## СИНЕРГИЯ ЯЗЫКОВ И КУЛЬТУР 2022

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В сборнике представлены последние разработки ученых России и зарубежных стран 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 межъязыковой 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 2022: Interdiscipilinary Studies

Svetlana Rubtsova, Ivan Grigoriev, Tatyana Dobrova, Elena Rokhlina (eds). The collection of articles *The Synergy of Languages and Cultures: Interdisciplinary Studies* is a peerreviewed scholarly publication. The collection includes papers from Russia, Belorussia, Vietnam and Japan. 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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# BI-DIRECTIONAL APPROACH TO ANALYZING DIALOGICAL SPEECH IN JOHN STEINBECK'S NOVELS

The paper presented aims at linguistic and stylistic analysis of the direct speech of fictious characters along with the examination of some pragmalinguistic features of the communicative situation as such. Language-based approach can be viewed as an 'enquiry going from the text to the characters', while pragmatic analysis unfolds in the opposite direction, 'from the pragmatic intentions to the literary text'. Such a 'dualistic' approach can bring to light the correlation between communicative situations portrayed in novels and specific stylistic/textual characteristics of the dialogue. Besides that, it helps to unveil the author's idea and message of a book. Therefore, the primary aim of the paper is to reveal the interrelation between the pragmatic parameters of a communication situation and stylistic/textual features of a dialogue. The methods used are pragmalinguistic analysis of communicative situations, linguistic analysis of the characters' speech with the elements of stylistic analysis. The application of the bi-directional approach is demonstrated on the material of dialogues from John Steinbeck's books.

*Keywords*: pragmatics, dialogical speech, communicative situation, speech strategies, self-disclosure of characters.

Е. Г. Андреева, А. В. Гребенюк

#### ДВУНАПРАВЛЕННЫЙ ПОДХОД К АНАЛИЗУ ДИАЛОГИЧЕСКОЙ РЕЧИ (НА МАТЕРИАЛЕ ПРОИЗВЕДЕНИИЙ ДЖОНА СТЕЙНБЕКА)

В настоящей работе предложена методика исследования художественных диалогов, включающая лингвостилистический анализ прямой речи персонажей и прагмалингвистический анализ коммуникативной ситуации как таковой, в которой происходил конкретный диалог. Первое направление анализа идет «от текста к персонажам», тогда как учет прагматических установок коммуникантов и имплицитных компонентов семантики их высказываний дает возможность двигаться «от персонажей к тексту» и выявить связь коммуникативной ситуации со стилистическими и текстуальными характеристиками диалога. Подобный двунаправленный метод дает возможность установить связь между авторским замыслом, прагматическими установками персонажей и языком произведения. Материалом, на котором демонстрируется примене-

ние такого двунаправленного анализа, стали диалоги из произведений Дж. Стейнбека.

*Ключевые слова*: прагматика, диалогическая речь, коммуникативная ситуация, речевые стратегии, самораскрытие героев.

#### Introduction

Though hardly a new issue in linguistics, dialogical speech and its role in literary characters' representation (their personal features, background, motifs, etc.) is addressed with the help of a variety of controversial approaches. Of special interest is the task to determine, identify and compile a set of linguistic tools and devices used by an author in building up their characters' self-disclosure as well as to look upon the structure of a dialogue through the lens of social communicative practice within the framework of anthropocentric paradigm adopted in modern linguistics [Kubrjakova, pp. 144–168; Dayter, pp. 38–39]. When working on a book/story/play, the author employs specific techniques in constructing dialogues which, if interpreted correctly, help the reader to come to the right understanding of a plot and the author's message [Fernández, p. 43].

The paper presented focuses on linguistic tools used by John Steinbeck to describe his characters in dialogues, and also aims to demonstrate the capacity and efficiency of pragma-linguistics in analyzing samples of dialogical speech in fiction and human communication in general. Several dialogues from John Steinbeck's "Grapes of Wrath" and "Of Mice and Men" underwent linguistic examination serving as practical material for this study.

#### Methods and material

It seems safe to claim that the most important aspects/levels of any literary work are its language (both the author's and that of his/her characters) and a fictional world created in literature (which is a secondary sign system) [Lotman, p. 6]. Therefore, any artistic text is a sort of dualistic entity, on the one hand, it is a form of language existence, on the other, it plays a metalinguistic role, being a tool to create and reveal the artistic fictional world of the book to the reader. This fact poses a certain difficulty for a researcher making it necessary to differentiate between the two sides, their characteristics and elements. In this way, stylistic devices, syntax of sentences, register (to name a few) belong to the "language/speech" level, while plots, characters, chronotopes are the components of the fictional world [Arnold, p. 25].

At the same time, any 'independent' analysis of each of the two levels inevitably turns out to suffer from serious limitations. A dialogue perfectly illustrates drawbacks of such approach, as it is a multifaceted linguistic material being simultaneously a text (in a narrow sense, of course), a component of a plot, a device making 'the artistic world' develop and move. Therefore, one of the essential tasks in analyzing any literary work lies in revealing connections between the elements of the two levels.

The 'traditional' analysis of the language of literary works goes from bottom to top, from characters' speech to the world of a novel allowing to unveil the characters' relations to one another and their relationships, motifs, personal features and their places in a plot. In other words, being a significant part of the characters' exposition, a dialogue provides us with their speech portraits, so the 'bottom-to-top' analysis aims at a proper reconstruction of these portraits.

The reverse movement — from top to bottom, from characters to their speech — is no less important, and pragmatics proves to be an effective tool in the task of understanding the characters' reasons and intentions underlying their particular remarks with their hidden meanings given in a particular verbal form [for more detail see: Sinha]. It is the characters' goal setting as a reflection of the author's goal setting answers the question about the structure and form of a dialogue. The results of the two proposed approaches serve as a sort of 'mutual verification' proving each other's reliability [Arnold, p. 28].

The aims of the paper are: (1) to determine the type of a dialogue, the extent of its coherence and symmetry; (2) to characterize their speech on all the levels (phonetics, grammar, lexis and style); (3) to analyze possible deviations from standard literary language as the most informative elements of speech; (4) to describe a communication situation, its context, communicants, their intentions, conflicts of interests and remarks, as knowing these makes it possible to understand what is implied by each remark, to assess its role in the development of a dialogue and contribution to the success or failure of communication [Dolgorukov et al, p. 13–59]; (5) to reveal the interrelation between the pragmatic parameters of a communication situation with stylistic and textual features of a dialogue.

The material analyzed includes passages with the characters' direct speech, while the author's remarks, the narrative itself and the reported speech are referred to only when otherwise it is hard/impossible to understand the role of a particular dialogue in the overall composition of a novel.

#### Linguistic and Stylistic Analysis

The characters of the two novels are from the state of Oklahoma and their speech is typical of South Midland Americans. J. Steinbeck demonstrates this on the phonetical level focusing on transformations of sound images of words in speech rather than on individual accents of the characters or peculiarities of their speech. Dialogues abound with the cases of substitution velar nasal [ŋ] for alveolar [n]: gettin', goin', doin', nothin', drivin', drinkin', puttin', settin', sneakin', thinkin' and the like. Another typical feature is a regular dropout of alveolar stops [t]  $\mu$  [d] primarily at the end of the words: win'shild, an', ol', jus', use', didn', thousan', las'. Besides these, there are some other kinds of sound and even syllable dropouts as in 'course, 'cause, 'less, 'em, 'Preciate it, su'prised, ever'thing, 'im, 'F, 'bout. Finally, not infrequently the author uses non-standard word forms, such as tomorra, wanta, twicet, idear, git, ain't, ast ta (= ask to), somepin.

As for their grammar, the dialogues demonstrate that the characters are inclined to use double and sometimes even triple negations:

you oughtn' to take no walk; I never was no hand to write, nor my old man neither; I don't mean nothin' neither; A guy that never been a truck skinner don't know nothin'; Well, it ain't no goddamn cinch; But it ain't none of my business; Nothin' ain't none of your affair; I never asked you nothin' about it; и т. д.

Another unconventional grammatical feature is the defective or inadequate subject-verb agreement as well as atypical usage of the articles:

> I'd **a** walked her if my dogs wasn't pooped out; They was two fellas.

Moreover, the characters' speech is highly elliptical with multiple cases of omitted subjects (expressed by personal pronouns *I*, *you*) and auxiliary verbs (*to be, to have*):

Sure, I seen it; Didn't have no other shoes; Goin' far? Lookin' for a job? I seen your hands. Been swingin' a pick or an ax or a sledge. So long, fella. You been a good guy; What you want? What you payin'?

In terms of lexical level, the dialogues are characterized by lots of slang expressions, dialectal and vernacular words and expressions: *ya*, *ain't*, *them* (meaning *the* and *their*), *whisht*, *old man* (=*father*), *shove around, mind my own yard*. A great many of word collocations and idioms have distinctly informal or derogatory coloring:

rich bastard;
my dogs was pooped out;
screwin' around;
You didn't give a damn;
it ain't no goddamn cinch;
won't have a snort?
You keep your trap shut
Goddamn reds
If you men want to sit here on your ass, O. K.

Finally, words belonging to professional jargons of the 1930-s are also plentiful: *truck skinner* (long-distance truck driver), *cropper* (farmer), *cats* (Caterpillar heavy machinery).

Including the above-mentioned sub-standard elements into the characters' speech, J. Steinbeck shows that:

These are poorly educated working-class people. This is seen both in the careless way they pronounce a large number of words, in numerous grammar mistakes as well as in various slang and jargon expressions. The number of speech 'deviations' correlates with the social status and cultural background of a character: the lower the status, the more non-standard forms the character uses. For instance, a police officer and a recruiter of workers make far fewer mistakes than workers.

The working-class characters are proud of their class affiliation and even try to alienate themselves from proprietors and the other well-off. The opposition 'friend or foe' manifests itself in such phrases as *rich bastard* when speaking of 'foes' like land-owners, while 'friends' or commoners are generally called *a guy, a fella*.

#### Pragmalinguistic Analysis

To begin with the pragmalinguistic analysis itself, we should outline the background of the episode considered further. The hero of "Grapes of Wrath", Tom Joad, released after four years of imprisonment is hitchhiking to his father's farm. The truck driver he stops works for a company that forbids to give a lift to strangers (there is a sign «No Riders» on the windscreen of the truck). However, Tom manages to persuade the driver to pick him up. Throughout their conversation, the driver tries to find out what and who his companion is, while Tom in his turn avoids giving any clear-cut answer. The dialogue is long covering the whole chapter and can be divided into two phases, or two communication situations, each with its phatic stage of establishing a social connection, the stage of arousing interest and holding it, and the final stage before parting. The first part evolves on the car park in front of a roadside café, the second is in the driver's cab.

Tom load as a communicator has an initial communicative intention of being driven to his destination, which has been formed before the communication itself starts. Later, during the second phase of the dialogue, another (situational) intention occurs consisting in his reluctance to let on his "wicked" past. Otherwise, he might suffer a communicative failure and might be put off the truck before the end of the journey. The driver's communicative intention varies from (1) evading giving Tom a lift to (2) trying to keep loyal to his social class and, finally, to (3) his attempts to drag out some information about Tom's past. Tom's communicative success can be seen in the fact that he imposes on the driver a necessity to choose between 'not taking Tom' and 'not betraying to his class affiliation' making him choose the latter option. As any hitchhiker poses a potential threat, the driver starts to implement his third intention by asking questions that can help to shed some light on Tom's biography. However, this brings the driver nothing but a communicative fiasco. Choosing between one strategy of communicative pressure on an addressee or another the addresser has to take into account the extralinguistic context as wide as possible including a communicant's past. In the episode discussed that was hardly achievable since due to his jail experience Tom was most sensitive to the driver's efforts to 'fish' some information about his past (when you been in stir a little while, you can smell a question comin' from hell to breakfast. You telegraphed yours the first time you opened your trap). As a result, the communicative intention which was supposed by the addresser as implicit and/or hidden became in fact absolutely explicit and clear for the addressee who chose to give vague answers. Therefore, their communication was of clearly non-cooperative quality. On the level of text linguistics, it is demonstrated by lacking coherence asymmetric communication of the characters: long utterances, almost monologues of the driver and occasional laconic remarks of the hitchhiker.

This situation changes only coming closer to the end of the dialogue. Tom voluntarily discloses his past when approaching the final point of the journey. At this stage the probability of communicative failure becomes low and insignificant. Moreover, he can feel from the questions the driver asks that he is afraid of him and could easily be intimidated even more: His voice became harsh: «You know what I mean». Besides, our hero consumes alcoholic beverages, and this also exerts influence on his speech behavior (this is given in the author's direct commentary: The whisky seemed to loosen Joad up). Finally, of note is the fact that exercising informative and plot-forming functions, in its concluding part the dialogue might be addressed to the reader as it explicitly divulges us the required biographical facts of the chief. This feature is typical of dialogic speech in fiction representing simultaneously an episode of intercharacter communication and a dialogue between the author and the reader.

A more interesting from the point of view of pragmalinguistics and therefore deserving attention is the first phase of the conversation when the driver agrees to take Tom. The part consists of four remarks, which we give below with their presuppositions and implicatures:

Could ya give me a lift, mister. This is a phatic phase expressed in the form of an indirect speech act, with the presupposition of the driver's capability to pick Tom up, while the actual implicature lies in the related illocutive act of Tom asking to give him a lift to his home town. This implicature is to some extent conventional, more specifically, is conventional to the extent allowing for interrogative sentences to be conventionally used in requests. Moreover, whatever the following context might be, it can hardly cancel this implicature.

Didn' you see the No Riders sticker on the win' shield? This remark (as well as the following ones) keeps the communication between the characters going. The presupposition here is implied by the respective sign/sticker on the windscreen of the truck, while the conventional implicature dictated by the syntactic semantics of the sentence is: You have seen the sign "No passengers" on the windscreen. This implicature in a verbal form is: I do not take fellow-passengers and I am not going to take you. As we will see later, this speech implicature will be cancelled by the context that follows:

Sure, I seen it. But sometimes a guy'll be a good guy even if some rich bastard makes him carry a sticker. Here we arrive at the most intriguing and delicate part of this stage. The presupposition of the remark consists in the fact that Tom has seen the sign and is well aware of what is meant by it. However, an additional element of the presupposition is that there can be someone powerful and well-off who makes truck-drivers stick

such signs on the trucks. Several implicatures can be inferred: (1) You are made to have this sign some rich bastard/scoundrel; (2) Having the sign is compatible with being a 'good guy'; (3) A good guy will take passenger; (4) You are a good guy. Of these four implicatures only the second is conventional connected semantically with the construction even if while the rest can be cancelled by, for example, such remark as: But it is not about you. Implicatures (3) and (4) imposed on the truck-driver are clesarly not compatible with the implicature of his own statement. Anyway, having a communicative intention to distance himself from the company owners, the driver accepts implicatures (3) and (4) and agrees to take Tom as a fellow-passenger.

Scrunch down on the running board till we get around the bend. This remark contains summarizing of the first stage of the characters' communication analyzed. Here as presuppositions serve the availability of the truck step, on the one hand, and the fact that the road soon makes a turn/has a bend, on the other. The implicatures are: (1) Yes, I am a good guy; (2) Whatever sign is on my windscreen, no one but I myself decide whether or not to take passengers; (4) I don't want you to be seen by anyone, therefore for some time you will have to stand on the truck step; (5) after the truck comes round the bend, you will be able to join me in the cab. The final implicature is conventional and is related to the semantics of the preposition till.

Of special interest this dialogue is the author's explicit indication of the driver's struggling communicative intentions: The driver, getting slowly into the truck, considered the parts of this answer. If he refused now, not only was he not a good guy, but he was forced to carry a sticker, was not allowed to have company. If he took in the hitch-hiker he was automatically a good guy and also he was not one whom any rich bastard could kick around. He knew he was being trapped, but he couldn't see a way out. And he wanted to be a good guy. On the one hand, the pragmatic analysis of the dialogue might seem redundant, however, on the other, it demonstrates that the logic of the communicative act revealed by the pragmatic analysis carried out above coincides with the author's logic of constructing the dialogue, which in turn clearly proves great potential of pragmalinguistics and its methods.

#### **Conclusions**

The first step of the analysis accomplished included a brief outline of the diaolgue's place and meaning in the novel's composition and plot, its classification, textual characteristics and stylistic devices used, while the second step consisted in applying some pragmalinguistic methods. Both stages reveal the following: John Steinbeck widely uses graphic expressive means to demonstrate phonetical peculiarities of the characters' speech and, in this way, to make the dialogues sound as close to vernacular as it deems possible, and also to show the regional and social affiliation/background of the characters.

Colloquialisms, vulgarisms and informal idioms, systematic violation of the grammar rules of the literary language aimed at portraying an authentic speech of a typical working-class American southerner of the 1930-s abound in the speech of some characters and are less demonstrable in the speech of others.

These linguistic and stylistic differences are supposed to explain the conflicting intentions, presuppositions and implicatures of the speakers, which are considered from the angle of pragmalinguistics along with the role they play in the unfolding and developing dialogues.

The pragmalinguistic analysis carried out leads us to conclude that there is an intrinsic interrelationship between the pragmatic characteristics of the communicative situations and the stylistic/textual parameters of the dialogues.

Pragmalinguistic methods of text analysis are of great potential in what concerns dialogues in literary works/fiction. It is instrumental in studying the dialogue structure, mechanisms of role change, levels of the dialogue symmetry/asymmetry, stylistic devices used, etc.

The paper presented is intended to demonstrate that combining the two above-mentioned approaches to the study of literary dialogic speech can cast light on a deeper level the author's intentions and ways bringing the reader to a better understanding of the book. At the same time, such examination of a literary text might be of interest for both readers, and writers-novices alike, since work of the latter starts with 'painting a mental picture' of a fictious world and proceeds from it to the text itself. In this context, understanding the structure of human communication on the basis of already existing novels and stories can help a young writer to design his/her dialogues so as to emulate a connection between communicative intentions of characters and their verbalization that is experienced in real-life conversations. Finally, the significance of the proposed 'dualistic' approach can be seen in the fact that it gives a chance to study a text itself without having to resort to a wider biographical or historical context, and instead just to move 'from top to bottom' or 'bottom to top' where the top is the artistic/fictious world of a book and the bottom is its language. It is obvious that the pragmalinguistic analysis demonstrated on the basis of one, though long, dialogue has its restrictions which can be lifted by considering a larger number of dialogues. This is the direction that a further study of dialogical speech can take in the future.

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# IMPLEMENTING CLIL TECHNOLOGY IN THE CONTEXT OF SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATION FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS AT A TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

The article describes experience of implementing supplementary educational programmes for secondary school students using CLIL technology at a technical university. CLIL technology is viewed as an integrating tool to develop a set of competences necessary for Learner-Centred Continuing Education of future specialists in the framework of supplementary educational programmes. The paper provides analysis of theoretical prerequisites and practices for the use of Content and Language Integrated Learning Technology in foreign language education. It shows opportunities of integrating them into the supplementary educational process at a technical university in "the secondary school — higher school interaction" context. The subject, metasubject and personal characteristics of the attainment targets of the training programmes are addressed. The article presents the results of the technology approbation attached to the implementation of supplementary educational programmes for secondary school students at Kalashnikov ISTU.

Keywords: Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), CLIL technology, foreign language communicative competence, subject competence, meta-subject competence, Learner-Centred Continuing Education, supplementary educational programmes, career guidance.

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## РЕАЛИЗАЦИЯ ТЕХНОЛОГИИ CLIL В УСЛОВИЯХ ДОПОЛНИТЕЛЬНОГО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ ДЛЯ УЧАЩИХСЯ СОШ В ТЕХНИЧЕСКОМ ВУЗЕ

В статье описывается опыт организации и реализации дополнительных образовательных программ для учащихся средних образовательных школ (СОШ) с применением технологии СLIL в техническом вузе. Технология СLIL рассматривается как интегративный инструмент, позволяющий развить комплекс компетенций, необходимый для непрерывного личностно-ориентированного образования будущих специалистов, в рамках дополнительных образовательных программ. Проведен анализ теоретических предпосылок и практик использования предметно-

языковой интегрированной технологии обучения в иноязычном образовании. Показаны возможности их интеграции в процесс дополнительного образования в техническом вузе в контексте взаимодействия субъектов на уровне школа-вуз. Рассматриваются предметные, метапредметные и личностные характеристики результатов освоения программ обучения. Представлены результаты апробации данной технологии при реализации дополнительных образовательных программах для учащихся СОШ в ИжГТУ имени М. Т. Калашникова.

Ключевые слова: технология предметно-языкового интегрированного обучения (CLIL), иноязычная коммуникативная компетенция, предметная, метапредметная компетенция, непрерывное личностно-ориентированное образование, программы дополнительного образования, профессиональная ориентация.

#### Introduction

Achieving success in the professional area under the conditions of the modern world implies the continuity of skills development and the continuity of the educational process, in particular. Personality formation begins at preschool age and continues throughout a person's life.

The concept of lifelong learning originated in the views of Plato, Confucius, Socrates, Aristotle, L. A. Seneca, Voltaire, J. V. Goethe, J. J. Rousseau, who associated it with the achievement of the full development of a human being as an individual. Therefore, "lifelong learning" may be regarded as the constant improvement of an individual's knowledge, skills and abilities caused by the need to "keep up with the times", the desire to be a highly demanded specialist in the existing professional and social environment [Perezhovskaya, 2015]. In the modern world, the need for lifelong learning is due to the progress of science and the widespread use of innovative technologies [Consultant, 2022].

The development programme of Kalashnikov Izhevsk State Technical University (hereinafter referred to as Kalashnikov ISTU) notes that secondary schools and their students have a request for Lifelong Learning ("education throughout life") and for the development of future specialists as highly-demanded ones in the labour market [ISTU, 2020]. It emphasizes the need to develop supplementary educational programmes (hereinafter referred to as the SEP) for school students so that they can meet the contemporary requirements of the time and make it possible to effectively fill the gaps in training within basic educational programmes at secondary educational institutions. Moreover, SEP must be designed to provide school students with high-quality preparation to be able to get enrolled into the universities in the future.

It is also important to note that the supplementary education of children is aimed at developing their creative abilities, satisfying their individual needs for intellectual, moral and physical improvement, as well as organizing their free time. Supplementary education ensures children's adaptation to life in society, their career guidance, as well as the identification and support of children who have demonstrated outstanding abilities [Consultant, 2022]. Subsequently, we have a reasonable ground to point out that supplementary education contributes a lot to the concept of Learner-Centred Continuing Education.

In this respect, the approach to carrying out supplementary educational courses, accepted by the Scientific and Educational Center "Innovation Technologies in Language Professional Education" of Kalashnikov ISTU (hereinafter referred to as SEC), seems to be highly profound and effective. The prospective idea of the SEC activities is to develop a system of continuous multi-level education ranging from supplementary education for school students to higher education and supplementary professional education for adults [ISTU, 2020]. One of the current SEC objectives that lends support to the overall systemic approach is to implement pre-university preparatory courses and supplementary education programmes for secondary school students of grades 6–11, aimed at developing their personal, meta-subject and subject competences.

According to the National Curriculum of Secondary Education the competences mentioned above are associated with the results of mastering the basic educational programme by school students and may be characterized as follows:

- 1. Personal competence, including the students' readiness and ability for self-development and personal self-determination, the formation of their motivation for learning and deliberate cognitive activity, a system of meaningful social and interpersonal relationships, value-semantic mind-set that reflect personal and civic positions in the course of activity, the ability to understand Russian civil identity in a multicultural society.
- 2. Meta-subject competence, including inter-subject concepts mastered by students, and universal study skills (regulatory, cognitive, communicative), the ability to use them in cognitive and social practice, learner autonomy in both planning and doing educational activities, independence in organizing teachers-to-student cooperation as well as peer-to-peer cooperation, the ability to build up an individual educational trajectory, mastering research skills, project-based and social activities.
- 3. Subject-based competence, including skills that are specific to the subject area mastered by students in the course of studying the subjects, types of activities to obtain new knowledge within the framework of

a subject, its transformation and application in educational and social project situations, the formation of a scientific way of thinking, knowledge of scientific terminology, key concepts, methods and techniques [Garant, 2012].

The competences under consideration may serve as attainment targets and indicate efficiency level of the supplementary educational programmes provided.

It's also notable that the supplementary educational courses carried out by the SEC for school students are focused on preparing for further professional education, on developing students' individual abilities through a deeper mastery of a foreign language (than that provided for by the basic course at school) related to having a good command of other subject areas. The principle of integration of the subject and language components of education, adopted as the basis of education, involves the formation of comprehensive ideas about the world and general culture of students, the development of systemic scientific knowledge and activity methods on a meta-subject basis. All of the above features of school students' supplementary education reflect the essence of the Content and Language Integrated Learning Technology used in the framework of supplementary educational programmes at the SEC of Kalashnikov ISTU.

#### Methods

The review of the articles devoted to continuing education and vocational-oriented foreign language learning [Krylov, Halyapina, Arkhipova, 2021; Arkhipova, 2014] confirmed the fact that modern educational institutions in Russia widely use an integrated subject-language approach (Content and Language Integration or CLIL) at both the secondary school and university levels. Moreover, since 2010, CLIL has been recognized in all European Union countries as the main recommended method of teaching English at schools, including supplementary education programmes. Why is this approach so popular?

First of all, due to globalization and modern conditions of development of foreign language education in the world, this approach has become the basis of technology of bilingual Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL). The term CLIL was first introduced by D. Marsh in 1994 and it was he who pointed out that CLIL is relevant in case when subjects or certain topics within the subjects are taught in a foreign language pursuing two objectives at a time: learning the content of this subject along with simultaneous learning of a foreign language [Coyle, Hood, Marsh, 2010].

Having analyzed the papers [Baïdak, Mínguez, Oberheidt, 2005; Coyle, Hood, Marsh, 2010; Salekhova, Grigorieva, Lukoyanova, 2020] de-

voted to the CLIL research and methodology more than 40 definitions of CLIL were found: firstly, as a concept in which a foreign language acts as a learning tool, secondly, the use of CLIL is aimed at achieving two goals: the study of both the subject content and the foreign language itself. Nevertheless, the definition given by D. Marsh most completely reveals the essence of this approach [Marsh, 2012].

Thus, CLIL is a range of methods aimed at formation of students' communicative and subject competences in a foreign language in the same educational context in parallel with shaping and developing general and subject knowledge and skills in their native language.

The foundation of CLIL is the unity of "4 C" as the integration of 4 main components: Content, Communication, Cognition, Culture, which was developed by Professor D. Coyle in 1999, and implies combining the study of subject content, language within a certain context, situation, and defines the interaction of the components in class as follows [Coyle, Hood, Marsh, 2010]:

- 1. Content the subject or topic the curriculum is based on (history, mathematics, geography, economics, etc.).
- 2. Communication the language we learn the subject in and master in the process of learning.
- 3. Cognition thinking operations that help to understand the reality.
- 4. Culture the way we interact with realities and apply our knowledge and skills in life.

It should be mentioned that the effectiveness of CLIL learning is achieved through [Coyle, Hood, Marsh, 2010]:

- consistently mastering certain amount of knowledge, skills and understanding of the content;
- inclusion in cognitive processes;
- communicative interaction in a certain context;
- development of linguistic knowledge and speech skills;
- cultural identity.

Following D. Marsh [Mehisto, Frigols, Marsh, 2008] we believe that a number of key CLIL principles contributes to effective implementation of training:

- 1. Focus of training in different areas that includes:
- learning some language phenomena in various subjects;
- learning the subject content at foreign language lessons;
- integration of several subjects;
- inter-subject links within the training process;
- reflex-based learning process.

- 2. Enriching atmosphere of the learning process that consists of:
  - introduction and presentation of language and subject information during the lessons;
  - developing students' confidence in language practice and subject knowledge;
  - evaluation of students' use of authentic materials;
  - improving students' language skills.

#### 3. Authenticity that means:

- increasing the students' interest;
- continuous involvement of learners into the learning process;
- use of new relevant materials from media, books, Internet resources.

#### 4. Active learning:

- students learn and practice the subject information through interaction doing professionally oriented tasks;
- students assess their learning and development progress;
- peer co-learning;
- discussion the importance of learning the language and the subject simultaneously;
- teachers act as mentors and/or assistants.

#### 5. Scaffolding:

- organization of training on the basis of knowledge, skills, interests and experience of students;
- using various ways of study;
- development of creativity and critical thinking.

#### 6. Collaboration:

- joint planning and implementation of lessons in a pedagogical tandem (a language teacher and a subject teacher, and/or an invited foreign specialist — university teacher);
- involving parents in the learning process which includes explaining the curriculum and the ways to support students.

It is worth noting the meta-subject approach to learning as a condition for the success of the educational process, which involves:

- ensuring the child's overall cultural, personal and cognitive development and learning abilities;
- understanding of the necessary concepts of the subject, formation and further development of students' subject basic abilities, use of the method of rediscovery of knowledge in different educational material, use of reflex [Deykova, 2019].

In this study, we take a look at the SEP "English Summer School "UPSTREAM" for school students of grades 6-11 as an educational platform where educational, didactic and developmental tasks are interrelated. The educational activity of the ESS is based on the CLIL: a foreign language is used as a means of understanding the training content. Upon completion of the ESS, students successfully enroll in annual English language courses. They can choose from a wide variety of courses run by the University, e.g. "English for Specific Purposes (Science, Engineering, Technology and Mathematics)" course.

While learning a foreign language, school students focus on such fields of science and technology as mathematics, physics, information technology, robotics, instrumentation, biotechnology, digital linguistics, and the basics of intercultural communication.

It should be noted that in the SEP diverse forms of organizing class-room activities are applied such as:

- 1) business and interactive games, discussions, quizzes, puzzles, project work;
- 2) quests (for example, a plot-based quest, a quest containing a set of tasks using mobile technologies, including qr-codes);
- 3) excursions to specialized laboratories of the university and workshops run in English. (Studying modules that relate to physics and mathematics, students visit the Non-Destructive Testing Laboratory, where they get acquainted with X-ray, acoustic and thermal control devices, make measurements, make and submit a report in English under the supervision of their instructor);
- 4) interactive activities such as a round-table discussion, a debate contest, a speaking club, a press conference run by foreign experts.

Some of the above-mentioned sessions were conducted by a biotechnologist from the Republic of India, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of robotics from the University of Damascus from the Syrian Arab Republic, experts in the field of intercultural communication from the Republic of Ghana and the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The school students received a unique experience of communication with foreigners in English, applying the knowledge of intercultural professional communication acquired in the SEP classes.

When developing the content of the classes, the "4 Cs" principle of the CLIL technology was taken into account. An example of the implementation of the "4 C" principle when studying the topic "Robots in our life" is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Example of implementing of "4 C" principle

Content	Communication	Cognition	Culture
Robots in our life	a) Brainstorming  "What are the key characteristics of a robot system?" b) Project "Building robots for the future" c) Discussion  "Robots in our life: a disruptive or creative force" d) Role game  "Introduction with a computer scientist innovator" e) Press conference with a scientist  "Will robots have an impact on our life"	a) Recall three phrases that relate to the topic; b) Guess the type of a robot; c) Design a new robot that you want to see in the future; d) Predict what will happen if robots replace people; e) Read the title the text, and predict the content and outcome of the text; f) Discuss the writer's purpose in writing this text, the examples (evidence, data) the author brings in to illustrate each of his ideas; d) Analyze the ideas you are skeptical about or/and the ideas that resonate with you.	The attitude towards technology in various countries.

While running SEP for school students one should take into account their age and personality traits, which can be achieved by organizing small groups of learners and designing learning materials for students with different levels of English.

It is worth emphasizing the peculiarity of the course for school students — teaching mixed groups (groups of students of different ages — 12–16 years old, with different levels of English). Special attention should be drawn to the personalized approach in terms of rigorous selection of didactic content, designing activities and educational material to the target group, which causes certain difficulty. Due to the abundance of the material, it can be difficult to keep the students focused and interested in full.

Despite the difficulty, teachers participating in the educational process of ESS contribute to their professional development. Studying authentic literature, exchanging experience with colleagues, working in tandem with an expert in a particular field, collaborating with foreign experts, designing an e-course in the LMS Moodle and preparing worksheets — these are the components of teacher professional development that result in success of ESS.

As for the language of instruction, in CLIL a foreign language is considered to be a core skill that allows language-proficient students to develop professionally oriented communicative skills and abilities, metasubject and subject competences.

Thus, the description and definition of CLIL provided above plays a crucial role in the light of the changes taking place in modern education and society in general, as well as in the context of continuing education. Consequently, we may assume that CLIL technology will serve as an effective means of developing a set of key competences, which are vital for continuous education of future specialists, in the context of supplementary education at a technical university.

#### Results

In this section, special attention should be paid to the outcomes of implementing supplementary educational programmes such as "English Summer School "UPSTREAM" (hereinafter referred to as the ESS) and "English for Specific Purposes (Science, Engineering, Technology and Mathematics)", which combine both general educational and pre-professional aspects of education. During the educational process, along with the language training, students receive additional knowledge that helps them decide on their future professional field of activity.

In order to identify the level of acquired meta-subject, subject and foreign language communicative skills ("hard and soft skills"), a series of diagnostic testing and surveys of students were carried out annually.

Testing and surveys were aimed at identifying the level of foreign language training before and after the course.

When considering the development of foreign language communication skills (the education results of groups taught in the 2021–2022 academic year are presented in Fig. 1), we can distinctly observe positive dynamics in the development of skills and abilities of the main types of speech activity, in particular, receptive reading and listening skills, the development of a professionally oriented subject vocabulary, as well as productive speaking skills. To a lesser extent, writing skills and grammatical skills are formed, since in CLIL more attention is paid to the

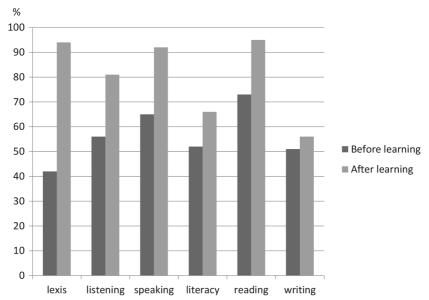


Fig. 1. Development of foreign language communication skills of school students in the SEP courses, the 2021–2022 academic year

subject and meta-subject aspects of learning. In addition, the removal of psychological barriers in communication is of high priority.

The annual survey was held among the learners to find out the level of their soft and hard skills developed. Here is a fragment of the survey containing the relevant questions:

## What results have you achieved by the end of the Summer School? (more than one answer is possible)

- a) development of creative abilities
- b) development of critical thinking skills, memory and attention
- c) development of communication skills
- d) the ability to analyze and solve problems
- e) the ability to work in a group, interact with peers
- f) mastering English
- g) gained confidence in speaking English
- h) overcame the fear of communicating in English with foreigners

## What English language skills has the English Summer School helped you develop? (more than one answer is possible)

- a) subject vocabulary
- b) listening comprehension
- c) speaking

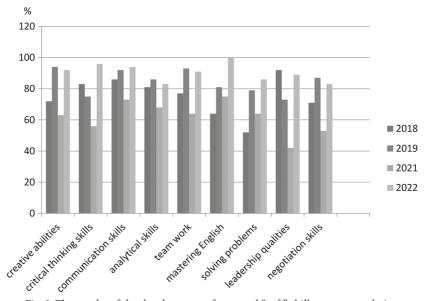


Fig. 2. The results of the development of personal "soft" skills upon completion of the Summer School

- d) literacy
- e) reading and understanding popular science texts
- f) writing skills

## What subject areas would you like to study in depth (multiple answers are possible)

- a) programming
- b) robotics
- c) instrumentation
- d) biotechnology
- f) digital linguistics

The findings of the survey of 88 respondents on SEP for the four year period are presented in Fig. 2.

Analyzing the data presented, it should be noted that there is a significant decline in all indicators of the development of personal "soft" skills in 2021 compared to 2018 and 2019. The negative trend is mainly due to the transition to online learning at schools and lockdown during the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 (in 2020, ESS was not conducted due to the pandemic, data are not available).

Due to the end of the lockdown in 2022 after COVID-19 and the transition to traditional education at schools and courses the educational

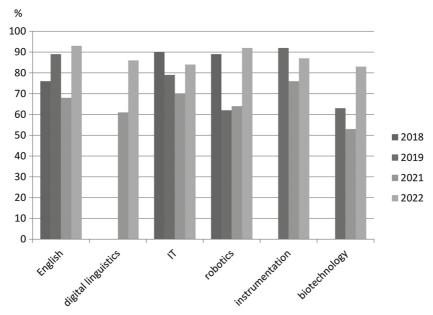


Fig. 3. The relevance of studying various subject areas

process had a positive effect. In order to increase the effectiveness of SEP education in 2022 much attention was paid to adapting the content of the training programme to the age, psychological and pedagogical characteristics of students and the development of foreign language communication skills.

The responses, related to their desire to study in depth relevant subject areas (see Fig. 3), show an increased demand for information technology, artificial intelligence and robotics (more than 80% of responses demonstrate a higher priority given to the subject areas mentioned, compared to the results of the previous years of study), which corresponds to the demand in modern society, including that among school students. According to the survey findings, the study of a foreign language, English, in particular, is in great demand as well.

Our study has also brought the following points to the foreground. The students of the courses, provided by the SEC of Kalashnikov ISTU, are highly motivated to study the demanded subject areas; they are capable of reflection and are aware of the fact that the integration of foreign language competence with the knowledge of relevant technical sciences (robotics, information technology, artificial intelligence, etc.) ensures their successful employment in the future.

Judging by the results of the surveys we can conclude that the data obtained demonstrate a positive trend in the development of subject, meta-subject and foreign language communicative competences during the period of study at the SEP courses at Kalashnikov ISTU.

#### Discussion

A four-year experience in conducting supplementary educational programmes, as well as positive feedback from the students and their parents, allow us to establish successful learning outcomes. The students' parents noted that the ESS programme and the annual SEP were exciting, they enabled the school children to acquire knowledge in specialized areas, helped them in choosing a future career, and aided in participating in specialized subject Olympiads and contests. Moreover, the experience of taking the SEP courses based on CLIL technology was very beneficial to the school students when applying to the university.

Upon completing the SEP courses at Kalashnikov ISTU all the students entered the universities of the Russian Federation. Among them 15 participants are currently studying at Kalashnikov ISTU. Many of these students continue their supplementary education, taking the advanced language programme named "Translator in the field of professional communication" at Kalashnikov ISTU.

