civil war*, *wage guerilla war* have a lower degree of abstraction because the structure of their meanings includes the semes of object and manner in which an action is performed, and sometimes the semes of place and time, e. g., *wage guerilla war* — ‘to carry on an irregular soldier fighting against regular troops’ [DMT, 2007], *campaign* — ‘to conduct or take part in a prolonged period of military activity in a specific area or region’ [DMT, 2007]. The first phrase refers to the parties to the conflict (‘irregular soldier fighting’, ‘regular troops’), the second –the time and place of the war (‘a prolonged period’, ‘a specific area or region’).

The structure of each frame of conflicting social relations depends on the type of conflict interaction. In other words, each frame has its own hierarchical organisation with its own set of obligatory and terminal components.

The obligatory (fixed) components of the “armed conflict” frame consist of *subject* (agent), *object* (counteragent), and *predicate*, describing the type of conflict interaction and expressed by verbal vocabulary.

- (1) Is Russia (*subject*) going **to war** (*predicate*) with Ukraine (*object*) and other questions [Peter, 2021]?
- (2) Unlike the Islamic State, the terrorist group (*subject*) that **fought** (*predicate*) both rebels and the government (*object*) to control an expanse of territory straddling the Syria-Iraq border, H. T. S. is not pushing for the immediate creation of an Islamic state and does not field morality police officers to enforce strict social codes [Hubbard, 2021].

The terminal (optional) components of the frame are *time*, *place*, *goal*, *specification* and *manner* of an action:

- (3) according to a senior Pakistani intelligence official, Mehsud (*subject*) was born in 1970 and spent the latter part of the 1980s (*spec-mя*) **fighting** (*predicate*) the Russians (*object*) in Afghanistan (*place*) [Walsh, 2009].
- (4) Ukrainian government forces (*subject*) **launched** their first significant **military action** (*predicate*) in the east of the country (*place*) on Tuesday (*TIME*), clashing with about 30 pro-Russian shooters at a provincial airfield (*specification of the action*) <...> [Luhn, Lewis, Borger, 2014].

- (5) ... said a retired major-general (*subject*) who secretly (*manner*) **fought** the British (*object*) after returning from officer training in Aldershot in 1966... (*time*) [Hider, 2010].
- (6) For nearly three days (*time*), security forces (*subject*) **battled** (*predicate*) terrorists (*object*) for control of sites in the heart of the financial capital of the world's largest democracy (*goal*) [The target was democracy, not injustice, 2008].

Results

Let us consider some ways of actualisation of ideological modality while verbalising the “armed conflict” frame. They are as follows:

1. The absence of some of the components of the frame in surface structure. This way of actualisation is based on an objective modality, namely a deontic modality.

1.1. The surface structure's absence of either the *subject* (agent) or the *object* (counteragent) of the frame. This happens in the case of the sentence passivisation. The role of the explicit participant is emphasizedemphasised in accordance with the ideological views of the author of the article:

- (7) For the Pentagon and the intelligence agencies, a key issue now is how readily **counterterrorism operations** can **be carried out** beyond Afghanistan. The history of such **operations**, beginning with the failed 1980 Delta Force **operation** to free American hostages in Iran, has a decidedly mixed record. Cruise missile strikes launched from distant ships against terrorist targets in Afghanistan have had a low rate of success. But the farther those **Special Operations forces** have to travel to strike a target, the more likely the **operations** are to fail, either by missing their mark or resulting in a catastrophic failure that could kill American service members or civilians on the ground, according to officials who have studied the record [Schmitt, Cooper, 2021].

In the first sentence of this example, the *subject* (agent) is not present in the surface structure. However, upon careful reading of the article, the agent seems obvious — the Special Operations forces, which plan and carry out covert operations though, very often failing. That is why emphasis is laid on the *object* (counteragent — terrorists), which is incorporated in the meaning of the verb phrase *carry out counterterrorism operations* — ‘carry out activities that are intended to prevent terrorist acts or get rid of *terrorist groups*’ [COD]. The importance of combating terrorism is universally acknowledged.

1.2. The absence of both obligatory and terminal components of the frame in surface structure, except for the *predicate*. In this case, the *predicate* is expressed not by social relations verbs but by social relations nouns of propositive semantics: fight, fighting, a war, struggle, struggling, and the like. These nouns are examples of a high degree of utterance compression; they serve to nominate a situation of an extra-linguistic reality in a compressed way:

- (8) After the two sides agreed on procedures to guide negotiations in early December, the talks were recessed until the first week of January. But there have been no formal negotiations since then. Instead, there has been heavy fighting, as both sides await a decision by the Biden administration on whether to honour or extend the May 1 deadline for withdrawing the remaining 2,500 American troops in Afghanistan, as stipulated in the February 2020 agreement between the United States and the Taliban [Zucchini, 2021].

In the presented example, the noun of propositive semantics *fighting* is used. At the same time, both parties to the conflict situation and such arguments as *time*, *goal*, and *specification* of the action are absent at the sentence level. Only how the action is performed remains explicit: ‘there has been **heavy** fighting’. It is evident from these examples that the focus is on the action itself as ongoing; it goes on despite the decision to hold peace talks (which have been suspended as a result). This is happening in anticipation of Biden’s decision to withdraw the rest of the US troops from Afghanistan. Thus, the goal of the US military in Afghanistan — to establish peace and reduce the threat of terrorism against the USA, has not been achieved.

1.3. Combining *subject* and *object* into a group in surface structure. In this case, instead of direct diathesis, common diathesis is used:

- (9) But Syria’s current conflict has posed new threats to these sites with their columnated churches, multistory homes and elegant bathhouses. Bullets now mar their facades, their pillars shattered by airstrikes, and their limestone walls sought out for protection by soldiers, rebels and jihadists (*subject* + *object*) **battling** for the country’s future [Hubbard, 2021].

In example (9), soldiers, rebels and jihadists (the *subject* and the *object*) are the three parties to a conflict grouped in surface structure as a united agent (*subject*), as the author of the article considers them to be equally destructive for Syria with its ancient monuments and its people. In the sentence, it is expressed by common diathesis. Soldiers, rebels and

jihadists are fighting against each other for the country's future because they understand this future differently. From the author's point of view, Syrian government forces, opposition rebels, and illegal terrorist groups cause the same damage to Syria regardless of their goals.

2. Replacing the verb that expresses the predicate of the frame with another verb opposite in meaning. The predicate of the "armed conflict" frame describing the same extralinguistic situation can be expressed in different media by different verbs. In this regard, one cannot but agree with the opinion of E. V. Paducheva that there are no objects that would "objectively" be present in a fragment of reality. "It all depends on the conceptualisation that the verb chosen by the speaker offers, on what objects the speaker highlights in this fragment <...>" [Paducheva, 2004, p. 72].

The use of one verb instead of another leads to a deliberate distortion of the nature of the conflicted relationship and a change in the parties' roles in the situation. Situations are different in axiological modality, distinguishing between negative, positive, and neutral evaluations.

Thus, the verbs battle, combat, war, and operate describe the situation. *The word combinations wage military operation, wage war, wage warfare* is generally evaluated neutrally, while the situations nominated by the word varieties of more concrete semantics, such as *wage civil war, wage guerilla war* can carry either a neutral connotation or a negative connotation, depending on the context and how it is used.

As for the situation nominated by the expression *wage, anti-terrorist operation* is perceived unambiguously as positive and fair from the point of view of the compliance of the action with the norms accepted in society (legal and moral).

Let us take for comparison two opposite situations, the situation described by the phrase *wage civil war* and the situation described by the phrase *wage anti-terrorist operation (counter-terrorism campaign)*. The characteristics of the parties in both conflict situations are the exact opposite. In the first case, the agent and the counteragent (*subject* and *object*) are usually citizens of the same country. In the situation verbalised by the phrase *wage anti-terrorist operation*, the agent (*subject*) is a legitimate representative of the authorities; the counteragent is a terrorist:

- (10) Around 4,000 French troops are **waging** a cross-border **counter-terrorism campaign** throughout the southern Sahara, with forces deployed to back local governments in Mali [Farmer, 2018].
- (11) U.S.-backed Syrian rebels **launch (anti-terrorist) operation** against the ISIS In Raqqa [Reuters, 2016].

If the phrase *wage anti-terrorist operation* is used instead of *wage civil war*, the recipient's mental picture of the world will change. The counteragent turns from a legitimate participant into a terrorist lacking legitimacy and morality.

An example is “the bloodiest conflict in Europe,” as CNN called it. In April 2014, some news agencies described the events in the Donbas region of Ukraine as a “civil war”:

- (12) So how did this dispute begin, and how did it erupt into **civil war**? CNN examines the evolution of the Ukraine crisis. <...> April 15, 2014: Kiev's government **launches** its first formal **military action** against the pro-Russian rebels who have seized government buildings in towns and cities across eastern Ukraine. <...> [Thompson, 2017].

Later on, though, the conflict has been classified by Ukraine as an “anti-terrorist” (“anti-terror”) operation:

- (13) On Tuesday, Ukrainian military and special forces gathered outside Slavyansk in the first real show of force since Kiev **announced an “anti-terrorist” operation** this weekend to take back the city from armed protesters and reported unmarked Russian troops [Luhn, 2014].
- (14) In a snap report, Reuters quotes a Ukrainian security source as saying that an **“anti-terrorist operation”** is also **going on** in Slovyansk” [McCarthy, Yuhas, 2014].

In the given examples (examples 13, 14), the actions of the *subject* of the frame are classified as fighting for a just cause. The *object* (counteragent) from a legitimate participant in the event — citizens of the country fighting for their rights — turns into a group of terrorists. We deal here with the reconstruction of the event, i. e. the deliberate distortion of the content of the event to justify someone's ideological goals. However, it is fair to add that Western media use quotation marks for the adjective *anti-terrorist* when referring to this conflict.

3. The use with abstract social relations verbs that express the predicate of the frame ideologically limited vocabulary to nominate one of the parties to the conflict: *militants, bandits, terrorists, shooters, criminals, armed gangs, insurgent fighters, rebels, separatists* with such verbs as *fight, battle, combat, war, operate*.

The proof of this is how the then Ukrainian President Poroshenko called the citizens of eastern Ukraine. In his interview with CNN, Poroshenko said that the international community should recognize separatists as “terrorists” [Levs, Krever, 2014].

This is an illustration of a long-debated aphorism about *freedom fighters* and *terrorists*. The point is that any *freedom fighter* can easily be called a *terrorist* and vice versa. It all depends on the person's point of view speaking about the conflict situation.

This also manifests itself in what adjectives characterize the parties to the conflict.