Actually, the SEP learning outcomes of school students provide sufficient grounds for us to state that the CLIL technology has the following significant merits:

- in the process of learning, two goals are achieved at a time: learning a foreign language and learning a subject, knowledge of the language becomes a means of studying the subject content;
- motivation to learn a foreign language highly increases due to meaningful content and immersion in the language environment;
- it intensively cultivates higher-order cognitive skills such as analysis, synthesis, generalization, classification, evaluation, etc.;
- the development of lexical speech competence is activated due to the enriched subject and professionally oriented vocabulary;
- meta-subject competence is formed in the course of discussions of abstract terms and concepts due to a minimal context (for example, mathematical or natural science concepts and terms, etc.);
- intensive interaction of all participants of the educational process is observed, which ensures productive mastery of a foreign language;

— cognitively rich corpus of the English language materials is used (video clips, flash animation, web quests, podcasts and other interactive materials from foreign language websites), selected in accordance with the principle of career guidance and having an extremely high motivating potential.

#### Conclusion

In this paper we have looked at experience of implementing supplementary educational programmes for secondary school students using CLIL technology at a technical university. The evidence has been provided that CLIL technology can be an integrating tool to develop a set of competences necessary for Learner-Centred Continuing Education of future specialists in the framework of supplementary educational programmes. The emphasis has been made on "the secondary school — higher school interaction" as a part of continuing multi-level education. The subject, meta-subject and personal characteristics of the attainment targets of the training programmes have been addressed. The article presents the results of the technology approbation attached to the implementation of supplementary educational programmes for secondary school students at Kalashnikov ISTU.

It can be concluded that the Content and Language Integrated Learning Technology, applied in the implementation of SEP for secondary school students, has a universal and powerful adaptive potential to various contexts and changing social demands. CLIL technology allows integrating extensive opportunities of developing a wide set of competences that are vital for the lifelong learning of future specialists.

The findings received in this paper may be of considerable practical value for further research related to developing a system of continuing multi-level education, and may yield many new insights and results.

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## DISTRIBUTION OF THE FRENCH COORDINATION DONC IN DIACHRONY

The work is devoted to the development of the distributive properties of the French polyfunctional item donc 'therefore, so' in a broad diachronic perspective, from the 11th century to the present. As a result of accessing the data of the National Corpus of the French language Frantext and the French corpus of the Google books Ngram Viewer system, the trajectory of the development of donc as a coordinator is determined. It is concluded that the long-term variability of the *donc* written forms, which differ in distributive properties in texts of different genres, leads to multidirectional trends in its use as a coordinator. As a result of comparing the contexts in which donc shows its conjunctive properties and establishes the logical-semantic relations of the consequence, the following is established. The share of *donc* usage as a coordination unit of two independent sentences in the initial position has been significantly reduced over more than a thousand years of the French language development. This way of *donc* use is not predominant. The use of *donc* in the postposition to the personal form of the verb to establish a connection, with the exception of the imperative mood, tends to gradually increase. The donc use in cooccurrence with other coordinating conjunctions (et donc, ou donc, mais donc, etc.) is a special case of it's functioning. The results obtained complement the previous scientific knowledge about the functioning and syntactic mobility of donc and are necessary for comparison with information of this kind about other linking words.

*Keywords:* polyfunctionality, conjunction, coordinator, distribution properties, diachrony, corpus data.

Ю. В. Овсейчик

### ДИСТРИБУЦИЯ ФРАНЦУЗСКОЙ ЕДИНИЦЫ СОЧИНЕНИЯ DONC В ДИАХРОНИИ

Работа посвящена развитию дистрибутивных свойств французской полифункциональной единицы donc 'поэтому, же, итак, следовательно' в широкой диахронической перспективе, с XI в. по настоящее время. В результате обращения к данным Национального корпуса французского языка Frantext и французского корпуса системы Google Books Ngram Viewer определена траектория развития единицы donc в качестве единицы сочинения. Сделан вывод о том, что продолжительное время сохраняющаяся вариативность письменных форм единицы donc, отличающихся дистрибутивными свойствами в текстах разной жанровой направленности приводит к разнонаправленным тенденциям ее употре-

бительности как единицы сочинения. В результате сопоставления контекстов, в которых единица проявляет свои конъюнктивные свойства и устанавливает логико-семантические отношения, установлено следующее. Доля употреблений лексемы в качестве соединителя двух независимых предложений в инициальной позиции значительно уменьшается более чем за тысячелетнюю историю развития французского языка. Такой способ употребления лексемы не является для нее преобладающим. Использование единицы в постпозиции к личной форме глагола для установления коннективной связи за исключением форм повелительного наклонения имеет тенденцию к постепенному увеличению. Доля употреблений лексемы donc в сочетании с другими единицами сочинения (et donc, ou donc, mais donc и т.д.) представляют собой частный случай функционирования единицы. Полученные результаты дополняют предшествующие научные знания о функционировании и синтаксической мобильности лексической единицы donc и необходимы для сопоставления с информацией такого рода о других связующих единицах.

*Ключевые слова*: полифункциональность, союз, единица сочинения, дистрибутивные свойства, диахрония, корпусные данные.

#### Introduction

The key problem of the class of linking words is that it includes units whose boundaries are rather blurred and fuzzy. This is partly due to the fact that many linking words are in the process of formation, on the way of transition from one category to another. In other words, there are various polyfunctional units in the language, which, depending on the syntagmatic context, perform different functions, moving from one category to another.

It is recognized that polyfunctionality and transcategoriality are a linguistic universal. This is "un moyen d'optimisation des systèmes linguistiques, permettant à un minimum de forms d'avoir un maximum de fonctions" 'a means of optimizing linguistic systems, allowing a minimum of forms to have a maximum of functions' [Robert 2003, p. 18] and "to maximise meaning and minimise effort" [Anward 2000, p. 38].

The object of the study is the French polyfunctional item *donc* 'therefore, so'. This "privileged" indicator of the logical operation of the consequence in the interpretation of P. Charaudeau [Charaudeau 1992], simultaneously functions as a coordinating conjunction and as a particle. The appearance of *donc* in Old French is controversial (see, for ex., [Rey 2012; TLF]). In general, the version presented in the etymological dictionary of the French language Dubois-Mitterrand-Dauzat is accepted: *donc* comes from the Latin imperative *dunc*, formed by crossing the forms *dumque* (a long form of the verb) and the adverb *tum*, *tunc* in the meaning of *pendant* 

que 'while', similar as used with the modern adverb alors 'then' [Dubois, Mitterand, Dauzat 2007]. It should be added that in the Old French translations of Latin texts, the newly formed donc is used as Latin units meaning opposition (autem) and consequence (igitur, ergo). See: Dicam ergo 'Je dirai donc'; Cogito ergo sum 'Je pense donc je suis' (on the discursive functions of donc in translated texts, see [Shkolnikova 2015, p. 92].

This item has repeatedly become the object of close linguistic attention. The focus is on the issues of its grammatical status [Ferrari, Rossari 1994; Nome, Hobaek 2011 et. al] and discursive usage [Hansen 1997; Bolly, Degand 2009 et. al]. The semantic-syntactic function of *donc* [Bolly, Degand 2009] is singled out, which coincides with the conclusive function in [Hansen 1997], and with the argumentative function according to [Ferrari, Rossari 1994]. In this case, the *donc* equivalents are: *par conséquent* 'therefore', *de ce fait* 'from this', *j'en déduis que* 'I infer that'. Despite the variety of approaches, traditional grammar interprets *donc* as a coordinating conjunction or a connecting particle with the meaning of a consequence or conclusion. In modern French, *donc* is qualified as an adverb of the logical relationship of cause and effect [Grevisse 2008, § 1033, p. 1311]. We rank *donc* among the French core coordinators [Auseichyk, 2022].

The polyfunctionality of *donc* makes it necessary to trace the trajectory of the development of its distributive properties as a core coordinator in diachrony.

#### Methods and material

The research was done on the basis of data from the National Corpus of the French Language Frantext [FR], which includes 5,555 texts of different genres of the 11<sup>th</sup>–21<sup>th</sup> centuries with a total volume of more than 264 million word usages. We also used data from the French corpus of the Google books Ngram Viewer system [GBNgrV], which is represented by 792,118 digitized documents over the past 200 years with a volume of more than 102,174,681,393 word usages.

To establish the trajectory of the development of *donc* distributive properties in a broad diachronic perspective — from the time of its first written fixation (11<sup>th</sup> century [Dubois, Mitterand, Dauzat 2007]) to the present — all its written variants in the early period of language development were taken into account: 7 variants in Old French (*donc*, *don*, *dont*, *dons*, *diint*, *dune*, *dounke*) and 26 variants in Middle French (*donc*, *doncq*, *doncq*, *doncque*, *doncques*, *doncques*, *doncques*, *donques*, *donques*, *donques*, *donques*, *donques*, *donques*, *dunches*, *dunches*, *dunkes*, *dunque*, *dunques*, *idonc*, *idonques*, *idonc*, *idonques*, *idunches*, *idunkes*) according to lexico-

graphic sources [Godefroy 1881, DMF]. It should be noted in particular that many variants of *donc* persisted for a long time in the language until the adoption of the modern spelling of the item by the French Academy in 1718 (cited in [Grevisse 2008, § 961, p. 1187]).

Distributive, functional-semantic, logical-semantic and contextual analyzes, as well as methods of statistical processing of language material are used.

The study shows that initially not all written variants of *donc* exhibit the same distributive properties. At the same time, both the quantitative representation of written variants and the intensity of their use in the early period of the French language are different. We assume that the polyfunctionality of *donc* is determined by its initially broad distributive properties, which are the result of the parallel use of its various written variants in texts of different genres due to the ambiguous origin of *donc* itself.

The paper presents the results of a quantitative comparison of the distributive properties of *donc* in the course of the French language development, namely: *i*) in frontal distribution to denote a connection (P1 *donc* P2); *ii*) in postposition to the verb in personal form to denote logical relations; *iii*) in post-position to the coordinating conjunctions for their concretization (ConjCO *donc*, where ConjCO is a core coordinator).

#### Results and discussion

*i.* The first way to use *donc* is to connect two independent predicative units in the initial position to indicate a connective relationship (P1 *donc* P2). *Donc*, by analogy with the core coordinator *et* 'and', is initially actively used to establish a connection. For ex.:

Ele aluma la chandele et regarda le berz ou l'enfant gisoit delez le lit de la dite Marie, et vit les drapelez que il avoit seur lui ensanglentez, de quoi ele fu mout esbahie. Donc ele leva le dit enfant du bers 'She lit a candle and looked at the lullaby where the baby lay in Mary's bed, and saw that the sheets on it were bloody, which made her dumbfounded. So she took the baby out of the cradle' (hereinafter our translation — Yu.A.) (G. de Saint Pathus. Miracles de saint Louis,  $1300^1$ ), where  $P_{1 \text{ 'child in bloody sheets'}} \rightarrow P_{2 \text{ 'get baby out of bed'}}$ 

According to the corpus data, the indicated *donc* usage is characteristic of only 18 out of 28 written variants. To play the role of a coordinator in the initial position between two independent sentences, not all written variants are equally in demand. Three variants *donc*, *doncques*, *doncquez* are fixed in two subcorpuses. The rest are either less frequent or not used in Old or Middle French in the designated position (see Table 1).

Table 1. The dynamics of donc usage in the model P1 donc P2

	subcorpuses				subcorpuses				
written variants	1 2		2	written variants	1		2		
	$X_1$	$X_2$	$X_1$	$X_2$	variants	$X_1$	$X_2$	$X_1$	X <sub>2</sub>
donc	519	145	1230	284	donqs	0	0	2	0
doncq	0	0	68	3	dontques	0	0	1	0
doncq'	0	0	25	3	dunc	777	374	0	0
doncque	0	0	10	3	dunque	1	1	0	0
doncques	9	1	1353	233	dunques	10	1	0	0
doncquez	44	3	94	11	idonc	9	3	0	0
donkes	1	0	4	1	idunc	46	17	0	0
donq	0	0	26	3	idunches	4	3	0	0
					idunkes	2	1	0	0

*Remark*: 1 — Old French subcorpus, 2 — Middle French subcorpus,  $X_1$  — absolute number of occurrences of item,  $X_2$  — the number of *donc* occurrences as a coordinator.

Taking into account all written variants, the share of the *donc* use as a connector of two independent sentences decreases from 30.96% (or 549 out of 1,773) in Old French to 10.23% (or 541 out of 5,023) in Middle French. We especially note that this way of *donc* use prevails in literary texts (epic poems, writings, lives, legends, novels).

The study shows that the use of *donc* in frontal distribution to denote a connection (P1 *donc* P2) tends to decrease. In the subcorpus of the classical language (1600-1799), the share of this usage is 4.39% (or 1,948 out of 44,356), in the subcorpus of the modern language (1800-1979) it is 4.21% (or 4,206 out of 100,000) and in the modern language subcorpus (1980-present) — 16% (3,912 out of 23,466).

*ii.* The second way of *donc* use deserves special attention because of its syntactic mobility. Apparently, the property of the unit to adjoin the predicative element is explained by the origin of *donc* from the Latin enclitic and the preservation of the mechanism of its functioning<sup>2</sup>. In our study, we take into account contexts in which *donc* follows the verb in the personal form<sup>3</sup>. Moving *donc* to the preverbal position is allowed. *Cf.: Je pense, donc je suis = Je pense, je suis donc* 'I think, therefore I am', but  $\neq$  *Je pense, je suis* 'I think, I am' [Wilmet 2007, p. 127]. However, its elimination from the structure of the sentence does not allow us to restore the logical connection between P1 and P2. To illustrate, we will give examples from Middle French and Contemporary French. The presence of *donc* makes

it easier to decode the connection between the stated and the conclusion about the need to write the letter z in the intervocalic position (ex. 2), between the stated and the decision not to go home immediately after a long absence (ex. 3).

...aussi bonne est l'escriture de dignitez par z, que celle d'aymez. Combien que veritablementle z n'est point letre nayvement finale en la langue Françoise: d'autant qu'elle requiert je ne sçay quel siflement avecq' fredon. Nous escrirons doncq' [=doncq nous escrirons] ung z au lieu de s, entre deux voyelles, comme en dizons, fezons, plezançe '...then it's just as good to write dignitez with z as well as aymez. In fact, z is not the final letter in French: especially since it requires some whistling with rattling. Therefore, we will write z instead of s between two vowels, as in the words dizons, fezons, plezançe' (L. Meigret. Traité touchant le commun usage de l'escriture françoise, 1545).

...tout de suite chez lui. Il aurait pu chercher Eliott et les autres, mais il n'en avait pas envie non plus. Il revenait après une longue absence, auréolée de rumeurs et de questions. Il ne souhaitait pas dilapider trop vite cette sorte de crédit flou qu'avait produit l'éloignement. Il choisit donc d'aller faire un tour en ville [=donc il choisit] '...immediately at home. He could have looked for Eliot with the others, but he had no desire. He returned after a long absence, surrounded by rumors and inquiries. He did not want to dispel too quickly this suspense engendered by his remoteness. So he decided to take a walk around the city' (N. Mathieu. Leurs enfants après eux, 2018).

In the early period of language history, only 9 out of 28 written variants of *donc* are used in the indicated way and are recorded mainly in scientific and official business texts (see Table 2).

Taking into account all written variants, the share of the *donc* usage in the postverbal position, in contrast to the previous usage, gradually increases. Cf.: 8.46% (or 150 out of 1773) *vs.* 14.43% (or 725 out of 5023) in the Old and Middle French subcorpuses, respectively. Subsequently, this way of use the item becomes the main one. Compare: 48.95%, 50.88% and 44.95% of the total number of *donc* occurrences in the third, fourth and fifth subcorpuses, respectively.

In modern French, the use of *donc* is allowed both as a pre-verbal position and a post-verbal position in a number of similar contexts. For comparison, we used data from the French corpus of the Google books Ngram Viewer system [GBNgrV]. The corpus provides an opportunity to track changes in the frequency of different combinations of units over the past 200 years relative to the total number of word usages in digitized documents. The trend in the use of *donc* in preverbal and postverbal

Table 2. The dynamics of donc usage in the post-verbal position

written variants	subcorpuses					subcorpuses			
	1		2		written variants	1		2	
	$X_1$	X <sub>2</sub>	$X_1$	$X_2$	Varianto	$X_1$	$X_2$	$X_1$	$X_2$
donc	519	86	1230	347	doncques	9	1	1353	313
doncq	0	0	68	14	doncquez	44	14	94	19
doncq'	0	0	25	12	donkes	0	0	4	2
doncque	0	0	10	5	donq	0	0	26	12
					dunc	777	49	0	0

*Remark*: 1 — Old French subcorpus, 2 — Middle French subcorpus,  $X_1$  — absolute number of *donc* occurrences,  $X_2$  — the number of *donc* in a postverbal position.

positions is illustrated by the following examples: *donc j'ai dit/ j'ai donc dit* and *donc j'ai fait/j'ai donc fait* on the following charts (see Fig. 1, 2).

The graphs of the frequency distribution curves of these combinations demonstrate frequency fluctuations in the usage of *donc* in the two indicated positions and show the different functional demand for its prepositive and postpositive use. At the same time, the postpositive use of *donc* does not always prevail, as, for example, for the combination *donc j'ai dit*, the frequency of which has been characterized by growth in recent decades.

*iii.* The third way of *donc* use follows from the its ability to be combined with other core coordinators (*et donc*, *ou donc*, *mais donc*, etc.). For some scientists, this feature of *donc* is the basis for its exclusion from coordinating conjunctions (see [Rossari, Jayez 1996; Rossari 2002]. The analysis of corpus data shows that combinations of this kind represent a special case of the *donc* functioning<sup>4</sup>. The share of such co-occurrences does not exceed 0.9 % of the total number of *donc* occurrences in the Frantext [FR] (see Table 3).

The *et donc* co-occurrence deserves special attention due to its greater frequency relative to other co-occurrences. There are two types of syntactic contexts with *et donc*. Firstly, a connection of two predicative independent units reflects an iconic sequence of events. *Et donc* profiles a temporal sense (ex.4). Secondly, an elliptical combination of two nominal components results a copulative connection: in the second composed component there is no verb link. *Et donc* is used in a causal sense (ex.5). *Cf*.:

...et si tenoie en ma main un encensier; et donc nous commençâmes à chanter a haute vois: Veni Creator '.....and if there were in my hand

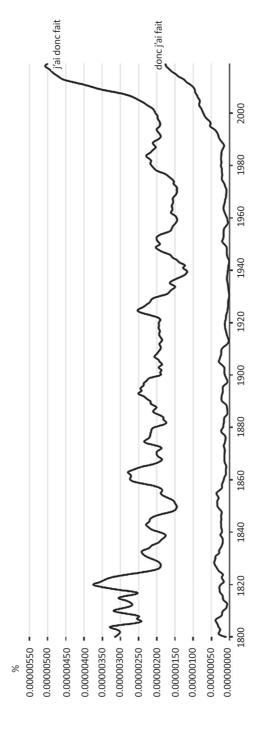


Fig. 1. Frequency distribution of donc j'ai fait/j'ai donc fait in [GBNgrV]

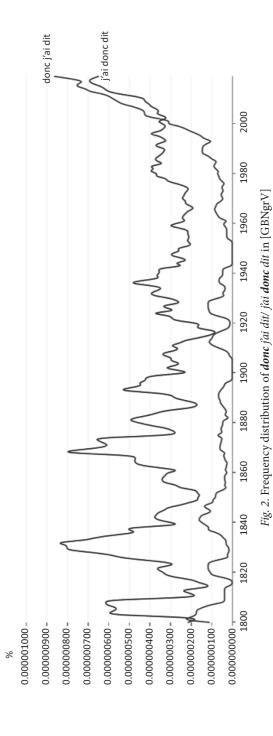


Table 3. The dynamics of donc co-occurrence with core coordinators

ConjCO + donc	subcorpuses								
	1001-1299	1300-1599	1600-1799	1800-1979	1980-present				
et donc	7	28	4	715	825				
mais donc	0	0	0	2	7				
ou donc	0	1	1	2	0				
ni donc	0	0	0	3	1				
or donc	1	5	18	136	13				

an incense burner; and so we began to sing aloud: Veni Creator' (J. Le Long. Les Voyages en Asie au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle du bienheureux frère Odoric de Pordenone, religieux de saint François, 1351);

Dans l'intervalle, voici que Plotine apprend enfin le secret de sa véritable identité: elle n'est autre que la fille de Clélius, née d'un premier mariage, et donc demi-sœur de Clélie, d'Octave, et même d'Horace, car la mère de ce dernier, qui l'avait conçu d'un premier lit, est celle aussi de Plotine... 'In the meantime, Plotina finally learns the secret of her true identity: she is none other than the daughter of Clélius, born from a first marriage, and therefore half-sister of Clélie, of Octave, and even of Horace, because the mother of the latter, who had conceived him from a first bed, is also that of Plotina...' (M. de Clélie. Scudéry, Histoire romaine, 1654).

In the grammar of Cl. Vaugelas, *et donc*, interpreted as a legacy of the Gascon dialect, is accepted as a normative [Vaugelas 1970 (1647), p. 488]. The fact that *et donc* has fallen into disuse is stated in [Littré, 1964]. However, it continues to be used in modern language to connect two attributive<sup>5</sup> (ex. 6) or nominal components (ex. 7), and also rarely in a compound sentence (ex. 8). *Cf.*:

Je sais que les demoiselles sont bien plus à craindre, étant nécessairement plus spontanées, **et donc** plus moqueuses 'I know that young ladies are much more to be feared, being necessarily more spontaneous, and therefore more mocking' (P. Valéry. Variété, 1938);

J'avais cru bon d'informer les rimbaldistes qu'ilétait question de déplacer le cimetière de Charleville **et donc** la tombe d'Arthur Rimbaud 'I had seen fit to inform the rimbaldists that it was a question of moving the Charleville cemetery and therefore the tomb of Arthur Rimbaud' [Grevisse 2008, § 958, p. 1185]);

Elle devait avoir vingt-deux ans, et donc elle était majeure 'She must have been twenty-two, so she was adult' (G. Duhamel. Cri des profondeurs, 1951).

The quantitative data obtained in the course of the study made it possible to trace the trajectory of the *donc* conjunctive potential development on the basis of establishing the trajectory of the development of its distributive properties. Initially, some written variants of the polyfunctional unit are used mainly in frontal distribution ( $P_1 \, donc \, P_2$ ), others are used in the postposition to the verb in the personal form, and others act as concretizers of core coordinators (ConjCO donc). However, since the  $17^{th}$  century the share of post-verbal use of donc increases significantly.

The *donc* use as a core coordinator, taking into account the three ways of use presented above, is characterized by multidirectional trends: after a sharp decrease in use in the Middle French period, a slow increase follows. Compare the total relative indicators of the *donc* use as a core coordinator in five synchronous slices: 39.82 % (Old French), 25.76 % (Middle French), 54.34 % (classical French), 56.09 % (modern French), 61,95 % (contemporary French).

It is obvious that *donc* retains its polyfunctional status for a long time, which, in our opinion, is explained both by the debatable nature of its origin and by the tracing of Latin texts in the early period of the French language. The unification of *donc* written variants by the French Academy does not affects the distribution and functional specifics of the item.

#### Conclusion

The obtained results of the study complement the previous scientific knowledge about the functioning and syntactic mobility of *donc* since the early period of the development of the French language with quantitative indicators. The revealed relative indicators of the *donc* use as a coordinator indicate a gradual change in its distributive properties, and a reduction in the share of uses to establish a connection in the initial position.

The study on the trajectory of the development of *donc* distributive properties is necessary to clarify its categorical status and require comparison with data of this kind regarding 1) the items *car* and *or*, which, in the course of language development, move from the category of polyfunctional items to core coordinators, and 2) causal linking words *alors*, *par conséquent*, *ainsi*, *par suite*, semantically similar to *donc* and acting as its analogues in some contexts.

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## THE CONCEPT-SPHERE "GAME" IN THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE FICTION TEXT

Game is an important cultural phenomenon, whose impact on social life and personal development cannot be overestimated. The topic of the game is the basis for the plot and problem formation in many fiction works. The article aims to identify and analyse the structure of the concept-sphere "game" in texts by American writers who reflected this phenomenon in their works. The research tasks are to reveal the micro-contexts referring to the game and to describe the nucleus, the co-nuclear area, the near periphery and the further periphery of the concept-sphere. This article is the first to examine the cognitive-propositional structure of the concept-sphere "game" in the texts under analysis. As a result the analysis of each constituent of the concept-sphere is conducted. The nucleus is presented by the cognitive-propositional structure, including the subject, the predicate, the reason, the purpose, the result, the consequence and the locative of the game. The co-nuclear zone is formed by lexical representations, revealing the contents of the above-mentioned components. The near periphery includes artistic images of the game. The further periphery reflects social and cultural aspects of the game and the personal attitude of the characters to this phenomenon. The research combines linguistic and literary approaches. The basic method is conceptual analysis, a combination of various techniques used to analyse concepts. The descriptive method and the method of contextual analysis are also applied. The latter enables to investigate the concept-sphere "game" on all levels of the text structure as well as to consider the message of the analysed works.

*Keywords*: concept, concept-sphere *game*, cognitive-propositional structure, ethnocultural specificity, perceptual ambivalence.

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#### КОНЦЕПТОСФЕРА "GAME" В АНГЛОЯЗЫЧНОМ ХУДОЖЕСТВЕННОМ ТЕКСТЕ

Игра представляет собой важный общекультурный феномен, влияние которого как на жизнь общества, так и на развитие отдельной личности трудно переоценить. Тема игры стала основой для формирования сюжета и проблематики множества художественных произведений. Целью настоящего исследования является выявление и анализ структуры концептосферы "game" в произведениях американских писателей, отразивших данное явление в своем творчестве. Задачи исследования — выделить микроконтексты, содержащие упоминание игровой деятельности, и на их основе последовательно описать ядро, приядерную

зону, ближайшую и дальнейшую периферии концептосферы. В статье впервые описывается когнитивно-пропозициональная структура концептосферы "game" в проанализированных текстах. В результате проведен анализ каждой составляющей структуры концептосферы. Ядро концептосферы представлено ее когнитивно-пропозициональной структурой, включающей субъект, предикат, причину, цель, результат, следствие (проявление) и локатив игры. Приядерная зона формируется лексическими репрезентациями, раскрывающими содержание вышеупомянутых компонентов когнитивно-пропозициональной структуры. Ближайшая периферия включает образные представления игры, а дальнейшая периферия отражает субъектно-модальные смыслы, а именно, связанные с игрой социально-культурные аспекты и личное отношение к игре персонажей проанализированных произведений. Исследование сочетает лингвистический и литературоведческий подходы. В качестве основного метода исследования избран концептуальный анализ, представляющий собой совокупность разнообразных приемов, используемых при анализе концептов. Также используются описательный метод и метод контекстуального анализа. Последний позволяет рассмотреть объективацию концептосферы "game" на всех уровнях текстовой организации и, кроме того, глубже осознать идейное содержание анализируемых произведений.

*Ключевые слова*: концепт, концептосфера *game*, когнитивно-пропозициональная структура, этнокультурная специфика, амбивалентность восприятия.

#### Introduction

Conceptual research remains a topical tendency in modern linguistics due to the fact that it allows to show the features of mentality of an ethnos, whose language is being investigated, as well as particular features of the semantics of the lexical units under study, representing a concept. It can also be helpful in distinguishing and investigating the universal intercultural concepts. A. Wierzbicka points out: "In fact, there is no conflict between an interest in linguistic and conceptual universals on the one hand and an interest in the diversity of language-and-culture systems on the other. On the contrary, to achieve their purpose, these two interests must go hand in hand" [Wierzbicka, 1997, p. 23].

N. N. Boldyrev defines cognitive semantics as a multilevel theory of meaning, "whose specificity lies in the fact that the meanings of language units are analysed in the context of all human knowledge and experience, not only in the context of language knowledge" [Boldyrev, 2014, p. 33].

I. V. Arnol'd points out the importance of taking into account the factors "which characterize the meaning of a word as a linguistic and nationally specific category in contrast to the notion as a logical and international category" [Arnold, 2012, p. 51].

V. Ja. Shabes notes that the integral system of knowledge about the world, understood as a cognitive component, in the process of speech and thinking activity is formalized verbally through separate fragments — communicative units [Shabes, 1989].

Besides, the conceptual approach is often used in the analysis of a fiction text, as it enables deeper understanding of the message of the literary work and the author's perception of the phenomenon corresponding to the analysed concept. In its turn, a literary text can be considered to be one of the means that convey a concept. R. Jackendoff mentions: "On the other hand, a concept is spoken of as an entity within one's head, a private entity, a product of the imagination that can be conveyed to others only by means of language, gesture, drawing, or some other imperfect means of communication" [Jackendoff, 1992, p. 22].

This article aims to investigate the structure of the concept-sphere "game" in the texts by American writers who reflected this phenomenon in their works. Game is one of the universal intercultural phenomena. J. Huizinga mentions that most areas of human culture, such as mythology, religion, literature, music, philosophy and even war are essentially games [Huizinga, 1997]. That is why game has quite naturally become the topic and provided the basis for the plot and problem formation of many fiction works. This confirms the relevance of the study. The research tasks are to reveal the micro-contexts referring to the game and to describe the nucleus, the co-nuclear area, the near periphery and the further periphery of the concept-sphere.

The research of linguistic objectification of the phenomenon of game can hardly be considered to be an absolutely new idea. There are quite a few research papers concerning this problem. However, most of them are dedicated to identifying the aspects of game in the structure of the literary works and the creative style typical of a particular author or literary tradition. For example, Z. M. Chemodurova points out, that at present the increasing interest in the semantics of game on the whole and in the language game in particular takes place in linguistic research [Chemodurova, 2017].

Some works analyse the linguistic representation of the game, but the materials used are phraseological units, dictionary definitions of lexemes that denote concepts related to the phenomenon of game, and excerpts from media texts. Thus, N.I. Svistunova makes an attempt of systematic analysis of the above-mentioned concept and its actualization in modern English on the material of newspaper articles and etymological dictionaries [Svistunova, 2004].

#### Methods and material

The basic method of the presented research paper is conceptual analysis. However, it is important to mention, that conceptual analysis includes a combination of various techniques used to analyse concepts. The descriptive method and the method of contextual analysis are also applied. The latter enables to consider the concept-sphere "game" on all levels of text structure, including words and word combinations, sentences and supraphrasal units as well as to understand the message of the works under analysis. The factual material includes various text fragments referring to the game activities. The sources were selected from the books of fiction by American authors who reflected the phenomenon of game in their works. We did not aim to select the works of a particular genre or literary tradition, the choice was made primarily on the basis of the prominence of the analysed concept-sphere for the plot and problem formation in the texts under analysis. The volume of the texts analysed is 766 pages, and 35 text fragments were selected.

#### Results and Discussion

There are many methods of analysing artistic concepts. L. G. Babenko and Ju. V. Kazarin offer an algorithm of conceptual analysis of a fiction text, including the selection of pre-textual presuppositions, analysis of the semantics of the title, identification of keywords of the text through psycholinguistic experiment, determination of the lexical representative of the textual concept, analysis of the lexical composition of the text, description of the text concept-sphere and modelling the structure of the concept-sphere [Babenko, Kazarin, 2005]. We will focus on the last point of this algorithm, and in the present research we understand the concept-sphere as the totality of all cases of objectification of a concept at all levels of the text under analysis.

According to the above-mentioned authors, the structure of the concept-sphere includes the nucleus, presented by a basic cognitive and propositional structure, the co-nuclear zone, consisting of basic lexical representations, the nearest periphery, represented by image associations and the further periphery, uniting the subjective-modal meanings [Babenko, Kazarin, 2005].

The following quote presents a more detailed description of the structure of the concept: "Concept is a set of cognitive attributes, hierarchically organized according to the principle of the concept field, taking into account their cognitive significance and functional orientation, so in the

structure of the concept field the following elements are distinguished: the nucleus — the main basic cognitive attribute, that performs the function of categorization and relates the concept to a particular category; the conuclear zone, which includes the cognitive attributes serving as a specification of the basic attribute, carried out by certain parameters, due to the type of the expressed category; the near periphery, which includes, on the basis of the mechanism of mental integration, combined cognitive attributes that intersect with other mental spaces; the further periphery, which contains the cognitive attributes of pragmatic nature — evaluative, associative-imaginative, and modal" [Babenko, Babenko, 2019, p. 136].

#### The nucleus and the co-nuclear zone

Due to the analysis of text fragments containing references to game activities, we can reveal the structure of the concept-sphere "game" in the texts of the analysed works and to present it in the form of a concept field. The nucleus of the concept-sphere "game" in our case is presented by its cognitive and propositional structure: the subject of the game — the predicate of the game — the reason of the game — the purpose of the game — the result of the game — the consequence (manifestation) of the game — the locative of the game.

The co-nuclear zone is formed by lexical representations of the aforementioned components of the cognitive-propositional structure of the concept.

- 1) The subject of the game is a person performing the game activity, in our case the character of the work under analysis: Waverly, Suyuan, etc. ("The Joy Luck Club" by A. Tan), Holden Caulfield ("The Catcher in the Rye" by J. D. Salinger), Joe ("The Game" by J. London), Alton and his uncle ("The Cardturner" by L. Sachar). However, the game can be presented not only from the point of view of a participant, but also from the position of an observer.
- 2) The predicate can be considered as the features characterizing the game as a phenomenon in general, or describing a particular game.

The lexeme "game" in English is polysemantic, but the following meaning is especially important:

game (noun): 1. a competitive encounter between individuals or groups carried on for amusement, exercise, or in pursuit of a prize [Merriam Webster Dictionary].

According to this definition, "game" means an activity the purpose of which is pleasure, practicing some skill or receiving a reward. The texts

under analysis do not provide the definition of "game", but the following examples partially reflect the mentioned characteristics.

"The Joy Luck Club"

"We had to concentrate on our game, and think of nothing else but adding to our *happiness* through *winning*" [Tan, 2008, p. 5].

"And this gift gave me a wonderful confidence. I loved to win" [Ibid., p. 42].

"The Catcher in the Rye"

The word combination "bashing each other all over the place", creating an image of rough physical confrontation, reflects the characteristic feature of competitive sports games: "You could see the whole field from there, and you could see the two teams *bashing each other all over the place*" [Salinger, 1968, p. 28].

"The Game"

"In such cases he played the Game, and the goal of the Game was to down an *antagonist* and keep that *antagonist* down for a space of ten seconds" [London, 2005, p. 13].

- 3) The reason and purpose of the game in some cases can coincide, because the game, being an essentially free and voluntary activity, may not have any purpose except for the very inducement to play, but people also play for reward, self-fulfillment, establishment and development of personal relationships. At the same time, the game has a tendency to become a kind of social tradition, but even in this case it often pursues these goals, although the motivation to play in this case will be not pleasure, but the desire to avoid social censure.
- 4) The result of the game sometimes coincides with the goal, but the game may lead to unexpected consequences for the participants. Thus, the result of the game may be a financial reward:

"We added just a little, so you can go Hong Kong, take train to Shanghai, see your sisters" [Tan, 2008, p. 12].

The following micro-context shows that teaching the other person to play contributes to the development of friendship:

"I improved her game immensely, though. I am a very good golfer" [Salinger, 1968, p. 93].

Besides, the game can lead to personal transformation of the subject and change his life attitude:

"I've made a resolution that I will no longer let Cliff or anyone else manipulate me. Life will deal me many different hands, some good, some bad (maybe they've already been dealt), but from here on in, I'll be turning my own cards" [Sachar, 2010, p. 315].

5) The consequence (manifestation) of the game is expressed through the description of the emotional state of the participants of the game during the game process or the subject's emotions related to the game. Thus, the game gives joy and self-confidence, especially in case of winning:

"We had to concentrate on our game, and think of nothing else but adding to our *happiness* through winning" [Tan, 2008, p. 5].

"And this gift gave me a wonderful *confidence*. I loved to win" [Ibid., p. 42].

However, the opposite situation, when the game is perceived as a boring and meaningless action, is also possible:

"He was telling her about some pro football game he'd seen that afternoon. He gave her any single goddam play in the whole game — I'm not kidding. He was the most *boring* guy I ever listened to" [Salinger, 1968, p. 100].

In some cases, the game occupies an extremely important place in the subject's life and causes such a strong emotional response that it becomes impossible to express feelings verbally: "He *lacked speech-expression*. He expressed himself with his hands, at his work, and with his body and the play of his muscles in the squared ring; but to tell with his own lips the charm of the squared ring was beyond him" [London, 2005, p. 1].

The game helps to keep the will to live to one of the characters of the novel "The Cardturner". Lester Trapp is seriously ill and lives only for the sake of bridge:

"There's a different kind of will, the will to live. Gloria was probably right when she said the nationals had been *keeping* Trapp *alive*" [Sachar, 2010, p.210].

6) The locative of the game is expressed through the description of the organization of the game space.

"When I played, I didn't see the person sitting opposite me. I only saw the black and white chessmen on the board" [Tan, 2008, p. 37].

"You could see the whole field from there, and you could see the two teams bashing each other all over the place" [Salinger, 1968, p. 28].

"As he described the moment of moments to her, on his inward vision were lined the tottering man, the lights, the shouting house..." [London, 2005, p.2].

"Three rows of square tables. Eight tables per row. Four chairs at each table. Computer printouts posted on the walls" [Sachar, 2010, p. 18].

#### The near periphery

The near periphery of the concept-sphere is represented by figurative associations. In the novel "The Joy Luck Club" the game is associated with magic and mystery, available to very few people:

"A light wind blew past my ears, whispering *secrets* only I could hear" [Tan, 2008, p. 37].

"I realized I could no longer see the *secret* weapons of each chessman, or the *magic* in every square" [Ibid., p. 43].

Subsequently, after a quarrel with her mother, the game is associated by the heroine with conflict and confrontation: "In my head I saw a chessboard. The *player opposite me* had eyes like angry black holes in her face" [Ibid., p. 42].

As for mah-jong, this game becomes the symbol of generational bonding: "My father has asked me to be the fourth player at the Joy Luck Club. I am replacing my mother, whose seat at the mah jong table has been empty since she died two months ago" [Ibid., p. 2].

In the novel "The Catcher in the Rye" the game is associated with deception and hypocrisy. The micro-context below provides the description of the Pencey School advertisement, which the protagonist believes to be untrue: "The advertise in about a thousand magazines, always showing some hot-shot guy on a horse jumping over a fence. Like as if all you ever did at Pencey was play polo all the time. I never even once saw a horse anywhere near the place" [Salinger, 1968, p. 28].