4. The use of descriptive adjectives. Some descriptive adjectives define the characteristics of an agent in terms of the compliance of his actions with the norms of society (law), for example, *illegal*, *criminal*. Descriptive adjectives such as *pro-Russian*, *pro-American* qualify the agent as a supporter of a non-party to the conflict who benefits from or contributes to the resolution of the conflict.

Descriptive adjectives can express the author's attitude to the participants in a conflict, how actions are performed, and, thus, can serve as actualizers of ideological modality. As a result, with the help of these adjectives and the agent and counteragent, the third participant in the situation can appear in surface structure — an *observer* who interprets and evaluates the condition and its participants.

It is interesting to note that depending on the newspaper in which the article is published and on the political views of its author, adjectives such as *American led* (international forces led by America), *pro-American* (pro-American militants in Afghanistan), *pro-government* (pro-government militias in Syria), *pro-Russian* (pro-Russian separatists), pointing to the views of the parties to the conflict, are understood either positively or negatively.

- (15) February 1, 2017: Fighting in eastern Ukraine between *pro-Russian* rebels and Ukrainian armed forces escalates in the early days of Donald Trump's presidency [Thompson, 2017].
- (16) Reporting from Slovyansk Monday, the Guardian's Luke Harding said *pro-Russian* forces had taken the police headquarters and an administrative building in the city and erected roadblocks outside downtown. Three were killed in the city in clashes Sunday between *pro-Kiev* and *pro-Moscow* forces [McCarthy, Yuhás, 2014].
- (17) Ukraine has begun what it calls an "anti-terrorist operation" to root out *pro-Russian* "separatists" in the east [Oliphant, 2014].
- (18) The government in Kiev denied sending the regular army into the centre of Donetsk, Reuters reports but said small "self-organised" *pro-Ukrainian* groups were fighting the *pro-Russian* rebels in the city [Yuhás, 2014].

5. The chronological order of the scenario scenes of the armed conflict frame can be deliberately changed, which makes it possible to present events in a particular ideological vein. At the next level, the structure of armed conflict may become a cognitive model of a text and can be considered a generalized model of its referential situation. In this case, the verb of social relations represents the macro predicate of the model; the components of the frame turn into macro arguments of the text: Agent, Counteragent, Temporative, Locative. The structure actualized at the text level contains static and dynamic characteristics of the social situation — scenario included into the “armed conflict” frame as its terminal component. The system of the structure consists of several scenes — 1) prerequisites for a conflict: (a) the actions of the first party to a conflict to the detriment of the second party; (b) planning by the second party some actions in response; 2) conflict initiation (attack); 3) escalation of the conflict (hostilities); 4) culmination of the conflict; 5) conflict resolution; 6) consequences of the conflict.

Violation of the temporal order of scenario scenes makes it possible to manipulate public opinion. The author, for example, may not write anything about the prehistory of the conflict or deliberately present the response actions of the second party to the conflict as the actions of the initiator of the conflict, that is, describe phase (b) instead of phase (a) (prerequisites for a conflict).

A vivid example of this is the coverage in *The Washington Post* of growing tensions between Russia and Ukraine after Ukraine has deployed about 125,000 troops in the conflict zone in Donbas. Oddly enough, when discussing these events, the newspaper accuses Russia of preparing an invasion, citing an anonymous administration official:

- (19) “The Russian plans call for a **military offensive against Ukraine as soon as early 2022** with a scale of forces twice what we saw this past spring during Russia’s snap exercise near Ukraine’s borders,” said an administration official, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss sensitive information [Harris, Sonne, 2021].

The commentator may also deliberately ignore the aggressive actions of the party initiating the conflict and blame the participant who should have defended in return (e. g. the 2003–2011 war in Iraq and its media coverage).

There are a lot of such options. All this allows the author to impose his opinion on the reader.

Conclusions

Thus, ideological modality in frame verbalisation can be actualised both at the level of the sentence and at the text level.

At the sentence level, it can be actualised lexically (the use of verbs with the opposite meaning to nominate the same situation, the use of an ideologically biased vocabulary with abstract verbs to denote the participants in the case — the *subject* and the *object*, the use of descriptive adjectives to represent the *observer*, the use of nouns of propositive semantics to express the *predicate*) and grammatically (passivisation of the sentence, common diathesis). At the text level — changing the order of the presentation of information (by changing the order of scenario scenes).

The basis of ideological modality can be either deontic, objective modality (passivisation of a sentence, use of nouns of propositive semantics, use of common diathesis), or axiological, that is, subjective modality (all other described means).

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BLENDING PROCESSES IN TRANSLATION: MODELLING THE COGNITIVE MECHANISMS BEHIND TRANSLATION DECISION DIDACTICS

The research theme focuses on the creative component of translation. The translator's creative decisions are here defined as either appropriate, or possibly inadequate meanings being new to the target text. The theory of conceptual blending has been originally used in the study as a tool for analyzing high-entropy decisions in translation. The proposed translation model relying on this theory involves three stages. At the first stage, the translator is seen as a qualified reader, whose cognitive background of translation is being shaped through the translator's experience and knowledge. The second stage features the formation of the source space, the target space, and (if necessary) additional spaces that are, consequently, blended into the resulting space. At the third stage, the translator finalizes the discourse that, in turn, becomes a source of the recipient's variable associative conceptualizations. The proposed model laid the foundation for the hierarchy of translation integration levels that correlate with the typological scale of irregular/creative translation decisions. The advantages of the model include its explanatory potential in relation to the emergence of new semantic elements in translation, which evidently confirms the challenges of professional irrationality and intuition as a certain proved part of the research field of cognitive translation studies and translation didactics. High entropy is being tested in the study on the example of the fantasy genre as both a natural property and a result of literary translation.

Keywords: translation model, cognitive basis of translation, creative translation, occasional translator's decision, translation didactics, translating fantasy.

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ИНТЕГРАТИВНЫЕ МЕХАНИЗМЫ ПЕРЕВОДА: КОГНИТИВНО-ПРОЦЕССУАЛЬНЫЙ ПОДХОД КАК ЭКСПЛИКАЦИЯ ДИДАКТИЧЕСКОГО АЛГОРИТМА ПЕРЕВОДЧЕСКОГО РЕШЕНИЯ

Исследование посвящено творческой составляющей процесса перевода. Творческие решения в переводе — это новые элементы смысла переводящего текста, которые могут быть как оправданными, так и неоправданными. В качестве инструмента анализа переводческих решений

с высокой энтропией в работе впервые используется теория концептуальной интеграции. Предлагаемая модель процесса перевода, разработанная на основе данной теории, состоит из трех этапов. На первом этапе переводчик определяется как квалифицированный читатель, опыт и фоновые знания которого формируют когнитивный фон переводческого процесса. В ходе второго этапа формируются взаимосвязанные ментальные пространства: исходное, переводящее (и при необходимости дополнительное), после чего они интегрируются в результирующее пространство. На третьем этапе формируется переводящий дискурс, который, в свою очередь, становится источником вариативных ассоциативных концептуализаций реципиента. Предлагаемая модель положена авторами в основу иерархии уровней переводческой интеграции, которые коррелируют с типологической шкалой нестандартных переводческих решений. Преимущества модели заключаются в ее объяснительном потенциале в отношении возникновения эмерджентных смысловых элементов в переводе, что доказательно закрепляет проблематику профессиональной иррациональности и интуиции как непосредственно принадлежащую к научной области когнитивного переводоведения и дидактики перевода. Высокая энтропия определяется и апробируется в исследовании как одновременно естественное свойство, следствие и результат художественного перевода (на примере жанра фэнтези).

Ключевые слова: модель перевода, когнитивные механизмы перевода, творческий переводческий процесс, нестандартное переводческое решение, дидактика перевода, перевод фэнтези.

“Language is a specific part of Cognitive Information used as a communication tool shared by cultures. As part of social knowledge, it is described in textbooks, dictionaries, etc. As part of individual knowledge, it is known as Language Competence and includes intuitive Individual and acquired Social knowledge. Various users may use Language somewhat differently, but its relative subjectivity does not influence communication process and can therefore be ignored”.
[Chernyakhovskaya, 2011, p. 283]

Research Background

Translation Entropy through Conceptual Blending

This paper aims to describe a new translation model based on the theory of conceptual blending. This model might potentially lead to a better understanding of the reasons why literary translation tends to its high entropy. Translation entropy is understood here as a measure of spontaneous or irrational translation. Translators, who work with literary texts, are imposed to exert their creative potential on the source text, which seems

to be a natural phenomenon in the translation process. Since conceptual blending has thoroughly dealt with new meanings production, we rely on the latter in applying it to the problem of creative translation solutions by an attempt to introduce a cognitive translation model that would directly correlate with the linguistic creativity phenomenon, rather than with regular formal properties of the semantic link between the source and the target text.

The conceptual blending theory [Fauconnier, Turner, 2003] — preceded by mental spaces theory [Fauconnier, 2007] — has been described and applied to issues of various origins in a multitude of previous research (please, see the BCI resource in the references). We here stress those of particular relevance to the problem of translation entropy. Conceptual blending claims that new meanings (emergent elements) are the product of an integration network, an algorithm, where mental spaces (“assemblies constructed as we think and talk” [Fauconnier, 2007, p.351] are blended. In this process, a generic space maps onto each of the input spaces and “contains what the inputs have in common” [Turner, 2007, p.378], which is necessary for the subsequent selective projection of particular input counterparts into the blended space. It should be noted that the selection of projected elements is individual, which may not only explain communicative failures during everyday communication but also cast a light upon the discrepancies between the original and its translation. Blends include meanings that do not stem from the inputs, apart from the projected concepts and frames. J. Fauconnier and M. Turner, the authors of the theory, argue that blending is the foundation of human thinking and, most importantly, creativity¹: “Blending, especially in its advanced forms, is creative... Yet it works almost entirely below the horizon of consciousness” [Turner, 2007, p. 378].

And yet, there has still been a lack of comprehensive research related to the theory grounds for creative translation activity, where could be given a new perspective on such vital translatology issues as the link between language and thinking, the basics of translatability, the meaning of

¹ Surprisingly, this appears to go in line with the definition of creativity by J. R. R. Tolkien: “The human mind, endowed with the powers of generalisation and abstraction, sees not only green-grass..., but sees that it is green as well as being grass. <...> The mind that thought of light, heavy, grey, yellow, still, swift, also conceived of magic that would make heavy things light and able to fly, turn grey lead into yellow gold, and the still rock into swift water. <...> We may put a deadly green upon a man’s face and produce a horror; we may make the rare and terrible blue moon to shine, or we may cause woods to spring with silver leaves and rams to wear fleeces of gold and put hot fire into the belly of the cold worm. ...Man becomes a sub-creator” [Tolkien, 2003].

language signs and the formation of importance in the context, the unit of translation, criteria for differentiating translation from retelling, as well as criteria for assessing the quality of translation. In addition, and in this case we agree with Professor A. G. Minchenkov, there is a pending necessity to theoretically and experimentally justify the need to use monolingual explanatory dictionaries in translation.