The game can also be presented as an unjust, but inevitable law of social interaction, and this law is based on imposed rules:

"Life is a game, boy. Life is a game that one plays according to the rules" [Ibid., p. 33].

In J. London's story "The Game" Genevieve "perceives the game not merely as a dangerous phenomenon, but as a hostile living being, an insidious and cruel adversary who seeks to deceive her away from her lover" [Satina, 2020, p. 111].

"She revolted instinctively against this Game which drew him away from her, *robbed her of part of him*" [London, 2005, p. 4].

Joe also feels this confrontation: "He saw only the *antagonism* between the concrete, flesh-and-blood Genevieve and the great, abstract, living Game" [Ibid.].

After Joe's death, Genevieve realizes that she has never come in first place for her lover: "Although the Game required Joe to take constant risks and exorbitant efforts, and eventually took his very life, his heart belonged to the Game only" [Satina, 2020, p. 112].

In the novel "The Cardturner" the nearest periphery is represented by the following text fragments. After his uncle's death, Alton imagines him sitting at the bridge table and announcing "pass": "He reaches into the bidding box, removes a pass card, and places it on the table. Then he slowly vanishes" [Sachar, 2010, p. 210].

According to bridge rules, the term "pass" "means a refuse from assignment on a given betting round or from participation in a draw on a given hand" [Bridge Rules]. It is worth mentioning that the meaning of "to pass away" (to die) correlates with the meaning of this term expressing the intention to pause in the game [Satina, 2019].

A similar example is related to the episode when Alton's girlfriend and game companion uses a trick unexpected for the opponents, and that method enables the friends to finish the game successfully. Alton explains the mentioned event by the work of the subconscious [Ibid]. The following quotation shows the connection between consciousness and subconsciousness, denoted by the lexeme "bridge", homonymic to the name of the game: "Her anger formed a connection between her conscious and subconscious minds, *a bridge*, if you will" [Sachar, 2010, p. 161].

In this case, the game helps to reveal a person's intellectual abilities.

Besides, Alton often compares mastering bridge with learning other games (football, chess, bingo), as well as with other activities (poetry, learning foreign languages). These comparisons give visibility and make the subject more understandable for the reader [Satina, 2019]. Alton points out that in bridge it is not necessary to memorize when every particular technique is used, because each player's action is conditioned by the previous one, and it makes the game process similar to learning the lyrics of a song, when one remembers the work as a whole rather than each individual word [Satina, 2020].

"I don't think he purposely set out to memorize every three of spades or seven of clubs. I think it's more like the way you or I memorize the song lyrics" [Sachar, 2010, p. 135].

#### The further periphery

The further periphery is represented by subjective-modal meanings, expressing the attitude to the game process from the point of view of its participants or observers. Moreover, it reveals the ethnocultural aspects of the analysed concept-sphere, showing the importance of both sports and board games in everyday life of American society.

Thus, to the heroines of the novel "The Joy Luck Club" the game helps to distract from everyday life, and success in the game contributes to self-confidence.

"We had to concentrate on our game, and *think of nothing else* but adding to our happiness through winning" [Tan, 2008, p. 5].

"And this gift gave me a wonderful *confidence*. I loved to win" [Ibid., p. 42].

Interest in the game can become a basis for development of friendship [Satina, 2020], also game is able to unite the community or at least formally maintain the traditions established in the team.

"He was quite interested in tennis, and so was I. He told me he went to the Nationals at Forest Hills every summer, and I told him I did too, and then we talked about certain hot-shot tennis players for quite a while" [Salinger, 1968, p. 124].

"The game with Saxon Hall was supposed to be a very big deal around Pencey" [Ibid., p. 28].

However, the protagonist of the novel "The Catcher in the Rye" has ambivalent attitude to sports games, and the following quotes illustrate his perception of games as the embodiment of other people's stupidity and narrow-mindedness [Satina, 2020].

"He was telling her about some pro football game he'd seen that afternoon. He gave her any single goddam play in the whole game — I'm not kidding. He was the most boring guy I ever listened to" [Salinger, 1968, p. 100].

"...And you have to keep making believe you give a damn if the football team loses, and all you do is talk about girls and liquor and sex all day, and everybody stick together in these little dirty goddam cliques. The guys that are on the basketball team stick together, the Catholics stick together, the goddam intellectuals stick together, the guys that play bridge stick together" [Ibid., p. 140–141].

For the protagonist of J. London's story "The Game", boxing (this sport is referred to as the Game) is the most important thing in his life, competing even with his love for Genevieve.

"He saw only the *antagonism* between the concrete, flesh-and-blood Genevieve and the great, abstract, living Game" [London, 2005, p. 3].

"The Cardturner"

It is worth mentioning that L. Sachar was inspired to create this work by his fondness for bridge: "Still, I really *love* the game..." [Sachar, 2010].

Nevertheless, the characters' attitude toward bridge is contradictory and can change over the course of the narrative. When Alton gets to know the game, bridge seems to him old-fashioned, ridiculous and boring:

"I knew bridge was a card game, but that was about it. It seemed *dull and old-fashioned*" [Sachar, 2010, p. 17].

At the same time, Alton admits that before the invention of computer games, bridge could be quite an exciting activity [Satina, 2020].

"Maybe, at one time, bridge might have been some people's *idea of fun*, but that was before computers and video-games" [Sachar, 2010, p. 17].

However, the young man starts feeling curious: "Probably, the game, which is so fascinating for people, cannot help but be special in some respect" [Satina, 2020, p. 128].

"Even though I didn't understand what they were talking about, I think that was my first inkling that bridge *wasn't just a simple game*, and that there maybe was something extraordinary about my uncle" [Sachar, 2010, p. 27].

As for Alton's uncle, bridge is not just a favorite pastime for him, the game helps him to overcome the disease and supports the will to live [Satina, 2020, p. 128].

"There's a different kind of will, the will to live. Gloria was probably right when she said the nationals had been *keeping* Trapp *alive*" [Sachar, 2010, p. 210].

The following text fragments characterize bridge as an important activity for which one can put off other plans [Satina, 2020].

"That's more important" [Sachar, 2010, p. 18].

"Trapp's tournament means a lot more than some stupid party" [Ibid.].

#### Conclusion

The concept-sphere "game", objectified in the analysed works of fiction, is a complex multilevel formation. Its nucleus is presented by the cognitive-propositional structure, defining the main aspects of the interaction between Game and Person. The co-nuclear zone is formed by lexical representations, revealing the above-mentioned components of the nucleus. The near periphery is formed by figurative associations, for example, the game is presented as an illustration of deceit and hypocrisy or as an image of a rival.

The subjective-modal meanings constitute the further periphery of the concept-sphere "game" and are characterized by certain ambivalence, conditioned by the peculiarities of the message and the plot of the works under analysis. The game can be a personal choice or a social tradition, and in this respect the further periphery reveals the ethnocultural specificity of the analysed concept-sphere. In some cases the game contributes to the formation and development of personality, strengthening family

and friendly relations ("The Cardturner", "The Joy Luck Club"), but the game can also lead to the separation of people and the conflict between a person and society ("Catcher in the Rye", "The Game").

Of course, this study, being restricted by the volume of the four texts under analysis, does not reveal the whole range of aspects of the contents of the analysed concept-sphere. As a research perspective it is possible to suggest investigating the concept-sphere of gambling, as the games of chance have their own specific features, and the concept-sphere of computer games in the texts of fiction.

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# VISUAL PERCEPTION ACTS: SOME ASPECTS OF LINGUISTIC REPRESENTATION IN LANGUAGES WITH DIFFERENT CODING STRATEGIES OF CHARACTERIZATION SEMES

This article deals with the description of the specifics of representing the semantic field of visual perception by English, German, French and Russian verb lexemes. The emphasis is on "basic" lexemes, those ones that denote the ability to perceive information visually without having the intentionality component in their semantic structure. These verb lexemes are "see," "sehen," "voir," and "видеть." Their semantic structure consists of two components: "visual perception" and "ability." In German, a third component, "intentionality," can also be activated, although, it changes the lexeme's status, because it is the absence of the "intentionality" component that distinguishes the "basic" verbal predicates of visual perception from a large group of other lexemes in which this component is mandatory. In verbs like "look," "regarder," "watch" and others it occupies one of the central places in the seme structure of the word. This ability to have such a component can be presented implicitly or explicitly, depending on various factors, including the linguistic tradition.

*Keywords*: visual perception, basic verbal lexemes, extended verbal lexemes, modal components, objective modality, and subjective modality.

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## ОСОБЕННОСТИ ЛИНГВИСТИЧЕСКОЙ РЕПРЕЗЕНТАЦИИ АКТОВ ВИЗУАЛЬНОГО ВОСПРИЯТИЯ (НА МАТЕРИАЛЕ ЯЗЫКОВ С РАЗЛИЧНОЙ СТРАТЕГИЕЙ КОДИРОВАНИЯ СЕМ ХАРАКТЕРИЗАЦИИ)

В данной статье на примере сопоставления глагольных лексем английского, немецкого, русского и французского языков предлагается описание специфики различных способов представления семантического поля визуального восприятия в зависимости от установившихся языковых норм. Акцент сделан на «базовых» лексемах, таких, которые обозначают способность визуально воспринимать информацию, при этом могут не содержать в своей структуре такой компонент, как интенциональность. Данными лексемами являются глаголы "see", "sehen", "voir" и "видеть". Их особенностью является двухкомпонентная семантическая структура: «визуальное восприятие» и «наличие способности к визуальному восприятию», но в немецком языке, помимо двух базовых компонентов, в состав семемы также может быть включен третий ком-

понент — «интенциональность». Возможность появления этого компонента связана со многими факторами, в том числе и с языковой традицией. Тем не менее именно отсутствие компонента «интенциональность» отличает «базовые» глагольные предикаты визуального восприятия от большой группы лексем другого уровня, в которых этот компонент присутствует всегда, занимая одно из центральных мест в семной структуре слова ("look", "regarder", "смотреть" и другие). Также, по-разному может быть представлен компонент «наличие способности» — имплицитно или эксплицитно, в зависимости от языка.

*Ключевые слова*: визуальное восприятие, базовые глагольные лексемы, расширенные глагольные лексемы, модальные компоненты, объективная модальность.

#### Introduction

One of the main tasks of modern science is the creation of intelligent systems capable of simulating complex cognitive processes occurring in the human mind. Imitation of brain activity with the help of artificial intelligence instruments involves linguistic structuring of the reality, the fragments of which are reflected in various units which can code, store and reproduce the knowledge. Language is the basic system that these units create.

Cognitive operations associated with the process of obtaining information are encoded in the language in various ways, including the use of direct nominations of channels through which information is received. According to G. A. Zolotova, the verbs of perception are of the "modus" type; they, unlike the "dictum" ones, are not independent, since they do not "represent a segment of extralinguistic existence ... they function as a frame of objective information, present information about a speech situation, and interpret the dictum" [Zolotova et al., 1998: p.75]. Due to the fact that an act of receiving information is carried out by direct observation of ongoing events (modus frame of the first type), these verbs are actively used in the reproductive register, when the speaker's inclusiveness and immersion in the chronotope of events provide the possibility of obtaining information by sensory means.

Visual perception is one of the main tools for processing incoming information. Such status determines the existence of a wide range of instruments capable of representing its semantic structure. For these purposes, linguistic units of two types can be used: "basic" and "extended," which, in turn, depending on the specificity of presenting semes of characterization, are divided into synthetic and analytic. The meaning of the terms reflects their semantic structure: "basic" units directly denote the process of visual

perception. These are "видеть" (Russian), "see" (English), "sehen" (German), and "voir" (French).

When describing the functioning of channels for receiving and processing information, various types of correlations between additional semantic components in different languages can be mentioned. They may include such aspects of a situation as activity / passivity, temporal duration, the degree of interest of the agent, etc. For presenting each of these meanings there is a certain set of language tools. The seme of goal-setting seems especially significant, because is serves as a differential feature of correlated predicates. Aristotle divided verbs into "kinetic" (describing "movements") and "energy" (presenting "implementations"): "Since of the actions which have a limit none is an end but all are relative to the end... E.g. at the same time we are seeing and have seen, are understanding and have understood, are thinking and have thought (while it is not true that at the same time we are learning and have learnt, or are being cured and have been cured). For it is not true that at the same time a thing is walking and has walked, or is building and has built... But it is the same thing that at the same time has seen and is seeing, seeing, or is thinking and has thought. The latter sort of process, then, I call an actuality, and the former a movement." (Aristotle, 350 B.C.E).

The group of "extended" units includes lexemes with the semantic structure containing a basic component "visual perception" and an additional one (or several ones) capable of characterizing the act of visual perception. These components can be included in the semantic scheme of a lexeme or presented in the semantics of units of different levels: word-building, affixal (prefixes) or grammatical (morphological or syntactic). The classification of the components which describe an act of visual perception was developed by the authors of English-Russian Dictionary of Synonyms: 1) the speed of the action, 2) its nature, 3) the properties of the agent of the action, 4) the properties of its object [Apressyan 2001, p. 280]. Among typical characterizing components which can describe the act itself and the attitudes towards it the following ones can be singled out:

"agent's intention, main aim of directing one's sight at a particular object or in a certain direction." This component dominates the field with almost all lexemes (except "basic") marked by it. The core is presented by "look" (English), "sehen" (German, there is a tendency in the language to include this component into the structure of the basic lexeme), "regarder" (French), and "смотреть" (Russian). The set also includes a subgroup: lexemes in which the semantic feature "focusing on an object" domi-

nates ("regard," "observe," "watch," "betrachten," "beobachten," "gucken," "глядеть," "наблюдать," "observer," etc.);

a set of components presenting agent's attitude towards the process of visual perception. This group includes positive attitudes such as, for instance, astonishment, amazement ("gape," "таращиться," "уставиться," "glotzen"), admiration ("любоваться," "gaze," "contempler", etc.);

negative components in the semantic structure are usually activated when the attitudes of third parties, for instance, disapproval, are presented by the lexemes ("goggle," "ogle," "таращиться," "пялиться," еtc.).

Extended units can rely on the presence of a modal component that characterizes the act of visual perception or introduces agent's / third party's attitude to it. Such elements are universal instruments of characterizing the ability — modal verbs are mainly seen in this list, but adverbial units can also act in the same way:

- (1) Spectacles are not allowed, so if you **can't see well enough** without them but want to compete anyway you should either get a pair of soft contact lenses or see how you manage without glasses.
- (2) Sie können Hell und Dunkel unterscheiden und sorgen dafür, dass ein Mensch in der Dämmerung und nachts gut sehen kann.
- (3) Я теперь **мог** не только ходить, **видеть**, говорить, но и плавать, то есть не бояться глубины.
- (4) De nombreux enfants qui ont des problèmes de vue ne sont pas totalement aveugles. Ils **peuvent voir un peu**. Certains enfants peuvent voir la différence entre la lumière et l'obscurité mais ne voient aucun objet.

In these sentences, the basic lexeme is accompanied by additional evaluative elements — *well enough*, *gut*, *un peu*, as well as locative and temporal markers in the German Sentence — *in der Dämmerung* and *nachts*.

What is interesting is that adverbial elements can simultaneously perform the semantic function of objectification, for example:

(5) Видеть дальше своей могилы ему не дано.

A circumstantial construction дальше своей могилы (beyond its grave), which combines aspects of time, place and measure, with the component "place" being objective in its essence. It indicates the point in space to which the gaze can be directed. Similar patterns can also found in English:

(6) The horizons of her life seemed unnaturally close; she **could see** no further **uphill than the lofty breadfruit tree that overhung the road at the edge of the clearing**.

The analytic group includes deverbatives and, less often, words of other parts of speech, including auxiliary ones, in the semantic structure of which the seme of direct visual perception is not given, and the expansion of the meaning can occur due to the introduction of additional elements. For instance, the verb phrases "натолкнуться на кого-либо взглядом" (Russian), "come across (somebody or something)" (English) or, if to mention non-verbal units, locative prepositions: "передо мной" (Russian) and their equivalents in other languages. The meaning of visual perception in such units is implicit.

#### Methods and materials

The analysis conducted in this article relies upon the structures obtained from Russian National Corpus in the form of two sets: in Russian proper and in two or more languages (parallel corpora). The parallel corpora have been used for the purpose of tracing the difference between structures given in different languages. The corpus is available at https://ruscorpora.ru/. The monolingual corpora include the following: British National Corpus (https://www.english-corpora.org/bnc/), German Reference Corpus "DeReKo" (Deutsche Referenzkorpus — DeReKo. https://cosmas2.ids-mannheim.de/cosmas2-web) and French Mixed Corpus developed by the University of Leipzig in 2012 (https://corpora.uni-leipzig.de/fr?corpusId=fra\_mixed\_2012).

The methods used in the article include the component analysis and comparative analysis. The behavior of basic verb lexemes indicating acts of visual perception has been observed in different surroundings. The basic aim is to detect the ability of semantic components of these lexemes to be activated when used for describing various situations and attitudes of the parties involved in the act of visual perception: a mandatory participant — the agent, and two optional ones — the object (if personal) and the third party (the observer of the process).

#### Results and discussion

The status of basic lexical units which can be considered as "starting points used to determine the act of visual perception without agent's active participation" determines their employment to denote both the ability "to perceive visually" (intransitive), and in some cases the ability "to perceive the surrounding reality passively, without active participation" (when accompanied by an object, transitive). In the status of intransitive units, these lexemes are located in the core of the semantic field: initially,

the ability to perceive visually is mentioned <1>, then, if necessary, at the next semantic levels, the manifestation of this ability in the surrounding reality takes place <2>:

It should be noted here that, an object cannot be completely excluded from the situation of visual perception. The process of visual perception is two-component: regardless of the situation, there are two parts: an agent and an object of perception. The object can be presented implicitly, including its complete disguising in the proposition. But the very structure of the process, of course, contains it, even in case of just ascertaining the mentioned ability. A. A. Potebnya noted that "... when we do not pronounce the object of a verb which is objective in its nature we do not make this verb subjective, because, we, so to speak, without changing the verb itself, leave an empty place for the object with it: he has already been reading — no matter what, but something expressed by a name would certainly stand in the accusative case" [Potebnya, 1977: p. 249].

Another feature of basic lexemes constructions, if deprived of the intentional component, is their inability to take circumstantial elements representing aim (that answer the question "why?"). This was noted by T. B. Alissova, who pointed out that in such cases the predicate is considered to be "a unit of incomplete contact" opposed to units of complete contact [Alissova, 2009: p. 29].

The basic verb lexemes may behave in the languages differently. Russian allows their use without any additional explicit elements, such as object, modal component, or meaning expansion with the help of extra morphological elements. All of them can be absent in Russian, in that case the physiological ability is described (to perceive visually). Such representation of the lexeme "видеть" can be observed in the following poem by A. M. Fedorov:

(8) Я глаза свои зажмурил, чтоб не видеть. Я закрыл руками уши, чтоб не слышать. А лесной проклятой погани неймется: Пуще дразнит, пуще давит и пугает Диким полчищем всё ближе обступает; Свист да хохот неотвязней раздается.

In the poem by A. K. Tolstoy the same lexeme is used, but in a slightly different surrounding:

(9) Много в пространстве невидимых форм и неслышимых звуков, Много чудесных в нем есть сочетаний и слова и света, Но передаст их лишь тот, кто умеет и видеть и слышать, Кто, уловив лишь рисунка черту, лишь созвучье, лишь слово, Целое с ним вовлекает созданье в наш мир удивленный.

"Видеть" in (8), which deals with the ability to see, differs from "видеть" in (8) by being modally marked due to the explicit presence of the modal unit "уметь." In Russian this element is optional, while in English, German and French its presence in finite constructions is mandatory, since the isolated use of the basic lexemes in the meaning of "visually perceive reality" is not allowed. These lexemes can be used as non-finite units, as "unseeing" in English, or "sans voir" in French, but the use of these ones is rather limited by context and compatibility.

The silent status of the modal component in (8) does not indicate its complete absence. In the poem of A. M. Fedorov the agent denies the ability to see, that is, the situation becomes unreal. In the statement "Я вижу," which is technically an elliptical construction that describes the mentioned ability, full form being "Я могу видеть" ("I can see"), the idea of the ability does disappear completely, it just gets disguised.

One of the functions of the modal component is positioning the situation in the time continuum, since the use of the tense form of the auxiliary verb which accompanies "see" allows establishing a direct connection between the temporal parameter of a situation and a linguistic unit representing it. On the other hand, this parameter can be concealed by means of infinitive constructions which still transmit the modal component of desirability / undesirability when used in negative constructions: Я глаза свои зажмурил, чтобы не видеть... (I closed ту eyes so as not to see ...)

The absence of the subjective modality component in statements of this type is possible when they are supported by phase elements. This can be observed in the poem "Litvinka" by M. Y. Lermontov:

(10) Бежали дни, Арсений стал опять, Как прежде, **видеть**, слышать, понимать, Но сердце, пораженное тоской, Уж было мертво, — хоть в груди живой.

The phase lexeme «стал» ("became"), which correlates with the verb «видеть» ("see"), does not impose any restriction on it and acts only as a clarifying element. In English, German and French modal lexemes do impose such restrictions on the independence of the verb "to see." If this verb is used in an intransitive finite structure it is always supported by them:

#### (11) I can see well.

In English the independent use of the verb "to see" can be observed in those constructions which are marked by the meaning "to understand":

GUIL: (Patient but edged) You don't get my meaning. What is the first thing after all the things you've forgotten?

(12) ROS: Oh I see. (Pause.) I've forgotten the question.

The Collins English Dictionary defines this meaning as "to perceive (an idea) mentally; understand." German and French constructions are also marked by the use of parallel lexemes either with a modal verb or with the component to "understand" which may displace the basic component "to perceive visually," fully or partially:

- (13) Nun kann man die Sache aber auch umgekehrt sehen.
- (14) Das sehe ich anders.

#### In French:

(15) Moi-même, **je ne vois pas** pourquoi le festival devrait déménager.

As it can be noticed, the English sentences are characterized by the independent use of the unit "to see" as a marker of understanding the situation. Parallel lexemes in German and French do not demonstrate such ability: "to see" is usually followed by an explanation of what actually the "object of understanding" is.

Another group of phrases displaying non-objective uses of the basic lexemes is presented by infinitives. The tendency to nominalize infinitives in elliptical constructions is prevailing, moreover, there is a direct semantic link between these verbs and their objects:

- (16) His office, however, was plenty easy to see.
- (17) Ich warf einen Blick durch die offene Tür, aber von Giordano und Charlotte war wider Erwarten nichts zu **sehen**.
- (18) Vous pouvez venir à une ou plusieures répétitions, sans obligation, juste pour **voir**.
- (19) En revanche, la gestion du timing constitue le principal challenge auquel on est confronté dans cet épisode, les derniers parcours acrobatiques requérant un timing millimétré qui fait plutôt plaisir à **voir**.

The sentences (16)–(19) present the constructions in which the non-finite forms (infinitives) are not independent<sup>1</sup>. They are limited by the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Only having two basic components: "visual perception" and "ability" with no other explicit units to accompany them.

presence of the objects. Non-finite lexemes without objects are not quite frequent, still they can be found in Russian:

... глаза свои зажмурил, чтобы не видеть, (8)

#### in French:

(20) Après avoir parcouru la campagne pendant deux heures, Mrs. Aouda et son compagnon — qui regardait un peu sans voir — rentrèrent dans la ville, vaste agglomération de maisons lourdes et écrasées, qu'entourent de charmants jardins où poussent des mangoustes, des ananas et tous les meilleurs fruits du monde.

Both independent constructions are used for characterizing purposes: in (8) the infinitive "не видеть" describes the aim of the speaker (the author of the poem) to prevent a possible act of visual perception from happening, and in the infinitive construction with the preposition "sans" in (20) the infinitive is used quite in a specific manner — to characterize an existing process of visual perception marked by a lexeme containing component "intention" ("regarder"). The introduction of the negative element "ne" together with the basic lexeme into the phrase's structure can destroy the intentional component represented by the lexeme "regarder."

In English it is not the infinitive unit that demonstrates independence, but a participial one: *unseeing*. The Collins dictionary gives the following definition of this unit: "If you describe a person or their eyes as unseeing, you mean that they are not looking at anything, or not noticing something, although their eyes are open." [Collins, 2006]. This instrument of characterization can be used in the same manner as "sans regarder" in French:

(21) Ему казалось, что его здесь нет, что он висит где-то в небесной пустоте, смотрит вниз и видит мягко освещённый уютный уголок, молчащего Мака и рядом с ним в кресле нечто мёртвое, окоченевшее, безгласное и бездыханное...

...as if he were not in it, but suspended somewhere in space; as if he were looking down upon this softly illuminated cozy corner, upon the silent Mac, and upon something stiff, **unseeing**, and lifeless propped in a chair beside Mac.

In the original Russian text by the Strugatsky brothers there is no mentioning of inability to perceive visually. According to H. S. Jacobson, the translator of the novel "Prisoners of Power," this lexeme can be an equivalent of units that describe other conditions: "безгласное" ("unable to speak") and "бездыханное" ("unable to breathe"). The inability to see,

as presented in the translation, can also be considered as a feature of an unalive being.

Another way to represent the base form without activating implicit components is through translated constructions. For example, the translation of one of the mottos of Queen Elizabeth I: *video et taceo — I see and keep silent*. But it should be pointed out that such examples seem to be not natural to English; it is extremely difficult to find similar ones in language corpora.

One more point deserving attention is the behavior of the German basic verb lexeme "sehen." The presence of the intentional component in its structure can be observed in the following sentence:

(21) Trotz der anhaltend positiven Konjunktur **sehen** viele Menschen mit Sorge in die Zukunft. Несмотря на стабильно позитивную конъюнктуру многие люди с озабоченностью **смотрят** в будущее.

This lexeme, unlike its English, French and Russian "basic" counterparts ("see," "voir," and "смотреть"), allows the activation of intentional and objective components. The one of intention is rather frequently activated, in those cases it becomes a counterpart of "смотреть," "look," and "regarder." It can also be used as a multicomponent lexeme, which may include into its semantic structure the interpretation of two "extra" components: "intention" and "object" — "fernsehen" ("to watch TV"). The first component ("intention") is presented implicitly, while the second is activated by means of the prefix "fern-". The presence of explicit object is not required. In other languages extended lexemes are used for describing such situations: "watch," "regarder," and "смотреть", moreover, the use of explicit objects leads to its ability to take other components, both characterizing and objective, which are usually expressed synthetically: "umsehen" ("to look around") and others.

#### Conclusion

Thus, it can be pointed out that the independent use of the basic lexeme — a finite form of a verb — in combination with an agent is generally characteristic of Russian. In that case two basic components are activated ("the agent" and "the act of perception"), the other two ("the object" and a modal component) being implicit. In English, French and German the presence one of the components, an object of perception or a modal component, characterizing the act, is mandatory: the lexemes are used either with explicit modal verbs ("can see," "sehen zu können," "pouvoir

voir," etc.), or with an object ("see a tree," etc.). In addition to that, syntactically independent uses of non-finite forms of the verb can in fact be observed, although, they usually correlate with the object. This correlation is of a particular interest, since non-finite forms of the verb are located closer to the propositional structure of the statement due to their "pure" status, the focus being exclusively on the event component, which does not take into consideration the parameters of subjective modality. These ones are quite frequently used in the Russian (16) and less frequently in the English and French non-verbal constructions with the meaning of characterization: "unseeing" (independently), "unseeing + Noun" (usually, "eyes", "face") or in "sans regarder."

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## COGNITIVE GENERATIVE PRAGMAITCS OF TRANSDISCIPLINARY INTERMEDIARY TERMS

The study offers the analysis of pragmatic function actualization through 'umbrella' elements of transdisciplinary intermediary terminological systems of cognitive linguistics and discourse studies. The purpose of the study is the analysis of specific cogniogenerative features of pragmatics as regards the elements in question in borderline types of discourse. The study employs complex methodology incorporating hermeneutic, discourse, definition and component analyses. Dialectical correlation of mental structures formed along with detailing and differentiation of knowledge components, and their further representation in the verbal information flow is carried out not only on the basis of the initial generally accepted deobjectification (in nuclear components), but also involves consituational formants of a specific area of the information-knowledge continuum. Such a permanent flow of illocutions for objectification and perlocutions for deobjectification of actualized components of transferminological meaning forms a special area of cognigenerative pragmatics, which provides a constant reflexive transformation of invariant structures into potentially conventionalized signs of individual terminology. Within the framework of its intellectual argumentative impact, cognitive-generative nature of transferm pragmatics contributes to the explication and intensification of the key methodological principles of a concept or theory. It also enhances modification of the conceptual and conceptual space of the recipient areas, the change in the mechanisms for integrating the modes of consideration of the studied phenomena of one discipline or direction to another and the growth of transdisciplinarity degree. The study deals with the delimitation of transdisciplinary areas of information-knowledge continuum, fosters dissymmetric features of subject-object-subject pragmaticon space of borderline areas, and proves the primary character of cogniogenerative basis when realizing the pragmatic function of transferms and quasi-terms.

*Keywords:* functional pragmatics, intermediary term system, generative function, functional constraint, producer-receiver illocution, subject-object asymmetry.

#### КОГНИОГЕНЕРАТИВНАЯ ПРАГМАТИКА ТРАНСДИСЦИПЛИНАРНЫХ ПРОМЕЖУТОЧНЫХ ТЕРМИНОВ

В работе производится анализ актуализации прагматической функции на основе «зонтиковых» элементов трансдисциплинарных промежуточных терминосистем когнитивной лингвистики и дискурсоведения. Целью является анализ специфического когниогенеративного характера прагматики исследуемых единиц в пограничных типах дискурса. Изучение строится на основе комплексной методологии, включающей приемы герменевтического, дискурсивного, дефиниционного, компонентного анализа. Диалектическое взаимоотношение ментальных структур, формируемых при детализации и дифференциации знаниевых компонентов, и их дальнейшее представление в вербальном информационном потоке осуществляется не только на основе исходного общепринятого распредмечивания (в ядерных компонентах), но и предполагает привлечение конситуативных формантов конкретной области информационно-знаниевого континуума. Такое перманентное перетекание иллокуций по опредмечиванию и перлокуций по распредмечиванию актуализированных компонентов транстерминологического значения формирует особую область когниогенеративной прагматики, обеспечивающей постоянную рефлексивную трансформацию инвариантных структур в потенциально конвенционализируемые знаки индивидуальной терминодеривации. Когниогенеративный характер прагматики транстерминов в рамках своего интеллектуального аргументативного воздействия способствует экспликации и интенсификации ключевых методологических принципов концепции или теории, а также модификации концептуально-понятийного пространства принимающих областей, изменению механизмов интегрирования модусов рассмотрения изучаемых феноменов одной дисциплины или направления в другую, росту степени трансдисциплинарности. В исследовании впервые осуществляется делимитация трансдисциплинарных областей информационно-знаниевого континуума, постулируется диссимметричный характер субъектно-объектно-субъектного пространства прагматикона пограничных областей, доказывается примат когниогенеративных оснований при реализации прагматической функции транстерминов и квазитерминов.

*Ключевые слова:* функциональная прагматика, промежуточная терминосистема, генеративная функция, функциональные ограничения, адресантно-адресатная фокусность, субъектно-объектная асимметрия.

#### Introduction

To understand the pragmatic implications of a particular language unit, it is necessary to try to interpret the dominant type of human activity, namely, cognition in the broad sense of this concept, through the

prism of more than a century of research on syntactic-semiotic and pragmalinguistic studies proper. Ch. S. Pierce described it as a process of mediating reality by signs. This mediation, i.e. initial objectification, definition of functional limitations of use and subsequent transfer, results in the sphere of interpretive space that allows the community to identify the "truth". At the same time, it is necessary to take as a presupposition not the semantic, as is customary with Alfred Tarski, but the pragmatic character of knowledge as such [Hodges, 2022]. The knowledge components mediated precisely by the process of verbalization are not only transmitted, but are themselves called upon to act as "triggers" for the generation of new knowledge, in the conditions of the modern understanding of language as a system for the production of signs [Manaenko, 2013]. It is on the basis of the creation of such a verbal-cognitive unity, which has an inextricable link in the operational systems of the information-knowledge continuum and is characterized by the structural properties of the semantheme, that modern terminological systems operate.

#### Methods and material

Individual transterminologized constructions contained in the specific contexts of the argumentative discourse of cognitive linguistics served the material for the analysis. Scattered contexts were taken from monographic studies, as well as scientific articles on cognitive linguistics, the total volume of the card-index extends back more than 1,500 consituatively and contextually determined cases of use. It is precisely the quasi-terms that seem to be the most appealing in the explicatory plan. It is mostly preconditioned by the fact that the degree of mastery and terminology in the source or target field of knowledge is not the main indicator of the level of cogniogeneration and the productive potential of this construction as a modifier of the terminological space. In most cases, the linguistic mechanisms of transterminologization cannot serve as an adequate marker for effective contextual actualization, i.e. intensification of cogniogeneration.

The study of peculiarities of the pragmatic load of intermediate transterms is carried out on the basis of a complex methodology based on a combination of techniques of hermeneutic-noematic analysis, critical discourse analysis, which involves the study of the connections of interpretative spaces with the structures of the social context. It is decisive for clarifying the actualization of cogniogeneration when deobjectifying the actual consituational meaning of the transterm within the framework of overcoming the dominance of collective interpretive attitudes in a new field of knowledge. The study of the mechanisms of prescribing new vec-

tors of interpretation of transterms as special "action schemes" to recipients contributes to understanding the possibilities of stereotyping the conceptual direction for the production of new knowledge based on the perceived models of its verbalization.

#### Literature Review

The formation of complex systems of explication and actualization of knowledge components in the border areas follows the contamination of the information-knowledge continuum [Serebryakova, Bredikhin, Plokhaya, 2021]. The key interaction parameters of both different derivational models and the inclusion of multidirectional parameters of the actualization of meaning have already been considered in the studies of the Pyatigorsk school of terminology [Latu, 2018]. The forms and methods of contamination of verbal-cognitive phenomena in terms of generating both primary reflexive objects and their further detailing in the process of objectification in language were studied in the works of J. Fauconnier [Fauconnier, Turner, 2002], E. Morin [Morin, 1999]. At the same time, it should be noted that the influence of such contradictory processes on the modification of the pragmatics of scientific discourse within the framework of the dissymmetry of the semantic and the actual in the collective and individual transdisciplinary terminology has not been studied so far.

## **Results and Discussions**

Formalization in metalanguages of description, especially linguistic ones, is organically combined with inductive individualization, i.e. assignment of knowledge components. Induction in this case does not imply mandatory empirical verification, because we all live in the world of signs and meanings, having long ago moved away in our cognitive activity from testing concepts empirically. If there is any experience, then it is not subject-activity, but social-conceptual in nature.

In the modern world, the information-knowledge continuum is characterized not only by the interweaving and non-linearity of verbalism and empiricism, but appears as a verbal-cognitive unity that is formed on the basis of the synergy of objective, reflexive and textual reality as an interpretive space for the constant transformation of information and knowledge. The pragmatics of verbalized transdisciplinary knowledge is based on fundamental principles of potential deobjectivity / objectivity of components generated in contextual and consituative argumentation. In this process, the key role is played by the counter mechanism of con-

cretization / generalization, which operates within the framework of the functional limitations of interpretation imposed by the conceptual area. The pragmatic function consistently implemented by discursive practices of transdisciplinary areas of knowledge is undergoing significant transformations. This happens due to the transformation of the functional core and the acquisition by the generative, classifying and modeling functions of the status of transdisciplinary areas of the information-knowledge continuum, in particular, such as cognitive linguistics, which dominate in the argumentative boundary discourse.

The addition of the functional-pragmatic direction of the determinative area of the information-knowledge continuum to the dyad turns the mechanism of representation of mental structures in the text into a functional-pragmatic-relative phenomenon. Thus, the functional restrictions generated by the field of application itself serve as determinants of the very "activity" component that constitutes the initial layer of pragmatics. The subject-subject asymmetry in the pragmatic aspect is complemented by the obligatory awareness of the role of the verbal-cognitive space of interpretation [Bredikhin, Serebriakova, 2016], i.e. takes the form of subject-object-subject dissymmetry. Representatives of knowledge components themselves contribute to the generation of new knowledge, as specific units transposed from one sphere of the information-knowledge continuum to another. Performing the general functions of signification and representation of the key concepts of a particular theory [Volgina, 2013, p. 171], within the framework of individual argumentation, they nevertheless demonstrate the primacy of the pragmatic function of maintaining and developing the cognitive sphere of their functioning.

The metalanguage of borderline knowledge areas in this case solves the problem of dissymmetry of individual and consituative implications by means of an extended concept formalization model. The conceptual model chosen within the transdisciplinarization framework (overcoming the boundaries of functional limitations) is no longer only a term derivation scheme, but also an algorithm for objectifying relevant knowledge components in a particular field of knowledge. It has a primary impact on the verbalization process of intensifying that layer of an intermediate term that correlates primarily with initialization recipient potentials for the generation of new knowledge. The initial areas of transgression play the role of natural systems of the first level of abstraction in relation to the metalanguage of the transdisciplinary sphere. The set of transdisciplinary intermediate terms is perceived not just as a copy of the presigns of the initial areas, but as an image of primary systems intentionally built on the basis of phenomenological reflection. This is what makes it pos-

sible to describe cases that are not only represented in the original areas, but also the phenomena of adjacent areas, without going beyond the metalanguage of description. For example A. Teixeira Kalkhof introduces hyponymic quasi-terms into the context, representing the etymologicalhistorical layer of the transferminologization of term "gestalt", which are designed to explicate the original semantics of "unconscious recognition" within the framework of the argumentative-noematic description of the amorphous undifferentiated representation: *Under normal circumstances*, we recognize a word at once like we recognize a known person by his "habitus" (for the related Indian notion of "sphota"...) No one can say which aspect of the word triggered the recognition process. Sounds of a word form part of a whole, of its "lautgestalt"... [Teixeira Kalkhoff, 2020, p. 68–69]. The initiality of noematic perception and generation based on its receptive efforts to derive unconventionalized meanings of the term "gestalt" occurs in the holistic construct of cognitive-communicative interaction of various areas wgithin information-knowledge continuum (behaviorism, linguistics, cultural studies, information theory, etc.). It suggests that the verbalized in a consituative and contextual environment knowledge component, regardless of the final form of representation, will always satisfy the conditions for the existence of a unary predicate. Whereas the functional conditions of the interpretation space itself will define this unary predicate without referring to original or any other areas [Hodges, 2002].