According to A. G. Minchenkov, the novel view on the problem consists of understanding a complex translation model as a heuristic, cognitive and verbal process. A variety of knowledge present in the translator's mind interacts with the semantic potential of the source text. Professor Minchenkov was one of the first researchers in Russia to have proved a concept being a discrete unit of the language of thought and an apparent translation unit, who developed criteria for assessing the quality of translation and its successful performance by the proposal of translation errors' classification. He also introduced a heuristic technique for solving specific translation problems via the introspection method [Minchenkov, 2008; Minchenkov, Gorelova, 2019].

The translation process is heuristic by nature and is carried out by hypothesising and, subsequently, confirming or rejecting the hypotheses. Translation tasks are solved about each specific case. The final translation variant is often variable and cannot be predicted [Chistova, 2019].

Thus, our paper shows a cognitive model of the translation process as prospectively related to new didactic tools for the solution of non-standard translation tasks. In our previous studies of the intuitive component in the translation decision-making process, the introspective process scheme of a translator's conscious mental acts was designed, with shaping the background of the cognitive translation process, then combining the elements of that accumulated initial knowledge with building up a mental program image of all possible translation variants, and with the final choice of a good translation decision [Ubozhenko, 2016; 2020].

Research Design: The Cognitive Translation Process Model and its Hierarchy

The below-given translation integration model allows, on the one hand, to determine the cause of irrational translation and, on the other hand, to acknowledge entropy as a natural consequence of literary translation.

Stage 1: Interpretation. The translator acts as a trained reader (see [Garbovsky, 2004, p. 52] and produces their text reading based on their cognitive context, including experience and background knowledge.

These readings include the formation of a sophisticated cognitive discourse: creation, referencing, and integration of mental spaces², etc. It is unreasonable to mention that a qualified reader is expected to conceptualise additional mental spaces, which triggers new associative links mainly if they have acquired knowledge of the author, other works by the same author, the genre, etc.

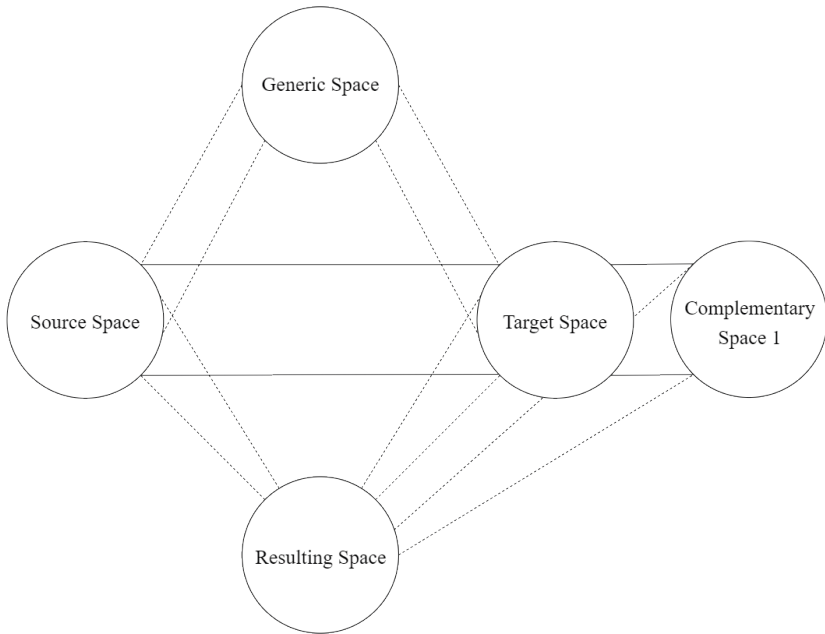


Fig. 1. Translator's Integration Network

Stage 2: Integration (see Fig. 1). The translator focuses on a selected piece of text and conceptualises a source space that this study considers the translation unit. Then the translator's passive or active associative links introduce a corresponding target space, a mental space of the target language, where elements trigger mapping. A generic area appears. At the same time, the translator hectically tries to find the corresponding language means to be used to express a particular linguistic or cultural concept. Ultimately, accepted elements are being combined into a blend that may or may not include emergent features. It should be said that some units do not demand a deeper level of integration (see Base integration

² Researchers have already emphasized the role of "images" in the translator's conscientiousness (e. g., see: [Lederer, 1994]).

level below). If the passage requires more profound and more complicated integration, however, the translator links one or more complementary spaces that broaden the cognitive scope of the integration. Such areas are secondary to the mental scheme and may stem from other domains rather than the concept sphere of the target language. Moreover, it is not unreasonable that several networks may occur and produce several candidates to become the resulting space for this cognitive segment. Such is the environment, where emergent elements may occur, which should be considered the pinnacle of creativity regarding translation.

Stage 3: Completion. Following more sensible propositions about the translation context — translation theory, information about translation participants, agreed on objectives, etc. — the translator chooses the final resulting space with its content and completes the text with linguistic means of expressing the blended elements. With their own cultural and individual cognitive context, recipients rely on this text to produce personal readings.

As regards the number of complementary spaces involved, this approach allows us to determine the depth of translational integration as follows:

1. *Base Integration Level* (input space + target space). Under the circumstances of existing equivalents³, the corresponding elements of the target space are mapped onto the input space without further development of the network. In this case, the associative links of a trained and experienced translator conceptualize the target space that already suggests a set of linguistic means and necessary transformations, which requires neither multidimensional comprehension nor significant cognitive effort.
2. *Integration Level 1* (input space + target space + complementary space 1). When the space of the target language concept sphere is not enough to cognitively transfer the images from one linguistic domain to another, the translator faces the necessity to outsource the data, thus they appeal to other domains such as the concept sphere of the genre, of another language, etc.
3. *Integration Level n* (input space + target space + complementary space 1 + ... + complementary space n). The more complementary spaces are part of the network, the more efforts the integration takes and the further is the translation from the source text.

³ We refer to the renowned classification proposed by V.N. Komissarov (2013) on the premise of formality and credence in the field of translation studies.

Hence, from Level 1 on, there emerge chances that the network becomes the origin of new cognitive entities, which are hardly dependent on any theoretical knowledge, for the process in question is prior to making a conscious decision.

The Model Application and Research Findings

Let us focus on this excerpt from *The Hobbit* and its match throughout the proposed stages of translational integration:

Tales and adventures sprouted up all over the place wherever he went, in the most extraordinary fashion. [Tolkien, 2013]

Истории и приключения выростали как грибы всюду, где бы он ни появлялся. (Stories and adventures grew like mushrooms wherever he appeared. — Here and henceforth in brackets, our translation) [Tolkien, 2003]

Stage 1. The cognitive scheme provoked by the extract is as follows (see Fig. 2). In this case, the reading of the source text itself involves blend-

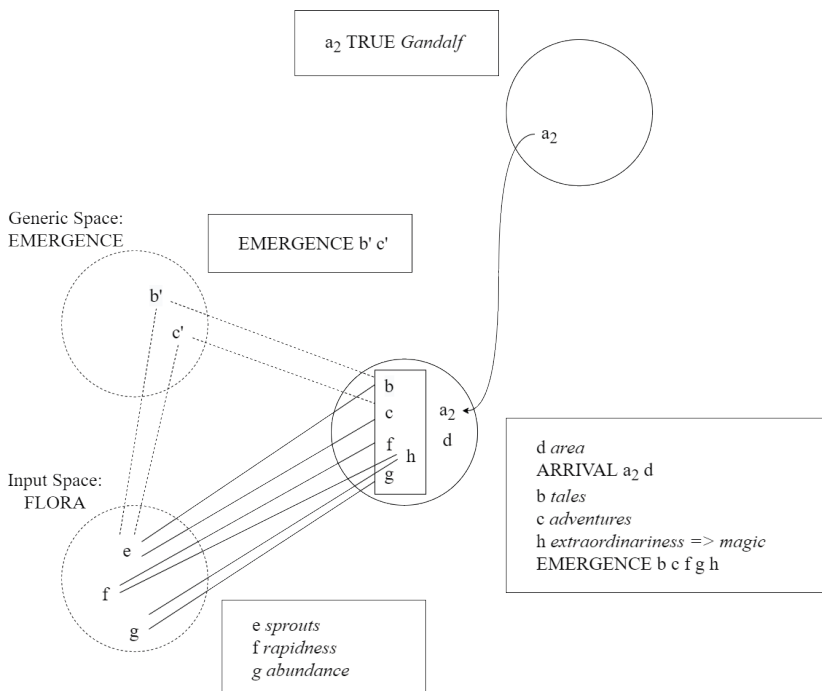


Fig. 2. Stage 1 of the Example Translation

ing, because of the metaphor, where the frame of *emergence* is expressed by the means of the *flora* domain. since the metaphor is of the general usage (see CD under “to sprout up”), however, it does not take any significant efforts to unfold the structure. The elements being mapped, the blending enriches the action space with such emergent details as *enchanted speed / amount* and, finally, with the help of other elements of the scheme (“extraordinariness”), the concept of *magic*.

Stage 2. A chosen space becomes the source space for the following integration (see Fig. 3).

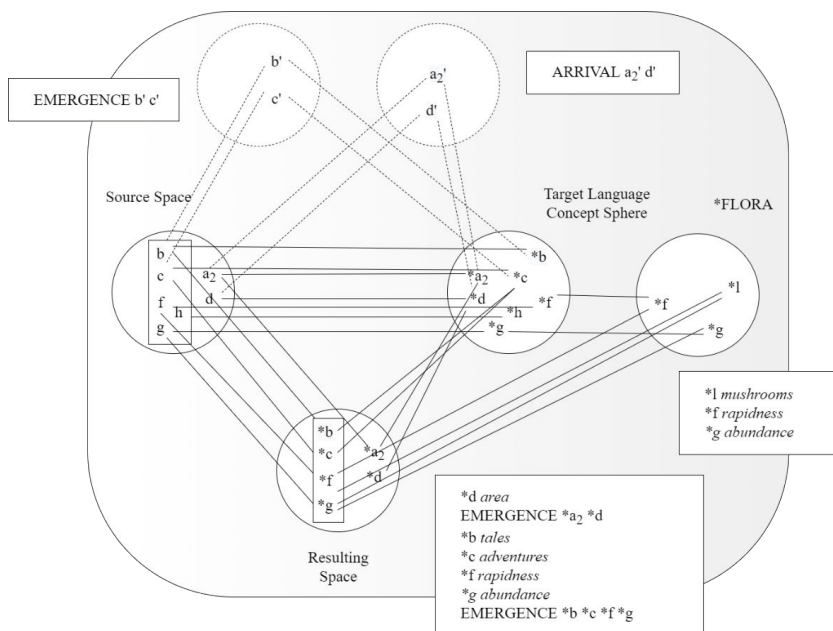


Fig. 3. Stage 2 of the Example Translation

Now various language means and their cognitive counterparts will go in line to shape the actual translational discourse. First, in this instant two generic spaces occur due to the necessity to map the two frames, the *arrival* of the character (*a₂*)⁴ and the *emergence* of concepts *tales* (*b*) and *adventures* (*c*). Second, a target space is found, where similar entities are cognitively interlinked and linguistically reflected in a different way. Third, the corresponding elements of the source and target spaces

⁴ Earlier in the narrative, the character (*a*) was described from the perspective of another character, but here the character (*a₂*) is perceived through the narrator’s view.

are being mapped. Then the presence of the metaphor in the source space triggers the complementary space of a domain, similar to the one that produced the blend during stage 1. The situation is different, however, because elements **f* and **g* that resemble *f* and *g* exist in another system, and the urge to find expressions for these abstract notions activates translator's associations, a process directed by his/her knowledge, expertise, and even individual experience. Fortunately, there exists a metaphor in the target language that not only conceptualizes the mentioned notions but is also of a similar domain. It should be admitted, however, that this metaphor is featured in none of other 7 translations in our corpus, what again proves the individual and creative nature of the translation in question.

Stage 3. Above is a somewhat simplified outline of massive cognitive work that actually might involve several blendings, much hesitation, jumping from one step to another, application and dismissal of many other complementary spaces and so on. In the end, however, one or several prominent variants may be identified. The translator then consciously considers these and other details of the translational context and finalises the translation.

The extract above is illustrative in terms of implicativeness, figurativeness, and conceptual richness, on the one hand, and is short enough to briefly cover the inner workings of the translator's mind, on the other hand. There have been found much better examples that illustrate the effect of entropy in translation, such as the following:

“Oh my gosh,” Tsunami blurted. Suddenly everything made sense — the “magic” in Whirlpool’s title, the self-adjusting harness in the Deep Palace. [Sutherland, 2012, p. 128]

– Во имя трёх лун! — воскликнула Цунами, вытаращив глаза. Только теперь ей стало ясно, какой магией ведаёт Мальстрём в Королевском совете и почему укоротилась сбруя в мастерской Глубокого дворца. (“In the name of the three moons!” Tsunami exclaimed staring with surprise. Only now has it become clear to her what kind of magic Maelstrom is in charge of in the Royal Council and why the harness in the workshop of the Deep Palace was shortened.) [Sutherland, 2016, p. 128]

Neither the book itself nor other books in the series suggest that there should be three moons in this text world. The translation does not distance itself from the source, at least because it adheres to the poetics of the genre, but at the same time, the variation is apparent. We might suppose that the translator's choice is to deepen the integration to broaden the context of the original rather than bring the text closer to the reader [Lefanov,

Kazakova, 2021, p. 300]. If the first translation is at Integration Level 1, a larger number of complementary spaces are blended. Among them, we may find an area of the fantasy concept sphere that includes cosmological information, or a space of the translator's relevant cognitive context with such data that explicates the idea that exactly three moons are a supernatural/imaginary phenomenon, or perhaps, a space of religious context, where there is an item that is not too sacred to be used in an exclamation addressed to a third person, etc.

Discussion

Accumulating all said before — as a debatable point — here, in the final part of our research, we provocatively invite our colleagues to dwell on creativity mechanisms more profoundly. The issue of predicting human creativity boundaries has long been an important research challenge, as it is of extreme importance to realise, whether the innovative cognitive abilities of a person are being potentially unlimited, or they could still be curbed by some inner and outer factors, both of anthropological and social kinds. It is evident that “people acquire cognitive information as a result of life experience, while language competence is both inherited and socially acquired knowledge” [Chernyakhovskaya, 2011]. Then how do new things appear, and in translation, particularly? We claim they are primarily rooted in the intuitive empirical linguistic and cognitive space of a human, simultaneously being an inherent part of their verbal/conceptual, associative and other perceptive life experience. This is always a recurrent procedure, where life experience, both verbal (abstract) and non-verbal (emotional, cognitive), is being formed under the influence of a set of conventional, universal, formal acts, images and dynamic values shared and accepted by this or that particular group of individuals. All those things make translation possible. A human borrows the well-known unique building cognitive information blocks from his/her so-called eco-linguistic environmental space and recombines them using their creative imagination and original, perceptive experience. The structural elements of a verbal, conceptual and emotional world picture play a dominant part, as the richer and more original all the three are, the higher the innovative scope a human can cover, suggest, produce and finally express and communicatively transfer further. The moment the above recombined components become the characteristic features of a new phenomenon, this newly created thing, just derived from them, immediately turns into the initial construction block for the next act of human creativity performance. That is how creative abilities and skills are sure to keep the cultural

evolution through language, having been inspired by human cognition and then shaped — consciously or intuitively — and implanted in human consciousness.

And the mission of a translator is to be a true mediator and bring these new semantic elements to the addressee, no matter how hard it might be. No pathos, just the job. The translation is performed to transfer meanings from one human cognition (of the author) to another (of the recipient). “Cognitive information presents the world to the human mind as sensual and intellectual images of facts, events, objects, etc., while language presents both the world and knowledge about it as assemblages of language symbols” [Chernyakhovskaya, 2011]. Consequently, we presume that before some object or fact becomes the representation of a particular mental space in the translator’s mind, it has once been cognitively processed and consciously shaped in his/her brain and then creatively fixed when delivered to the reader or listener. And this process and task are exactly what translation didactics should strive for implementing.

Conclusion

From the perspective of translation studies, some features are attributed to fiction, such as the likelihood of making creative decisions that lead to entropy in translation. As P. Newmark put it [Newmark, 2009, p. 28], it is much easier to determine a translation error than “good” translation. Indeed, translators appear to be trained to perceive fiction so that they regard acceptability and equivalence as different categories. The analysis of the whole corpus shows that in practice, no theory determines the need to reject chaotic (rather, creative) decisions, i. e. experience and creativity in the translation are prior to idea. The discrepancies between heuristic methods and the abundance of translation models or guidelines seem to stem from translation studies and didactics suggest scarcely any tools to train the translator’s professional irrationality. For this reason, we would like to emphasise the necessity to focus on the creative nature of translation.

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NATIONAL IDENTITIES IN THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF THE MULTILINGUAL CITY

The authors of the article touch upon one of the key problems of the globalization era — the gradual “levelling” of linguistic and national identities under the onslaught of global unification. Such a situation leads to the loss of the national, unique, and the primordial. We aim to trace the following: the way(s) the national identities of ethnic groups manifest themselves in the linguistic landscape of Kazan, the capital of the Republic of Tatarstan, Russian Federation; the features which make this landscape unique; the means it employs to express the idea of the national unity. In this regard, the authors of the article had to respond to two research questions: RQ1: Does the identity manifest itself at the level of linguistic affiliation of various denominations that can be observed in the streets of Kazan? RQ2: What other factors express national identity in the urban linguistic landscape? As a result of the study, the following conclusion was made: identity on the example of one of the central streets of Kazan — Profsoyuznaya Street — reveals itself not so much at the language level as through representation (allusion) of facts, ideas, and traditions common to the population that have formed national consciousness. National identity in the linguistic landscape of the Kazan city centre is vivid in its manifestation. Of the 105 ergonyms, 9 contain an allusion to events of Russian, Tatar or shared history, national traditions, although the degree of accessibility and clarity of such allusions for speakers of different languages and cultures may differ.

Keywords: Kazan, multinational city, multilingualism, monolingual information unit, multilingual information unit, allusion, national identity, ergonym.

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НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЕ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТИ В ЛИНГВИСТИЧЕСКОМ ЛАНДШАФТЕ МУЛЬТИЛИНГВАЛЬНОГО ГОРОДА

Авторы статьи затрагивают одну из ключевых проблем эпохи глобализации — постепенное «выравнивание» языковых и национальных идентичностей под натиском всеобщей унификации, ведущее к утрате национального, уникального, исконного. В данной статье мы ставим своей целью проследить: как национальные идентичности этнических групп проявляют себя в лингвистическом ландшафте города Казани; что делает этот ландшафт уникальным; как он выражает идею народного сплочения, одновременно способствуя и укреплению народного единства. В связи с этим у авторов статьи возникли два исследовательских вопроса: RQ1: Проявляется ли идентичность на уровне языковой

принадлежности различных наименований, которые можно прочесть на улицах города? RQ2: Какие иные факторы выражают национальную идентичность в городском языковом ландшафте? В результате исследования был сделан следующий вывод: идентичность на примере одной из центральных улиц города Казани — улицы Профсоюзной — проявляется не столько на уровне языка, сколько с помощью репрезентации посредством аллюзии общих для населения фактов, идей, традиций, сформировавших национальное сознание. Национальная идентичность в лингвистическом ландшафте центра города проявляет себя активно. Из 105 эргонимов 9 содержат аллюзию на события русской, татарской или совместной истории, национальные традиции, хотя степень доступности и понятности таких аллюзий для носителей различных языков и культур и может различаться.

Ключевые слова: Казань, многонациональный город, мультилингвизм, монолингвальная информационная единица, мультилингвальная информационная единица, аллюзия, национальная идентичность, эргоним.

Introduction

According to the definition, national identity is the perception of “the nation as a coherent whole. This sensation of the unity is represented by unique traditions, culture and language” [Art and civilisational identity, 2007]. Feeling part of a nation is compulsory for an individual, as it gives a feeling of “inner home”; at the same time, behaviour patterns and worldview are underpinned by common, immemorial customs, attitudes towards oneself and people, towards the world as a whole. The perception of belonging to a community of people ensures homogeneity, or uniformity, of the nation [Kochetkov, 2012]. The loss of this “foundation” can lead to disastrous consequences with national unity ceasing to be the basis of statehood, which will inevitably lead to a crisis, stagnation and a dead-end development of all the country’s institutions [Kuznetsov, Shchelin, 2014]. In this article, we aim to see the way the national identities of ethnic groups manifest themselves in the linguistic landscape of Kazan, the capital of the Republic of Tatarstan, Russian Federation; the features that make this landscape unique; the phenomena in the linguistic landscape that express the idea of the national whole, while promoting and strengthening national unity.