Due to the specificity of the continual objectification and deobjectification of knowledge components in transdisciplinary areas, combining both the fundamental-applied convergence of tools and the supradisciplinary convergence of methodological principles for studying phenomena that are not subject to empirical verification, special units — the terminological concepts — acquire the key role. These units, represented in transplantation, transposition and transgression variable terms and quasi-terms, have the greatest explicatory potential. Such nodal elements have special cognitivegenerative pragmatic load. Their key task in the intermediate terminological system is the formation, marking and maintenance of the relative stability of the entire system of variant explicators of a single terminological concept in all its guises (as a number of classification necessary and sufficient conditions and as the core of the associative nest of the subsystem, based on family resemblance). However, it should be emphasized that the explicatory of the informative part of the intermediate transferm does not carry the full cognitive-generating load. The "underwater part of the iceberg" turns out to be quite impressive, which ultimately leads to the creation of new knowledge. The implication of each of these constructions, characterized by a semanthemic structure, looks like a non-intentional goal of countercommunicators, determined by the internal logic of scientific communication, to "come to a common denominator" not only in the construction of verbal translators, but also in the constructions behind them [Grice, 1975], i.e. knowledge components. At the same time, implication is possible only if there are common basic criteria for interpretation, namely a single cogniogenerative space. The only possible integral space of interpretation, which ensures the collectivization of the vectors of generation of new knowledge and its objectification in adequate terminological derivatives, can only be a concept detailing the object of study.

Any verbalization is designed to correspond and most accurately convey both generalized meaning and consituational meanings as an integral semantheme-structured unit, the functional area of which is delimited by the social group on the basis of cogniopragmatic criteria only. Thus, the organic integrity of the discrete elements of the system for generating and representing knowledge components is very similar in its interpretation to the epistemological holism of Willard van Orman Quine, which must be supplemented by a priori recognition of the ontological relativity of the semanthemic organization of such constructions. After all, the very areas of cognitive linguistics and discourse studies, which we consider as transdisciplinary, are "non-deterministic" not only in the classical sense, as not ensuring the adequacy of knowledge only within the framework of empirical verification, but also on the simple basis that the correspondence of language expressions to certain objects of reflexive reality can only be characterized in terms of another (background) language [Quine, 1960].

When creating such background metalanguage of description at the junction of the formal-logical and inductive-noematic areas, it becomes necessary not only to de-objectify knowledge components actualized in a horizontal context, but also to re-objectify them in metatexts, i.e. the form is constantly filled with new content based on the detailing of the object and the categorization of newly identified features. Thus, the cognitive process takes the form of a spiral, constantly returning to the object when considering more and more of its aspects, which should eventually lead to its analysis as a holistic phenomenon. This is the super-task of cogniogenesis and the dominant goal of the considered verbal-cognitive unities as elements of intermediate transdisciplinary areas of knowledge.

Cognitive potentialities are immanently inherent in the considered elements of the intermediate terminological system due to both the presence of certain functional limitations in the use of transterminologized concepts and their semantheme-like properties, i.e. organizing them as verbal-conceptual unities. This specific organization implies the possibil-

ity of thinking (deobjectification), objectification as a unit of description (objectification) and adaptation to the paradigmatic network.

Cognitive-generative pragmatics in the functioning of an intermediate term in transdisciplinary discourse suggests the possibility of translating the knowledge component into the information field. It presumes the very possibility of subsequent disobjectification of the terminological concept and its functioning as the basis for the formation of new associative nests and subsystems of metalinguistic description, and hence subsequent objectification in a verbal way. It is on the basis of the implementation of this function that the expansion of the transdisciplinary field is carried out. The cognitive-generative nature of the pragmatic function within the framework of the implementation of the intellectual argumentative impact contributes to the intensification of the key methodological principles of the concept or theory [Matveeva, 1984]. It also fosters the modification of the conceptual space of the target areas, the change in the mechanisms for integrating the modes of consideration of the studied phenomena of one area or direction to another, in fact, the growth of transdisciplinarity degree. The implementation of specific cognitivegenerative pragmatics ensures not only the reception and assimilation of components that go beyond the limits of intra- and interdisciplinary knowledge, but also the generation of new knowledge components on the ray of conscious reflection directed inward. These "quanta" of new knowledge need constant reflexive verification and verbalization. Objectified in such a system, "the scale becomes not only the usual means of designating the object of study, but also a means of activating cognitive activity aimed at encoding the properties and features of the object being known and called" [Alefirenko, 2006, p. 47]. The growth in the importance of classifying characteristics makes it possible to more precisely hierarchize the set of elements of the terminology system, to determine the functional place in the ever-expanding network of paradigmatic relations. The initiation of the need for the recipient each time to go through the path of objectification of knowledge components in an intermediate term, while fixing a clear place in the cognitive-generating system, is eventually erased and when new knowledge is generated at a certain stage, a phenomenon of the so-called unreasoned "saccadic transition" can be observed. This is a manifestation of the highest degree of noematic cogniogeneration based on implications, characterized by an intuitive search for a representative in a horizontal context. It should be pointed out that the functional freedom immanently inherent in the term, its initial "umbrella" nature [Vorkachev, 2003], makes it possible not to explicate the conditions for the transition between terminological systems. Saccadicity is one of the key characteristics of a transdisciplinary field, which has the highest possible degree of determinism. In intermediate terminological systems, the framework of clarity and precision of the elements that inspire cogniogeneration seems to be rather blurred, thus, it is quite acceptable to introduce components into their structure that specify the vector of generating new knowledge. In addition, F. Schleiermacher's paradox allows the recipient to see in verbalizers some components of implied knowledge that were not intentionally laid down by the producer, but were predetermined by hidden plans in functional restrictions — the etymological, the historical and the associative ones. It is on the basis of this that new knowledge components are generated, which are then conventionalized in a transdisciplinary intermediate system, expanding its apparatus and functionality.

### **Conclusions**

Mutually directed processes of in- and de-coding (the transition of mental structures into verbal ones and vice versa) determine the permanent dynamics of the conventionalization of invariant structures according to subjective models, subjectivation and objectification in this case are determined by the addresser-addressee focus. At the same time, the correlation of addresser-addressee focus with the forms and mechanisms of signification of reflexive objects is determined not only by the communicative space itself, but also by the prognosis of the conventionalization of areas of use. Cognitive pragmatics of intermediate transdisciplinary terms and quasi-terms is realized not only in the very unit of the term system, but also in paradigmatic relations established consituatively in the process of discourse generation. Going beyond the boundaries of the usual pragmaticon of various system elements is provided by holistic determination on the set of coils of the cognitive spiral. As the most promising areas of studying the intermediary transdisciplinary constructions pragmatic potential in their terminological meaning, it is possible to indicate the identification and analysis of the key principles of creating functional constraints for the introduction of individual knowledge components into the common domain of conventionalization. On the basis of this principles, it is possible to create models of consituative term derivation in conditions of uncorrelating concepts convergence.

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# GO FURTHER AND BEYOND: PERSONIFICATION AND INDIVIDUALISATION IN LEARNING AND TEACHING MASTER'S STUDENTS

Personification and individualization in learning and teaching master's students aims to mold high-level specialists able to integrate successfully to the international professional community. The article discusses a synergy of approaches such as system and matrix modelling of professional activity, learner-centered teaching techniques, adaptive learning, learning trajectories, event techniques, and formative assessment. These include the potential of an entrepreneur master's programme leading to a startup. The researcher uses methods such are observation, case study, experiment, and instructional modelling. The study is based on the current Journalism, Advertisement, and PR master's programmes at Saint Petersburg State University and a new one — Foreign Languages and Translation in the Media. The ultimate goal of this new approach is to enhance students' awareness of taking a master's programme as part of their successful careers. Further research will include developing qualitative and quantitative measurement tools to monitor student's progress.

Keywords: personification, individualisation, system and matrix modelling, entrepreneur master's programme, online master's programme.

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# GO FURTHER AND BEYOND: ПЕРСОНИФИКАЦИЯ И ИНДИВИДУАЛИЗАЦИЯ В ОБУЧЕНИИ МАГИСТРАНТОВ

В статье прочерчиваются пути индивидуализации и персонализации обучения магистрантов с целью повышения уровня подготовки специалистов и их успешной интеграции в мировое профессиональное сообщество. Автор предлагает комплексное использование таких походов, как системно-матричное моделирование обучения профессиональной деятельности, личностно-ориентированные технологии обучения, адаптивные системы обучения, траекторное обучение, event и сценарная методика, формирующее оценивание результатов обучения. Рассматриваются перспективы предпринимательской и онлайн магистратуры. В исследовании используются такие методы, как наблюдение, анализ кейсов, эксперимент, педагогическое моделирование. Источниками материалов исследования являются текущие программы магистратуры СПбГУ по специальностям «Журналистика» и «Реклама и связи с общественностью», а также новая междисциплинарная магистерская программа

«Иностранные языки и перевод в СМИ», которую разрабатывает автор. Перспективами исследования является разработка инструментов качественного и количественного анализа успеваемости магистрантов и уровня их профессиональной компетентности.

*Ключевые слова*: индивидуализация, персонализации, системно-матричное моделирование, предпринимательская магистратура, онлайн магистратура.

## Introduction

Nowadays, processes such as global digitalization, artificial intelligence, Internet of things, data analysis, and automation influence on the current jobs and employment. Within volatile competitiveness, specialists often face lack of confidence due to changing standards, strategies, and priorities. Some jobs become obsolete or transform, and new professions emerge. Nowadays, business needs specialists able to adapt dynamically and learn a new profession. There is a trend in the current employment to hunt for a specialist who possesses some related (or different) occupations.

Experts project job growth of journalists at 8 % compared to the average for all occupations at 6 %. The recession brought about by the COV-ID-19 pandemic has affected advertising revenue. Experts also feel that it may impact the long-term demand for journalists. The prevalence of fake news and the blurring of the line between news and opinions may also affect the demand for strict journalists in the coming years [Journalism Careers: 2023]. Declining readership of newspapers is expected to continue through the next decade. Consuming online news via phones and computers will also contribute to the decline.

For the O\*NETOnLine (2021) database, the top knowledge skills that journalists must possess are: 96 % — English language; 93 % — Communication and media; 68 % — Law and government; 60 % — Computers and electronics; 60 % — Telecommunications; 54 % — Customer and personal service; 51 % — Geography [Journalism Careers: 2023]. In 2022, HR-Portal recommended developing soft-skills such as: teamwork, including hybrid and online formats; decision making and risk management; leadership; conflict management; negotiations; self-management and time management; working in multinational teams; adaptability; collaboration; effective offline and online communication [Advantages of online master's programme, 2023].

Thus, diversification in journalism jobs and expanding journalists' skills could help to keep the demand for professionals in this industry.

### Materials and Methods

Underpinned with these trends, the Faculty of Foreign languages at St Petersburg University offers a new master's programme *Foreign Languages and Translation in the Media*. In a nutshell, we are aimed to mold a high-level specialist who combines successfully competences of a linguist and translator, an international media specialist, and an instructor/tutor/coach/trainer able to teach media disciplines in three languages to different audiences. This programme has multiple advantages, including personified and individualised learning.

This article only specifies the tools we want to use (and are using now) to enhance personification and individualisation in learning among other advantages of this master's programme. For this, we use methods such as observation, case study, experiment, and instructional modelling. Longitude observation reasoned our desire to find optimal tools to better master's students' learning. Case study in business and corporate training helped us to merge the best practices with the academic tradition to meet new employers' requirements. Experimenting helped us to test the effectiveness of formative assessment and mock conference in master's students' learning. Instructional modelling helped to build up some trajectories in the budding media specialist's professional (self-) development.

The hypothesis of this research is: a synergy of approaches such as system-and-matrix modelling of professional learning, learner-centered teaching techniques, adaptive trajectories and roadmaps in acquisition of a profession, extracurricular events, scenario (mock) technique, and formative assessment could help personify and individualise master's students' learning within an optimal curriculum, which will inevitably lead to their successful integration into the international professional community.

The objectives of this study are: 1) to outline the conceptual aspects of personification and individualisation in learning; 2) to trace new trends in digitalisation of learning materials; 3) to select and describe human-centered learning techniques suitable for personification and individualization in teaching adults; 4) to justify the inevitability and feasibility of formative assessment technique in adults' learning; 5) to describe briefly the idea of system-and-matrix modelling for learning a profession; 6) to highlight the advantages of entrepreneur master's programmes and online master's programmes for personified and individualised learning.

### Discussion

## The conception of personification and individualization in learning

Developing the learner's individual personality and abilities is one of the burning issues in modern education in Russia. Individualised and personified learning aims to teach a person to choose consciously directions for their (self-) development and use multiple resources for building up their individual learning trajectory, which demands new principles and approaches to learning. We need a new paradigm for learning focused on developing the cognitive activity of a learner as a subject of their (self-) development aimed at life-long learning. Teaching adults can also adjust Yu. Krupnov's ideas such as 'education as the learner's asset' and G. Budanova's conception of 'open additional education' [Builova, Budanova, 2015] focused on personalization and reflection. Thus, "for learners, the result of their personalised learning is education as a value and an asset; for society and state, it is unalienable but valued and measured potential of intelligence in each personality and community or population category" [Krupnov, 2007]. 'I am learning' scenario is possible within autonomous learning reasoned by learners' own demands and needs to maintain, correct or improve their skills. Now, e-learning is developing the concept of autonomous learning. Z. A. Kargina has outlined the key theories of personification and individualization as new trends in modern education [Kargina, 2015, p. 172-188].

Thus, the key objectives of personification and individualisation in learning are:

- to adjust learning process to the real challenges of the modern world,
- create flexible applied programmes for master's students' learning a profession,
- transfer from traditional digital learning to adaptive one,
- develop a constant demand in new skills in master's students and instructors.
- increase the speed of acquisition of new knowledge and skills, and, as an ultimate result,
- change the learning paradigm to turn learning outcomes into a learner's own asset and personal and professional (self-) development instead of taking exams as it often occurs.

We regard *personification* as acquisition, interiorisation, internalization, or processes and mechanisms of transforming external, social incentives, requirements, limitations and own experience into the elements of

the structure of one's own personality (into demands, aspiration, skills, and knowledge) [Psychology and pedagogics encyclopedia]. Yu. Krupnov offers to personify the content of learning (curriculum); culture; regime (pace and rhythm); learning and teaching styles; the educational environment, instrumental systems and the content (customization of the content); services, including informational service (customization and personified marketing of technical and telecommunication services); connection; and attitudes and institutionalisation of worldviews going further to developing the world [Krupnov, 2007].

*Individualisation* is a transition from education to self-learning and self-development when the learner explores actively into new knowledge (discovery learning) and own experience (constructivism) and takes over the responsibility for the process and the results of their learning.

Personification and individualisation could help apply this approach to teaching a profession to master's students. Of importance, this approach should change students' attitude towards their learning as part of their career.

# New trends in digitalisation of learning materials

Digitalisation of learning materials, which makes them available and flexible, is absolutely necessary for personification and individualisation. We offer to use e-learning including online asynchronous courses available 24/7 (to make it possible to learn for those master's students who work) and synchronous learning with an instructor/tutor/lecturer in the format of webinars or offline. Synchronous offline and online classes may be recorded for reviewing. Besides, case sessions help discuss home assignments with the instructor.

Previous experience in digitalisation of learning materials shows that many of the online courses created some years ago are linear, static, bulky, and only use summative assessment. New trends have arisen over the last two years. Now, the product approach could help improve the effectiveness of an online course. *An online course as a product* should appeal to the target audience; be adaptive (to meet learners' individual features and preferences, for example, interactive content and a pdf-tutorial); provide feedback; be more dynamic (like information in the modern world); be based on life-long learning principle (to address constant demand in new skills); be flexible (to search for needed information and develop individual learning programmes and trajectories); use aleotoric (lego-like) elements for learning (e-books, webinars, blog/vlogs, cases, sites, articles, forums, news, expert's opinion); use micro learning (short courses/mod-

ules focused on really needed information (real gaps)); be up-to-date (actual and relevant information, knowledge and skills); use optimal instructional design and delivery of content (for example, gamification); and use formative assessment. SMEs should understand the life cycle of their product and monitor and develop constantly their courses. All these features enrich the idea of personification and individualization in learning.

# Human-centered learning techniques suitable for teaching adults

Human-centered learning techniques applicable to teaching adults include: interactive learning, participatory design, project-based learning (PBL) and work-based learning (WBL), role play/scenario (mock) approach, case study, portfolio, and autonomous learning.

Interactive learning and participatory design allow modelling real-life situations for learning a profession. For this, an instructor can challenge master's students with tasks that 'provoke' using their actual professional skill-set. This will enable students with a confidence that they are experts. An example is to ask a student to explain a term or consult how to deal with an issue. It is also important to organize students' interaction in different formats such as student — instructor, student — student, student — audience, and roles such as a specialist, an expert, or a consultant. This leads students to motivated learning.

*PBL* and *WBL* enable master's students to construct new knowledge and skills within autonomous creative activity and interaction with others. A project should lead to a clear result or a product meaningful for a student. PBL and WBL include four equally important stages: preparation (discussing topicality, resources, formats, results, and publicity), creative work (generating a product), presentation of a product, and feedback. Neither of these stages can be left out.

Of greatest importance, to motivate master's students to *go further and beyond* their classroom. It could be their participation in a conference, a research article, participation in a contest, or launching own project. We offer our students events such as English club with multiple activities and events, a contest of sound track translations [See: Rokhlina, Golubeva, 2020, pp. 115–121], a contest of media text translations, a contest of social advertisement videos in English, and a contest of eco-comics [See: Vasileva, Golubev, 2019, pp. 431–442]. Even if these are unavailable, the mock conference approach could help.

Role play or scenario (mock) approach helps model situations of professional communication when a master's student is assigned a role or

status to become personally involved, including their emotions and empathy, which motivates them to learn. An example is a mock conference or a simulation of a conference in which students act as delegates, organisers, interpreters, or any other relevant role. How can students benefit from a mock conference? Any mock conference involves substantial research, public speaking skills, writing skills, case study, critical thinking, debating, teamwork, leadership, and more. This technique stimulates students' cognitive activity and motivates them. Of significance, in ESP, the mock conference technique implies dealing with authentic documents, professional terminology, and contemporary issues in the specific professional field. It makes learning closer to real challenges that await future professionals. In addition, a mock conference can be used as a tool for assessment and evaluation. Ultimately, the mock conference approach may determine the instructional design of a whole course. Mock conference technique can be customised to the needs of graduate and undergraduate students studying various disciplines and train their hard skills and soft skills.

The mock conference technique is widely used in teaching different specialties for cross-disciplinary integration. As an example, many translation schools hold mock conferences for interpreters' training. "Findings indicate that skills concerning professionalism, psychological competence, strategic competence and many other non-linguistic dimensions may be better acquired at mock conferences than in traditional interpreting classes" [Li, 2015]. English classes at the Higher School of Journalism and Mass Communication often turn into a mini mock conference. The procedure is more or less similar to that previously mentioned. The topic and mission depends on the specialty. The assessment criteria and samples are given in advance. I also offer students to develop many related skills through mocking professional activities.

Moreover, organizing a mock conference may involve more than research and presentation skills. It may start from a sufficient pre-conference stage embracing insight into the purpose (mission) and content of a conference; engaging speakers; building a conference organizing team; and managing the conference logistics; establishing a conference budget; designing and printing conference hand-outs, distribution of promotional materials; catering and accommodation for participants; costs of main meeting and additional workshop venues; expenses for entertainment (music, city tours); office and administration overheads (telephone, printer, paperwork) [Adkinson, 2012]. Besides certain practical knowledge, it gives a great diversity of English speaking practice. Next stage may involve a mock PR campaign. Those interested in design may work on a confer-

ence poster and brochure and those engaged in advertisement develop the promotion campaign including all possible advertising methods: teasers, posters, SMM, and so forth.

On the conference day, students can try many different roles: moderators, speakers, journalists, PR specialists, interpreters. Speakers give presentations and take part in disputes answering questions. Moderators or chair people lead the tracks. Students translate all the materials for the conference and interpret the presentations and Q-and-A sessions. Journalists hold press-conferences and briefings, conduct surveys and write press releases and articles about the event. TV correspondents film the conference and make short reports. Photographers take pictures for exhibitions and reviews. Post-conference activities imply all sorts of reporting and feedbacking: statistics, surveys, budget and expenses, publicity, blogging and vlogging, long-read, and so forth.

A mock conference is a demanding but rewarding approach. It needs much knowledge, skills and patience from instructors and determination from students. However, the mock conference technique could become the key tool in ESP teaching and learning. It provides high-level involvement and customisation embracing many disciplines and related practical knowledge and skills.

Reflective learning also includes *the portfolio technique* resuming the process and results of learning. This may contain parts such as Terminology, Communication Skills (Strategies), Certificates, Internet Resources, and many other. Each folder collects materials, certificates, articles a master's student acquires. Reflection folder may include 'I can...' reports: 'I can create and deliver a great presentation', 'I can make a request.'

## Formative assessment technique in adults' learning

The approaches mentioned above go hand in hand with formative assessment technique. The main features of formative assessment are: it is flexible, transparent, diagnostic and remedial; it provides effective and objective feedback; it makes teaching student-oriented and directs and involves students in their own learning; it influences on the motivation and self-esteem of students; instructors (teachers) are able to adjust their teaching; it considers varied learning styles; students understand the criteria that will be used to assess their coursework. To compare, summative assessment, the most traditional way of evaluating student work, 'sums up' a student's performance at the end of a course. It is usually marked according to a scale or set of grades (a graded test). Thus, the advantages of formative assessment underpin more effective teaching.

How to create a formative assessment syllabus? A formative assessment syllabus begins with a course description that may include an introduction (preamble); course idiosyncrasies; prerequisites; mutual expectations; course organization; a brief statement of policies of teaching and learning; attendance policy; grievance procedures; arrangements for those with learning disabilities. Other policies and operating rules may be included appropriate to the type of course and the classroom/lab environment. For trade courses, safety rules should be spelled out in the syllabus. Course content overview is the largest part of the syllabus. A whole course should be divided into some major parts with thoughtful, thought-provoking and eye-catching titles. A short summary could accompany each of the titles. It is also important to provide each topic with a selection of references and required supplies. Another important point is weighting each assignment and firm deadlines. It is crucial to assess as early as and as often as possible. Clear submission procedures are always helpful in regulating a course. Grading policies should be presented in an open friendly manner: students appreciate clarity and same-for-all policies. Each assignment will be scored according to the rubrics that specify criteria.

Thus, formative assessment is a tool to gradually monitor student progress in a friendly and supportive environment. It involves regular descriptive feedback, which gives students a chance to reflect on their performance and improve it. The key role of an effective syllabus in encouraging and facilitating students' coursework is vastly underappreciated in Russian universities. For this reason, course syllabi are often overlooked because it seems to be time-consuming and unnecessary work. Whereas, a well-designed course syllabus is beneficial both for the instructor and the student.

## System-and-matrix modelling for learning a profession

Back in the mid-20th century, Burrhus Frederic Skinner (1904–1990), a founder of behaviourism, launched the idea of *adaptive learning* [Skinner, 1957]. Adaptive learning technique means building up an individual learning trajectory in compliance with a learner's current knowledge and skills, their abilities and motivation. This technique assesses a learner's weaknesses and strengths, their experience, and learning style. Technically, an adaptive learning course offers a personified track for each learner and can adjust in real time responding the learner's activity. The content of an adaptive course is excessive and dosed in such a way that it is able to meet concisely the needs of a particular leaner who only gets the knowledge they need and acquires it at their own pace. This feature makes

an adaptive course different from a linear one. Thus, the advantages of adaptive learning are: more effective learning in a heterogeneous group; reduced time for acquisition of knowledge or skills; more motivated learners; and more concise assessment and evaluation. Adaptive learning is being used on online platforms by companies such as Knewton or Cerego [Terminology Dictionary. SberUniversity].

Adaptive learning can be adjusted to a whole offline curriculum built up according to a *system-and-matrix model* that offers a key trajectory and a matrix of extra options to find individually needed information. This can help mold a learner's own learning programme or follow aleatoric learning trajectories on MOOCs. A personal learning trajectory should be built up immediately from self-selected elements the moment a request arises. In addition, each of matrix options should be of different (ideally, three) complexity levels to offer struggling students a lower level course and high performing students — advanced ones.

How to develop an adaptive system-and-matrix offline curriculum for a master's programme? This includes four steps: 1) to set learning goals and objectives according to a careergramme specified for each major; 2) to structure the learning content; 3) to map the needed knowledge and skills on three different complexity levels; 4) to split the content into micro chunks; and 5) to develop diagnostic and final tests for each level.

A *careergramme* can become another efficient tool as a trajectory for professional (self-) development in master's programmes. This is a chart reflecting possible career paths on different expert levels (Junior, Middle, Senior, and Master) within this or that professional domain. A careergramme for media specialists can be presented as follows (Table 1).

The individual development plan/roadmap technique can also be helpful. An individual development plan/roadmap of a master's student may include refreshment courses, taking trainings/internships, vocational education, joining/transferring to new projects, certification/assessment, working with a coach/trainer, working under supervision of a curator, reading literature for professional self-development. An individual development plan/roadmap should be built up according to the goals that a learner sets for their professional development. Of importance, their goals should be specific, measurable, achievable, realistic/relevant, and time-framed (SMART). An example of an individual development plan/roadmap to improve presentation skills for a master's student preparing themselves for the entry-level in PR is presented in Table 2.

Table 1. A careergramme for media specialists

Basedon: Journalism Careers: 2022 Guide to Career Paths, Options & Salary. Research.com. February 7, 2023. Available at: https://research.com/careers/journalism-careers (accessed 02.04.2023)

Table 2. An example of an individual development plan/roadmap for a master's student in PR

Strategy	Activities	Period/ Deadline
Learning on your own	K. Anderson Talk This Way: The Official TED Guide to Public Speaking G. Reynolds Presentation Zen Design. Simple Design Principles and Techniques to Enhance Your Presentations  Take a course of speaking in public on Google Digital Garage https://learndigital.withgoogle.com/digitalgarage/course/public-speaking	
Trainings		
Coaching		
Specific task	Deliver your presentation of a PR campaign project for the NetBirds Corporation	
Feedback	back Discuss the presentation with your curator/supervisor	

Basedon: Personal development map HR 40x40. *Mike Pritula Academy*. Available at: https://pritula.academy/hrmap (accessed: 02.04.2023). (In Russian)

# Advantages of entrepreneur master's programme for personified and individualised learning

An entrepreneur master's programme is aimed at molding entrepreneur thinking and business skills in master's students. Graduates should learn how to create a unique trade offer (UTP), to make a business plan, to understand a whole scenario of a product, to budget, to see a whole life cycle of their product or service, to plan and forecast, and manage the staff. This intends clustering disciplines within a curriculum in such a way that graduates could be able to end up launching a startup. Our programme may lead to a startup of an advertising agency, a media outlet, an online school, a YouTube channel, and more.

For developing an entrepreneur master's programme, we need to link the academic educational environment with business thinking and industries to make graduates relevant for their employers' needs. Collaboration with potential employers within our master's programme may include: 1) developing and actualisation of requirements to high-level media specialists and building up expert trajectories for professional competences on Junior, Middle, Senior, Master levels; 2) developing learning content and educational events (online courses, webinars, case sessions, conferences, WBL, internships, and more) together with the specialists of a company; 3) getting feedback and audit of the level of our graduates from

a business or industry (media, education, or translation) and consultancy for their employment.

# Online master's programmes for personified and individualised learning

In Russia, many universities offer online master's programmes. Advantages of online master's programmes for personified and individualised learning vs traditional learning are displayed in Table 3.

Table 3. Online master's programme vs traditional learning

Online master's programmes	Traditional master's programmes	
Practice instead of theory: students can take part in real 'living' projects while learning Expertise: subject matter experts instead of lecturers Availability: students can combine learning and a part-time or even full-time job Diversity: hard skills (developing a product, marketing, project management) + soft skills Flexibility: students can choose their own pace of learning; blended learning; developing content Instructional guidance and support: coaches/tutors/advisers Possible reskilling instead of upskilling Seamless integration into profession	Fundamental theory augmented with some practice Knowledge outweigh skills Expertise: more theorists than practitioners or subject matter experts Offline classes: attendance matters; it is difficult (or no chance) to combine learning and working Instructors often cannot adjust and improve curricula	

Basedon: Advantages of online master's programme vs traditional one. Available at: https://blog.skillfactory.ru/preimushhestva-onlajn-magistratury-pered-klassicheskoj/ (accessed: 02.04.2023). (In Russian)

## Conclusion

Dramatic changes in the modern world are inevitable and expectable. Today's specialists should be ready to adapt dynamically to new employer's requirements, new standards, strategies, and new jobs. Now, much depends on the awareness and personal characteristics of a specialist. Successful integration into profession of a young specialist should be underpinned by personified and individualised learning.

Individualised and personified learning aims to make a person responsible for its results as an asset and, therefore, more motivated for autonomous learning reasoned by learners' own desire to learn. Among

techniques to enhance individualised and personified learning are: the product approach to developing online courses; human-centered learning techniques; formative assessment technique; system-and-matrix curriculum; and advantages of entrepreneur master's programmes and online master's programmes.

Within this research, we have analysed multiple cases in business and corporate training and merged them with what we have in our academic domain to meet employers' requirements when preparing new specialists. We have tested formative assessment and mock conference in master's students' learning, which proved the effectiveness of these techniques. In addition, we have modelled some trajectories in the budding media specialist's professional (self-) development.

Further research will develop qualitative and quantitative measurement tools to monitor student's progress and level of competences.

#### Limitations

The described approach has some limitations. In the academic educational system: robust tradition, formalism and bureaucratism; it is not as fast as business and often does not meet its new requirements; universities often do not have enough time, facilities, and faculty ready to develop new trends in learning; and underdeveloped graduates' competence measurement system. In business: employers are afraid of hiring entry level specialists because there is always a chance that they will leave the company after getting some experience. As for master's students, they are often not sure what in particular they want to do or where they can get the required experience and integrate seamlessly into a profession.

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# SOMATIC METAPHORS OF NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV'S SECRET SPEECH IN TRANSLATION

It is generally recognized that a linguocultural analysis makes it possible to identify equivalents in the phraseology of different languages, to indicate what is common and unique for the languages analyzed and to reveal various kinds of translation difficulties, in particular, the rendition of phraseological units with somatic components. As the previous research shows, this issue has not been well-examined in relation to the political discourse yet. Thereby, the present study makes a contribution to the field of phraseology as well as to the area of translation. The article is devoted to the comparative analysis of the Russian phraseologisms with the somatic elements which were employed by N.S. Khrushchev in his report "On the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences" at the closed session of the 20th Communist Congress on February 25, 1956, and the ways of their translation into English. The paper describes the connotations that arise, while interpreting the paremia images in the space of historical and cultural knowledge, identifies cultural layers in the semantics of the idioms, allowing to highlight the commonalities or differences of the meanings that are characteristic for the languages in question. The contrastive analysis of Russian and English somatic metaphors reveals similarities in the processes and ways of phrase formation of a number of idioms which enable translators to use appropriate equivalents. Of particular interest are the cases when there is a lexical substitution of the Russian somatism for a different English phrase-lexeme which, in turn, creates certain challenges when translating such idioms.

*Keywords*: Nikita Khrushchev, political discourse, secret speech, somatic metaphor, translation.

Е. В. Картер

## СОМАТИЧЕСКИЕ МЕТАФОРЫ СЕКРЕТНОЙ РЕЧИ НИКИТЫ ХРУЩЕВА В АСПЕКТЕ ПЕРЕВОДА

Общепризнано, что лингвокультурологический анализ дает возможность определить культурно-языковые эквиваленты во фразеологии разных языков, обнаружить общее и уникальное для анализируемых языков и выявить различного рода трудности перевода, в частности, передачу фразеологических единиц с компонентами-соматизмами. Как показывают исследования, обозначенная проблема недостаточно полно изучена в политическом дискурсе, поэтому данная работа вносит вклад в область фразеологии и перевода. Статья посвящена сравнительному анализу русских фразеологизмов с компонентами-

соматизмами, которые Н. С. Хрущев использовал в докладе «О культе личности и его последствиях» на закрытом заседании ХХ съезда КПСС 25 февраля 1956 года, и способам их перевода на английский язык. Описываются коннотации, возникающие в ходе интерпретации образа паремий в пространстве историко-культурного знания, выявляются глубоко залегающие культурные слои в семантике идиом, позволяющие говорить о сходстве или различии смыслов, характерных для рассматриваемых языков. Проведенный сопоставительный анализ русских и английских соматических метафор обнаруживает сходство в процессах и способах фразообразования ряда идиоматических выражений, что позволяет переводчикам использовать соответствующие эквиваленты. Особый интерес представляют случаи, кода происходит лексическая мена русского соматизма на иную английскую фразеолексему, что, в свою очередь, создает определенные трудности при переводе таких идиом.

*Ключевые слова*: Никита Хрущев, политический дискурс, секретная речь, соматическая метафора, перевод.

### Introduction

It is a common claim that a language shapes cognition. Different languages, having their unique thesaurus and grammar rules, form different views of reality in the speakers of these languages. According to Whorf, "we dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages" [Whorf, 1956, p. 213].

"Language reflects extra-linguistic reality with the use of various means" [Laskowski & Pachoiski, 2007, p. 490] and, certainly, by way of phraseological units. In this regard, somatic metaphors (i. e., phraseological items containing a body-part name in their structure) are of particular interest.

Being generally the same for everyone, the human body offers "a ready-made segmentation in its parts which leaves very little option for the language variation" [Čermák, 1998, p. 110]. As forming components of somatic metaphors, "the names of body parts are used together with most of their traditional functions and symbolism" [Čermák, 1998, p. 110]. Because of the separation of the body parts' function from their symbolism, different variations in the latter field appear, thereby highlighting the subsequent types of all possible dissimilarities. The symbolic purpose of certain parts of the body, the connotations of somatisms in the composition of idioms are considered not to be random. "Their apparent arbitrariness is due to the semiotization of the body in different cultures, thus giving somatic units certain meanings" [Kovshova, 2019, p. 15]. The generalization of the meanings of statements allows us to draw conclu-

sions about "the prevailing understanding of the role of a particular body part in different languages" [Lazutkina, 2005, p. 107].

It is generally agreed that somatic idioms are aimed at revealing the features of the object, emphasizing negative or positive characteristics and expressing an evaluative attitude towards them. However, the point should be made that the translation of somatic metaphors can "pose the challenges of approaching [them] culturally, linguistically or even conceptually" (Adiel & Ahmed, 2016, p. 46). Thereby, it is essential to encode and decode the employed body-part metaphors properly and be particularly mindful of the conceptual peculiarities of the source and target domains [Lacoff & Johnson, 2003].

Historically, phraseological units have evolved in the language as the fragments of the meaning of the statement. They are regularly reproduced in speech as "communicative blanks" that correspond to the author's intention and the given style of communication. Let us give a closer look at the official public interaction in the political discourse where quite a number of famous world leaders "use proverbial expressions to add emotional intensity to their messages, clearly showing that this colloquial language enables them to let their feelings show during extremely stressful times" [Mieder, 2005, p. 200].

There is a view that Nikita Khrushchev's name "should be associated with the first crack in the totalitarian political regime" [Strelets, 2016, p.75], and his "speech denouncing Stalin was the bravest and most reckless thing he ever did" [Taubmann, 2003, p.274]. In his secret report at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) delivered on February 25, 1956, Khrushchev "addressed to nearly fifteen hundred communist leaders from fifty-six countries, condemned the crimes of Stalin and announced the beginning of the cleansing from his dictatorship" [Fursenko & Naftali, 2018, p.95]. The Soviet leader was sure that "the question was presented in absolutely the right way and at the right time" [Memoirs, 2006, p.212]. He "longed for fundamental changes, rebelling against the deformities inherited from Stalin" [Khrushchev, 2016, p. 506].

While working on his speech, Khrushchev was not satisfied with the draft prepared by Pospelov and Aristov and dictated his own text, "including passages marked by particular passion and anger" [Taubmann, 2003, p. 280]. It happened that "the manuscript did not even have time to be retyped, and Khrushchev took it (all handwritten with colored pencils) with him to the Kremlin Congress meeting" [Khrushchev, 2019, p. 79]. There is some evidence that the Soviet politician "spoke with 'agitation and emotion,' <...> his speech was peppered with explosive asides" [Taubmann,

2003, p. 273]. He distracted from the written text and improvised. For any reason, his speech was not shorthanded.

After the Congress, a week was spent working on the report, Khrushchev had already delivered. It was reviewed and "enriched" with some quotations from Marx and Lenin. On March 1, 1956, the text was ready, and it was supposed to be sent all over the country. Although the manuscript included the passages that the politician had uttered, distracting himself from his pre-written report, some of the extracts were crossed out. The text was translated into English. It was read by Allen Dulles' brother, United States Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. He decided to make this secret speech public. On June 4, 1956, Nikita Khrushchev's anti-Stalinist report "On Overcoming the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences" was published. As it appears, the secret speech and its translation contain a plethora of somatic metaphors that have not been investigated yet. Thus, the present study is aimed at dealing with it.

The paper provides a contrastive analysis of the Russian somatic metaphors used in Nikita Khrushchev's secret speech with their English translations. The etymology and cultural connotations of the selected somatisms are examined as well. Special attention is given to the discussion of dissimilarities of the analyzed phraseological items in the languages in question.

The crosscultural analysis of the excerpted examples of rendering the Russian somatic metaphors into English shows that the main method of their interpreting is the selection of phraseological counterparts with a similar body-part component. A number of idiomatic expressions are translated by way of the analogues having a different somatic element. A few Russian phraseological units are rendered by English metaphors based on the images of the material world or are lacking in somatic metaphorical imagery.

## Methods and Materials

The current work is focused on the somatic metaphors employed by Nikita Khrushchev in his secret speech at the 20<sup>th</sup> Communist Congress on February 25, 1956 [Khrushchev, 1989] and their renditions into English [Khrushchev, 1970]. It is widely recognized that the examination of the parallel corpus, i.e., "a corpus that contains source texts and their translations" (McEnery & Xiao, 2007, p. 20), "can give new insights into the languages compared — insights that are not likely to be noticed in studies of monolingual corpora" [McEnery & Xiao, 2007, p. 18]. Such observations can be used in comparative research as well as in practice, for instance, in language teaching and translation.

In our study, we compiled a parallel corpus of Russian and English texts. After searching the source extracts and their renditions for the target somatic metaphors, the contextual passages with the body-part constituent elements were analyzed. The cognitive and linguistic manifestations of the selected idioms were scrutinized, thus identifying the commonalities and differences that can cause certain translation challenges for the languages in question.