The Republic of Tatarstan is one of the national republics of the Russian Federation. The Tatar and Russian languages are the equal-proportion spoken languages in Kazan. According to the 2010 All-Russian census, the two largest nationalities in Kazan are the Russians (48.6% or 554.5 thousand people) and the Tatars (47.6% or 542.2 thousand people). According

to the Constitution of Tatarstan, the official languages in the Republic of Tatarstan are the equal Tatar and Russian languages. They are used on the same basis in local authorities' offices of the state of the Republic of Tatarstan (Article 8) [Constitution of the Republic of Tatarstan]. According to the Law of the Republic of Tatarstan, "On the official languages of the Republic of Tatarstan and other languages in the Republic of Tatarstan":

- "In the Republic of Tatarstan, geographical and topographic denominations, street indices are given in both the Tatar and Russian languages, as well as in other languages in cases of necessity; in the latter, the language choice depends on the local population preferences (Article 23) [Law of the Republic of Tatarstan, 1992].
- "The executive authorities of the Republic of Tatarstan ensure the proper spelling of geographical denominations; maintain the official inscriptions, topographic signage and street indices and are responsible for their correct design in the state languages of the Republic of Tatarstan by the legislation of the Republic of Tatarstan" (Article 24) [Law of the Republic of Tatarstan, 1992].

Being official signs in the linguistic landscape of the Republic of Tatarstan, geographical and topographic denominations, street indices are duplicated in both Tatar and Russian. In addition to them, information on opening hours also appears in two-state languages. Geographical and topographic denominations, road indices, opening hours form the space of "official signs" of the linguistic landscape. Simultaneously, the landscape consists of unofficial signs, i. e. private signage: ergonyms, street information notices, indices on houses and shops. The language in which they are presented is of interest for this study. We consider "Ergonym" as a proper name or title of an organisation (let us call it the denomination proper), that reflects its function, or purpose (for example, business associations, learned institutions, industrial companies, agencies, banks, shops, cultural institutions, sports complexes and stadia). An ergonym is a unit of the linguistic space of a city [Podol'skaya, 1978].

Does the national identity manifest itself at the level of linguistic affiliation of various denominations that can be read on the streets of the city? On the other hand, do some other factors reveal national identity in the urban linguistic landscape?

Language is undoubtedly one of the fundamental components of national identity. Disputes about the significance of the historical language in the formation of the nation do not subside to this day. Primordialists —

those who argue that individuals have a single ethnic identity which is not subject to change and which is exogenous to historical processes — stick to the idea that the loss of the historical language entails the “loss of the prevailing ideas about morality, the significance of the past, present and future” [Kuznetsova, 2011, p. 104]. Constructivists, on the contrary, predict the time of “mega-values, mega-cultures and mega-languages” [Fishman, 2007, p. 120], considering the loss of historical languages as inevitable.

The phenomenon of multilingualism, both at the national and individual levels, is the best evidence that both for the nation as a whole and the individual there is a need to preserve the native, historical language. The concept of “multilingualism” is interpreted as “the use of several languages within a certain social community” [Zherebilo, 2010].

The phenomenon of multilingualism has long become a familiar reality in the urban space of the Russian Federation, especially in cities where two state languages coexist. An outstanding example of such a city is Kazan, the capital of the subject of the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tatarstan. Along with the two-state languages — Russian and Tatar — foreign languages, English, in the first place, are an integral part of Kazan life.

Currently, the description of the linguistic landscape is a new way of studying the language in the context of globalisation, the emergence of which is due to the growing number of bi- and multilingual regions around the world [Kirilina, 2013, p. 159]. It consists of the written signs’ study of the public sphere (public space) of the urban environment [Backhaus et al., 2007]. Studying the linguistic landscape allows identifying patterns in which people, organisations, institutions, government agencies communicate using symbols within a complex linguistic reality [Ben-Rafael et al., 2006].

The study of the linguistic landscape as the “reflection” of national identity seems to be entirely justified, fitting into the modern concept of research in the field of the linguistic landscape. As Jan Blommaert notes, the study of linguistic landscapes at the dawn of research in this area was quite conservative; the landscape was perceived as a material environment, a background. Recent approaches to studying the linguistic landscape include research in the field of social semiotics and are characterised by an interdisciplinary approach; they perceive the landscape as an ideological construct, as a representation of public views both in synchrony and diachrony. From this point of view, the landscape is a social phenomenon [Blommaert, 2013].

Methods and material

The linguistic landscape comprises different types of information units: indices, opening hours, legal addresses, information notices, ergonyms, etc. An information unit perceives a segment of the linguistic landscape that is functionally delimited from other information units [Varlamova, 2021, p.149]. We suggest applying the information units' identification method to single out the units in the linguistic landscape. As an example, let us consider the notice at the restaurant entrance (data collected on Bauman Street, Kazan, January 2021):

Dorogiye druz'ya! Vkhod v nash restoran raspolozhen chut' leveye. Dobro pozhalovat'! restoran mono kukhnya PELMENIYA restaurant pelmenya mono cuisine Kazan' ul. Baumana 9/11 ('Dear friends! The entrance to our restaurant is located a little to the left. Welcome! restaurant mono cuisine pelmenya restaurant pelmenya mono cuisine Kazan st. Bauman 9/11').

The segment of information performs several functions:

- the demonstrative role in the indices — *Vkhod v nash restoran raspolozhen chut' leveye* ('The entrance to our restaurant is located a little to the left');
- the nominative, information, advertising, interest-arousing functions in the ergonym — *Restoran mono kukhnya PELMENIYA* ('restaurant pelmenya mono cuisine');
- the motivational function in the address to the public — *Dorogiye druz'ya! Dobro pozhalovat'* ('Dear friends! Welcome!');
- the information function in the address of the restaurant — *Kazan' ul. Baumana 9/11* ('Kazan st. Bauman 9/11').

Thus, the notice given can be divided into four information units according to their functions.

Among all the units of the linguistic landscape of Kazan, ergonyms convey the national identity of the people inhabiting the city to the greatest extent. This is explained, first of all, by the broad functional potential of ergonyms. If the rest of the information units carry one function (as a rule), the ergonyms can combine several functions: 1) nominative; 2) information; 3) advertising; 4) aesthetic; 5) memorial; 6) interest-arousing.

The research material was collected by continuous sampling by photographing the ergonyms of Profsoyuznaya Street in Kazan in February 2021. As a source of research material, the linguistic landscape of this particular street was chosen not by chance. Previously, the linguistic landscape of Bauman Street, the central pedestrian street in Kazan, was

analysed from the point of view of linguistic representation [Varlamova, 2021]. Profsoyuznaya Street is next and parallel to Bauman Street. Thus, the study is part of the expanded research of Kazan city centre. In the analysis of Bauman Street, all information units were analysed, without highlighting one specific type. However, it became apparent that it is precisely ergonyms, due to their functional potential and systematic and obligatory existence in the landscape, that reflect social processes in the best possible way, representing national identity.

In the definition of an ergonym, we adhere to the opinion of A. M. Emelyanova: “Ergonyms are the proper names of enterprises of various functional profiles: business associations of people (scientific, educational, industrial institutions), commercial enterprises (agencies, banks, stores, companies), objects of culture (cinemas, clubs entertainment facilities, theatres, parks), sports facilities (complexes, stadiums), which are units of the urban linguistic space” [Yemel’yanova, 2007, p.5]. Following the researcher, we study all ergonyms regardless of their structure: “Ergonyms in the derivational aspect are combined into two nominative types: 1) semantic, represented by ergonyms-words, ergonyms-phrases, ergonyms-sentences; 2) derivational, represented by ergonyms formed by such derivational methods as abbreviation, addition and suffixation” [Yemel’yanova, 2007, p.5]. The following types can expand the list of derivational methods: transcription, transliteration, transplantation, loan translation.

From the point of view of linguistic representation, we propose to divide ergonyms into multilingual and monolingual. Information units containing lexical units/morphemes/ etters belonging to different languages/graphic systems are considered multilingual. Such units are not built on the principle of information duplication in another language [Varlamova, 2021, p. 149]. For example (data collected on Bauman Street, Kazan, January 2021):

1. **Novogodniy sale** (*tr.: New Year sale*). The ergonym-phrase is represented by a combination of two words, which belongs to the Russian language (part of speech — adjective), the second — English.
2. **Fishka**. The example of multilingual word-building using suffixation, the stem (fish) belongs to the English language, the suffix (- κ) — to Russian (the final letter of the derived word is the ending -*a*). The suffix - κ is diminutive. At the same time, the word *Fishka* can be seen as the partial loan translation (calque, i.e. a word-for-word or morpheme-for-morpheme translation from another

language, without changing the word structure or sequence of elements [Shvydkaya, 2014]) of the Russian word *рыбка* ('small fish'). The stem *рыб* is translated into English — “fish”, while the suffix remains untranslated.

3. ***Kazanskiy kychtānāch from Kazan*** (tr.: *Kazan present from Kazan*). The ergonym-phrase is represented by a combination of four words. The first belongs to the Russian language (part of speech — adjective), the second — the Tatar language (part of speech — noun), the fourth and fifth — the English language.

Thus, we can elicit Russian-Tatar, Russian-English, English-Tatar, Russian-Tatar-English ergonyms in the linguistic landscape of Kazan (the degree of presence of foreign languages other than English in the landscape Kazan is minimal, therefore we do not consider units with their presence in this study).

In addition, it is necessary to separate the contextual and non-contextual use of ergonyms.

An ergonym without context is the denomination proper, for example (data collected on Profsoyuznaya Street, Kazan, February 2021):

1. ***Konechno možno*** ('it's possible, of course'). The ergonym-phrase is represented by a combination of two words, both of which belong to the Russian language (parts of speech — affirmative particle (1st component), state category word (2nd component).
2. ***Fruktarin***. The name of the fruit store. The ergonym-word is a nonce-word (a word coined and used for a single occasion [Shvydkaya, 2014] derived by means of blending of two Russian words (*frukt* (tr.: 'fruit') + *mandarin* (tr.: 'tangerine')).
3. ***Epatazh*** ('something shocking or outrageous'). The ergonym-word in Russian (part of speech — noun).
4. ***Royal style***. The ergonym-phrase is represented by a combination of two words that belong to the English language.
5. ***Kazanexpress***. The ergonym-word is a nonce word derived using compounding (Kazan + express).
6. ***OlaCvetok***. The ergonym-word is a nonce word derived by means of compounding. The first element can be considered the incorrect spelling variant of the Spanish word *Hola*; the second element is the Russian word *Cvetok* ('flower') transliterated into the Latin alphabet.

7. ***Begemotъ*** (*'hippo'*). The ergonym-word in Russian (part of speech — noun). The spelling of the word is not typical for Modern Russian norms, as at the end of the word after the consonant letter T, the character Ъ is used. In Church Slavonic, it helped to divide the word correctly into syllables and the line — into words (before the transition to the widespread use of spaces). Later Church Slavonic writing is used according to tradition at the end of words after consonants. In the report of daily communication, the issue of spelling change was put forward in 1904. Then, a plan to eliminate unnecessary letters from the Russian alphabet was submitted to the Imperial Academy of Sciences. In 1911, a special meeting at the Academy of Sciences approved the work of the preliminary commission and passed its resolution on this matter. The corresponding decree was published in 1912. Thus, the letter Ъ in *begemotъ* is an archaic element, as nowadays, at the end of words, it is no longer used; only the syllable-separating function of this letter is retained. The use of this character in modern ergonym can be explained by the intention to amuse the public and characterise the establishment as a reputable place with traditions and long history.
8. ***Firmennyy magazin — firma Kibete*** (*'company store' (from Russian) — 'company store' (from Tatar)*). The ergonym-phrase is represented by a combination of two words, both of which belong to the Russian language. The information is duplicated in the Tatar language. Thus, we can observe here even two ergonyms for the speakers with different language competencies — those who know Russian and those who know Tatar (or two of the state languages).
9. ***Bunker***. The ergonym-word in English.

The contextual use of an ergonym alongside the denomination proper contains information about the purpose of the establishment:

1. *KONECHNO MOZHNO studiya krasoty* ('beauty parlour', the context in Russian);
2. *FRUKTARIN frukty i ovoshchi iz Tailanda* ('fruits and vegetables from Thailand', the context in Russian);
3. *EPATAZH ukrasheniya* ('adornments' (i. e. jewellery), the context in Russian);

4. *ROYAL STYLE butik naryadov* — *ROYAL STYLE kiyemnär butigy* ('attires boutique', the context in Russian with the duplication of information in Tatar — *kiyemnär butigy*);
5. *KAZANEXPRESS Vygodnyye pokupki bystreya chem za sutki* ('profitable purchases in less than a day', the context in Russian);
6. *FLOWER STUDIO OlaCvetok* (the context in English only);
7. *BEGEMOTЬ pivnoy bar beer bar* (the context in Russian with the duplication of information in English);
8. *Muzhskoy kostyum Shkol'naya forma FIRMENNY MAGAZIN* — *Ir-at kiyeme Mäktäp formasy FIRMA KIBETE* ('Man's suit, school uniform', the context in Russian with the duplication of information in Tatar (*Ir-at kiyeme Mäktäp formasy*));
9. *BAR BUNKER* (the context in English only).

The context of the ergonym is duplicated in another language much more often than the denomination proper, which suggests that it is the purpose of the establishment that is important for understanding by the public of various language affiliations. Therefore, we will consider the ergonyms of Profsoyuznaya Street in context.

In the course of the study, the method of information units identification, the process of functional analysis, the practice of linguistic affiliation determination, and the method of statistical calculation were applied.

Results

In February 2021, in the linguistic landscape of Profsoyuznaya Street, ergonyms in Russian with the context in Russian were represented in the amount of 47 ergonyms (*RESTORAN PO CHESNOKU*, *Dzhem BAR* (transliterated into the Latin alphabet Russian words)). English monolingual units (context also in English) — 22 ergonyms (*BOURBON BAR ROUTE BAR 66 AMERICAN FOOD*). Tatar ergonyms with a context in the Tatar language — 7 units (*Ir-at kieme Mäktäp formasi FIRMA KIBETE*).

Multilingual ergonyms with context were presented on Profsoyuznaya Street in the amount of 29 units. For example:

- *Royal Style butik naryadov* — *Royal Style kiyemnär butigy* (already analysed in Methods and material section);
- *KazanExpress Vygodnyye pokupki bystreya chem za sutki* (already analysed in Methods and material section);

- **FLOWER STUDIO *OlaCvetok*** (already analysed in Methods and material section);
- ***Begemot̃ beer bar*** (already analysed in Methods and material section);
- ***Nit' BAR & KITCHEN*** (the proper denomination tr.: thread (the denomination is in Russian), the context is in English only);
- ***VERSALE zinnət səngate — VERSALE iskusstvo roskoshi*** (the denomination proper is a semantically non-assimilated word in English, the context is given in Tatar (*zinnət səngate* — ‘the art of luxury’) with the duplication of information in Russian (*iskusstvo roskoshi*));
- ***MORE & MORE moreprodukty i vino*** (the denomination proper is the multilingual unit built on polysemy — **MORE** is the transliteration of the Russian word *MORE* (‘sea’) as the first element of the ergonym proper, while the second element is the English word: the context ‘seafood and wine’, the context in Russian).

Thus, 76 monolingual ergonyms and 29 multilingual ones were recorded on Profsoyuznaya Street in February 2021. Consequently, the percentage of language integration at this date was 28%. As an indicator of linguistic integration, we consider the per cent of the presence of multilingual information units in the linguistic landscape of the total number of information units. The fact of the multilingual units testifies to the multilingual competence of the population of a multilingual city since such units are not built on the principle of duplication of information in another language.

The number of multilingual units in which English words/letters of the Latin alphabet were used together with Russian words/letters of the Cyrillic alphabet was the maximum in the linguistic landscape of Profsoyuznaya Street (24 units). Five units in which the Tatar language was combined with Russian were identified. For example, **TOKMACH STOLOVAYA**. This is the ergonym-phrase represented by a combination of two words. The first word is Tatar (‘noodles’, the denomination proper). The second — Russian (‘canteen’, the context, i. e. the purpose of the establishment).

Discussion

Thus, the analysis of the ergonyms of Profsoyuznaya Street according to their linguistic affiliation showed that the number of monolingual

ergonyms in Russian dominates. Surprisingly, the number of ergonyms in English prevails over the number of ergonyms in Tatar. After all, the Tatar language sounds on the streets of Kazan and the Tatar language, similar to Russian, is a means of everyday communication. The predominance of the Russian language over Tatar in ergonyms can be explained because both Russian and Tatar languages use the same graphic system — the Cyrillic alphabet. In the overwhelming majority of cases, those who speak the Tatar language know the Russian language; therefore, the landscape, as a reflection of social characteristics, puts forward this feature: the choice of the Russian language as the means of information transmission — the language that everyone understands. English in ergonyms fulfils an aesthetic function, acting as exoticism, testifying to elite and exclusivity. At the same time, the frequent use of English can be for tourists as well.

Thus, the linguistic affiliation of the ergonymicon cannot fully express national identity, especially if we take into account the quantitative indicator of the presence of the Tatar language in ergonyms. What, then, represents the national identity of the Russian and Tatar peoples as the two dominant nationalities of the republic?

According to the observation of E. I. Abramova, “in ergonyms, it is important to designate a company’s profile, slogan, characteristics of a product or service in a concise, attractive and memorable form, designed for the carrier of a culture that is shared with the creators of the ergonym. Hence, one of the common stylistic devices employed in ergonyms is allusion and reminiscence. The background knowledge of native speakers is used as sources of allusion” [Abramova, 2019, p. 965].

The sources of allusions are verbal texts usually. Hence, the historical allusions, that is, references to texts of a historical nature, literature allusions, biblical, mythological allusions, allusions based on the socio-cultural traditions of the ethnos that characterise specific national ways of understanding the world, are widely applicable. To understand the latter, non-native speakers need a higher level of sociocultural competence. Existing examples of ergonyms, which “include”, actualize the knowledge accumulated by generations, can be divided into the following groups:

- the allusion contained in the denomination can be perceived not only by the representatives of the Russian or Tatar culture but also by the citizens of other countries. It is possible to use well-known information and stereotypical ideas about other countries and refer to prominent literary sources and cultural phenomena that have gone far beyond the borders of one country;
- the allusion correlates with the background knowledge that only the Russians and Tatars possess, but foreigners cannot recognize;

- the allusion makes sense only to the Tatar or Russian language and culture carriers.

National identity as a combination of unique traditions and culture manifests itself in 9 ergonyms of Profsoyuznaya Street:

- **RUSSKAYA KUKHNYA NASTOYKI I NALIVKI** *Volna ryumochnaya* (the denomination proper *Volna* (in Russian, ‘wave’); the context *RUSSKAYA KUKHNYA NASTOYKI I NALIVKI ryumochnaya* (in Russian, ‘Russian cuisine tinctures and liqueurs’, the word *ryumochnaya* does not have any equivalent in the English language, non-equivalent vocabulary); the denomination proper is the ergonym word;
- **kremlin restaurant** (the denomination proper — *kremlin*, the context — *restaurant*, both components are in English); the denomination proper is the ergonym-word;
- **OFISNYY TSENTR KAZANSKOYE PODVOR’YE OFIS YZƏGE** (the denomination proper — *KAZANSKOYE PODVOR’YE* (in Russian, ‘Kazan coaching inn’), the context — *OFISNYY TSENTR* (in Russian, ‘office centre’), *OFIS YZƏGE* (in Tatar, duplication of the information given in Russian). In our understanding, it is not one, but two ergonyms: Russian (*OFISNYY TSENTR KAZANSKOYE PODVOR’YE*) and Russian-Tatar (*KAZANSKOYE PODVOR’YE OFIS YZƏGE*), since the information about the purpose of the establishment is duplicated in the second state language); the denomination proper is the ergonym-phrase;
- **NOGAY OTEL’ HOTEL** (the denomination proper — *Nogay* (the Tatar proper name, a historism, as such names are not given any longer), the context — *OTEL’* (in Russian, ‘hotel’) with the duplication of information in English (*HOTEL*). In our understanding, it is not one, but two ergonyms: Tatar-Russian (*NOGAY OTEL’*) and Tatar-English (*NOGAY HOTEL*), since the information about the purpose of the establishment is duplicated in English); the denomination proper is the ergonym word;
- **TOKMACH STOLOVAYA** (analysed at the end of the Results section); the denomination proper is the ergonym word;
- **RusAlka NAPITKI MARKET** (the denomination proper — *RusAlka* (in Russian, ‘mermaid’), the context — *NAPITKI MARKET* (in Russian, ‘drinks market’); the denomination proper is the derived word coined of two Russian words *Russkij* (‘Russian’) and *Alkogol’* (‘alcohol’) using blending;

- ***Bashkala GRIL' KAFE*** (the denomination proper — *Bashkala* (in Tatar, 'capital'), the context — *GRIL' KAFE* (in Russian, 'grill café'), the denomination proper is the ergonym word.