#### Results and Discussion

In our analysis, the individual body parts are presented in an order according to the number of excerpted phrases. The human body has been divided into two groups: external and internal body parts within which we have distributed the individual parts of the body. In the divisions of the body parts, we have placed only those somatic key elements which we have singled out in the material chosen for the analysis.

The group "external body parts" comprises of an upper extremity (hand, little finger and shoulder), a head (head, eye and face), skin covering (skin and sore), a lower extremity (leg and foot), and a trunk (back). Table 1 gives us a best representation of the number of extracted somatic items included in this group.

Table 1. Number of Extracted External Body Part Phrases in the Original and in the Translation

External Body Parts					
No	Division	Russian	English		
1	Upper Extremity: Hand Little finger Shoulder	8 6 4	6 6 2		
2	Head: Head Eye Face	5 5 0	5 5 5		
3	Skin Covering: Skin Sore	1 1	0		
4	Lower Extremity: Leg Foot	1 0	0 1		
5	Trunk: Back	0	1		
Total		31	28		

## **External Body Parts**

"It is certainly noticeable that the proverbial expressions with the 'arm/hand' constituent were used with high frequency in Khrushchev's speeches" [Carter, 2015, p. 348]. In his secret report, the component *hand* was utilized as a symbol of labor and the characterization of human activity. By means of this body part, the human characteristics were expressed and valued as well. The majority of the phraseological items bore a negative evaluation.

"Двурушник" (lit. "two-armed man") is the name of a person who hides his/her true face and weaves intrigues behind the backs of others. This noun comes from the adjective *two-handed* that is, made for two hands. It is assumed that the word penetrated into the Russian literary language from the lower stratum of the society. This is how pre-revolutionary professional beggars called their dishonest fellows who hid behind other beggars at church porches, putting not one but two begging hands between their elbows, managing to get a dole in each of them. The modern meaning of the word appeared in the twentieth century. It became quite different but also disapproving, contemptuous: a double-handed man is a person who serves two hostile forces, i.e., "a double-dealer" [Macura, 1999, p. 610].

A strong case could certainly be made that the "two-handed" metaphor has to originate in Russia, thus falling under the category of the so-called "language-specific idioms". This may be the reason why it has been translated metaphorically but with a different English body-part image ("two-faced [Janus]") from the ancient Roman mythology [Antonova, 2018]. The idiom definitely has a negative connotation in all the passages below:

Как же можно поверить, чтобы такие люди в период после политического разгрома зиновьевцев, троцкистов и правых, после великих побед социалистического строительства оказались «двурушниками» «...»? [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 137].

How then can we believe that such people could prove to be "two-faced" (...) during the era after the political liquidation Zinovievites, Trotskyites and rightist and after the great accomplishments of socialist construction? [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 573].

- <...> в выступлениях ряда членов ЦК по существу высказывались сомнения в правильности намечавшегося курса на массовые репрессии под предлогом борьбы с «двурушниками» [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 139].
- many members actually questioned the rightness of the established course regarding mass repressions under the pretext of combating "two-facedness" [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 577].

Везде и всюду он видел «врагов», **«двурушников»**, «шпионов» [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 144].

Everywhere and in everything he saw "enemies," "two-facers," and "spies" [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 585].

The pattern "body parts and their specifics" names the parts of the body and their distinctive features. "It is about reflection of what certain words embody most intensively and most naturally for us" [Delova-Siljanova, 2021, p. 56]. For instance, hands are "responsible" for holding something. As for the metaphor  $\theta$  pykax (in hands), it indicates a man's power as well as his/her "high position in the society" [Lomakina, 2006, p. 432]. As can be seen from the following illustrations, there is a full equivalent of this Russian idiom in the English language:

<...> не все еще представляют себе, к чему на практике приводит культ личности, какой огромный ущерб был причинен <...> сосредоточением необъятной, неограниченной власти в руках одного лица <...> [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 150].

<...> not all as yet realize fully the practical consequences resulting from the cult of the individual, the great harm caused by <...> the accumulation of immense and limitless power in the hands of one person <...> [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 560].

"Тов. Сталин, сделавшись генсеком, сосредоточил в **своих руках** необъятную власть ‹...›" [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 130].

"After taking over the position of Secretary General Comrade Stalin accumulated **in his hands** immeasurable power <...." [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 562].

The proverbial saying  $\partial e\pi o$   $py\kappa$  (lit. "the business of one's hands") is applied to a person who is "in charge of any activity" [Mokienko, Nikitina, 2008, p. 181]. The Russian somatism "disappears" in the English translation, being replaced by an expression lacking in metaphorical imagery:

Нет, было бы наивным считать это **делом рук** только Ежова [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 144].

No, it would be a display of naiveté to consider that **the work of** Yezhov alone [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 584].

It is assumed that "the gesture is capable of expressing the full range of meanings that arises from the speaker" [McNeil, 1992, p. 105]. The phrase шевелить мизинцем (lit. stir a little finger) may be labeled as expressing aggressive meaning, implying a threat to someone else. In the languages compared, the somatism мизинец (little finger) is attested in a number of "gestural" idioms.

"Вот **шевельну мизинцем** — u не будет Tumo" [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 154].

"I will **shake my little finger** — and there will be no more Tito" [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 600].

Дорого нам обошлось это "**шевеление мизинцем**" [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 154].

We have dearly paid for this "shaking of the little finger" [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 600]. Сколько не шевелил Сталин не только мизинцем, но и всем, Тито не слетел [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 154].

No matter how much or how little Stalin **shook**, not only **his little finger** but everything else that he could shake, Tito did not fall [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 600].

The phraseological unit выносить на своих плечах (lit. carry on one's shoulders) means "to cope with any kind of work or difficulties without anybody's help" [Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008, p. 505]. As can be seen from the passages below, one and the same metaphor has been translated differently, though transferring the speaker's positive attitude. The first two English extracts have the idioms with a similar somatic image (shoulder). The third one contains a phraseological unit with a different somatism (back). In the last case, the body-part element has not been rendered into English.

«...» до тех пор, пока нашему генералитету, который выносил на своих плечах всю тяжесть ведения войны, не удалось изменить положение дел «...» [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 150].

<...> until our generals, on which shoulders rested the whole weight of conducting the war, succeeded in changing the situation <...> [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 594].

Спрашивается, а где же наши военные, которые **на своих плечах вынесли** всю тяжесть войны? [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 151].

The question arises: And where are the military on whose shoulders rested the burden of the war? [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 595].

Величайший подвиг совершили в войне наши советские женщины, которые вынесли на своих плечах огромную тяжесть производственной работы «...» [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 151].

Great and brave deeds during the war were accomplished by our Soviet women who **bore on their backs** the heavy load of production work <...> [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 595].

<...> сложилась практика массовых репрессий по государственной линии <...> против тех кадров партии, которые вынесли на своих плечах гражданскую войну <...> [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 132].

<...> the practice of mass repression through the government apparatus was born <...> against those Party cadres who had borne the heavy load of the Civil war <...> [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 565].

The second division within our analysis is *the head*, including such body-part components as *head*, *eye* and *face*. We shall start with the somatic expressions containing a *head* element.

"The conceptualization 'human body=human being/human body=human life' indicates the human body parts, which occur as representative that symbolizes either the whole body or the human being as a personality" [Delova-Siljanova, 2021, p. 56]. As the concept of *head* in this meaning is shared by the languages compared, there are full equivalents that help recipients easily "visualize" the metaphorical image of the proverbial phrases *coxpahumb голову* (save a head) and *снять голову* (take off a head/shorten one by a head):

"Выдержишь — **сохранишь кочан (голову)** ....»"[Khrushchev, 1989, p. 143].

"If you manage to endure it, you will **save your head** \(\ldots\)" [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 583].

Eсли не добъетесь признания врачей, то с вас будет **снята голо-** $m{вa}$  [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 155].

If you do not obtain confessions from the doctors, we will **shorten you by a head** [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 601].

In the language picture, the *head* is often presented as a receptacle of unexpected and uncontrollable processes. The metaphor *приходить* в голову (lit. occur to one's head) is an apt illustration of it. It seems to be a dubious case from a translation point of view due to the existence of the complimentary English terms (head/mind/brain) for the Russian somatism голова used in this meaning:

Трудно даже себе представить, как могли **прийти в голову** подобные предположения [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 153].

It is impossible to imagine how such assumptions could **enter anyone's mind** [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 599].

The idiom *BO 27.038E* (at the head) designates a person's leading position in any structures (economical, political, etc.). This phrase is common for both domains, and it does not cause difficulties for translation:

Как же так, ведь Сталин **стоял во главе** партии и страны 30 лет «...»? [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 161].

How could it be? Stalin **headed** the Party and the country for 30 years <...[Khrushchev, 1970, p. 612].

The following case is the only one when because of the translator's interpretation of the context, an English analogue with a *head* component has been chosen. Although the Russian idiom has been "enriched" with a

somatic constituent, the positive overtone has been appropriately transferred into the target domain:

Бессмертны заслуги советских воинов, наших военных командиров и политработников всех степеней, которые в первые же месяцы войны, лишившись значительной части армии, **не растерялись** «...» [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 151].

Immortal are the services of the Soviet soldiers, of our commanders and political workers of all ranks; after the loss of a considerable part of the army in the first war months they **did not lose their heads** ....> [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 596].

The ability to perceive reality in different ways is revealed by the Soviet leader with the help of the phraseological units with the somatism *eye*. These somatic idioms are further presented for a thorough examination.

"The location and functions of the eye in a human organism result from its biological and cognitive features" [Laskowski & Pachoiski, 2007, p. 492], viz. being an organ of vision (a sense organ). The semantic explication of the lexeme *eye* in the phrase  $\theta$  *ezo*  $z\pi a 3 a x$  (in his eyes) is similar for both languages compared (meaning an indicator of vicinity) and does not impede recipients' comprehension:

*Многие работники становились в его глазах врагами* [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 144].

*Many workers were becoming enemies before his very eyes* [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 597].

<...> все видят, как буквально **на глазах растет** активность, развивается творческая инициатива широких масс трудящихся <...> [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 162].

Everyone saw how activity **grew before their very eyes**, how the creative activity of the broad working masses developed <...> [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 613].

Eyes are often called a man's "window" to the world and the main tool of the perception of the environment. In the Russian tradition, eyes have a high status because the representations of life are associated with light (visibility), and the world of the dead implies darkness (invisibility). The contact between these spheres can be carried out precisely through the eyes. Hence, there is the ambivalent attitude to the eyes as a source of life as well as disease, spoilage or death in Russian culture (Savchenko, 2010). We can observe it in the somatic metaphor *cmompemb cmepmu в глаза* (lit. look in the eyes of the death) that is addressed to people who are "in real danger" (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008, p. 624). Even though the Eng-

lish analogue is lack of a vision somatic constituent, the image is vivid and can be comprehended properly:

- <...> они храбро дрались с врагами, не раз смотрели в глаза смерти и не дрогнули [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 137].
- ...> they fought their enemies valiantly, and often nervelessly looked into the face of death [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 573].

A range of different emotions and attitudes can be expressed by way of somatic metaphors. The Russian idioms глаза бегают (one has restless eyes) and не смотреть прямо в глаза (not to look straight in one's eyes) clearly indicate a man's nervous state and the fear of being punished:

- $\langle ... \rangle$  "что-то у вас сегодня **глаза бегают**", или "почему вы сегодня часто отворачиваетесь, **не смотрите прямо в глаза**" [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 144].
- "Why are **your eyes so** shifty today," or "Why are you turning so much today and avoiding to **look me directly in the eyes?**" [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 585].

The metaphor из кожи лезть вон (lit. "get out of the skin") is considered to be of East Slavic origin. The proverbial phrase is usually employed to criticize someone for making great efforts to reach any goals. The somatic metaphor is associated with "mythical ideas about werewolves who can shed their human skins and turn into animals" (Birikh, 2005, p. 310). This idea from ancient times is also applied to angry people whose souls seem to be torn from their bodies. Due to the absence of the applicable English somatism, the translator has opted the analogue lacking in bodypart metaphorical imagery:

A банда Берии, хозяйничавшая в органах госбезопасности, из **кожи лезла вон**  $\langle ... \rangle$  [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 144].

*Meanwhile, Beria's gang, which ran the organs of state security, outdid itself* .... [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 585].

The Russian proverbial expression *не обнажать язв* (lit. not to show one's sores) means "not to reveal one's weaknesses". As can be seen, in the translation, it is replaced with a different English metaphor "wash one's dirty linen in public" [Kunin, 1999, p. 483] that is slightly modified by way of the body-part image substitution:

- <...> не обнажать перед ними наших язв [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 165].
- <...> we should not give ammunition to the enemy; we **should not wash** our dirty linen before their eyes [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 617].

Legs are the support of the human body which can help a person to move in space. In the phraseological fund of the secret speech, Nikita Khrushchev employs one idiom with the somatism  $\mu$ 02 $\alpha$  (lit. leg) to convey the physical state of a person "who is close to death" [Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008, p. 442]. Although the existence of the complimentary English terms (leg/foot) for the Russian somatic lexeme  $\mu$ 02 $\alpha$  (lit. leg) may complicate the process of translation, the tragedy of the situation, being reflected on the body, could certainly be felt by English-speaking recipients:

<...> находясь обеими ногами в могиле, я Вам тоже не вру [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 141].

...> finding my two feet in the grave, I am also not lying [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 579].

The last area of our division of the human body is the group "internal body parts", compiling of the *blood system* (*blood* and *heart*) and the *nervous system* (*brain/mind*). It is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Number of Excerpted Internal Body Part Phrases in the Original and in the Translation

Internal Body Parts					
N⁰	Division	Russian	English		
1	Blood System: Blood Heart	2 0	1 1		
2	Nervous System: Mind/brain	1	1		
Total		3	3		

## **Internal Body Parts**

The field of blood system is notable through the presence of such components as *blood* and *heart* in a number of extracted examples. They are definitely worthy of being scrutinized.

Blood is a universal symbol which is endowed with a cult status. In many cultures, blood is understood as a receptacle of life force and as a non-material beginning. In the phraseological picture of the world of the Russian and English languages, blood is a symbol of life. However, the lexeme  $\kappa pobb$  (blood) can be used metonymically to denote bloodshed and murder. Blood is closely connected with the basic archetypal opposi-

tion "life — death": the deprivation of blood is tantamount to the deprivation of life.

In the situations analized, the Russian expressions with a *blood* element are utilized as a means of counting casualties, having a negative tone (high price for one's incorrect decisions), in the first case, and a positive evaluation (insignificant cost for the victory), in the second event. Doubts exist regarding the adequacy of rendering the latter idiom due to the loss of the somatic component in the English variant:

**Большой крови стоила** нам и та тактика, на которой настаивал Сталин, не зная природы ведения боевых операций «...» [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 150].

The tactics on which Stalin insisted without knowing the essence of the conduct of battle operations **cost us much blood** <...> [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 594].

<...> мы войну будем вести на территории противника и выиграем ее малой кровью [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 146].

<...> we will battle the enemy on his soil and we will win without much harm to ourselves [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 587].

The Russian phraseological units with soul and heart components gain notice for being quite a challenge for translation into English because of the difference in the conceptual pictures of the somatic constituents of the languages in question [Wierzbicka, 1989]. The essence of the Russian man' character is largely determined by Orthodox religion, as the desire for moral perfection and sacrifice is the fundamental dominant of Orthodox culture. The concept soul in phraseological expressions of the source domain often reflects a person's positive feelings and emotions. "It is characterized by a special expressiveness" [Marinina, 2017, p. 134]. The linguocultural concept soul in the phraseological system of the target domain acts as an organ that is "responsible" for a man's inner (spiritual) life. It can also act as a cultural phenomenon and an existentially marked mental structure associated with religious ethics. It has frequently been claimed that translators apply the idioms with the somatism *heart* to render Russian paremias, containing the lexeme soul, in cases when human qualities and states are described to exclude any association with the religious context [Ostanina-Olszewska & Despot, 2017]. The instance below supports this observation:

<...> никогда у меня не было ни тени подлости **на душе** [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 141].

...> my heart is clean of even the shadow of haseness [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 586].

The nervous system is known to be presented through the brain and nerves. In this area, only one example of the Russian paremia with a constituent yM (lit. mind) has been found in our material. By appealing to this body part, the speaker underscores the value of making sober decisions, thus indicating its importance. For any reason, this somatic metaphor has not been transferred into English:

*Но делать это надо с умом*, *без торопливости* [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 164].

But this **should be done calmly and slowly** [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 616].

The last case is worth paying special attention to. We can observe the image metaphors in the original as well as in the translation. Even though it looks like the expression *c* κυρυμωμ κρυσοσρομ (lit. with a hen's outlook) sounds more offensive due to the choice of the name of a certain bird species (in Russian culture, a hen is not considered an intelligent bird), the English somatic variant with a generalized avian lexeme represents a derogatory characterization as well.

Это — никчемный человек, с **куриным кругозором**  $\langle .... \rangle$  [Khrushchev, 1989, p. 145].

He is a vile person, with the brain of a bird ... > [Khrushchev, 1970, p. 586].

### Conclusion

Thus, the research has brought to light how somatic metaphors were utilized by the Russian politician in his public report and the ways of their rendition into English. As the study has shown, the Russian and English phraseological world pictures reflect universality by revealing a similarity in the understanding of the role of particular body parts (e. g., a head, a shoulder). At the same time, they display the peculiarities of different peoples' world perception (for example, in relation to the somatism skin), conditioned, on the one hand, by extralinguistic factors such as specific features of the historical development of each nation, the uniqueness of material as well as folk spiritual culture (myths, beliefs, customs, national psychology, etc.), and, on the other hand, by peculiarities of the Russian and English languages which categorize the same objective reality differently.

The comparative analysis of the extracted examples of Khrushchev's secret report in languages compared reveals that the main method of interpreting somatic proverbial sayings is the selection of relative equiva-

lents with a similar body-part component (e. g., a *head*, a *shoulder*). A number of idioms are translated by way of phraseological analogues with a different somatic element (e. g., *two-handed*). A few paremias are rendered by English metaphors based on the images of the material world or by idioms lacking in imagery (e. g., *sore*, *skin*).

Obviously, the transfer of the original somatic metaphors by means of the English counterparts with different metaphorical images leads to the loss of the national identity of the phraseological units, though the semantic, stylistic and functional adequacy may remain. It clearly demonstrates the challenges of rendering body-part proverbial units from one language and culture to another. Thereby, such translation concerns in the field of phraseology demand more research in the future.

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### SPECIFICITY OF MODUS MEANINGS AS SEEN ON THE EXAMPLE OF INTERACTION BETWEEN THE CATEGORIES OF PERSUASIVENESS AND PARTITIVITY

The paper examines modus meanings reflecting interaction between the persuasiveness and partitivity categories. The aim of this work is to identify and substantiate the types of interaction between the two categories under study. Modus meanings are studied using the following research methods: comparative analysis, pragmatic method, distributive analysis, component analysis, content analysis, definitional analysis, discourse analysis. Indicators of the studied persuasiveness and partitivity modus categories perform different functions in the text: a) the pragmatic function (foregrounding the persuasion semantics, "calling for unification"); b) the function of text formation (explication of formal and semantic coherence and integrity of the text/text fragment; the modus key function); c) the compositional function (influencing the compositional pattern of the text/text fragment, providing different types of composition). Despite both studied modus categories possessing a wide array of means of expression at the lexical, grammatical, and syntactic levels, partitivity, being a separate category, is one of the ways for manifesting the category of persuasiveness in political discourse.

*Keywords*: persuasiveness, persuasion, partitivity, modus categories, political discourse, lexics, grammar.

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### СПЕЦИФИКА МОДУСНЫХ СМЫСЛОВ НА ПРИМЕРЕ ВЗАИМОДЕЙСТВИЯ КАТЕГОРИЙ ПЕРСУАЗИВНОСТИ И ПАРТИТИВНОСТИ

Объектом настоящего исследования являются высказывания и текстовые фрагменты с показателями модусных смыслов двух категорий «персуазивность» и «партитивность». Цель настоящей работы — выявить и обосновать типы взаимодействия двух исследуемых категорий. В работе применяются традиционные лингвистические методы анализа, а также приемы дефиниционного, дистрибутивного, компонентного анализа, трансформационного и математико-статистического методов. Показатели изучаемых модусных категорий «персуазивность» и «партитивность» выполняют в тексте разные функции: а) прагматическую функцию (актуализация семантики «убеждение», «призыв к объединению»); б) текстообразующую (экспликация формальной и семантиче-

ской связности и целостности текста/текстового фрагмента; функция модусного ключа); в) композиционную (влияние на композиционный паттерн текста/текстового фрагмента, обеспечение разных типов композиции). Несмотря на то, что обе изучаемые модусные категории обладают широким арсеналом средств выразительности на лексическом, грамматическом и синтактическом уровнях, партитивность, будучи самостоятельной категорией, является одним из способов манифестации категории персуазивности в политическом дискурсе.

*Ключевые слова*: персуазивность, партитивность, модусные категории, политический дискурс, лексика, грамматика.

### Introduction

Mental processes associated with information storage, reproduction and verbalization have always been of exceptional interest to linguists and practicing interpreters due to the nature of their professional responsibilities.

The subject of the study are the linguistic means of manifesting these categories in the aspect of interaction thereof, as well as in the aspect of organizing the information field of the political text.

The relevance of this study is determined by the text- and anthropocentric approach to the functional features of means of expressing the "persuasiveness" and "partitivity" modus categories in the aspect of their interaction and engagement in text formation: the implementation of the modus key involvement in organizing the text/text fragment ensuring the functioning of text categories. The theoretical basis of the research is comprised of studies on semantic syntax, functional grammar, and text linguistics by Russian and foreign linguists.

### Methods and material

The empirical basis of the study is a sampling from the materials of speeches by American politicians for 2020-2021, mainly containing explicit indicators of the stipulated modus categories.

The paper utilizes traditional linguistic methods of analysis, as well as techniques of definitional, distributive, component analysis, the transformational and mathematical-statistical methods.

Methods used:

1. The method of comparative analysis (the analysis of similarities and differences in texts possessing attributes of categories of persuasiveness and partitivity and belonging to political discourse).

- 2. The pragmatic method (the semantic adaptation of persuasive tactics and strategies discovered in the research materials in order to improve the understanding thereof by the target audience).
- 3. The method of distributive analysis (the possibility of further application of the findings from this work for further development of the theoretical basis in the field of translating political discourse in the "English-Russian" language pair).
- 4. The method of component analysis (deconstructing the linguistic meaning into minimal units in order to study the meaning of words).
- 5. The method of content analysis (the quantitative analysis of texts and text arrays in order to identify and further interpret the revealed patterns).
- 6. The method of definitional analysis (the analysis of the meaning of words and definitions).
- 7. The method of discourse analysis (the array of analytical methods for interpreting texts or statements of different types as products of human speech activity, carried out in specific socio-political circumstances under cultural and historical conditions).

### Literature review

Political text is an object of many approaches. Most linguists unanimously agree upon taking into account the objectives, personal beliefs and qualities of communicants; the conditions of text perception, intertextuality and other factors, when studying the political text. In other words, nowadays political text is studied as a discourse acting as a tool for manipulating the public opinion. Authorship of political text, targeting of political text, strategy and tactics in political communication, as well as directly political narrative are listed among the most important features of political discourse by A. P. Chudinov and E. V. Budaev [Budaev, Chudinov, 2010]. Due to the crucial role of media in the modern world, the manipulative possibilities of political discourse are constantly increasing [Schwartzenberg, 1992]. Discourse, according to T. Van Dijk [Van Dijk, 1989, pp. 163-183] and E. Buyessence [Buyessence, 1943, p. 99], is a communicative event that occurs between a speaker and a perceiver throughout context-based communication. It may possess both verbal and nonverbal components. The language of politics as a linguistic subsystem is a sphere of high speech responsibility.

The category of persuasiveness (from Latin persuasioonis — persuasion, suggestion) falls within the scope of modus categories. According to E. A. Goncharova, it is "one of the possible components of the com-

municative strategy in the text" [Goncharova, 2001, p. 120]. This category is overall interdisciplinary, as it is under study in the field of psychology, as well. In the 1980s, a new field of study, called "the new rhetoric", was formed in linguistics. Based on the classical rhetoric, aimed at teaching the art of eloquence, the "new rhetoric" is more focused on the representation of a person's statements and judgments in speech, namely, on their formation. E. A. Goncharova states that the "new rhetoric" is not strictly limited to linguistic frameworks, but "is also interdisciplinary, ...as it comes into contact with psychology and social psychology, culturology, semiotics, etc." [Goncharova, 2001, p. 120]. A. V. Golodnov believes the category of persuasiveness to implement "an addresser's attempt at influencing the recipient in order to drive the latter to make an independent decision on the necessity, desirability or possibility of performing an action". [Golodnov, 2005, p. 22]

**Partitivity** is a categorial semantic feature peculiar for human linguistic display. It is presented through the "part-whole" abstract opposition, which is underlied by the mental process of dividing the whole into parts and assembling parts into the whole. The "part-whole" relation is one of the fundamental categories characterizing the material and the spiritual world. The absolute majority of items, both physical and spiritual in nature, possess a structure comprised of effectively or potentially distinguishable parts, which collectively comprise the whole. The categories of persuasiveness and partitivity belong to the sentential level; based on their meaning that reflects a person's thoughtful approach to a statement, they are called modus categories [Boldyrev, 2005a]. These categories are certainly communicative in nature, as they serve the process of communication and enhance understanding.

The categories under consideration are the product of the interpretative function of consciousness. They combine certain linguistic means based on the commonality of their conceptual (interpretative) function. The interpretative nature of modus categories emphasizes their special nature and position in the general system of linguistic categorization, namely, as forms of reflecting the ontology of human consciousness and its interpretive function, as well as forms of manifesting the individual experience, knowledge, and assessments.

The conjoint frequent occurrence and overlapping of the persuasive and partitive component are not accidental. The addresser concentrating the addressees' attention on the particular, separated from the general, provides for placing the semantic emphasis, which is the most vital part of political speech. Semantic emphasis, being in the right place, allows one to highlight the importance and topicality of an issue or a problem on the

agenda, as well as to address the group of listeners requiring a persuasive suggestion. One of the speaker tactics potentially applicable in this case is a targeted address indication of such a group belonging to a value cluster, the importance of which is recognized and shared by the addressees. No less important is the possibility of creating a "we — they" dichotomy, quite valuable for a politician, which enables the weaponization of the very same value cluster in order to create the image of an adversary inimical to the interests and values shared by the addressees. This tactic is more applicable in foreign policy discourse, being nonetheless effective in the discourse of domestic politics, allowing a politician to shift attention onto their respective opponents and competitor parties and undermine their authority in the eyes of potential voters.

### Results

Let us proceed with considering the interaction of the two modus categories on the communicative level. During the research and work with the collected materials, we have selected and divided the examples into 9 semantic groups categorized by the interaction of the categories of persuasiveness and partitivity in political discourse.

# Group 1 — semantic emphasis is put on the moment of speech, reinforced with shifting from the whole to the part.

**Today** — **tonight,** I'm announcing that the Transportation Safety Administration — the TSA — will double the fines on travelers that refuse to mask.

The linguistic representation of the "representation of a part and a whole" structural component is the ratio of *today* — as a whole and *to-night* — as a part of this whole.

# Group 2 — the aspect of importance of the core idea, the importance of the whole implemented using the part.

Each part has a spatial localization within the whole, occupying a certain place in it. For a speaker, as a politician, peripheral components hold no significance. Instead, they focus the listeners' attention on the central, core part of the message, emphasizing the importance of the general/whole. We can observe the linguistic manifestation of this general/whole based on the example of such lexemes as *center*, *heart*, *critical*, *key*, *top*.

**Each** and **every** one of these **issues** is enough to give us a victory in Georgia, **a big beautiful victory**. Make no mistake, this election was stolen from you, from me and from the country.

Before I close, let me say this: Communities of color are disproportionately impacted by this virus. And as we continue to battle COVID-19, we will ensure that equity continues to be at the **center** of our response.

We're gathered together in the **heart** of our nation's capital for one very, very basic and simple reason: To save our democracy.

But our commitment is about more than just financing; that's a **critical** piece of it. We're also going to support solutions across the board.

As I recently released the key **parts** of my pandemic preparedness plan so that America isn't caught flat-footed when a new pandemic comes again — as it will — next month, I'm also going to release the plan in greater detail.

Reducing that cost and concern is one of my top priorities.

# Group 3 — the aspect of inclusiveness, absence of exceptionalism; emphasis is put on the importance to everyone.

The recognition of an item as a part of a whole is determined by the degree of its participation in creating the integrative properties of the whole. Only the item directly involved in the creation of the properties of the whole will be considered a part thereof, for example: "these issues", "family", "nation", "audience", "world". On the other hand, the category of persuasiveness is found in communicative situations that "emerge out from the communicative pragmatic strategy of persuasion and manipulation of an interlocutor's consciousness and behavior". It applies to the language tools aimed at convincing the listener to undertake further actions, as well as at "tempting the interlocutor to change a certain behavioral socio-individual position and make a desirable decision" [Goncharova, 2001, p. 123].

Using the indefinite pronoun *each* and the determiner word *every*, the speaker, when addressing the public, convinces the listeners of their rightness. They tempt the public to change a certain socio-behavioral position, and also encourage it to make a political decision beneficial to themselves by convincing the listeners of the rightness of their respective party, as well as the popularity of their ideas. In this way they encourage the addressee to make a small but significant contribution (the "part" expressed using the *issue* lexeme) to a certain common cause, which, in this case, is a "*big, beautiful*" victory (here epithets enhance the attractiveness of the idea (whole/general) for the addressee.

What about children under the age of 12 who can't get vaccinated yet? Well, the best way for a parent to protect their child under the age of 12 starts at home. **Every** parent, **every** teen sibling, every caregiver around them should be vaccinated.

My first responsibility as President is to protect the American people and make sure we have enough vaccine for **every** American, including enough boosters for every American who's approved to get one.

Tonight, I'm asking **each** of you to reach out to your unvaccinated patients over the next two weeks and make a personal appeal to them to get the shot.

In a second term, I will EXPAND charter schools and provide SCHOOL CHOICE to **every** family in America.

In the past few months, the United States has experienced all of this, and **every** region of the world can tell similar stories.

In the examples under consideration, the use of the pronoun 'each' and the determiner 'every', which may be considered as verbalizers of the 'representation of a part' structural component, emphasizes the importance and significance of each person and region. In the examples given, synonymous repetition acts as a medium of manifesting persuasiveness, while involving shades of partitive meanings.

### Group 4 — the contributory aspect.

The examples presented in this group convince the addressee to contribute to a common cause, motivating them to facilitate the strengthening of the community, the nation and the whole world in general.

We're also going to try to **do our part** when it comes to helping the rest of the world take action as well.

In another era when our democracy was tested, Franklin Roosevelt reminded us, in America, we do our part. We all do our part. That's all I'm asking. That we **do our part**, all of us.

But while we wait, we've **done our part**. We've bought enough boosters — enough booster shots — and the distribution system is ready to administer them.

My friends, if we are to recognize that a better, more hopeful future of — every nation has to **do its part** with ambitious targets to keep 1.5 degrees in reach and specific plans as to how to get there, especially the major economies.

But it's time for corporate America and the wealthiest 1 percent of Americans to just begin to **pay their fair share**. Just their fair share.

The peculiarity of the "part-whole" relationship is in their dual nature, since the ontological categories of the part and the whole are defined by means of each other: "a part is an element of a certain whole; the whole is something that consists of parts".

When we say "whole", we clarify mentally: the whole of what? — and then we answer: the *whole of parts*. When we say "*part*", we attempt to imagine *what these parts belong to, what this whole is.* The parts and the whole do not exist without each other. The speaker encourages the target audience to change a certain social and behavioral position and to

contribute to a good common cause, to play a role in the life of the nation. This position is expressed using such lexemes and word combinations, as *to do one's party, to pay one's fair share*. In the latter case, the usage of semantic repetition is observed once more, which is expressed via ellipsis and constitutes an emphatic construction. This construction is highlighted with the adjective fair and the adverb just. Combined with each other, these means of expression once again demonstrate the productive interaction of the categories of persuasiveness and partitivity, allowing the speaker to have the desired impact on the addressees.

Group 5 — the historical and temporal aspect, an indication of the features of the time period, during which the politician addresses the audience; an indication of the voter's involvement in significant historical events.

"A part is a component, a side, a moment of the whole, the qualitative certainty and functioning of which bear the specifics of the whole" [Goncharenko, 1968, p. 40].

Lexical verbalizers of the 'representation of a part' structural component, characterized by varying degrees of the presence of the 'part' semantic feature, are synonyms of the invariant lexeme, for example:

We must be united at home to defeat our adversaries abroad. This new **era** of cooperation can start with finally confirming the more than 300 highly qualified nominees who are still stuck in the Senate.

Together, we will write the next **chapter** of the Great American Story.

As I stand here tonight before you in a new and vital **hour** of life in democracy of our nation, and I can say with absolute confidence: I have never been more confident or optimistic about America.

The transcontinental railroad, interstate highways, united two oceans and brought a totally new **age** of progress to the United States of America.

And I know our hearts are with everyone who will feel the effects of this storm. And we'll be with you every **step** of the way.

In the examples under consideration, the traditionally non-discrete denotation (*cooperation*, *story*, *life*, *progress*, *way*, *extraordinary times*) of immaterial names may have a partitive understanding.

In the interaction of the whole and the parts, the priority of the whole exists, since it actively affects the parts and transforms them in accordance with its own nature; it determines the form of existence of an item as its part. The parts, being subordinate to the whole, have relative independence, their existence as part of the whole is only characterized by a certain degree of freedom. And, nonetheless, the parts are integral and important components of the whole, important for a potential voter, — the value ide-

al, expressed using the lexemes *progress*, *American Story*, *era of cooperation*. Addressing the public, the speaker emphasizes the path to cherished ideals and goals being not monolithic, but rather comprised of multiple consequent steps and actions that need to be taken collaboratively. Here, they urge voters for national and political unity, which would facilitate this cooperation greatly and bring closer the achievement of the cherished goals. The desirability and the coveted nature of these goals are expressed through epithets, such as *next*, *totally new*, *vital*, *every*.

## Group 6 — the inspirational, motivating, encouraging gradation of the part.

Let us consider the following example:

And more than half of all the adults in America have gotten at least one shot. The mass vaccination center in Glendale, Ariz., I asked the nurse, I said, "What's it like?" She looked at me, she said, "It's like every shot is giving a dose of hope" was her phrase, a dose of hope. A dose of hope for an educator in Florida, who has a child suffering from an autoimmune disease, wrote to me, said she's worried — that she was worried about bringing the virus home.

The language medium of implementing this category is the combination of a partitive noun with an abstract noun. The partitive noun *dose*, combined with the expressive possibility of the indefinite article *a* to indicate the insignificance and the nonuniqueness (the preference of any, even the most insignificant amount of hope is implied), as well as the syntactic repetition of the word *hope*, combined with gradation, may increase the level of hope. Thus, the speaker soothes and reassures the addressees, motivating them to vaccinate against COVID-19. Here the inspirational component may be observed, expressed through utilizing a skillful combination of the categories of persuasiveness and partitivity.

# Group 7 — the aspect of urgency, emergency, the indispensable importance of the current moment for undertaking political action.

One of the most prominent and frequently repeated ways of expressing persuasiveness is repetition/recurrence. In the example under consideration we can see a synonymous repetition, during which a semantic shift in connotations is visible while maintaining synonymy which is shifting from the whole to the part. This indicates the presence of a partitive constituent.

This is the time to reignite the American imagination. This is the time to search for the tallest summit and set our sights on the brightest star. This is the time to rekindle the bonds of love and loyalty and memory that link us together as citizens, as neighbors, as patriots.

Using the demonstrative pronoun *this* as the subject, and the phrase combining the definite article *the* and the noun *time* to perform the predicative function makes it possible to isolate the part (the current moment) from the whole (the time), and simultaneously put a semantic emphasis on the exceptional importance of this particular moment of time for undertaking political actions. Semantic repetition and gradation allow strengthening and consolidating the persuasive component in this message, directing it in the area necessary for the speaker (*to reignite* — *to search* — *to rekindle; citizens* — *neighbors* — *patriots*). The epithets *tallest* and *brightest*, as well as the phrase *bonds of love and loyalty and memory*, containing a polysyndeton and noun denotations of important human values contribute to maximizing the attractiveness of this goal for a potential voter.

### Group 8 — the negative part.

Let us consider the interaction of the two reviewed categories as seen in this example:

That's where we need to focus our energy — **not** in the **past**, **not** on **divisive** culture wars, **not** on the **politics** of grievance, but on a future we can build together.

The lexical medium of expressiveness in the sentence is semantic-stylistic synonymy; the grammatical medium is negation in an emphatic, expressive form that conveys important connotations and makes this grammatical category attractive for the speaker as an effective tool of persuasion. The whole in this statement is represented by *future*, while the homogeneous parts of the sentence represent the parts: *past, culture wars, politics of grievance*. This phenomenon is called "the negative part" [Herskovits, 1986, p. 42]. The mental representation of the missing part is important in the conceptualization of the whole; in the example under consideration — *future*. This very future is supposed to be built using the whole — *we*, the way of building being *together*. Thus, we may conclude that ways of manifesting a part of the whole serve as an effective tool for influencing the addressee.

### Group 9 — the aspect of equating the part and the whole.

Now we shall turn to considering the example below:

In recent months, **our nation**, **and the rest of the world**, has been hit with a once-in-a-century pandemic that China allowed to spread around the globe.

The speaker draws the attention of the recipients to the fact of the USA as a part (a state) belonging to a common whole (the world community). But, applying the connective union *and* and putting the lexeme

our nation at the first place in the phrase our nation and the world, and, most importantly, using the quantifier the rest of (which allows to separate the USA from the world community and equalize them by the degree of importance), they make the USA as whole and indivisible in the eyes of listeners. Thus, they manipulate the American sense of national superiority, utilizing a profitable and effective communicative-pragmatic strategy of persuasion which, again, involves both the category of persuasiveness and the category of partitivity.

### **Discussion and Conclusions**

This study provides support for the statement on the two categories under consideration being modus categories, which possess linguistic representation and reveal the conceptual-linguistic or the logical-linguistic nature. The fact of them performing the interpretative function and rendering the individual experience, consciousness and evaluations, is not in doubt. Our results are in general agreement with scholars to have previously considered this topic, such as N. N. Boldyrev (Russia) and N. A. Kobrina (Russia). The internal discreteness of the whole as a product of human cognition turns into a trait of any item, and dismembering an item as a mental operation becomes the basic principle of human perception of the world. The conceptualization of objective reality through the category of partitivity is an internal demand inherent to human consciousness, an inner mental law of the mind that puts the outlook on the characteristics of the whole as of paramount importance in interpreting all things. It also clarifies the informational and emotional concept of political discourse. The research methodology used made it possible to identify nine modus meanings of interaction between the two categories under consideration.

The indicators of the studied modus categories perform different functions in the text, such as: a) the pragmatic function (the actualization of the "persuasion" and "call to unification" semantics); b) the function of text formation (the explication of formal and semantic coherence and integrity of the text/text fragment; the modus key function); c)the compositional function (influencing the compositional pattern of the text/text fragment, ensuring different composition types). The considered modus keys are of different lengths (be it a word, a phrase, a part of a complex sentence, an introductory unit or an independent sentence). Our study provides the framework for future studies to specify the methodology used for discovering modus meanings based on the intertwining of any other couples of modus categories.

Despite the fact of both studied modus categories possessing a wide arsenal of means of expression at the lexical, grammatical and syntactic levels, partitivity, being an independent category, is one of the ways of manifesting the category of persuasiveness in political discourse.

Our research results are encouraging and should be validated in the professional environment during the real-life simultaneous interpretation process exercised by qualified specialists in the field. However, the findings concerning the intertwining of the persuasiveness and partitivity modus categories remain to be determined. Our findings should be explored furthermore both by scholars in linguistics researching modus categories and the interaction thereof as a theoretical phenomenon, and simultaneous interpretation practitioners in real-life professional circumstances. Future work in this field of research should focus more on the interaction of the modus categories under consideration on a deeper syntactic level in order to determine a greater amount of modus meanings which might facilitate a deeper understanding of the impact provided by the category of persuasiveness on the political discourse.

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### CATEGORIZATION OF THE REALITY FRAGMENT "ORNAMENTS" IN EAST SLAVIC AND ANGLO-SAXON WORLD PICTURES

The article is devoted to the review of comparative characteristics of the categorization of one of the fragments of reality in the Old Russian and Old Slavonic languages, based on a cognitive approach, which allowed us to identify the unique and universal in the perception of the element of material culture. Ornament, its linguistic representation, functions, role in the process of historical and cultural evolution has undergone certain changes. Therefore, the study of categorization of jewelry in the world pictures of the two peoples provides an opportunity to expand and deepen the knowledge of human cognitive activity. The analysis of the material proves the close approaches of the ancient Eastern Slavs and Anglo-Saxons to jewelry, based on the syncretism of pagan and Christian values. On the basis of the definitional analysis, the main features of the meanings of the words nominating jewelry have been identified, which allows us to identify isomorphic and allomorphic characteristics of the names in the two languages and to state as universal their economic, social and cultural significance in the world pictures of the East Slavic and Anglo-Saxon peoples. The unique features of the perception of ornaments in the meanings of the names of ornaments by the ancient Russians and Anglo-Saxons have been revealed.

Keywords: categorization, adornment, Old Russian, Old English, world picture, cognitive approach.

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### КАТЕГОРИЗАЦИЯ ФРАГМЕНТА ДЕЙСТВИТЕЛЬНОСТИ «УКРАШЕНИЯ» В ВОСТОЧНОСЛАВЯНСКОЙ И АНГЛОСАКСОНСКОЙ КАРТИНАХ МИРА

Статья посвящена рассмотрению вопросов сопоставительной характеристики категоризации одного из фрагментов действительности в древнерусском и древнеславянском языках на основе когнитивного подхода, что позволило выявить уникальное и универсальное в восприятии элемента материальной культуры. Украшение, его языковая репрезентация, функции, роль в процессе исторической и культурной эволюции претерпела определенные изменения. Поэтому изучение категоризации украшений в картинах мира двух народов дает возможность расширить и углубить познание когнитивной деятельности человека. Анализ ма-

териала доказывает близкие подходы древних восточных славян и англосаксов к украшениям, основанные на синкретичности языческих и христианских ценностей. На основе дефиниционного анализа выделены основные признаки значений слов, номинирующих ювелирные украшения, что позволяет выявить изоморфные и алломорфные характеристики наименований в двух языках и констатировать как универсальное их экономическое, социальное и культурное значение в картинах мира восточнославянского и англосаксонского народов. Выявлены уникальные черты восприятия украшений в значениях наименований украшений у древних русичей и англосаксов.

*Ключевые слова*: категоризация, украшение, древнерусский язык, древнеанглийский язык, картина мира, когнитивный подход.

### Introduction

This article is devoted to the study of the names of ornaments in the East Slavic and Anglo-Saxon pictures of the world in the framework of the cognitive approach. Comparing and contrasting world pictures and, consequently, languages, shows that each language forms a unity of the universal and the unique. The unique manifests itself as a difference in the way experience is conceptualized, causing the effect of linguistic relativity. The manifestation of the universal is connected with the general structure of the human perceptual-cognitive apparatus [Shafikov, 1996, p. 95]. The real world forms a continuous continuum in which there are no clear boundaries between objects. The blurred boundaries between objects of the world and the complex interrelation of properties and relations between these objects from the cognitive point of view form the prerequisites for differences between languages [Shafikov, 1996, p. 95]. The cognitive approach explains the principal isomorphism in languages, as it focuses attention on uniform principles of categorization and structure of categories in all languages. Perceptual and social categories show that universalism lies in the very human nature of language speakers. Categories formed as a result of cognitive processes accumulate and organize information about objects of the surrounding reality. The study of such a fragment of reality as jewelry on the material of Old Russian and Old English brings us closer to understanding what representatives of the East Slavic and Anglo-Saxon cultures put into this concept.

Most of the studied works on the problem of categorization are based on the material of modern languages. It is important to reconstruct a fragment of the picture of the world on the material of Old Russian and Old English, to study the process of categorization in relation to the ancient culture.

### Purpose

Problems of categorization in linguistics in the aspect of human cognitive activity in relation to the subject reality are a significant object of research of many scientists [Evans, 2006; McCune, 2016; Meaning, Mind and Communication. Explorations in cognitive semiotics, 2016; Ostermann, 2015; Talmy, 2000]. Thus, in cognitive science there are various opinions on the definition of the categorization process [Koshelev, 2017; Skrebtsova, 2018]. Y. A. Schrader calls it categorization [Semantika i kategorizatsiia, 1991], A.V. Kravchenko, E. S. Kubryakova, E. G. Orlyanskaya, F. Ungerer, etc. put at the head of the process of categorization, which results in the category itself [Ungerer, 1999; Kubriakova, Demiankov, Pankrats, Luzina, 1997; Orlianskaia, 2002; IAzyk i mysl sovremennaia kognitivnaia lingvistika, 2015]. N. N. Boldyrev and E. Roche give a broad definition of categorization [Rosch, 1978; Boldyrev, 2000; Boldyrev, 2018]. F. Ungerer and X. J. Schmid note that the process of categorization is carried out on the basis of reference points or basic categories [Ungerer, 1999, p. 3]. The concept of basic categories is developed in prototype semantics, one of the positions of which is to assign objects to this or that category on the basis of their proximity to a prototype [Rosch, 1978]. In prototypical semantics, in the development of which E. Roche's research played a major role, word meaning is understood as knowledge, on the basis of which the object or phenomenon denoted by a word belongs to a certain category. Lexical meaning is formed as a result of analyzing the properties of prototypes — typical or best representatives of the category denoted by a given word. Imagination, perception and socio-cultural factors play a special role [Rosch, 1978, p. 30]. L. Wittgenstein with his ideas of family resemblance, centrality and gradation, Lotfi Zadeh who created the theory of fuzzy sets, R. Brown who studied «base level categories» and others successfully dealt with prototypicality issues. [Lakoff, 1995, p. 154]. Prototypes testify to the peculiarities of traditions and beliefs of this or that society due to the socio-cultural determinacy of this phenomenon. They directly depend on cognitive and cultural contexts [Ungerer, 1999]. A consequence of this is the difference of prototypes of one category in the representatives of different cultures. Prototypical semantics is characterized by a radial structure (in E. Roche's terminology, a «horizontal» structure [Rosch, 1978, p. 30]): it distinguishes a «center», represented by a prototype, and a «periphery». Alongside with «horizontal» categorization, there is also «vertical» categorization, i.e. taxonomic categorization based on the principle of inclusion and generalization [Rosch, 1978,

p. 30], which suggests relations between concepts of different levels of generalization, basic — central level of categorization with fixation of maximum information, superordinate and subordinate [Rosch, 1978]. At the basic level, a single mental image can reflect the entire category as a whole. Members of this level are quickly identified and remembered. Common and simple words are used to name them [Lakoff, 1995]. According to J. Lakoff, the basic level is determined along with the figurative perception by such factors as physical interaction and the role of realities in the culture [Lakoff, 1995]. Being the middle level in the hierarchy «from the general to the particular», the basic level correlates general and special characteristics of the object [Boldyrev, 2018], and its constituents, characterized by the highest degree of abstraction, contain generalized features and are characterized by the collective function [Ungerer, 1999].

### Methods and Materials

The method of research is a comparative analysis in determining isomorphisms and allomorphisms in the meanings of language representations, which involves a comprehensive approach to research: description is used along with the definitive method to identify explicit semantic features of the names based on the interpretations of lexicographic sources and glossaries, interpretation in the cultural context, which allows to compare the information obtained by the definitive method with cultural and historical data and to compare the information with the data from the cultural and historical sources.

The material for the study is represented by 137 lexical units, recorded in the Dictionary of the Russian language of the 11<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries [Slovar russkogo iazyka XI–XVII vv T.I–XXIII, 1975–1996], I.I. Sreznevsky's Dictionary of the Old Russian Language [Sreznevskii, 1893–1912], and 135 linguistic units, selected by the method of continuous sampling from Dictionary of Old English: A to I online [Dictionary of Old English, 2018], Middle English dictionary [Middle English dictionary, 1952–2001], Bosworth-Toller dictionary [Bosworth, Toller, 1997] and glossaries to Old English texts [Fowler, 1966; Irving, 1953; Whitelock, 1967; Wrenn, 1967]. This article is not aimed at considering the issues of the first fixation of the word, changes in the definition during the Old Russian or Old English periods, so the year of the first mention of the name is not indicated. The figure after the nomination determines the place of the meaning in the dictionary article, the definitions of the names are presented in the modern Russian script.

### Results and Discussion

On the basis of the definitional analysis, a number of attributes, which are included in the meanings of the names of ornaments in the Old Russian language, were identified. Some signs (e.g., «value of realia») may be included in the content of all constituents of the category under study, while others (e.g., «symbol of military valor, symbol of victory») — only in the value structure of one or more denominations. The highlighted features are prototypical and constitute the meaning of the «ideal» ornament. Having identified the prototypical attributes «decoration», «value of the reality», «status of the bearer», «function», «aesthetics of the reality», «object of attention» as priority characteristics, the center of the names with these attributes in the meaning was determined in the analyzed group. Lexical units πħποτα2 — that which constitutes beauty; ornamentation; добродђтелъ2 — a work of art, jewelry, carvings; утваръ — украшение; names with the root -крас-: красование — any thing that draws attention to itself by its beauty, ornamentation; adornment; **красота** — jewelry, jewels, outfits; красьба — jewelry; крашение(-ье)3 — that which adorns, adornment; благоукрашение — a great piece of jewelry; украшение ornamentation most fully reflect belonging to a group. Names with a large share of abstractness are in a substitution relation оздоба and сънарядъ ornamentation. This gives reason to speak of the dominant role of abstract representations in the East Slavic picture of the world.

Names крута — women's clothes, jewelry; кузнь2 — jewelry in general (mostly women's), pearl necklaces, glass; обнизанная кузнь — women's jewelry; узорочие — precious things with cast, carved, woven or embroidered patterns are located near the nuclear zone of the group and also have a rather high level of abstractness. Close to the center are also the lexical units нарядъ10 — a set of auxiliary details for decorating, adorning sth.; клейнотъ2 — a jewel, a treasure, злато3, золото3 — articles made of gold or containing gold, серебро2, сребро=съреб ро=съребро2 — silver in things, silver things, jewelry.

The names that have retained their original meaning in the modern Russian language have a lower level of abstraction, кольцо, перстень, серьга, ожерелье, and lexical units that have acquired the status of archaisms today, верига — chain, neck jewelry, камень/камыз/ каменье(-ие)/камецф/камьць/камешекъ2/камушекъ2/камышекъ2 — gemstone, буторное каменье — gemstones used for jewelry, каменье дорогое — gemstones.

As part of the near-core zone, these nominations are generalized nominations for the names on the periphery of the group.

The study of the analyzed group along the «vertical» allowed us to determine the hierarchy of names of ornaments in the Old Russian language. This typological characterization was based on the logical-conceptual principle. The names of ornaments are distinguished according to the main generic attributes, which became the basis for distinguishing groups and subgroups. The main generic feature of the distribution of lexical units by lexical-semantic features is the status of the bearer. The following specific attributes were singled out: the material used for making the ornament, the ornament's place in a costume complex, the function of the ornament, the form of the ornament, etc. The generic parameters allowed to determine a typological scheme for the names of ornaments. Three lexical-semantic groups were identified based on a generic attribute ("ornaments which all members of Old Russian society had the right to wear", «ornaments worn by clergymen,» «tsar's ornaments»). The specific attribute «material» formed the basis for the classification of lexical-semantic subgroups «jewelry» and «jewelry made of fabric. The characteristic of jewelry according to the place of wear allowed us to single out the «headdresses» subgroup. The subgroups «jewelry of the high priests,» «jewelry of the hierarchs of the Orthodox Church,» «monastic jewelry,» and «jewelry of the servants of the Holy See» were distinguished on the basis of the actualization of the «wearer status» attribute. The functional quality of the realia was the basic feature for singling out the subgroups «decorations — insignia and symbols» and «articles of ceremonial attire. The lexical-semantic subgroups were distinguished on the basis of the characteristics of the material from which the jewelry was made ("jewelry made of metal," «jewelry made of stones," «jewelry made of other materials») and its purpose ("decoration," «jewelry as a detail of church clothing,» «sign of power/sign of honor/symbol,» «award»). Lexicalsemantic microgroups were classified according to the place of attachment or wearing an ornament ("trim on the edges," «trim on the sleeves," «trim on the shoulders,» «trim on the even fabric field,» «hand decorations,» «ear decorations,» «breast decorations,» «neck decorations») and by their form ("buttons," «loops, clasps"). The names that made up the microgroup segments are characterized by the method of manufacture ("lace," «applique,» «embroidery») and form ("fringe, braid, ribbon, lace, tassels,» «loops, clasps»). Thus, the names of ornaments in Old Russian represent a five-level hierarchy. The lexical units belonging to lexical-semantic groups have the highest level of abstraction. The basic units of the hierarchy are the names constituting lexical-semantic subgroups and lexical-semantic subgroups. The least level of abstraction is possessed by the ornamentation nominations, represented in lexico-semantic microgroups and their segments. Consequently, the center of the analyzed group, if it is analyzed

along the horizontal dimension, consists of lexical units of the first level of the hierarchy of names, which are in hyper-hyponymic relations with other representatives.

The names of metal ornaments identify lexical units nominating gold and silver, which, as jewels and absolute equivalents of exchange, have been universalizations of trade, political and economic reality for several millennia: злато3, золото3 — articles made of gold or containing gold, серебро2, сребро=срђбро=съребро=съребро2 — silver in things, silver things, jewelry.

There was no modern opposition in the naming of hand jewelry: кольцо — «a metal headband worn on the fingers as an ornament» and перстень — «a ring with some gemstone for a finger of the hand». In Russian, as in Old Russian, in the general meaning of «an ornament on the finger of the hand» are used derivatives of \*рьst, (перстень, перстеньк).

«Manual jewelry» is represented by the names of rings and bracelets. Lexical unit обручь in the language of the monuments of the XI–XVII centuries is recorded in the meaning of «ring-shaped ornament on the hand». Probably, this lexical unit acted as a generalizing name for the analyzed ornaments.

Ear ornaments are identified by the denomination **серьга** — ear ornament. In synonymous relations with it were the lexical units **пелькиши/пелькищи** — **серьги**, **усерязь**. Hypo-hyperonymic relations consist of the names **голубцы** — **колты** — **одинцы**: earrings-pendant earrings-single pendant earrings. The synonymic series consists of the names **одинчикъ**, **серьги одинакие**, **одинцы**; **двойни** (**двойны**)2, **двойчатки**, **серьги одвоенки**. In the «part/whole» relationship are the lexical units **серьга** — **колты**, **колодка**7 — pendants in the form of bars on the jewelry.

«Neck jewelry» had a lexeme-dominant necklace-adornment worn on the neck. However, in the monuments of the Old Russian literature this lexical unit was used in several meanings. The meaning «decoration on the neck» is preserved in the modern Russian language. The meanings «collar of different kinds and purpose: ornament (mainly made of pearls, sometimes of gold with precious stones, on a textile basis), having the form of a collar, a collar, and also of other forms», «ceremonial shoulder strap of kings (barmy)», «perelina» in the contemporary Russian language are leveled. The meaning of «ornament on the neck, a necklace» had the nomination огорлие/огрълие.

The basis for the selection of lexical units from Old English glossaries was the presence in the dictionary definition of integral semes and seminal components «decoration», «serving as decoration», «for decoration»,

«kind of decoration», «decorated, decorated», «valuable, expensive», «festive», «solemn», «precious things», «preciousness», etc. On the basis of the definitional analysis, a number of features have been identified, which are included in the meanings of the names of ornaments in Old English. As in Old Russian, some features (e. g., «value of realia») are included in the content of all constituents of the studied category, others (e. g., «symbol of sorrow») — only in the structure of the meaning of one or more denominations. These characteristics are prototypical and constitute the meaning of the names of ornaments in Old English. The dictionaries and glossaries do not indicate the possibility of wearing jewelry by women, excluding the notation of jewelry (rings) as gifts to women. There is a clear masculinity towards this fragment of reality, as the prerogative to wear jewelry belongs to a man, in particular to a konung, his cronies and warriors.

Lexical units **gold**, **bëah** (**beag**), **maddum** (**mabbum**) the most complete reflection of belonging to a group. This gives grounds to speak about the dominant role of nominated realities, and, consequently, about the greatest value of rings and gold in the Anglo-Saxon picture of the world.

Names **gold**2 — jewelry as a treasure trove, **sinc** — jewelry as a treasure, hring — ring, **fretwe** — an ornament, a treasure, **hyrst** — ornament, jewel are further from the nuclear zone of the group. However, they have a rather high level of abstractness. Superonyms are also lexical units sigle ond since-fret — gemstones in a setting, jeht — jewelry as wealth, prosperity, **gestreon** — jewelry as wealth, income, goods, **gim** — stone, jewel, **searo-gim** — intricate gemstone.

A lesser level of abstraction is possessed by the names of **madbumhord** — a precious treasure, **gif-sceatt** — jewelry as a precious gift, **bëahhord** — a treasure trove of rings, **gold-mabbum** — gold object, jewelry, treasure, **mabbum-gestreon** and **feoh-gestreon** — treasure. For example, for the name **beag-degu** the relevant attributes are 1) obligation; 2) form; 3) place of wear. Name **seolfren fyet** is on the periphery of the category under study, which gives grounds to speak of the lowest value of the nominated realia (silver plates). At the same time, endowed with the peripheral status, these nominations correlate with the lexical units belonging to other lexical associations.

Thus, the radial structure of the analyzed group is decomposed into center and periphery. The continuum between the center and the periphery is filled with units with different levels of abstraction, i.e. names both sharing with the «ideal» adornment the fundamental features and having in their composition characteristics distinct from it. The horizontal structure allows us to make a conclusion about the most and the least prioritized jewels in the Anglo-Saxon picture of the world.

The names of ornaments in the typological, «vertical» characteristic are distinguished according to the main generic characteristics. The main generic feature of the distribution of lexical units by lexical-semantic features is, as in Old Russian, the status of the bearer and function. The definition analysis allowed us to determine the generic characteristics, among which are «the material from which the ornament is made» «the location of the ornament» «the form of the ornament» «the function of the ornament» etc. The generic parameters allowed us to determine a typological scheme of ornament names. In the system of names of ornaments, four lexical-semantic groups ("ornaments that all representatives of Anglo-Saxon society had the right to wear «ornaments for warriors» «decorations for konungs» «ritual decorations») were identified based on generic attributes «status of wearer» and «function. The specific feature «material» served as a basis for the classification of lexical-semantic subgroups «jewelry» and «jewelry of fabric». The characteristic of jewelry according to the place of its wearing allowed us to single out the subgroup «headdresses. The functional dignity of the realia was the basic indicator for singling out the subgroups «decorations- insignia of distinction» and «articles of ceremonial attire» «decorations in funeral rites» and «decorations in church ceremonies. The basis for the selection of lexical-semantic subgroups was the characteristics of the material from which the decorations were made (metal, stones, other materials) and their purpose ("decoration" «chain mail" «sign of power/sign of distinction/symbol» «award» «jewelry — gift of a konung»).

The study of «vertical» categorization consists in singling out the levels of categorization of the reality fragment «ornaments». The analysis shows that the names of ornaments are represented by three levels: superordinate, basic and subordinate. At the superordinate level is the appellation wela the attribute common to the basic components of the group is the attribute «wealth,» which is refined at the basic level to the attributes of «property» (e.g., in the sceatt — jewelry as property, wealth, money), «ornament as treasure» (maddum — treasure, wealth) and «ornament» (bëah — ringlet, ring), fryetwe — ornament, treasure.

The names of the basic level are characterized, in turn, by collective features relative to the representatives of the subordinate level. On the contrary, the values of the subordinate level names include the features specifying the features of the nominations, standing higher in the hierarchical ladder. An example is the lexical units of the lexical-semantic subgroup «jewelry». The attributes «ornament» and «treasure» are disclosed and clarified at the subordinate level to the attributes «precious stones» and «gold jewels», «ring-shaped jewelry». Thus, the nomination  $\operatorname{\mathbf{gim}}$  — «gem», «jewel» is subordinate to the lexical units  $\operatorname{\mathbf{searo-gim}}$  — «a

curious gem, precious stone», **gim-cyn** — «a gem-kind, precious stone», gold-gim — «gold jewel» and eorcan-stan — «a precious stone, pearl, topaz, the yellow, or orient topaz». Name gim has in its meaning the attributes of «gem», «jewel», which is collective for all other lexical units located lower in the categorical hierarchy. Names of the subordinate level concretize the main feature, highlighting additional qualitative characteristics of ornaments. In the lexical units searo-gim — a curious gem, precious stone and gim-cyn — a gem-kind, precious stone contains the idea of an ornament in the form of a stone, which has a certain value and is a fancy product. At the same time, in the meaning of the nomination searo-gim is complemented by the «necklace» feature, on the basis of which the functional characteristic of the object is determined: in the Anglo-Saxon culture gemstones were part of the neck jewelry. On the basis of the definitional analysis it is established that behind the name eorcan-stan is a specific type of gemstone — yellow topaz or pearl. The attribute «jewel», which is part of the structure of the meaning of the name gim gem, jewel, is concretized in the semantics of the lexical unit gold-gim, which is made up of the values of the lexemes gold and gim: a gem, jewel. On the basis of this we can assume that in the Anglo-Saxon culture the value was represented by jewelry, the material of which was gold and stones.

The most informative is the basic level, which is manifested by a greater number of features included in the structure of the meaning. The names of the subordinate level are mainly represented by composite (feoh-gestreon, gif-sceatt), linguistic units, while basic level nominations are simple units (feet, freetwe, seolfor, beah) which facilitates their use.

The categorical composition of the representatives of the analyzed part of the lexical system is distinguished by the unity of several characteristics. Thus, in the definition of the names **bring** — 1) a ring, circle, circuit, cycle, orb, globe; 2) festoon; 1) ring, twisted ornament, 2) armour made of interlocking rings, give grounds to state the specificity of the perception of the nominated objective thing, defined as a material object — ring-shaped products, i.e. rings and chainmail. These explicit attributes allowed to determine the form of the reality — a round object, represented as one or more connected rings. The object named **hring**, was actually a decoration for hands, head, ears, etc., but also a part of men's clothing. It should be noted that the chain armor acted not only as a military armor, but was an obligatory attribute of festive events, feasts, receptions, i. e. it represented a warrior's decoration.

The presented definitions of the lexical units indicated the possible range of the analyzed nominated realities within the subgroup, the main feature of which is a ring-shaped form: rings proper (beah, hring). Names of neck ornaments — necklaces — are distinguished within the subgroup. The subgroup is represented by the names heals-beag, sigle ond sinc-fcet. Microgroups of gemstone names are distinguished within a subgroup (searo-gim, gim-cyn, sinc-gim, eorcan-stan) which are part of the necklaces (sigle ond sinc-fcet) names of precious metals (gold, seolfor).

The setting for precious metal jewelry has traditionally been gold and silver sinc-fcet-1) a costly vessel, a vessel of gold or silver; 2) a receptacle for treasure, a casket. The hand jewelry subgroup includes items of wrist jewelry — bracelets: earm-reade, earm-beag, beag-wrlda.

A subgroup of head jewelry is represented by the name of the crown — **hring**.

An analysis of the content of meaning distinguished as objects with gradationally expressed abstract semantics (wundur-maddum, maddum-wela, gestreon), as well as things of utilitarian use with a specific meaning (feet, earm-beah).

The syncreticity of the abstract and the concrete is a distinctive feature of the analyzed group. The segment of reality under study is characterized by the presence of synonymic connections: **sine**, **sinc-gestreon**, **maddum-gestreon**, **feoh-gestreon** — ornament as a treasure. The meaning of «ornament» is represented by nominations with different shades of meaning: **gim-cyn**, **searo-gim**, **sinc-gim**. The analyzed group also includes names naming actions in relation to jewelry: **beag-pegu**, **hring-pegu**, **hring-weordung**.

### Conclusion

The functions of ornaments in the Old Russian picture of the world consisted in providing stability, economic and financial well-being in a family, in demonstration of a position in society, in adherence to traditions. In the Anglo-Saxon culture, jewelry served as a means of establishing social and friendly relations, a means of payment, reward, etc. The notion of valuable objects was formed under both pagan and Christian worldviews and was characterized by diffusion. At the same time, there was established the fact of close intertwining in the meanings of the names of various aspects of life of the East Slavs and Anglo-Saxons (financial, economic, aesthetic, social, etc.), which allows us to talk about the importance of these objects for Old Russian and Anglo-Saxon culture.

As a result of categorization of the fragment of reality «ornaments» «horizontally» its structure was reconstructed and prototypical features were singled out. The vertical hierarchy allowed to distinguish in the

compared languages a structure that differs in the number of semantic groups, subgroups, and subgroups. Thus, there were distinguished 3 semantic groups in Old Russian and 4 semantic groups in Old English. If in Old Russian society decorations were important among all groups of population, but persons of spiritual rank were especially distinguished, then among the Anglo-Saxons decorations were especially important for warriors and for acts of performing various rituals. The difference in the number of allocated subgroups is also explained by the role of the clergy in Old Russian society, who, as a wealthy estate, sought to show their closeness to God's throne, including with jewelry (filled with symbolic meaning).

The material under study showed much similarity in their perceptions of one of the fragments of reality. In the world picture of the Anglo-Saxons and ancient Eastern Slavs dough intertwined Christian and pagan values, which is reflected in the attributes «symbol of light», «sacredness», «element of church attributes, crucifixes, church vestments», «ritual reality/attribute of funeral ceremonies», «object of theft/object of theft during an attack», «adornment as evil/adornment as a curse». Financial and economic side of was reflected in the representations about jewelry of the Anglo-Saxons and ancient Russians, as evidenced by the attributes «trophy», «reality having practical value / material value», «object of exchange / means of payment». The signs «evidence of royal generosity/evidence of generosity of the konung/characteristic of the subject of royal blood», «social status of the bearer/evidence of noble origin/means of increasing prestige/symbol of honor, dignity», «memory object/family value», «object of pride, honor» show the importance of society and relations in it for the bearers of the Old English and Old Russian cultures. Representatives of the two peoples regarded jewelry as an object of close attention, admiration, pleasure and joy, an object of art, a special, rare object.

There was manifested the mentality of peoples in meanings of ornaments' names. Thus, for the Eastern Slavs, economic and financial stability of the family, reflected in the attributes «object of accumulation», «dowry», «object of trust/sturdy object», «object of search». There was also important the opinion of others, which manifested itself in the actualization of such characteristics as «object of display», «hallmark of Christian», «symbol of shame», «symbol of wisdom». We can speak about interest and concern for country as well, that manifested in the attribute «wealth of country», are particularly important.

For the Anglo-Saxons, the priority areas of life were:

— the military sphere, which was also reflected in the meanings of the ornaments' names, which are characterized by the attributes

- «chain mail as a warrior's ornament» «military armor», «material of military armor»; «decorated weapons»;
- the social sphere, as shown by the attributes of jewelry: «women's symbol of the royal dynasty», «an essential attribute of festive feasts», «the means of establishing social relations»;
- the financial sphere, which manifested itself in the actualization of the characteristics «golden object», «gold of the highest standard», «huge treasure»;
- spiritual life, based on Christian faith, but with elements of mythological thinking, which was reflected in the attributes of jewelry «unbroken ring», «jewelry as protection, shelter», «object of distrust», «symbol of death», «life-giving power of military armor».

The meaning of the ornaments' names is determined by a set of signs of meaning, reflecting the social, mythological, financial, economic and other aspects of life of representatives of Old Russian and Old English culture, formed under the influence of pagan and Christian worldview.

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# ACTUALIZATION OF THE LEXEMES "MASTER", "MASTERICA" IN SPEECH AS A REFLECTION OF MODERN REALITIES

Changing realities of modern life, the emergence of new professions, concepts steadily leads to the search for appropriate nominations. As a rule, for these purposes, the language borrows a new word or updates a long-known one. It is natural to assume that the actualization of an already existing lexeme will introduce a number of changes both at the level of semantics of an already established concept and at the syntagmatic features of lexemes, which may be due to the requirements for the nomination of modern realities, as well as axiological components included in these "requirements". This article presents the results of a psycholinguistic experiment aimed at identifying the modern perception of the lexemes master, mistress, as well as their activation within a given context. In order to determine the modern seminal composition, the authors compare the semes presented in the key explanatory dictionaries of the Russian language with the semes identified during the experiment. Based on the results obtained, the authors come to the conclusion that the change in modern realities, the popularization of feminitives lead to a certain transformation of the seminal structure of lexemes.

*Keywords*: Russian language changes, actualization of lexemes, native Russian vocabulary, semantics, transformation of traditional semantics.

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### АКТУАЛИЗАЦИЯ ЛЕКСЕМ «МАСТЕР», «МАСТЕРИЦА» В РЕЧИ КАК ОТРАЖЕНИЕ СОВРЕМЕННЫХ РЕАЛИЙ

Изменение реалий современной жизни, появление новых профессий, понятий неуклонно ведет к поиску соответствующих номинаций. Как правило, в данных целях язык заимствует новое слово или же актуализирует давно известное. Естественно предположить, что актуализация уже существующей лексемы привнесет ряд изменений как на уровне семантики уже устоявшегося понятия, так и на синтагматических особенностях лексем, что может быть обусловлено требованиями к номинации современных реалий, а также включенными в состав данных «требований» аксиологическими составляющими. В данной статье представлены результаты психолингвистического эксперимента, направленного на выявление современного восприятия лексем «мастер», «мастерица»,

а также их активизацию в рамках заданного контекста. С целью определения современного семного состава авторы проводят сопоставление сем, представленных в ключевых толковых словарях русского языка, с семами, выявленными в ходе эксперимента. В результате анализа полученных результатов авторы приходят к выводу о том, что изменение современных реалий, популяризация феминитивов приводят к определенной трансформации семной структуры лексем.

*Ключевые слова*: изменения в современном русском языке, актуализация лексем, исконно русская лексика, семантика, трансформация традиционной семантики.

### Introduction

Linguistics of the last decades is focused mainly on the activity approach to the problem of meaning, which consists of the meaning interpretation as a process, where the meanings itself is taken as internal formations. As A. A. Leontiev wrote, "... the psychological structure of meaning is, first of all, a system of differential signs of meaning correlated with various types of word relationships in the process of real speech activity, a system of semantic components considered not as an abstract linguistic concept, but in the dynamics of communications, in the entirety of the linguistic, psychological and social conditionality of the word" [Leontiev 1971:11]. Moreover, due to the activation of Internet communication, changes in extralinguistic factors of the communication process itself, quite serious changes began to appear in the vocabulary of the Russian language [Skorikova, Orlov 2018; Radbil 2014].

In this regard, the process of updating a number of native Russian lexemes seems to be rather attractive. One of the most interesting questions is the problem of young people appealing to the native Russian lexemes and the modern internal organization of actualized words. In this paper, we attempt to trace the transformations of the seminal organization of the lexemes *master*, *masteritsa* (*craftswoman*), as well as to identify the causes of their new appearance.

### Methods

Today the scientific exploration starts with the choosing of the scientific method. Traditionally, three most popular methods of collecting language material are introspection, observation and experiment. Each linguistic direction has its own methods in its arsenal, however, for a comprehensive analysis of linguistic phenomena and obtaining valid data in modern linguistics, there should be used a combination of different ap-

proaches. The experiment is currently the leading principle of language exploring and a reliable basis for proving the validity of the revealed patterns. For a reliable evidence base, "it is recommended to use different experimental techniques and then compare the obtained data. It is useful to correlate the results of experiments with conclusions obtained not only experimentally" [Sakharny 1989: 89].

Among the various techniques used in experimental semantics most pointed out are reconstruction or modeling of some real forms of speechthinking activity, which allows us to identify various aspects of the functioning and organization of meaning. Any psycholinguistic method include a link in the search for meanings semantically related to the subject, and highlight these connections in the form of a matrix of semantic distances, semantic fields, semantic spaces, etc.

Along with modeling and observation, there is a fairly wide range of experimental methods in modern psycholinguistics. Modern psycholinguists conducts experiments both using the "pencil and paper" method and also more technological installations, including the method of registering eye movements. Also, such methods and methods of presenting stimulus material are actively used, such as the task of lexical solution, priming, reading with self-regulation of speed, the method of acting out scenes, the method of repeating words, the method of detecting phonemes, the method of naming by drawing, rapid sequential visual presentation and many others [Fedorova 2020].

One of the most popular methods of collecting empirical data today is an associative experiment used to model an associative field. As a result of the reaction to a certain stimulus, a way of actualizing the psychological meaning of a word as an object of an individual's conscience. A measure of the semantic connection of a pair of objects in an associative experiment is the similarity of the distributions of their associations. "By exploring such methods, one can imagine not only the integrative 'mechanism' of the dynamics of meaning, but also identify at least some psycholinguistic principles of changing the semantics of language in the spontaneous speech activity of members of society" [Pishchalnikova 2019: 5–6].

The specificity of an individual's reaction, according to scientists, is determined by the specifics of his image of the world and the motives of activity that are formed under the influence of culture. That is, thanks to the results of the associative experiment, it is possible to obtain an empirical basis for the indirect study of culture, since "an associative thesaurus is both a way of fixing the language ability of a native speaker, <...> and a base for establishing the universal and individual in his organization" [Ibid.].

In this case, the stimulus word is especially important, triggering the mechanism of identification of the perceived word, and the reactions received indicate the degree of significance of the signs and the relevance of the corresponding connections in the lexicon of the personality. At the same time, the choice of the association strategy occurs unconsciously, and, consequently, the verbal associations obtained do not depend on the context, but are essentially related to the meaning. The analysis of quantitative data, parameterization of the research results allows us to observe shifts in the linguistic meanings of stimulus words caused primarily by extralinguistic factors.

Working with the stimulus word, we offered respondents two levels of perception: the first task involved the inclusion of direct associations (Who is the master? Who is a craftswoman?); the second question assumed the inclusion of these tokens in a certain context (make up three sentences with the proposed words).

### Results

In the psychosemantic experiment we conducted the lexemes *master* and *masteritsa*, that were offered as a stimulus for interpretation. The mentioned words were taken as conceptual words, they exist in a system of multiple interpretations, "at the same time, their interpretative field can both expand and narrow over time" [Bragina 2014: 53]. Since the meaning of the word reflects both its individual perception and traditional common-language representations, experimental data makes it possible to identify the semantic components that appear as constants and as variables in the structure of the meaning of a word, as well as to observe associative reactions in the modern linguistic picture of the world [Yerofeyeva, Solovyov, Bayrasheva 2020].

The conducted associative experiment allowed us to determine, firstly, that the modern semantic organization of each of the analyzed lexemes. So, the word *master*, according to the experiment, first of all actualizes in the minds of respondents the idea of "professionalism" (66%). It should be noted that the semantic item "professionalism" receives a certain differentiation: here, firstly, we should talk about the master as a person who deftly, skillfully performs a certain type of activity (30%); secondly, as a person of a certain profession (36%). Note that dictionaries [Ushakov 1966, Dal 2002, Efremova 2000] do not record the connection of the *master* token with any particular profession, but only indicate the qualifications of the employee, his competence, whereas respondents directly associate the master token with the following professions: carpenter, plumber,

mechanic, electrician, locksmith, painter, master kitchen installation, pottery master, factory worker. As we can see, all of these professions assume the presence of a real result of activity. In addition, we have noted the options of the master of eyelashes, the master of manicure.

The perception of the *master* token as a highly qualified teacher reveals quite rarely (11%).

It is noteworthy that 14% of the reactions received represented the *master* token as a comprehensive positive assessment of a person: he is a jack of all trades. This expression quite clearly emphasizes the abilities of the described object and at the same time retains a purely positive assessment. While 9% of the recorded reactions presented the *master* token as a means of light irony over a person's failures: he is a master of getting into trouble, failures.

If we talk about professionalism as the skillful possession of a certain skill, then some additions also appear here: dexterity and professionalism (according to dictionaries) begin to be accompanied by the following characteristics: confidence, hard work, luck, many years of experience, doing work on time and without complaints, talent. The most interesting of the listed signs for us is the characteristic: without errors and complaints. We believe that such characteristics have become quite popular due to the fairly widespread system of reviews of hired employees (in this case, we mean reviews of the works of masters, putting down ratings, fixing on shortcomings).