Of these, two ergonyms refer to Russian culture:

- ***RUSSKAYA KUKHNYA NASTOYKI I NALIVKI Volna ryumochnaya*** (in the context there is an allusion to the traditions of the Russian cuisine and drinking traditions of the Russians, the context can be understood by both the Russians and Tatars since the information is presented in Russian);
- ***RusAlka NAPITKI MARKET*** (the denomination proper is the mythological allusion, can be recognised by the Russians and Tatars).

Four ergonyms appeal to the knowledge about the history and culture of the Tatar people in the recipient's mind:

- ***NOGAY OTEL' HOTEL*** (the denomination proper is the historical allusion, can be available for the Russian and Tatar part of the population. Nogay — Golden Horde Beklarbek, ruler of the westernmost ulus of the Golden Horde (on the territory from the left bank of the Danube to the Dniester, headquarters on the Danube). From the 1270s to his death did not obey the khans of Sarai and controlled them. Vassal dependence on him was recognised by the Second Bulgarian Kingdom and Serbia and all southern and part of the northeastern Russian principalities. He was married to Euphrosyne, the illegitimate daughter of the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus. Converted to Islam after the Khan Berke);
- ***TOKMACH STOLOVAYA*** (the denomination proper is in Tatar, 'noodles', an allusion to the traditions of the Tatar cuisine);
- ***Bashkala GRILL CAFE*** (the denomination proper is in Tatar, tr.: 'capital').

The ergonyms *kremlin restaurant* and *OFISNYY TSENTR KAZAN-SKOYE PODVOR'YE OFIS YZƏGE* can instead be attributed to the collective history of two peoples who have lived side by side on the same territory for centuries. The ergonym *kremlin restaurant* will be comprehended by representatives of other countries and all residents of Kazan, regardless of their language competence, as the denomination proper is a semantically non-assimilated word, only Russian cities have Kremlins,

i. e. ancient fortifications. In the ergonym **OFISNYY TSENTR KAZAN-SKOYE PODVOR'YE OFIS YZƏGE** (the meaning of the denomination proper *PODVOR'YE* — an inn for ambassadors, merchants and monks who came to a large Russian city), the allusion may be incomprehensible to representatives of both cultures because the word is a historism.

Conclusion

The national identities of the Russian and Tatar population are represented in the linguistic landscape of one of the central streets of Kazan — Profsoyuznaya Street. The identities manifest themselves not so much at the language level as through the representation of facts, ideas, and traditions common to the population. Of all the unofficial signs, ergonyms represent the brightest picture of the society of the Tatarstan capital.

National identity in the linguistic landscape of the city center actively manifests itself. Of the 105 units, 9 contain an allusion to events in Russian, Tatar or shared history, national traditions, although the degree of accessibility and clarity of such allusions may vary. Thus, 9 % of ergonyms express those features that either distinguish the Russians or Tatars or unite them into the people of one state. Four ergonyms embody the Tatar national identity, referring to the traditions of the Tatar national cuisine (1 ergonym) and significant historical characters and facts (3 ergonyms). Two ergonyms refer to the stereotypical idea of Russians as lovers of merry feasts with strong drinks. Three ergonyms contain an allusion to the events of the shared history of the Russian and Tatar peoples, recalling a shared historical past.

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THE EVOLUTION OF DIALOGUE SPEECH IN EARLY 17TH CENTURY ENGLISH DRAMA ON THE EXAMPLE OF B. JOHNSON'S "EPICENE, OR THE SILENT WOMAN"

The paper analyses the dialogue speech evolution in English drama of the early 17th century. This period has not been a focus of Russian scholars' interest so far, though it played a crucial role in the transformation of English drama affecting its communicative aspect — the dialogue on which the entire drama's body is based: from the creation of the character to the play's intrigue. English drama produced striking examples of dialogue speech in its development. However, until the 17th century, it was dominated by the principle of characters' "muteness", meaning the characters' speeches uniformity. The characters lacked an individual conversational style showing their background, education, temper and spoke the playwright's language with his words, style, and manner. The dialogues of Shakespeare's personages provide prime examples of this. The 17th-century English drama began with revolutionary changes in dialogue speech. Its innovative trends are regarded: a case study of B. Johnson's comedy *Episcæn, or the Silent Woman* (1609). In this comedy, the English characters first "spoke". The dramatist endowed the personages speech with individuality specific to his age, residence, position in society. The characters' personified speech differed from each other in manner, vocabulary and socio-cultural linguistic skills. The analysis of dialogue speech in the discussed comedy proves that the speech personification resulted in the evolution of the seventeenth-century English drama, fundamentally changing its face. B. Johnson's innovation in dramatic dialogue determined the way of drama transition from Renaissance to the drama of the Restoration.

Keywords: evolution, dialogue, English drama, 17th century, personification.

Н. В. Зонина

ОСОБЕННОСТИ ДИАЛОГА В АНГЛИЙСКОЙ ДРАМАТУРГИИ НАЧАЛА XVII ВЕКА (комедия Б. Джонсона «Эписин, или Молчаливая женщина»)

Тема статьи — эволюция диалогической речи в английской драме первой половины XVII в. Этот период в истории английской драматургии малоисследован в отечественном литературоведении, однако он представляет большой интерес. Именно на рубеже XVI–XVII вв. в английской драме происходят кардинальные преобразования, в первую очередь затронувшие ее речевой, коммуникативный аспект, на котором

строится вся архитектура драмы: от создания образов действующих лиц до развития интриги пьесы. Английская драматургия создала яркие образцы диалогической речи в их историческом развитии и трансформации. Но до начала XVII в. драматической речи пьес Елизаветинской эпохи доминировал принцип «немоты» персонажей, суть которого состояла в единообразии языка героев, говорящих не своим языком, а языком драматурга: его словами, стилем, манерой речи, независимо от их социального статуса, образования, воспитания, примерами чему являются диалоги шекспировских героев. Новый, XVII, век начинается с революционного переворота в диалоговой речи. В качестве материала для анализа новаций в области диалога в английской драме выбрана малоизвестная нашим соотечественникам комедия Б. Джонсона «Эписин, или Молчаливая женщина» (1609). В этой пьесе впервые в английской драме действующие лица «заговорили». Драматург наделил речь каждого персонажа пьесы индивидуальной стилистикой, характерной для его времени, места проживания, положения в обществе, возраста. Персонализированная речь героев отличается друг от друга не только темой говорения, но и манерой, словарем, социокультурной языковой структурой. Анализ диалоговой речи в комедии «Эписин, или Молчаливая женщина» убедительно доказывает, что речевая персонализация персонажей комедии совершила эволюцию в области драматургии того времени, радикально изменив облик драмы. Новаторство Б. Джонсона в области драматического диалога во многом определило направление развития английской драмы — переход от драмы Возрождения к драме Реставрации.

Ключевые слова: эволюция, диалог, английская драма, XVII век, персонализация.

Drama is the most communicative type of literature. Its essence and uniqueness lie in a complete absence of narration and the author's speech, and the text is constructed solely on dialogue, the characters' direct speech. Thus, the dialogue speech is entrusted with complex multifunctional tasks, including such fundamental ones as creating the characters' images and developing the plays' intrigue. The golden age of the English drama, the 16th century, gave us perfect examples of drama with unique plots, powerful characters and vivid dialogues. However, despite all the speech expressiveness of the Elizabethan drama, a feature which Dmitry Likhachev called the effect of characters' "muteness" [Likhachev, 1969, p. 312] was typical of it. Under characters' "muteness", the scholar meant the consistency of the characters' speech, lack of individual live language reflecting the social and professional status of the dramatis personae, their education, the place of residence, moods, moods, experiences and feelings. The characters in the 16th-century drama speak in the playwright's language: his words, style, and manner.

The examples of such “muteness”, without belittling the genius of W. Shakespeare, can be found in all the dialogues of Shakespeare’s characters, brilliant both in their content and language. Leo Tolstoy, who was very hostile towards W. Shakespeare, points out as one of the weaknesses of his drama, the absence of the most important means of depicting the characters — language, meaning that:

“Each drama person is supposed to speak in their individual language. ...All of Shakespeare’s characters do not use their own, but always the same Shakespearean, pretentious, unnatural language which not only could not be spoken by the characters depicted but could never be spoken by any living human being anywhere...” [Tolstoy, 1983, p.281].

Paying tribute to Shakespeare’s ability in using “non-verbal” means of communication (intonation of speech, facial expressions, gestures, looks of the characters often prompted by the author’s remarks), Tolstoy claims that:

“...however strongly a movement of feelings may be shown in one scene, one scene cannot present the character of a person when this person, after a proper exclamation or gesture, begins to speak at length not in his language, but, at the author’s will, in strange and inappropriate for his nature words” [Tolstoy, 1983, p.292].

To some extent, Tolstoy is right regarding uniformity of the language of Shakespeare’s drama personages, for whom Shakespeare himself speaks. In “Romeo and Juliet”, the language of both Juliet and her Nurse, Friar Lorenzo and the Duke, etc., is uniformly beautiful and sublime. However, the bombastic pictorial style of the dialogues of the 16th — century characters, regardless of their nature or status, is typical of Shakespeare and all Elizabethan drama. However, Tolstoy is not correct in his harsh criticism of Shakespeare, and his person all the 16th-century drama, as he speaks for the 19th century and judges the Elizabethan drama by the standards of his current artistic system in literature, in particular drama, without taking into account the historical context, literary canons and evolutionary processes in early drama. English drama was in its infancy at the beginning of the 16th century. Its progress by the end of the century was phenomenal, including its speaking component — for the first time in drama, the author spoke for himself loudly and eloquently expressed through dialogues his characters. Not to mention the Renaissance nature of that era which must not be forgotten.

The 17th century became revolutionary for English drama in the context of its further evolution, first of all, and the changes primarily

concerned speech aspect: the “mute” characters “spoke”, acquiring their voices. To a large extent, the individualisation of dialogue speech was connected with the democratisation of theatre audiences’ widening of their social circle, facilitated by the construction of public theatres. All this, including the growth of personal consciousness in society, made new demands on drama. Heroes like Hamlet no longer excited the audience. They wished to see their contemporary, an ordinary man with his needs, everyday concerns, problems and interests. The new content and new characters presupposed new forms and means of expression. As a result, the “high” themes were leaving the drama together with the high-pitched style of speeches. The plays’ characters began speaking the language of their time, residence, and social status. All this gave rise to the personification of the dialogues, making them lively, contemporary, able to create a unique character identity.