The analysis of the results of the psycholinguistic experiment in the field of perception of the *masteritsa* lexeme also led us to certain conclusions. Let's start with the fact that this token itself is represented differently in dictionaries. So, in the dictionary of the Living Great Russian language, it does not stand out as an independent dictionary entry. In D. N. Ushakov's dictionary, token *masteritsa* (craftswoman) is interpreted as "1. a worker in a sewing or hat workshop; 2. A qualified worker, female." [Ushakov 1996]. As we can see, this token is characterized by binding to a certain type of professional activity. The results of the experiment made it possible to establish that the modern perception of the *masteritsa* token also has a binding in a certain profession (craft): tattoo artist, weaver, seamstress, manicurist, make-up artist, needlewoman, artist, hairdresser. 59% of the answers concerned precisely the definition of a profession, while 31% of the answers revealed this "dexterity of doing something", as a part of the experiment.

### Discussions

The obtained results quite clearly indicate that the gender component of the token has declined, while the scope of professions correlatations with the *master* token has expanded. Note that in this case, the *master* token is actualized as a component of the profession name.

Moreover, the combination Master of sports was mentioned quite actively, which may indicate, in our opinion, a fairly active usage of this phrase, as well as the popularity of professional sports in our country in recent years.

We also found that the *masteritsa* token can be used as a neutral way of naming an employee (10%), in such cases the token does not contain any evaluation, but becomes a kind of common name for a female employee: This craftwoman does not work today (*Eta masteritsa segodnya ne rabotaet*). This fact allows us to say that due to the actualization of feminitives in the last decade, a number of words capable of realizing "axiological potential" lose this ability within the framework of professional discourse.

### Conclusion

The shifts in the associative field of the words *master* and *masteritsa* are obvious today, despite their attribution to the mental lexicon, and are associated with changes in some areas of human activity. Extralinguistic factors significantly affect the semantic potential of these lexemes and are reflected not only in the denotative, but also in the connotative parts of their lexical meaning. Not only the loss or withdrawal to the periphery of human activity of many crafts and methods of manual labor, but also the emergence of new ones (manicure, tattoos, etc.) affect the construction of the associative field of the lexemes proposed for analysis. The actualization of feminitives as ways of naming female representatives of professions had a significant impact on the change in the seminal composition of lexemes. The stages of the research include the systematization of lexicographic data sources and their comparison with the data of psychosemantic and associative experiments, and the practical results of such research may be the refinement and expansion of dictionary data, bringing them closer to the real idea of the totality of features characterizing the studied object of reality.

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# ADJECTIVAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN BUSINESS ENGLISH TERMINOLOGY

The most pressing issue of modern terminology is the issue of its phraseologization and ambiguity. The work is aimed at finding out the availability and types of meaning transfer of the components in business English idioms with the Adjective as the first component of a phraseological unit and identifying their ability to variations. *The object* of the study is business English phraseological terms containing an initial adjectival component in their structure. The subject of the study is the type of meaning transfer in the component composition of phraseological units and the ability of phraseological units to variations within the frames of PU-term identity. In the study and analysis of business phraseology of a selected structural area, both macro-paradigmatic methods of linguistic research and non-paradigmatic methods and techniques of linguistics were used. Of particular importance for our study were the proposed by A. V. Kunin method and procedures of phraseological identification, methods of phraseological analysis and description. The following methods also served as a reliable scientific basis for the study of business terminology in the designated phraseological space: the method of structural analysis, the method of component analysis, the method of onedimensional modelling of phraseology. In the research some other methods were employed: methods for analysing the definitions of monolingual and explanatory dictionaries and methods of quantitative analysis. As a result of the research, two sub-types of meaning transfer in PU-term components were found out and to name them, correspondingly, two terms were introduced into meta-language of phraseology.

*Keywords*: business terminology, phraseological terms, component, adjective, meaning transfer, variability.

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### АДЪЕКТИВНЫЕ КОНСТРУКЦИИ В ТЕРМИНОЛОГИИ ДЕЛОВОГО АНГЛИЙСКОГО ЯЗЫКА

Наиболее острым вопросом современной терминологии является вопрос ее фразеологизации и неоднозначности. Работа направлена на выяснение наличия и типа переноса значения компонентов в идиомах делового английского языка с именем прилагательным в качестве первого компонента фразеологизма и выявление их способности к вариациям. Объектом исследования являются фразеологические термины делового английского языка, содержащие в своей структуре начальный

адъективный компонент. Предметом исследования является тип переноса значения в компонентном составе фразеологических единиц и способность фразеологических единиц к вариациям в рамках идентичности ФЕ-термина. При изучении и анализе деловой фразеологии выделенного структурного направления использовались как макропарадигматические методы лингвистического исследования, так и непарадигматические методы и приемы языкознания. Особое значение для нашего исследования имели предложенные А. В. Куниным методика и процедуры фразеологической идентификации, методы фразеологического анализа и описания. Надежной научной базой для изучения деловой терминологии в обозначенном фразеологическом пространстве также послужили следующие методы: метод структурного анализа, метод компонентного анализа, метод одномерного моделирования фразеологии. В исследовании использовались и другие методы: методы анализа дефиниций одноязычных и толковых словарей и методы квантитативного анализа. В результате исследования были выявлены два подтипа переосмысления компонентов в ФЕ-терминах и для их наименования, соответственно, в метаязык фразеологии были введены два термина.

*Ключевые слова:* деловая терминология, фразеологические термины, компонент, прилагательное, перенос значения, вариативность.

#### Introduction

The most pressing issue of modern terminology is the issue of its phraseologization and ambiguity [Kulikova, 2009; Fedulenkova, 2021a]. *The object* of the study is business English phraseological terms, containing the Adjective as the first component of the phraseological unit, that were extracted from a number of modern dictionaries of business, banking and finance. *The subject* of the research is (a) to find out the PU-terms that were formed on the basis of full transfer of component meaning, (b) to find out the PU-terms that were formed on the basis of partial transfer of component meaning and (c) to fix the percentage interrelationship between both the groups of terminology of phraseological nature.

To achieve the research target a number of innovative ideas in the sphere of phraseological and terminological theories and methods were employed in the process, namely: a) Alexander V. Kunin's method of phraseological identification [Kunin, 1996], that makes it possible to adequately identify a phraseological unit and describe its place in the system under study, taking into account the asymmetry inherent in this linguistic sign; b) Vladimir M. Leichik's terminological theory [Leichik, 2009], that helps to specify terminological word combinations; c) Vladimir D. Arakin's idea on modelling a two-component word combination [Arakin, [1979]2005]; d) Anthony Paul Cowie's idea on contextual phraseological studies [Cow-

ie, 1998, p. 210; 2000]. Besides, the idea of the corpus compilation method was partly borrowed from Attapol Khamkhien and Sue Wharton [Khamkhien & Wharton, 2020] as well as some other new methods in phraseological studies were referred to [Simpson-Vlach & Ellis, 2010].

The issue of importance is to point out that the study is also motivated by urgent pragmatic needs for preparing business vocabulary for the ESP classroom (Tangpijaikul, 2014; Fedulenkova, 2021b], taking into consideration: a) the so-called 'holistic' nature of 'formulaic language' [Siyanova-Chanturina, 2015; Wood, 2015], b) the academic requirements in developing Business English competences [Ayto, 1999, p. 3–10; Siegel & Shim, 2005, p. 6], c) the study of key concepts in information and communication technology [Cartwright, 2005] with the view of their modelling and pragmatic functions [Fedulenkova, 2016].

## Set expressions vs Phraseology

In the process of extracting linguistic material from business dictionaries, that is relevant for research, the attention is paid to the fact that among the required adjectival business terms there are numerous two-component phrases with the structure "adjunct+kernel", or A+K (for more details see [Arakin, 1979, p. 149], that do not have any signs of semantic transformation, i.e. they are used in their original meaning, cf.: (a) economic forces — those environmental forces which determine the economic environment and so directly influence total demand (PDM, p. 78), (b) corporate advertising — a form of advertising that covers the corporate vision, core values and organizational culture of an organization (PDM, p. 55), (c) fast food — a food that is delivered to the customer fast and is normally considered inexpensive and has the ability to be eaten at the consumer's convenience either in a serviced restaurant area or as takeaway meal (PDM, p. 92).

Both lexemes, that are repeated in the three definitions above, indicate directly to the absence of meaning transfer in the terminological word combinations under analysis which shows that the terms are free of any phraseological meaning<sup>1</sup>. The corpora contexts maintain and clarify regular use of the terms in those very meanings as indicated in the given definitions, cf.:

(a) # The equilibrium level of national income # In the microeconomic market for a single good, an equilibrium is said to exist

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 1}$  The term was introduced by A. V. Kunin in 1964 in his Doctoral Habilitation Dissertation.

- when the demand for the good is equal to the supply of it. Similarly, in macroeconomics, we can say that the equilibrium level of national income has been reached when there are no economic forces operating to change the level of national income. This occurs when the total demand for all goods and services (aggregate demand) is equal to the total supply of these goods and services (aggregate supply). (BNC)
- (b) While a few programs are great at getting funds, not every program is as good, thus there is a poor distribution of good programs in all places where they are needed. # I spent 17 years doing corporate advertising for a large retail store. We sent out 3 waves of advertising to 20 million people in 40 states telling potential customers that we had stoves, clothes, tires and other merchandise they wanted in one of 400 stores that we operated. We also spent millions of dollars in making sure we had the right merchandise in those stores, well trained people, and that the stores were in the right locations. # (COCA)
- (c) A small investment of time, energy and imagination in improving the environment of the dining hall could pay big dividends. No matter what sort of accommodation is available for school meals it should be possible to make it more appealing. The <...> budget cannot match the sort of investment that the fast food marketing chains make but, in promoting healthy eating, we can copy the best of their relatively inexpensive marketing and presentation techniques and use them to our advantage. (BNC)

Such two-component terminology of non-phraseological character is taken into account in two cases: 1) in the process of collecting of the language material for the analysis and 2) in quantitative evaluations of terminological lexicon in general. The more so, the initial target of the research in the field of business terminology is to differentiate variable *word combinations* and *set expressions*, on the one hand, and phraseology, i.e. phraseomatic and phraseological units and idioms, on the other hand. To achieve that purpose we appeal to the definitions given in the corresponding business dictionary entries.

To begin with, let us turn, for instance, to such word combinations as blue chip, soft landing, white elephant, heavy hitter, golden parachute, fat cat that might be quite common in everyday speech and on the surface they seem to be variable ones maintaining their inherent systematic language paradigms (as in the sets: blue chip, brown chip, yellow chip; soft landing, emergency landing, hard landing; white elephant, grey elephant, huge el-

ephant; heavy hitter, strong hitter, smart hitter; golden parachute, silk parachute, new parachute; fat cat, thin cat, hungry cat, etc.). The matter is that it is only an illusory variability, as such word combinations, used as terms, cause much ambiguity in communication, which is quite an undesirable phenomenon that cannot be admitted in business.

It is the definitions of the terms that reveal their phraseological character, i.e. show the semantic transfer of the term components, when a prototypical word combination is no longer a variable string of words but a strict PU-term. That is why I appeal first to dictionary definitions to see whether I deal with a phraseological unit or with a variable combination of words, cf.:

- (a) **blue chip** (is not a blue-coloured chip but) STOCK EXCHANGE a share in a well-managed, successful company with a long record of paying profits to shareholders during good or bad economic conditions (LBED, p. 89);
- (b) **soft landing** (is not a landing that is not an emergency one but) ECONOMICS when an economy slows down after a period of fast growth, but does not go into recession (LBED, p. 294);
- (c) white elephant (is not a wild animal of a white colour but) something that is completely useless, even though it cost a lot of money: The hotel is unfinished and structurally unsound a white elephant of epic proportions (LBED, p. 582).

Such cases of complete coincidence of variable word combination and phraseological units in form are considered to be homonyms. In that case, to differentiate common/ everyday word combinations and business-life terms it is necessary to turn to the contextual use of the latter ones, cf.:

(a) Markets are betting on such low inflation that even a moderate bump in the consumer price index will make having a partial hedge against inflation worthwhile. <...> "There's no growth in our working-age population," says Paulsen. The workforce participation rate remains well off its 2000 peak. And productivity has been flat for a couple of years. "Even modestly better-than-expected growth could bring inflation back," he says. Paulsen is not alone in this thinking. While the consensus forecast among 70 economists surveyed by *Blue Chip* Economic Indicators is that inflation will rise just a tad above 2% next year, the five highest projections are for the consumer price index to rise around 3% next year <...>. (COCA)

- (b) Right now it looks like the European recession will be a mild one that they can shake off within a year. And with that the US economy can continue on its current course. However, if conditions get worse, or their debt crisis devolves further, then their troubles will have negative effects on our economy and stock market. # 3) China *Soft Landing*: No large economy can continue to grow at 10%+a year. So we all know that the Chinese economy has to cool down. The government has targeted growth at 7.5% this year as part of the *soft landing* process. (COCA)
- (c) A President with limited experience in politics, none at all in foreign affairs and a tilted view of America and it's people was now in the hot seat and expected to make all things well again. He simply didn't have any reasonable plan to make things better, so he cast the blame for his ineptness on <...> Bush and a claim of "inheriting" the financial white elephant that would eventually be his main excuse for everything. (COCA)

Especially misleading here are PU-terms with the name of the colour as the adjectival component: blue collar, white collar, pink collar, yellow pages, pink pages, pink sheets, red ink, red tape, black knight, grey knight, white knight, grey goods, grey pound, green shoe, green book, etc. To avoid the ambiguity one is to look up the expression in a special dictionary or to look for a business context.

#### **Idioms**

The idioms are not numerous among the business terms: the structural-semantic analysis of the terminology under study brings about 3% of PU-terms. I maintain, after Alexander V. Kunin, that idioms are phraseological units of the highest level of abstraction [Kunin, 1996, p. 159], i. e. one can never guess the meaning of the whole word combination even if one knows the original meanings of its separate components.

If one comes across such word combinations as short squeeze, blanket coverage, one is not only puzzled about their meaning but is hardly ever able to guess that they are terms functioning in the spheres of finance and marketing. And as to such an expression as Digital Darwinism, one might perhaps guess only its belonging to terminology in general, to say nothing of its belonging to the sphere of business terminology, and its actual PU-term meaning remains vague. Let us look the PU-terms up:

(a) **short squeeze** — FINANCE a situation in which a lot of short sellers are trying to buy the shares they need to deliver, causing prices

- to rise: A short squeeze forces short sellers to pay escalating prices to replace their borrowed positions (LBED, p. 498);
- (b) **blanket**<sup>2</sup> **coverage** MARKETING advertising without prior selection of a specific target audience (PDM, p. 26);
- (c) **Digital Darwinism** INTERNET COMMERCE the Internet commerce philosophy that suggests that the development of Internet businesses is governed by the same basic principles as Darwin's theory of evolution and that those that adapt the most effectively to their environment will be the most successful (PDM, p. 96); etc.

To see the exact meaning of the PU-terms under discussion, let us illustrate their use with the following corpora contexts:

- (a) # Borrowing will stay weak. It's uneconomic, he says, to borrow at 6 % when the economy is only growing at 4 % to 5 %. Dalio bases his 4 % to 5 % number on 3 % inflation and only 1 % to 2 % real growth. # Yield-minded investors, lacking fixed-income alternatives, will move more heavily into longer maturities which sport higher rates. # Likewise, he thinks 30-year T-bonds could benefit from a *short squeeze*. That is, bettors on lower bond prices, in the face of rising prices, could be forced to cover their positions driving prices even higher. # (COCA)
- (b) The kind of money that the Russians need is far greater than what's been offered here. The Russians talk about needing \$100 billion, and they're only getting a billion here. As for Yeltsin himself, publicity— I don't think he's getting an awful lot back home. Newspapers like Pravda, in fact, are boycotting this visit as a sign of their opposition to him. And even if there were *blanket coverage* in Russia, most Russians aren't watching and don't really care. I think what Yeltsin is mostly interested in is establishing a relationship with President Clinton. It was no secret that the Russians were sorry to see George Bush go. They were used to him, they respected him, and they weren't sure what they were getting into with Bill Clinton. (COCA)
- (c) Remember, customers are not looking to build a community with your company simply because they can. Community rules require the cultivation of affinity and belonging through relevance, empathy and the consistent delivery of tangible and intangible benefits.

  # Companies must now be engaging and worthy of connection

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> blanket — adjective affecting or aimed at everyone or everything equally <...> (MED, p. 131).

now and over time. And more importantly, businesses must embrace a culture of change to become adaptive and survive *Digital Darwinism*. Social media will not save business, but it will challenge them to evolve, to adapt... to do better. # (COCA)

Though idiomatic terminology is not abundant in business English as a system and embraces only about 3 % of PU-terms, it is rather frequent in business discourse as it is proved by the corpora contexts. Consequently, while teaching ESP it is very important to develop the students' skills in how to recognize idioms among terminology and how to differentiate idiomatic PU-terms and non-idiomatic ones, i. e. to develop competences of high pragmatic value [Fedulenkova, 2019].

## Partial explicit meaning transfer

The research reveals that a number of terms under study are characterized by a partial meaning transfer when at least one component retains its original meaning, as in the term *floating currency* that has the meaning of 'a currency whose value is allowed to change in relation to other currencies: *The South Korean won had its first day as a fully floating currency yesterday, increasing its value against the US dollar*' (LBED, p. 128), and that functions in the field of FINANCE, e. g.:

Meanwhile full developed countries investigate and produce new electricity storage technology, new materials, cheaper electric cars, Rare Earth supply vs. replacement, etc. # Its only half price because of exchange rate manipulation. Countries with free markets should introduce blanket tariffs against all those countries that do not have a freely *floating currency* and free movement of capital. It's called a level playing field. # "The 'free market' does exist! The USA is the greatest example of that." I can not agree with that statement. (COCA)

In two-component terms (like those above), it is the first component that undergoes a meaning transfer — *green*, *backward*, *commercial*. As to the second component of the PU-term, it usually retains its initial meaning, which is proved by the repetition of that very component in the definition wording of the corresponding PU-term, cf.:

- (a) **green marketing** a form of **marketing** in which particular attention is given to products and packaging that are biodegradable, sustainable and/or recyclable (PDM, p. 106);
- (b) **backward integration** a form of vertical **integration** that involves the purchase of suppliers and/or their supply chain in order to reduce dependency (PDM, p. 20);

(c) **commercial break** — scheduled **break** in television or radio programming for the insertion of advertisements (PDM, p. 46);

Numerous samples of corpora contextual use — up to 18 525 contexts are available in the corpora—is a reliable evidence of the meaning stability in the kernel PU-term component. Let me cite at least some of them, cf.:

- (a) Some businesses, for instance, have already been criticized for responding to consumer interest in the environment by labeling their plastic products as "biodegradable". A plastic product may disintegrate into its components when exposed to sunlight, but this does nothing for most plastic, which ends up buried in a landfill. And even if it degrades in a landfill, says William Rathje, a University of Arizona anthropologist, it merely degrades into smaller pieces of plastic; the total volume of plastic does not change at all. <...>. The biggest problem with *green marketing*, however, is that it's difficult to identify whether a product is environmentally friendly. (COCA)
- (b) Producers could likewise invest in production facilities knowing that a guaranteed market was available and accessible. Also, once gas was dedicated to individual interstate pipelines, it could not move to other uses unless the gas contract was abandoned with Federal Power Commission approval. # In this environment, *backward integration* was useful to "anchor" a new field and provide the impetus for initial entry by a pipeline, but complete integration was neither necessary nor feasible to ensure effective utilization of the pipeline's assets. (COCA)
- (c) With those deleted for the DVD, each episode runs only 42 minutes. And, because the producers want you to remember what happened before each *commercial break* (short-term memory loss? <...>), they rehash what came earlier after each of the six commercial breaks. As you will see by other reviews of both seasons, this is the biggest gripe both others and myself have with this series. (COCA)

The contexts makes evident the actualization of the meaning transfer in the adjectival PU-term components, correspondingly: *maintaining recycle, reducing dependency, advertising / marketing-biased.* The quantitative analysis reveals that PU-terms based on partial explicit meaning transfer make up about 34% of the total number of language units under study.

## Partial implicit meaning transfer

Alongside the PU-terms that are based on partial explicit meaning transfer the research reveals a number of PU-terms that might be characterized as having partial implicit meaning transfer. We deal with partial *implicit* meaning transfer in the component structure of a business PU-term when the definition of this term contains the word that is synonymous to one of its components, or when a defining word belongs to the same thematic field of at least a single component in the PU-term, cf.:

- (a) **economic life** the **period** during which a machine or device works economically or profitably (PDM, p. 79);
- (b) conspicuous consumption term developed by the US sociologist Thorstein Veblen in 1899 in his book *The Theory of the Leisure Class* to define activity by the 'nouveau riche' who made purchases to influence upper-class families and individuals (PDM, p. 49);
- (c) aerial advertising a persuasive message in the air, e.g. a streamer behind an aeroplane or a slogan on a hot-air balloon (PDM, p. 11); etc.

And again we appeal to corpora contexts to strengthen the arguments in favor of phraseological status of the business English terms under study, cf.:

- (a) <...> the contained water dilutes acid; a lot of the fluid you obtained would be water; and if your theory actually worked "collapsed" pores would equate to zero permeability / porosity in the <void> of the well bore. # If you really wanted to try to improve the oil cut you could try a "polymer job", but that approach wouldn't get you a thousand barrel a day well water free well by any stretch of the imagination. <...>, my limited experience with polymer treatments has not been good, but they are in certain instances very useful in extending the *economic life* of a well. # (COCA)
- (b) In evolutionary terms, this is called costly signaling. Men are signaling that they are still viable mates. # So, why do men buy Corvettes? Because women are attracted to high-status products. # First, researchers in the Netherlands found that simply reminding men of mating opportunities (by showing them pictures of attractive women) increased their desire for status goods. When men want to mate with attractive women, they think of buying things which display their mate value. # Second, researchers in

- Montreal found that when men engage in *conspicuous consumption* when they buy the Corvette they actually experience a surge of testosterone (interested readers might wish to check out Dr. Saad's <...> blog entry where <...>). (COCA)
- (c) # The pilot suffered serious burns and was taken to a local hospital via a medical helicopter, the Washington County Sheriff's Office told the Associated Press. # The blimp, which was showing an advertisement for PenFed, was being operated by AirSign, an *aerial advertising* firm, according to the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel. # "According to local authorities, a commercial blimp that PenFed Credit Union was advertising on crashed in an open field approximately a half mile from the Erin Hills golf course at approximately 11:15 a.m. <...>," PenFed wrote in a statement. (COCA)

The quantitative analysis reveals that PU-terms based on partial implicit meaning transfer make up about 31% of the total number of language units under study. I would like to emphasize once again that partial implicit meaning transfer is characteristic for those business terms under study that reveal the partial semantic change in their components non-directly but in a round-about way (through synonymic and thematic chains), i. e. the word-components are not repeated in the PU-terms dictionary definitions. In other words, the semantic transference might be qualified as non-evident. That debatable point is welcome to be discussed on specially reserved paged of peer-reviewed linguistic journals.

## A tendency to lexical variability

The PU-terms under study reveal a tendency to variability. In most cases the first component of the PU-terms, i. e. the adjectival component, or component-adjunct, undergoes variability. Irrespective of the quantity of variants they do not violate the identity of the concrete PU-term, in other words a variant do not split the PU-term into two or three new PU-terms, they present one and the same term-form with the identical meaning [Fedulenkova, 2020, p. 1476–1485].

For instance, the PU-terms floating assets and liquid assets are entered into English-Russian Banking an Economic Dictionary as follows: **floating assets** = liquid [Fedorov, 2004, p. 293], thus presenting them as full equivalents. The most substantial definition of the PU-term floating asset is given in Oxford Dictionary of Business and Finance, that reads as follows:

(a) **floating assets** — those assets of an organization that are constantly changing their form, circulating from cash to goods and back to cash again; cash used to purchase raw materials, which become work in progress when issued to a production department; the work in progress becomes finished goods, which once they are sold, become debtors or cash from an accounting point of view; debtors are ultimately changed into cash when they pay, thus completing the cycle (ODBM, p. 155–156).

Besides the PU-terms *liquid asset* and *current asset* are given under the same umbrella term *asset*, actually in the same entry, in *Longman Business English Dictionary* (LBED, p. 27), in the following way, cf.:

- (b) liquid asset [usually plural] anything that a business has that is either cash or something that can be easily turned into cash, such as money owed by customers and shares that can be easily sold: The Swiss company has been under pressure to invest some of its liquid assets (LBED, p. 27);
- (c) current asset [usually plural] money that a business has or is owed, or something that could easily be turned into money, for example raw materials and goods that have been produced but not sold: *Investment properties are now shown as current assets* (LBED, p. 27).

All the definitions for the PU-terms under consideration, found in the corresponding entries of some other business dictionaries, do not oppose each other but rather maintain them (ODFB, p. 201). The fact leads to the conclusion that the identity of the PU-terms under analysis is not broken by the variability of the adjectival component, which is evidently maintained by their contextual use, cf.:

- (a) Jeffrey's uncle, Koo Chen-fu, 74, is an adviser to the ruling Kuomintang and a central standing committee member. Jeffrey is an adviser to Premier Hau Pei-tsun. Do business in Taiwan, and you're likely to meet the Koos and soon, maybe here as well. William Heuslein # CHANG YUNG-FA Flight capital, *floating assets* # Chang's Evergreen Group, the world's largest container shipper <...> (COCA)
- (b) The analysis of CAMEL variables can generate an observation as to the liquidity (LIQ) reduced respectively by 20.31%, 17.34% and 15.42%, indicator of potential liquidity disruptions and weak *liquid assets*, notwithstanding the decrease in the average management quality ratio (MGMT) successively by 4.45%, 3.79% and

- 3.43 %, specifying that banks have restricted their spending, while the decrease of profitability economic assets (ROA) of 1.52 %, 0.43 % and 0.09 % highlight the impact of the crisis on economic performance. (COCA)
- (c) The company or its principals have engaged in real estate investment activities on behalf of investors, partners or for its own account across a portfolio of assets that has included 39 million square feet of office projects and 19,000 multifamily units with a cumulative transaction volume in excess of \$10 billion. M-M Properties' *current assets* under management total approximately \$1.5 billion owned in separate joint ventures with several investment partners and includes six million square feet of office properties that are self-managed. (COCA)

To make the picture of variability more vivid, one more pair of lexical variants may be presented by the PU-terms with variable adjectival components — *floating rate* and *variable rate*. This is the way they are defined in the dictionary entries:

- (a) **floating rate** also **variable rate** FINANCE BANKING an interest **rate** that can change during the life of the loan: *CB is trying to substitute floating rate for fixed rate mortgages in France* (LBED, p. 441);
- (b) variable rate another name for floating rate (LBED, p. 441).

The identity of the varied PU-terms may be maintained by the following contextual use:

- (a) # An interest rate swap is a commonly used derivative where one party agrees to pay a fixed interest rate in return for receiving a *floating rate* from another party, or vice versa. In effect, you pay the installments on my loan and I'll pay the installments on your loan. # Why should anyone want to do this? The reasons are numerous and complex. But generally it has to do with liquidity. (COCA)
- (b) If, while you held the bonds, interest rates on the 5-year securities rose to 10%, you would have received 8.5%. This changing amount of interest you receive is called a *variable rate* and offers real advantages. If inflation heats up, college costs will rise more rapidly but so will the interest on the bonds. In addition, the government guarantees a minimum return on savings bonds held five years; currently this floor is 6%. # (COCA)

Thus, lexical variability of the adjectival components, used in the position of the adjunct in the PU-terms, does not break the PU-term identity retaining the phraseological status of the PU-terms under analysis. Besides lexical variability of the adjectival components testifies to the fact the PU-terms under study have a lower level of abstraction.

#### Conclusions

The aim of the research is achieved, and the research results in the following issues:

- 1. The quantity of the business English phraseological terms containing the Adjective as the adjunct PU-term component was found out and classified according to the type of semantic transfer (total 252 PU-terms).
- 2. The two sub-types of partial meaning transfer in PU-terms were found out and, to name them, correspondingly, two terms were introduced into metalanguage of phraseology, namely: a) partial explicit meaning transfer, and b) partial implicit meaning transfer.
- 3. The percentage relation among business terms of different phraseological and phraseomatic types was established:
  - a) set expressions make up 32 % of the total number of language units studied;
  - b) idioms make up 3 % of the total number of language units studied;
  - c) PU-terms characterized by partial explicit meaning transfer make up 34% of the total number of language units studied;
  - d) PU-terms characterized by partial implicit meaning transfer make up 31 % of the total number of language units studied.

The results of the research are expected to be used in compiling a manual on teaching business English in LSP classrooms. The nearest perspective for the research is seen in the quantitative analysis of PU-terms paradigmatic relations in the system of the English language with the view of storing up and grouping data for typological classification of business terminology having phraseological background.

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## Conventional abbreviations adopted in the paper

PU-terms — terms of phraseological character = terms-phraseologisms LSP — language for special purpose

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# NATIONAL AND CULTURAL CODES IN THE WORKS OF MODERN TATAR POETS RENAT HARIS AND RAVIL FAYZULLIN

The study of the specifics of the manifestation of national and cultural codes in the literatures of the peoples of Russia, in particular, in the work of modern Tatar poets, is of great scientific and practical interest for researchers. The article presents the result of a systematic and complex analysis of the work of modern Tatar poets Renat Haris (1941) and Ravil Fayzullin (1943) in the aspect of revealing the originality of the artistic embodiment of national cultural codes. The object of the research is the poems of Renat Haris and Ravil Fayzullin. The subject of the research is the artistic embodiment of national and cultural codes in the works of Renat Haris and Ravil Fayzullin through the analysis of symbolic images, universals, allusions and genres, features of color and light images. The leading research method is a systematic approach, which allows applying historical-functional, historicalgenetic, comparative-typological and historical-functional methods to the study of the work of modern Tatar poets. The article is dominated by an interdisciplinary approach that makes it possible to adequately determine the current state of Tatar literature and literary criticism in the context of the cultures of the peoples of Russia, near and far abroad. The Tatar national picture of the world also includes musical images such as kurai, accordion, etc., in relation to Tatar poetry and music, the concept of "mon" is often used, which is difficult to translate into other languages, in this regard, an analysis of the works of Renat Haris and Ravil Fayzullin allows us to reveal the problem of "untranslatable" in Tatar literature. The work of the studied poets reflects the Tatar national picture of the world, reveals its main components: the image of the motherland and native land, concern for the fate of the Tatar language, literature and culture in the era of globalization. Poets dedicate their poems to the description of national holidays (Sabantuy), traditional symbols of the Tatar people (images of a white leopard (ak leopard), horse, white towel, etc.), spiritual and moral values and the history of the Tatar people are described in their poems.

*Keywords*: literature of the peoples of Russia, Tatar literature, national codes, cultural codes, national picture of the world, Renat Haris, Ravil Fayzullin, dialogue of cultures, literary translation, images-symbols, color and light images.

## НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЕ И КУЛЬТУРНЫЕ КОДЫ В ТВОРЧЕСТВЕ СОВРЕМЕННЫХ ТАТАРСКИХ ПОЭТОВ РЕНАТА ХАРИСА И РАВИЛЯ ФАЙЗУЛЛИНА

Изучение специфики проявления национальных и культурных кодов в литературах народов России, в частности, в творчестве современных татарских поэтов представляет огромный научно-практический интерес для исследователей. В статье излагается результат системно-комплексного анализа творчества современных татарских поэтов Рената Хариса (1941) и Равиля Файзуллина (1943) в аспекте выявления своеобразия художественного воплощения национальных культурных кодов. Объектом исследования являются стихотворения и поэмы Рената Хариса и Равиля Файзуллина. Предмет исследования — художественное воплощение национальных и культурных кодов в произведениях Рената Хариса и Равиля Файзуллина через анализ образов-символов, универсалий, аллюзий и жанров, особенностей цвето- и светообразов. Ведущим методом исследования является системный подход, который позволяет применять к изучению творчества современных татарских поэтов историко-функциональный, историко-генетический, сравнительно-типологический и историко-функциональный методы. В статье доминирует междисциплинарный подход, позволяющий адекватно определить современное состояние татарской литературы и литературоведения в контексте культур народов России, ближнего и дальнего зарубежья. В татарскую национальную картину мира входят и музыкальные образы такие, как курай, гармонь и др., применительно к татарской поэзии и музыке часто употребляют трудно переводимое на другие языки понятие «моң», в этой связи анализ произведений Рената Хариса и Равиля Файзуллина позволяет раскрыть проблему «непереводимого» в татарской литературе. В творчестве исследуемых поэтов отражается татарская национальная картина мира, выявляются её основные компоненты: образ родины и родного края, беспокойство за судьбу татарского языка, литературы и культуры в эпоху глобализации. Поэты посвящают свои стихотворения и поэмы описанию национальных праздников (Сабантуй), традиционным символам татарского народа (образы белого барса (ак барс), коня, белого полотенца и др.), в их стихотворениях и поэмах воспеваются духовнонравственные ценности и история татарского народа.

*Ключевые слова*: литература народов России, татарская литература, национальные коды, культурные коды, национальная картина мира, Ренат Харис, Равиль Файзуллин, диалог культур, художественный перевод, образы-символы, цвето- и светообразы.

#### Introduction

The work of modern outstanding Tatar poets Renat Haris and Ravil Fayzullin is considered in this article through identifying the specifics of the embodiment of the Tatar national cultural codes that reflect the Tatar picture of the world, reveal its main components: the image of the motherland and native land, national holidays, spiritual and moral values and the history of the Tatar people, and also determine the organic links between the creativity of these writers and poets with the Tatar national culture and literature.

The work of the People's Poet of the Republic of Tatarstan Renat Haris (Harisov Renat Magsumovich, born in 1941) is distinguished by a wide thematic range: his works are devoted to understanding the moral, philosophical, socio-political themes of the past and present of the Tatar people, Russia and the world community. The wide range of interests of the poet corresponds to the genre diversity of his work. The artistic world of Renat Haris includes epic genres such as a novel in verse ("Isemsezlər"), more than fifty poems on philosophical, historical, love themes. Only in 2020, Renat Haris published two new poems: the poem «Törek Valy» ("Turkish Wall»), which tells about the feat of the young lieutenant Ya.K. Faizov during the Great Patriotic War and the poem «Tatar aty» ("Tatar horses»), dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the TASSR, in which, through the fate of the Tatar horse (there is such a breed), which has become a symbol of the Tatar people, the author talks about the glorious past and outlines prospects for the further development of the Tatar nation. The work of Renat Haris is distinguished by innovation and relevance: he vividly reacts to the events of our time, denoting topical problems, for example, in the journalistic poem "Tatar Titanic", dedicated to the death of the ship "Bulgaria" on the Volga River, during the crash of which many children died. Whatever topic the poet touches on, the leitmotif of his works is love, which drives both historical events and the fate of each of the individual people.

Ravil Abdrakhmanovich Fayzullin, a people's Poet of the Republic of Tatarstan, a laureate of the Literary Prize named after Gabdulla Tukay, is the author of more than 50 books published in Tatar and Russian. In addition, many of his works have been translated into German, Polish, French, Turkish, Kyrgyz and other languages. Already his first books, published in 1966–1973, "Ajagan" ("Zarnitsa"), "Monologlar həm dialoglar" ("Monologues and Dialogues"), "Mərmər" ("Marble"), "Naz" ("Nega"), characterize him as a peculiar author who introduced a new stream into Tatar poetry.

In the poems of Ravil Fayzullin: ("Korəshchelər" ("Wrestlers"), "Gadilərge hymn" ("Hymn to privates"), "Saydash" ("Saydash"), as well as in poems for children ("Rəsem yasym" ("I am painting", 1965), "Kyməch pesheruchelər zhyry" ("Song of bakers", 1977), "Chəchəklər ysterdem" ("I grew up flowers", 1979), "Palasny kem kagar?" ("Who will shake off

the carpet?", 1980), "Yakty mon" ("Light sadness", 1983), "Syagat belən Sagyyt" ("Hours and Sagit", 1989) is the leitmotif of love for the Motherland and native nature. Ravil Fayzullin's poetry is dedicated to phenomena dear and close to every person, such as love for the motherland, for the native home, native nature, the transforming power of Love, beginning with love for the mother, for one's small homeland and native language.

Thus, the purpose of our study is to determine the specifics of the works of modern Tatar poets Renat Haris and Ravil Fayzullin through the identification of systems of signs of national and cultural codes that have been entrenched in their poems and poems, comprehending their interactions. The volume of a small article does not allow us to fully reveal such a capacious concept as a national picture of the world, so we will focus only on its individual elements, which show that the work of Renat Haris and Ravil Fayzullin is focused on the Tatar artistic and national tradition.

#### Methods and material

We examined the most significant examples of the artistic work of Renat Haris and Ravil Fayzullin, including lyrics, poems, novels in verse, librettos, literary criticism, works addressed to children, in the aspect of identifying the role of symbolic images, light and color images, cultural and national codes in their work. We tried to show all the facets of the work of Renat Haris and Ravil Fayzullin, to reveal the stylistic, genre, ideological and artistic features of the poetics of their works.

The leading method of research is a systematic approach, which makes it possible to apply historical-functional, historical-genetic, comparative-typological and historical-functional methods to the study of the work of Tatar poets. The article is dominated by an interdisciplinary approach, which allows, using the data of philosophical, literary, linguistic, methodological and historical research, to adequately determine the current state of Tatar literature and literary criticism in the context of the cultures of the peoples of Russia, near and far abroad. The basis for studying the works of art by Renat Haris and Ravil Fayzullin was the research of literary critics F. G. Galimullin, A. F. Galimullina, T. N. Galiullin, D. F. Zagidullina, L. M. Safina, F. F. Khasanova, N. Sh. Khisamov, F. Z. Yakhin, which examines the poetics of their work, the leading themes and motifs of modern Tatar poetry [Galimullin 2021, Galiullin 2011, Zagidullin 2011, Markhlevska 2021, Safina 2021, Khisamov 2011, Yakhin 2011].

In the study of modern Tatar literature, the problem of the embodiment of color and light images in works of literature is important; in this aspect, studies of literary critics and linguists on light and color artistic coloring in the works of Russian writers were studied [L. A. Alekseeva 2015, Yu.V. Ivanova, 2007, N. N. Kozlova, 2010, Rodina S. A. 2001], as well as studies by philologists on the role of color and light images in Turkic, in particular, in the Tatar language, folklore and literature [G. Z. Gabbasova 2005, R. R. Zamaletdinov 2004, A. N. Kononov 1978, G. A. Sabirova 2007, A. F. Sitdikova 2013, N. M. Yusupova 2016].