Ben Jonson was a reformer and innovator of English drama in the early 17th century, and above all of dialogue speech. The drama reform started with comedy as the most democratic genre, with reduced subject matter requiring lively everyday speech. B. Jonson and his followers were no longer interested in “news from abroad” — they turned to their homeland. B. Jonson was the first to present the public with real contemporary England populated with the playwright’s fellow tribesmen, their ways of life, occupations, the way of life surrounding them, their tastes and manners, as:

“Our scene is London, ‘cause we would make known,
No country’s mirth is better than our own:
Bawd, Squire, Imposer, many persons more,
Whose manners, now call’d humours, feed the stage...”
[Jonson, 1610, Prologue].

Criticising his fellow elder authors for their deviation from the truth of life and their contrived heroes with super-passions, he contrasts their creations with his plays, remaining faithful to the principle of “imitating nature. In the prologue to his play *The Alchemist*, Jonson puts forward his understanding of the aims and objectives of the contemporary drama:

“Where neither chorus wafts you o’er the seas
Nor creaking throne comes down the boys to please;
Nor nimble squib is seen to make afeard
The gentlewomen; nor roll’d bullet heard
To say, it thunders; nor tempestuous drum
Rumbles, to tell you when the storm doth come;

But deeds, and language, such as men do use,
And persons, such as comedy would choose,
When she would shew an image of the times,
And sport with human follies, not with crimes”
[Jonson, 1601, Prologue].

Since “the image of the times” is not always pretty and overall, far from perfect, the playwright’s task, according to Jonson, is to show to his compatriots the ugliness of the age and the vices of society in order to debunk the vices and purge the society of them:

“Howe’er the age he lives in doth endure
The vices that she breeds, above their cure...
They are so natural follies, but so shewn,
As even the doers may see, and yet not own”
[Jonson, 1610, Prologue].

His arrows of satire are aimed at all members of English society, from aristocrats to the rising bourgeoisie and puritans. The close attention to the real man, the details of his daily life, and the interest in his inner content determined a new approach to the subject and the setting. B. Jonson rejected traditionally ready-made plots, composed the plot himself and defined the characters’ environment — his native London, which largely influenced the life and ethos of its inhabitants, their vices and virtues. His approach to the speech characterisation of the drama personages and their dialogues was decisive — it was their task to create the picture of the real world and the whole atmosphere of modern life, to reveal the “inner man” through the verbalisation of his thoughts and judgements of vice and virtue [Etkind, 1999, p. 11–12]. And B. Jonson’s characters began to speak “as in reality”. In dramatic speech, B. Jonson completely abandoned the verse form and switched to prose. The prose was also occasionally used by the 16th-century playwrights, including Shakespeare, but it was generally only used when giving voice to characters of common origin. Johnson’s portrayal of modern London life was ideally suited to prose. The spoken language of the characters in Johnson’s comedy is motley, varied and individual, just as the world of human feelings is motley, varied and individual. He identifies certain personal types of characters, mores -’humour’ (Jonson’s Theory of Humour).

An excellent example of a new comedy, which presented the personal identity of the characters through their dialogues, is Johnson’s comedy *Epicœne, or the Silent Woman* —written in 1609, the play ushers in a new era in the history of English drama. *Epicœne* is set in the playwright’s

contemporary London. All the characters are Londoners whose tempers are revealed through their personified speech. All the characters in the play differ in theme, manner, speaking style, vocabulary and linguistic structure. To reinforce the essence of their “humour”, Johnson gives them speaking names: Morose, Truewit, Dauphine, Cutbeard etc.

The title figure of the play is Epicœne, designated as ‘silent’, so in the context of the theme of speech characteristics, she is of little interest, although ‘her silence’ plays a vital role in the play. The first scene of the comedy takes place in the house of London dandy Clermont, who is visited by his pal Truewit (the wit) [Barton, 1984, p. 122]. Their lively dialogue immediately brings us into contemporary London life. The young men discuss their tightly packed days filled with pleasures and enjoyment with flaunting wit. Truewit lists the social activities, visits and acquaintances without which a true gentleman cannot be accepted into London’s “beau monde”:

“Hearken after the next Horse-race, or Hunting-match lay Wagers, praise Puppy, or Pepper-corn, White-foot, Franklin; swear upon White-mains party speak aloud, that my Lords may hear you; visit my Ladies at Night, and be able to give’em the Character of every Bowler or Bettor o’ the Green. These be the things, wherein your fashionable Men exercise themselves, and I for company” [Jonson, 1609, p. 183].

The speech of the young Londoners is full of trappings of modern life; it is fast, light, carefree. The conversation is as much their pleasure as London life itself. The characters’ dialogues are peppered with early 17th-century London toponymy: the Strand, the Tower of London, Aldgate Gate, London Bridge, St Paul’s Cathedral, the Exchange, Bridgefoot’s Bear Tavern, Chinese shops and so on. Their dialogue introduces us to the protagonist of the comedy: a few succinct, lively words, and before us is the colourful image of Mr Morose (the sullen one), an uncle of Dauphine, a friend of the two dandies. Truewit:

“I met this scarecrow, his Uncle, yesterday, with a whole pile of night-caps over his Ears” [Jonson, 1609, p. 184].

As the cast list indicates, he is “a gentleman who cannot abide noise”: any noises make him mad. Morose’s first appearance is accompanied by saying words about the speech, which, in addition to his outward characterisation, gives an idea of his temper: “...all Discourses but my own afflict me: they seem harsh, impertinent, and irksome” [Jonson, 1609, p. 186].

A brilliant example of verbal, non-verbal dialogue is his conversation with his servant Mute. (At the breaches still the Fellow makes Legs or Signs. — *the dramatist’s remark*) Morose:

“...speak not though I question you. You have taken the Ring off from the Street Door, as I bade you? answer me not by speech, but by silence; unless it be otherwise (—) very good. And, you have fastened on a thick Quilt-, or Flockbed, on the out-side of the Door; but with your Leg, you answer, unless it be otherwise (—) very good.How long will it be here Cutberd come? stay, if an hour, hold up your whole Hand; if half an hour, two Fingers if a quarter, one; (—) good: half a quarter? ‘tis well. And have you given him a Key, to come in without knocking? (—) good And you have been with Cutberd the Barber to have him come to me? (—) good. And, he will come presently? answer me not but with your Leg, unless it be otherwise: if it be otherwise, shake your Head, or shrug. (—)” [Jonson, 1609, p. 186].

His ranting in this dialogue about improving the world order completes his portrait:

“...see, by much Doctrine, and Impulsion, it may be effected: stand by. The Turk, in this divine Discipline is admirable, exceeding all the Potentates of the Earth; still waited on by Mutes; and all his Commands so executed; yea, even in the War, (as I have heard) and in his marches, most of his Charges and Directions given by Signs, and with silence: an exquisite Art! and I am heartily ashamed, and angry oftentimes, that the Princes of Christendom” [Jonson, 1609, p. 186–187].

His speech is primitive in vocabulary and language structure, harsh, abrasive and intolerant of any violation of his communication rules and way of life, demonstrating his lousy education and upbringing. It creates a wholesome image whose ethos is defined by selfishness, callousness, arrogance and self-love. This is already a satirical type (“humour”) with a generalising force. To disinherit his nephew Dauphin (the heir), he is prepared to marry, but on the condition that the proposed candidate is silent. An intrigue “as Boccaccio himself would not have invented in *The Decameron*” (director’s note), to force Morose to recognise his nephew as the heir. For him, they find a young lady called Epicœne (Greek for “has no signs of a particular sex”) who possesses all sorts of virtues, the main one among them her reticence. Morose is delighted and ready to marry. His following magnificent verbal-verbal dialogue during Epicœne’s introduction exposes a bouquet of all his vices. He examines her like a merchant examines the goods, evaluating and commenting on what he sees, and his speech is a trader’s speech: “She is exceeding fair, a sweet Composition, or Harmony of Limbs; her temper of Beauty has the true height of my Blood. The Knave hath exceedingly without: I will well fitted me now try her within” [Jonson, 1609, p. 190].

In response to his numerous questions, Epicœne silently curtsies. Satisfied with what he has seen, Morose launches into curses at his only relative — his nephew:

“O my Felicity! How shall I be reveng’d on mine insolent Kinsman, and his Plots, to fright me from marrying! This Night I will get an Heir, and thrust him out of my Blood, like a Stranger. . . . Your Knighthood itself shall come on its Knees, and it shall be rejected; it shall be sued for its Fees to Execution, and not be redeem’d; it shall cheat at the Twelve-penny Ordinary, it Knighthood, for its Diet all the Term-time, and tell Tales for it in the Vacation to the Hostess; or its Knighthood shall do worse, take Sanctuary in Coleharbor, and fast, its Knighthood shall go to the Cranes, or the Bear at the Bridg-foot, and be drunk in fear; it shall not have Money to discharge one Tavern-Reckoning. . . .” [Jonson, 1609, p. 191].

His cursing style is vulgarly commonplace, lexically reduced to vulgar profanity and extremely crude tone. His speech is saturated with the trappings of modern London life but of London’s bottom — a haven of vice. Morose is the embodiment of absolute evil, whose image, like all the characters in the comedy, is revealed through personified dramatic speech. How very different in style are his curses from those put by a sixteenth-century drama hero — also the embodiment of absolute vice:

“Where are they? Gone? — Let this pernicious hour
Stand aye accursed in the calendar! —
Come in, without there!..
Infected be the air whereon they ride;
And damn’d all those that trust them!”
[Shakespeare, 1603, Scene 1, lines 150]

Johnson’s innovations, especially in drama dialogue speech, made a real revolution in English drama. Responding to the demands of the new age and the changing society, his reform of dramatic language had far-reaching consequences. It was instantly picked up by B. Johnson’s “younger contemporaries”: T. Middleton, J. Ford, J. Shurley, R. Broom, and further refined by playwrights of the Restoration era: characters J. Etheridge, W. Wicherly, W. Congreve began to speak the modern, lively, individualised language [Parfitt, 1976, p. 79]. The dialogues of the London dandies in Oscar Wilde’s plays are very reminiscent of those by the young men from *Epicœne, or The Silent Woman*.

Unfortunately, the comedy has not received the attention it deserves in Russian literary criticism and is little known to drama lovers. The only edition of Jonson’s *Epicœne, or The Silent Woman* in Russian appeared in 1921 [Blokh, 1921, p. xi–xxi].

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