Our article uses the leading principles of modern comparative literary criticism, such as a complex of comparative literary criticism, structural-semiotic and semantic approaches, which determine the interaction and complementarity of such sense-forming mechanisms as value-semantic, logical-structural, reveal their relationship with verbal and artistic structures and forms, as well as through universals (cultural code, artistic code), semantic (chronotope, intertextuality, image, symbol), genre and stylistic allow us to draw reasonable conclusions that Renat Haris and Ravil Fayzullin, being experimental poets, rely in their works on the traditions of Tatar classical literature. The key to our study is the concept of "cultural code", which is widely used in modern interdisciplinary research, although it does not have an unambiguous definition.

#### Literature Review

First of all, the Tatar national picture of the world is manifested in works addressed to the parents of poets, the homeland, which in some cases means the native villages of poets — the village of Yulsubino in the Rybno-Slobodsky district of the Republic of Tatarstan (R. Fayzullin) and the village of Elkhovoe Ozero in the Tsilninsky district of the Ulyanovsk region (R. Haris), and most often there is a generalized image of the motherland — the Republic of Tatarstan.

In the poem "Tugan yorty — balalykta" ("In the father's house — in childhood") Ravil Fayzullin creates an image of the motherland through the prism of childhood. The lyrical hero finds himself in his father's house and, through the aromas and details of his native home, returns to his childhood: "Irtadən kichkəchə yorim / balalykta, balalykta! / Tuganlykta, alanlykta... / Yorim totash balalykta! // Aryshlarga bashny kuyam, / Kybələklər kuyup totam... / Chybyk totyp, orep chykkan / yat kocheklərne kurkytam, / Rəkhət tə son balalykta! // Kyηelemdə bortek ker yuk, / Avyr hammnar yucca chykkan. / Shatlygymnyη bieklegen / ulchi kukta turgay nokta! // Aryp kaytam. Chey olgergən. / Oygə təmle islər chykkan... / In tatly təshlər kerəchəκ — / kunak bugen Tugan yortta!.." [Yulsubino, 1976; Fayzullin, 2018, p. 16]. (The interlinear translation hereinafter is ours — A.G: "From morning to evening I walk / in childhood, in childhood / In my

native land, in the fields ... / I walk all the time in my childhood! / I bow my head to the rye. / I catch butterflies! / Picking up a whip, / I scare the puppies that ran out, / How good it is in childhood! // There is not a drop of dirt in my soul / hard times have disappeared somewhere / The degree of my joy / is measured in the sky by a dot lark! // I am returning, tired. Tea boiled / delicious aromas spread around the house ... / The sweetest dreams will come. — / I am a guest today in the Father's house! .. ").

To the image of the motherland as the golden time of childhood, an acute sense of responsibility for its future is added. Thus, in the poem "Yana mon", R. Fayzullin expresses his deep concern that many villages have become empty: the older generation is leaving for eternity, and the youth is leaving for the city: / Kaytkan saen — yegem kecherək. / Saranlanmadym da, dərman da bar... / Ellar, uylar butan: "Nik kirək?"// Kemnen kaldy khozer uramynda / balachaktan tanysh yozlordon? / Mohrob obi kaya? Khədichə apay? / Sabir babai?.. Kyptən gyrlərdə! // Ber tupyllar kaldy bash iyargə, / Shul ber inesh kaldy — tyηlarga... / Nindider ber yaŋa moŋ tөsmere / sizəm khəzer shayan zhyrlarda da" (written in the village of Yulsubino, 1980). Interlinear translation: "Now I don't buy a lot of gifts. / With each return, the burden is lighter. / I don't skimp and I don't have enough ... / Only years and other thoughts: "What do you need?" // Who is now left on your streets / from childhood familiar faces / Where is grandma Mahrab? Aunt Hadicha? / Grandpa Sabir?.. Long ago in the other world! // Only the poplars were left to bow their heads. / To listen to one spring left ... / Some new note of sadness / I feel in joyful songs" [Fayzullin, 2018, p. 29]. In a number of poems, R. Fayzullin expresses ardent love for the motherland, arguing that everyone has one homeland and they do not choose it. In the poem "Nishlər idem..." ("What would I do ..."), the lyrical hero goes through the possible options for the place of birth (sea, mountains) and comes to the conclusion that a person does not choose his homeland, it is dear to him, the most expensive: "... Tugan ilne uze saylap / alalmy adəm-insan. / Nishlər idem, tugan zhirdə — / shushi ildə, gaziz zhirdə / tau almagan bulsam?!". Interlinear translation: "A person / cannot choose a homeland / What would I do / if in this country / on this native land / I could not be born ?!" [Fayzullin, 2018, p. 31]. The poet shifts the emphasis from the choice of the homeland to the philosophical question of the destiny of a man.

The image of the motherland is closely connected with the history of the Tatar people, the knowledge of which contributes to the lyrical hero's feeling of belonging to the heritage of glorious ancestors: "Bu-boryngy babaylarnyn / tugan uskən illəre... / Sylu Bolgar kyzlarynyn / su koengan zhirləre..." (interlinear translation: "This is the homeland / of our ancient

ancestors / The bathing place / Of beautiful girls of Bulgar"). The image of the motherland, expanding, absorbs the Ancient capital — Bulgar. Knowledge of the great history of their people allows contemporaries to boldly look into the future: "Gel-gel meskenlənmik əle! / Utkənnər beznen yakly. / Kanybyzda — hezmət soyu, / Zhyr-dastannar nichakly! // Koyashtai gel shat bulyk, / ap-achyk — tulgan aidai! / Tash kebek katy bulyik, / gorur — toz manaradai! [Fayzullin, 2018, p. 111]. Interlinear translation: "Let's not be ashamed! / The past is on our side, / Love for work is in our blood, / How many songs and dastans! / We will be joyful like the sun, / open like the full moon! / We will be firm like a stone, / proud as a high minaret of a mosque".

The image of the motherland is also embodied in the image of the Volga River (Idel yelga), which in the works of R. Fayzullin is associated with the image of the motherland: "Idel aga. Ul — məngelek. / Kai yelgalar kibep kala. / Idelen belən akkanda, / zhanda bariber omet kala" Interlinear translation: "The Volga is flowing. She is eternal. / Some rivers dry up. / When you flow with the Volga, / hope remains in your soul" [Kononov, 1978, p. 147].

#### Results

Color and light images perform an important function in the artistic world of each work and in the work of writers, often developing into symbolic images. At the same time, in philological studies, this aspect in the study of the poetics of works remains poorly understood. It should be noted that a number of researchers are outlining ways to study the work of modern Tatar writers in the aspect of their identification of the functional role of light and color images. In linguistic studies, the role of color designations in the vocabulary of the Turkic peoples is revealed. So, A. N. Kononov (1978) defines the semantics of color designations in ethnonyms, toponyms, personal and common nouns, R. R. Zamaletdinov (2004), considering the lexico-semantic system of the language that characterizes the concept of "man", also notes the color-light vocabulary.

According to A. F. Sitdikova, "For any picture, one of the main concepts is the concept of color, since visual perception is one of the most important channels of incoming information for a person" [Sitdikova, 2013, p. 165]. The researcher emphasizes that "being key concepts, color designations in all languages are linguocultural signs of great semantic capacity and national specificity" [Sitdikova 2013: 165]. Philologists studying Tatar literature quite rarely turn to special studies devoted to identifying the function of light and color images in Tatar literature. In this regard, the studies of works devoted to the role of color in Tatar folklore and ancient Turkic poetry by M. Kh. Ba-

kirov are of great interest. He determines that green, white, blue — the three dominant colors in the oral folk art of the Tatars "are ethnic and ethnopsychological code signs that determine the originality of the attitude and cultural heritage of the Turks" [Bakirov, 2014, p. 296].

All literary scholars who study the works of R. Haris and R. Fayzullin note the picturesqueness of their works, however, there has not yet been a special research aimed at studying light and color images in the artistic world of Renat Haris and Ravil Fayzullin. This is the relevance and novelty of our research.

Ravil Fayzullin listens to his native nature, personifies it, creates a very bright, kind image: "If I don't know anything about this, / you won't warm your soul with the quietest light. / Motherland's smile, / Motherland's wrinkle — / every valley, / every hollow ... " (translated by R. Kutuy) [Fayzullin, 2018, p. 134]. Not only man, but also cranes strive home, overcoming all obstacles in their path: "The world is seething, ringing around, / The world is getting tipsy from tenderness. / Why is this all of a sudden? / The crane wind is blowing! / Cranes hurry home, / To an unforgettable nesting place..." (translated by Vadim Kuznetsov) [Fayzullin, 2018, p. 135]. The reception of parallelism allows R. Fayzullin to emotionally convey love for the motherland and optimistic faith in the future: "The soul wakes up / Lights up with love. / Who dares to play a dangerous game today?! / How I will die on this day! — / The crane wind blows!" (translated by Vadim Kuznetsov) [Fayzullin, 2018, p. 135].

Motherland is a mother and flowers. In the poem "Flowers for Mother", R. Haris is looking for green flowers for his loved one, symbolizing youth: "In the evening forest / between hundred-year-old oaks / I cut a bunch of flowers for my mother. / Only I didn't take the yellow ones — / they bring grief, / and the green ones / don't grow in our forest ... " [Haris, 1980 a, p. 115].

White and black colors in the work of R. Haris are fundamental. Firstly, they are the limit of contrast both in terms of light and meaning. In nature in Russia, the standards of whiteness and purity are snow and milk. In one poem, the poet considers these symbols of whiteness, opposing or comparing them to each other: "Answer me, man, / you answer, yes without embarrassment: / is it only snow that is white? / Only milk is sacred? // Father's blood soaked into the snow / on the edge of the open pit... / Became white forever / mother's head has been since then" [Haris, 1980, p. 89]. Snow and milk, it turns out, have a very deep rival in meaning — the hair of a mother who turned gray due to the death of her husband, and the blood of a person who died for the happiness of other people.

The image of the homeland is also native nature, which absorbs all the colors of the rainbow: "Leaving a seven-color trail, / thunder rushed like a chariot. / The sky has sucked in the blue color, / the gardens have taken away the red color, / and the wheat has taken the vellow color. // Destroying the rainbow to nothing, / duckweed absorbed the green color. / And people are looking for white, / and people are looking for black ... / But, why only these colors?!" [Haris, 1980 a, p. 53]. We see that in this poem color acquires a philosophical meaning: life does not consist only of good and bad, but it manifests itself in all the variety of feelings. The white color in the poetry of R. Haris and R. Fayzullin is connected with concepts important for the national cultural code of the Tatar people, such as the image of the mother (gray hair, white dress, white scarf, with a towel). In the poem "Towel", R. Haris connects a snow-white towel with the national holiday of the Tatar people Sabantuy: "Low bow, towel / snow-white! / In Sabantuy on the Maidan / you are in a friendly way / hugged the fighters, / gave them courage, / in the arms of the batyrs / caressed "(translated by R. Khakimov) [Haris, 1980, p. 59]. The theme of Sabantuy is also reflected in R. Fayzullin's poem "Korəshcheler" ["Wrestlers", 1968].

The image of a horse is closely connected with the Sabantuy holiday. In the poetry of R. Haris, this image allows you to show the best national traditions. In the poem "Horse", the beauty and prowess of which is also conveyed through color-light epithets: "His hooves are an amber bone. / The legs are long and beautiful. / As if a horse escaped from a fairy tale / Hot, fiery red" and further "Yellow mane — a stream of fire — / It flows and curls from the back of the neck: / Sparks of the horse's horseshoe will be carved, / The flame will splash over it. // Ridge — saddle. He is the beginning of the path, / Not everyone can master it. / Grab the rein with your left hand — / The right saber is thirsty "(translation by A. Domnina) [Haris, 1980, p. 28 — 29]. R. Haris created the most complete image of the horse in the poem "Tatar Aty" (2021), associating it with the history of the Tatar people and even comparing the borders of the Republic of Tatarstan on the map of Russia with the image of a galloping horse.

#### Discussion

The image of the motherland in the poetry of Ravil Fayzullin is closely connected with the image of the road, which also acquires a symbolic meaning: "Bu yullarny sagynyrbyz əlé! / Tik kaitylmas butan menə... / Əye, sagynyrbyz. Vakyt — Allah! / ə bez bary zhirdə keshe genə.// Ə shulay da bez bit bulyrbyz gel! / Dərte kalyr, dərman betse də.

/ Izularne chishep yul chygarbyz, / ildə zarygyp bezne kotsələr!" Interlinear translation: "We will still miss these roads! / Only we won't be able to return ... / Yes, we will miss you. Time is God! / And we are only people on Earth // But anyway, we will always be! / Passion will remain, even if the vital forces run out. / Having opened the gates of the shirt, we will go out onto the road / If they are looking forward to us at home! [Fayzullin, 2018, p.79]. In the poetry of R. Fayzullin, the images of the motherland, the roads are through and absorb other images. In the poetry of R. Fayzullin, the theme of "poet and poetry" also occupies a large place, the poet boldly experiments, finding new unusual ways of its artistic embodiment. So, in the poem "Chyn duslar ochratyp tanyshsam ..." ("If, having met true friends ..."):

Chyn duslar ochratyp tanyshsam, kemgəder dores yul tabyshsam, kemgəder shat ochkyn kabyzsam, — yaktyryp, nurlanyp, ochynyp, shagyrlər yazarga yabysham. [Fayzullin, 2018, p. 85].

Interlinear translation: "If I meet real friends, I'll get to know each of them, / if I help someone find the right path, / if I light a bright spark for someone, / brightening up, / shining, / taking off, / I start writing poetry." Note that the light epithets that characterize poetry are placed on separate lines. In the next stanza, the representation of opposite feelings, when the lyrical hero makes a mistake, meets enemies, gets sick from longing, but even in this case, poetry becomes a support: "... hisemne yashema chylatyp, / shigyirlar yazarga yabysham" [Fayzullin, 2018, p. 85]. The poet finds a very interesting metaphor: "... having wet my feelings in tears, / I begin to write poetry" (interlinear translation). So, poetry accompanies the poet in the most joyful days, and comforts in the most unhappy ones.

Thus, in the artistic world of R. Haris and R. Fayzullin, elements of the Tatar national cultural code are clearly manifested, their works often use its main components: the image of the motherland and native land, images of the father's house, mother, national holidays (Sabantuy), spiritual moral values and history of the Tatar people, as well as successive ties with the Tatar folk culture and folklore, which is manifested in the use of traditional colors (white, red, blue).

#### Conclusions

Having considered the works of Renat Haris and Ravil Fayzullin in the aspect of revealing the cultural codes of the Tatar people, we came to the conclusion that their poetry, while remaining original, organically fits into the Tatar national context, which also includes works dedicated to famous figures of Tatar culture (S. Saydashev, N. Zhiganov, many other writers). We will explore this topic in more detail later in our study.

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## RETHINKING THE CONCEPT OF A NATIVE SPEAKER

For language teaching, the exchange of experience both at the regional and international levels is a prerequisite for the development of this professional and academic field. The concept of a native speaker is one of the key concepts of linguodidactic discourse. The preferred foreign language teaching strategy by the professional community depends on what meanings and values are contained in this concept. The term 'native speaker' is considered formed, established and unproblematic for intercultural communication, although the definitional analysis of Russian and English dictionary entries has revealed that there is a difference in the understanding of these terms. The article discusses the English and Russian concepts behind the term and describes the modern structure, content and features of the functioning of these concepts in discourse in a comparative aspect. The analysis shows that the English-language and Russian-language concepts have more differences than similarities, which is reflected in the role of a native speaker in teaching foreign languages.

*Keywords*: native speaker, concept, linguodidactics, academic discourse, English language teaching, international language.

О. Н. Гич

#### ПЕРЕОСМЫСЛЕНИЕ КОНЦЕПТА «НОСИТЕЛЬ ЯЗЫКА»

Для преподавания языков обмен опытом как на региональном, так и на международном уровне является необходимым условием для развития данной профессиональной и научной сферы. Концепт «носитель языка» является одним из системообразующих концептов лингводидактического дискурса. От того, какие смыслы и ценности содержатся в данном концепте, зависит предпочитаемая профессиональным сообществом стратегия обучения иностранному языку. Термин «носитель языка» считается сформированным, установленным и непроблемным для межкультурного общения, хотя дефиниционный анализ русскоязычных и англоязычных словарных статей раскрыл, что существует разница в понимании этих терминов. В статье рассматриваются англоязычный и русскоязычный концепты, стоящие за термином, и описывается современная структура, содержание и особенности функционирования данных концептов в дискурсе в сопоставительном аспекте. Проведенный анализ показывает, что англоязычный и русскоязычный концепты имеют больше различий, чем сходств, что отражается на роли носителя языка в преподавании иностранных языков.

*Ключевые слова*: носитель языка, концепт, лингводидактика, научный дискурс, преподавание английского языка, международный язык.

#### Introduction

The content and structure of the concepts we operate with is formed under the influence of everyday environment. As everyone seems to understand us in daily communication, we tend to believe that we share the same concepts. If misunderstanding occurs, at the interpersonal level we can identify differences in our perception of the world and clear up confusion in the course of a conversation, however, at the level of mass communication, especially intercultural, we cannot firmly establish the content of all concepts.

The illusion of mutual understanding is especially insidious in professional and academic discourses. Since all key concepts are usually terms, fixed in dictionaries, professionals and scholars do not think that a concept can develop new shades of meanings in foreign language discourse under the influence of any local factors. Unfortunately, dictionaries reflect pronounced changes but not the dynamics that led to them. As a result, communities that speak different languages may be completely unaware of the fact that they are already discussing different things, because on the external level they use the same words.

While any professional or academic community may undergo this effect, it is the humanities discourses that are most at risk. Scholars involved in these fields of knowledge normally operate with ideas and abstract concepts. Even if the object of study exists in the material world, it is usually not universal and culturally specific.

One such discourse is the discourse on teaching English or ELT discourse. Any discourse related to education is constantly subject to socio-cultural and political influence, but the unprecedented spread of the English language makes the ELT discourse unique. Back in the 70s of the twentieth century, this discourse was not independent, it was part of the general linguodidatic discourse. Then the worldwide study of English led to the creation of a separate industry, which attracted a large number of specialists. As a rule, any large professional or academic group generates its own discourse. Thus, today the ELT discourse is separated from the discourse about teaching other languages in the English language.

One of the core concepts of the ELT discourse is *native speaker*. In language teaching, achieving a native-like level of communicative competence is traditionally the goal, and native speaker acts as a resource for shaping the content of learning. It is logical only if identifying a native speaker is not problematic. In the case of English, which is the official language of communication in about 70 countries and is spoken by half the world, the issue of a native speaker is debatable. Thus, the purpose of

the article is to identify all the meanings enclosed in the concept of *native speaker* in the modern English-speaking ELT discourse and to compare it with the concept of the same name in modern Russian-speaking linguodidactic academic discourse.

#### Literature review

Many English-speaking and Russian-speaking authors have addressed the issue of a native speaker. A. Davies, J. Jenkins, V. Cook, p. Medgyes, L. Smith consider the role and importance of a native speaker in terms of teaching English as a non-native language. These authors criticize *native speaker* as a reference point in teaching English. B. Kachru and Z. G. Proshina address this term from the standpoint of sociolinguistics and the World Englishes paradigm.

V. Cook and p. Medgyes question the privileged status of a native speaker as a teacher. Unlike a non-native teacher, an untrained native speaker has not experienced difficulties in mastering a non-native language, has not developed their own language learning strategies, cannot compare English with the student's native language, and cannot understand the student's psychological state. In their opinion, only a native speaker with a special education and a high level of acquisition of the student's native language can be as effective as a non-native teacher [Cook 1999, 2015; Medgyes 1992, 2000].

J. Jenkins and L. Smith suggest new linguodidactical models that are alternative to English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL), which consider a native speaker as a learning model and a target interlocutor. They both start from the fact that English today functions as an international language or lingua franca. L. Smith promotes teaching intercultural communication for both native and non-native speakers, focusing on the features of the varieties of the English language that are most used in a particular region, while J. Jenkins is more radical and considers a native speaker as an unnecessary element [Smith 1976, 1981]. According to her, when non-native speakers communicate with each other, the accuracy is not mandatory and it is necessary to study only what can lead to communicative failure [Jenkins, 1996, 2004, 2006, 2012].

A. Davies attempts to give a complex answer to the question "Who is a native speaker?" in his book. Nowadays as the number of bilingual and multilingual users of English is growing, 'nativespeakerness' seems to be more of a spectrum than a specific phenomenon. He covers psycholinguistic, linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects and concludes that there are two kinds of judgements: of identity and of language and the boundaries between first and second language speakers are rather blurred [Davies 2002].

The World Englishes paradigm deals with the pluricentricity of the English language. Proponents of this paradigm believe that there cannot be cultural dominance of one variety over others [Kachru 1983, 2009]. Since there is no single English language, a more accurate term is a native speaker of one of the varieties of English. Changes in the concept, in turn, are reflected in their ideas about the goals and approaches to learning English [Proshina 2005, 2020].

Although many researchers have addressed the issue of the term 'native speaker', no one has analyzed its functioning in the ELT discourse in dynamics and has not carried out cross-cultural comparisons of the perception of this concept.

#### Methods and material

The material of the study is presented by academic articles and scientific papers in the field of methods of teaching English as a non-native language. To collect materials, we used the method of continuous sampling for the keyword 'native speaker' using the search engine Google Scholar, Google Books and electronic libraries E-library and Cyberleninka. In total, 188 academic papers with the key term are analyzed: 108 in English and 80 in Russian.

For a comprehensive consideration of the concept, a number of methods is applied: definitional analysis, axiomatic analysis, contextual analysis, fractal modeling method and comparative method. Definitional analysis allows revealing the content side of the term, which is the "name" of the concept under study. Referring to lexicographic sources allows us to analyze at the initial stage the degree of correspondence between the English and Russian terms that are considered to be full equivalents. Axiomatic analysis reveals the value foundations on which the content of the concept and the rules for its functioning in discourse are built. Contextual analysis is used as a tool for identifying value relationships between the key concepts of discourse. Although academic discourse tends to be emotionally sterile, such markers as modal verbs, parenthesis, generalizations, appeals to well-known facts, evaluative and expressive vocabulary make it possible to describe the value base of the discourse on a certain synchronic cut. Also, when considering the discourse in dynamics, axiomatic analysis allows us to see the change in the value base. The fractal modeling method is used to visualize the structure and content of the concepts on

a certain synchronic cut. The comparative method is used to compare the features of the structure, content and functioning of the Russian and English concepts in the ELT discourse.

#### Results

The analysis of the definitions of the term 'native speaker' in Russian and English shows that some difference in the content and functioning of the concept has already been manifested and recorded in dictionaries. The English term is more controversial and problematic, which is reflected even quantitatively: English-language dictionary entries are more voluminous. Qualitative analysis of definitions shows that the English and Russian terms share a common semantic core. Both terms note that a native speaker is someone who has been fluent in the language since childhood, has a high level of language competence and a high level of development of speech skills. However, The English term lists controversial points such as the inconsistency of the criteria for identifying a native speaker, the role and place of a native speaker in teaching English as a non-native language, the status of bilinguals and multilinguals. The Russian term focuses on the need for a deep understanding of sociocultural norms and the identification of a person as a representative of a certain sociocultural community.

A contextual analysis of the use of the term shows that in the 70s and 80s the Russian-speaking and English-speaking academic communities had almost the same understanding of the role of a native speaker in teaching foreign languages and had a common value base. There was a consensus that a native speaker is a reliable source of information about language norms and the goal of language learning is to achieve native-like competence and to be able to communicate fluently with a native speaker. The logical consequence was the idea of a native speaker as a learning model and an ideal teacher.

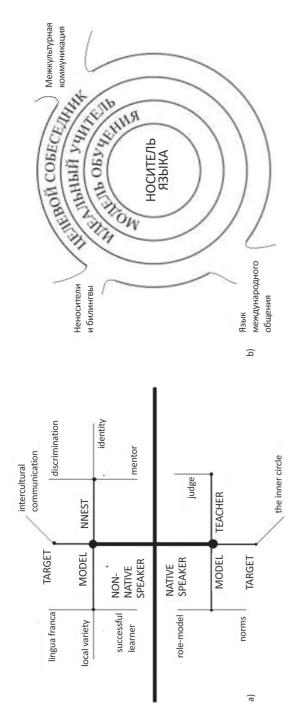
At the present stage massive changes have taken place in the structure and content of the English language concept in the English-speaking ELT discourse. *Native speaker* is gradually losing its value, and *non-native speaker* becomes a more significant concept. A combination of several factors triggered this process. Firstly, it is the spread of the English language. The number of non-native speakers greatly outnumbers the number of native speakers, taking into account all varieties. Secondly, the change in the functioning of the language in the world. English is the language of international communication and the number of contacts in it as a lingua franca is constantly growing. Thirdly, in many non-English-speaking countries it is English that is a compulsory subject in various educational

institutions, which led to a sharp increase in the number of non-native speaker teachers. Thus, *non-native speaker* becomes, if not a central, then an equal concept, having positive characteristics, while *native speaker* contains criticism and negativity and becomes a symbol of imperialism, neocolonialism and discrimination.

Although the English concept has significantly changed its structure and content, *native speaker* in the Russian-speaking linguodidactic discourse has not undergone any special changes. An educated native speaker of precisely British, less often American English is still an indisputable learning model. A teacher who is a native speaker of these language varieties is considered a great value, regardless of their qualifications. Changes have occurred only in the connection *native speaker* — *target interlocutor*. In modern Russian-language linguodidactic discourse, the ultimate goal is not only communication with native speakers, but communication with the whole world which is recorded in official documentation. Most teachers, educators and researchers acknowledge the fact that English is the language of international communication and that most of the communication takes place between non-native speakers, and the number of bilinguals is constantly growing. Intercultural communication has become an important aspect in the teaching of foreign languages (Figure).

#### Discussion

In the English-speaking ELT discourse identifying a native speaker of English (or Englishes) and their role in teaching is highly debatable issue. This has resulted in the search for new linguodidactic models that meet modern realities. Traditionally, English in English-speaking countries has been taught under the model of English as a second language (ESL), and in non-English-speaking countries it has been taught under the model of English as a foreign language (EFL). In both cases, the teaching was focused on mastering the norms of a particular variant of English, without taking into account the identity, creativity and needs of the student. A number of scholars have suggested several alternative models: international English (IE) [Quirk 1981], English as a lingua franca (ELF) [Jenkins 2006, 2012], English as an international language (EIL) [Smith 1981], the translingual learning model [Garcia, Rubdy, Alsagoff 2014; Zamel 1997]. Despite significant differences, all these models take into account the new functioning of the English language as a language of intercultural communication, its pluricentricity and the diversity of the English language. However, none of the suggested models has become a full-fledged replacement for traditional approaches yet.



target interlocuter, язык международного общения — language of international communication, неносители и билингвы — non-native speakers and *Note:* Hocитель языка — native speaker, модель обучения — learning model, идеальный учитель — ideal teacher, целевой собеседник Fig. a) The modern structure and content of the concept native speaker in the English-language academic linguodidactic discourse; b) The modern structure and content of the concept native speaker in the Russian-language academic linguodidactic discourse bilinguals, межкультурная коммуникация — intercultural communication.

The Russian-speaking linguodidactic discourse continues to support the model of English as a foreign language with all its characteristics, although the new status of the English language in the world is recognized. It is worth noting that in the last decade, separate articles began to appear predicting the need to change the linguodidactic model, but at the moment even an outline of a specific strategy for a new language education in Russia has not been proposed [Proshina 2012; Lovtsevich, Ryan 2016]. Any suggestions about changing the linguodidactic model stumble upon two fundamental problems: dependence on language norms and a strong connection between the target language and the national culture of the taught language. The analysis shows that the Russian-speaking professional and academic community is currently not ready to give up relying on the norms of British English, as this is the strongest value connection in the native speaker concept. However, changes in the development of students' sociocultural competence are possible, since the connection between native speaker and target interlocutor is weakening. Thus, a hybrid linguodidactic model can be formed that combines the teaching of the language itself, as in EFL, and the teaching of culture, as in EIL.

#### Conclusion

The term 'native speaker' seems unproblematic in direct translation, but comparing the content, structure and functioning of concepts in English and Russian linguodidactic academic discourses, we see significant differences that lead to changes in language education. The English-language concept has a dual structure: *native speaker* is closely related to the term 'non-native speaker'. Earlier achieving native-like competence used to be the goal of learning, now a non-native English speaker who has reached a high level of communicative competence is offered as a role model. The idea of *target interlocutor* has changed, as the number of contacts in English between non-native speakers exceeded the number of contacts between native speakers and non-native speakers. The role of the teacher in the classroom has also changed, scholars write about the benefits of learning with non-native English speakers, as they are aware of the difficulties of learning a non-native language and can act as an achievable model.

The Russian-language concept remains more solid. It has a clear centripetal structure and firm links between *native speaker* and other key concepts, like *learning model* and *ideal teacher*. However, the Russian linguodidactic discourse reflects the changes that have taken place in the functioning of the English language in the world and considers not only native English speakers as target interlocutors.

The concept of the native speaker of the target language is an important factor in determining the linguodidactic model of teaching, however, the degree of its influence on the discourse still needs to be more deeply investigated and assessed, as well as the relationship of this concept with other key concepts of linguodidactic discourse, which are not mentioned in the article.

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## THE ONOMASTIC VOCABULARY AS THE CULTURAL LACUNARITY MARKER

Onomastic vocabulary, as a linguistic research object, has for a long time been on the periphery and received insufficient researchers' attention. The anthropocentric approach to the surrounding reality phenomena investigation enables this section of the vocabulary to be studied from the language and culture relationship point of view. Onomastic vocabulary in this case appears to be a translator of cultural information, a carrier of people national-specific features and ethnic identity. The linguocultural study of onomastic vocabulary as a cultural lacunarity marker seems to be relevant and widens research opportunities for proper names translating and contrasting studies. Thus, the onomastic vocabulary is subjectively studied via culturally-specific semantic features. The paper aims at investigating the onomastic vocabulary as a cultural lacunarity marker. Research objectives are to consider the concept of onomastic vocabulary and of cultural lacunarity; to analyze the onomastic vocabulary cultural specifics; to investigate the culture specific onomastic vocabulary in «The Master and Margarita» by M. Bulgakov. The paper exploits the contrasting analysis method to identify and characterize the onymyc lacunae on the material of «The Master and Margarita» by M. Bulgakov translated into English. The culture-specific information of a proper name can be extracted by means of complete linguo-cognitive analysis of a whole concept constituents' inventory that is a profound study of notion, value, image, association and interpretational aspect in terms of comprehension and translation. This type of analysis appears to be crucial for onomastic vocabulary translating in fiction. The onomastic vocabulary by Bulgakov refers to the semantic motivation type and appear to be «undeciphered» (by translators) lacunas in the novel's translations. The study proves the idea of onomastic vocabulary being a cultural lacunarity marker.

*Keywords*: onomastic vocabulary, lacunarity marker, lacunae, culture-specific, onym, proper name.

О.В.Глухова

#### ОНОМАСТИЧЕСКАЯ ЛЕКСИКА КАК МАРКЕР КУЛЬТУРНОЙ ЛАКУНАРНОСТИ

Ономастическая лексика, как объект языковедческих изысканий, долгое время находилась на периферии и получала недостаточное внимание со стороны исследователей. С расцветом антропоцентрического подхода к изучению феноменов окружающей действительности данный раздел лексики становится объектом пристального внимания исследователей,

разрабатывающих вопросы связи языка и культуры. Ономастическая лексика в этом случае представляется транслятором культурной информации, носителем национально-специфических черт народа, его этнического своеобразия. Изучение ономастической лексики как маркера культурной лакунарности, с позиций лингвокультурологии, представляется актуальным и открывает широкие исследовательские возможности, в том числе в аспекте перевода имен собственных в художественных произведениях и сопоставительного анализа в условиях межкультурной коммуникации. Цель исследования — изучение ономастической лексики как маркера культурной лакунарности на материале ономастической лексики романа М. М. Булгакова «Мастер и Маргарита». Поставленная цель определяет следующие задачи исследования: рассмотреть понятие ономастической лексики; рассмотреть понятие культурной лакунарности; проанализировать культурную специфику ономастической лексики; изучить культурную специфику ономастической лексики в романе М. М. Булгакова «Мастер и Маргарита». В статье используется метод ксопоставительного анализа для выявления и культурных характеристик онимических лакун в переводах романа на английский язык. Выявление культурно-специфичных особенностей имени собственного осуществляется при помощи лингвокогнитивного анализа компонентов номастического концепта, именем которого является имя собственное. Подобного род анализ представляется необходимым в условиях перевода. Имена собственные в романе М. Булгакова являются семантическимотивированными и в переводах на английский язык их основы остаются не дешифрованными, т.е. культурными лакунами. Проведенное исследование позволяет сделать вывод о способности ономастической лексики выступать в качестве маркера культурной лакунарности.

*Ключевые слова*: ономастическая лексика, имя собственное, лакунарность, лакуна, оним, маркер лакунарности.

#### Introduction

The idea of language and culture adhesion is quite popular in modern Russian linguistics. The vocabulary is considered to be the most culturally loaded part of any language system. Onomastic vocabulary, as a linguistic research object, has for a long time been on the periphery and received insufficient researchers' attention. The anthropocentric approach to the surrounding reality phenomena investigation enables this section of the vocabulary to be studied from the language and culture relationship point of view. Onomastic vocabulary in this case appears to be a translator of cultural information, a carrier of people national-specific features and ethnic identity. The nature of proper names in a particular linguocultural community is determined by the people's ideas of the world structure, the whole set of ethnic cognitive experience, its' history, geography, ideo-

logy, religion, culture, etc. and determines the relevance of the onomastics study within anthropological and cognitive paradigms.

It becomes particularly evident when a contemporary reader (or translator) is challenged by a classical fiction referring to the concepts and worldview of the past that turns out to be irrelevant and undecipherable for him. Any fiction is highly charged with proper names, which researchers classify as non-equivalent vocabulary. These are names and surnames, toponyms, names of institutions, mass media, and many others. Names in fiction are often clear sign of the individual author's style, act as a semantically marked means, help to understand the writer's worldview and reveal the artistic meanings of the work. Since onyms in a literary work are capacious lexical units, they are used as a means of direct and indirect characteristics, revealed in the context of the work or etymologically.

The proper names actualization, as well as other lexical units, is closely related to a set of associations that affect perception, and depends on these associations' correspondence in the minds of the addresser and addressee. Such associations are formed in various chronological, socio-cultural, historical or political conditions and make proper names «keys» to decoding cultural experience. As Kaydarov states, «the features of national onomasticons are determined not only and not so much by being a part of a particular national language, but by the specifics of the national culture, that influenced national onymy creation and formation» [Kidarov 1990, p. 8]. The presence of a cultural component in the proper name semantics raises the question of the lacunarity of a proper name in terms of contrasting languages, interlingual and intercultural communication.

Thus, the linguocultural study of onomastic vocabulary as a cultural lacunarity marker seems to be relevant and widens research opportunities for proper names translating and contrasting studies. Thus, the onomastic vocabulary is subjectively studied via culturally-specific semantic features. The paper aims at investigating the onomastic vocabulary as a cultural lacunarity marker.

Research objectives:

- 1. Consider the concept of onomastic vocabulary.
- 2. Consider the concept of cultural lacunarity.
- 3. Analyze the onomastic vocabulary cultural specifics.
- 4. Investigate the culture specific onomastic vocabulary in «The Master and Margarita» by M. Bulgakov.

The paper exploits the contrasting analysis method to identify and characterize the onymyc lacunae on the material of «The Master and Margarita» by M. Bulgakov translated into English.

#### The concept of onomastic vocabulary

For a long time, proper manes were rendered as being no more than labels adjusted to some subjects and objects. But considering the idea of deliberateness in label adjustment makes us think of proper names as bearing a cognitive nature. A proper name according to Shcherbak A. S. [Shcherbak 2008, p. 20] is a complex multi-aspect system in which thought is embodied in reality». Arguing about the cognitive nature of the proper name, A.S. Shcherbak classifies it as «a kind of verbal sign that has a sound form and conceptual content, that is, a cognitive essence» [Shcherbak 2008, p. 43]. The author introduces the definition of «onomastic concept», which is a «unit of linguistic knowledge of an encyclopedic nature». This concept defines the semantics of a proper name, the onomastic reality knowledge and serves as the onomastic category formation basis [Shcherbak 2008, p. 38]. The tandem of consciousness, onomastic sign and reality suggests the structure of an onomastic concept that is a set of generalized conceptual features sufficient for objects and subjects identifying as a fragment of an onomastic worldview [Shcherbak 2008, p. 60].

The specific ability of onomastic vocabulary to reflect the word phenomena and its cognitive nature prove the culture-based approach to proper name semantics studies. The problem of proper names' semantics has for a long time been underestimated sphere of linguistics as the onomastic meaning was bound to object correlation only [Superanskaya 2007, p. 263], i.e. referential agency. Although it doesn't mean that the proper name is deprived of any information capacity. The idea is supported by E. Hansak, arguing that «a proper name, considered from the standpoint of the theory of language, has as much meaning as a word can have» [Hansak 2000, p. 372].

The proper name, according to A. V. Superanskaya conveys the conversational, linguistic and encyclopaedic knowledge. The encyclopaedic knowledge in this case appears to be crucial for the proper name semantics understanding in terms of cognitive linguistics. The proper name in this case provides an access point to the whole senses and associations inventory of a particular onomastic concept that is often culture-specific. Grant W. Smith considers the meaning of a proper name to be symbolic «insofar as it is found in contextual relationship rather than in a single referent» [Smith 2017, p. 25]. The symbolic value results in a set of associations related to a specific context and enables name understanding. In terms of the present study the culture-specific associations and symbolic values are investigated as cultural lacunarity markers.

#### The concept of cultural lacunarity

The term «lacuna» was first introduced by J. Vinay and J. Darbelne [1995 [1998]] and is now widely used in modern linguistics. Though the biggest input into the lacunarity theory is made by Russian scholars Sternin, Stepanov, Sorokin, Markovina, Barkhudarov and others. A number of approaches (psycholinguistic, ethnolinguistic, cultural, communicative) used by the researchers in studying the phenomenon prove its interdisciplinary character though result in some terminological inconsistency. Thus, lacunae can be referred to as "non-equivalents" [Sternin 1997, p. 18], "lexical gaps", "blank spots" or "anti-words" [Stepanov 2003 [1965], p. 120].

The ideas of culture-specific lacunarity can be found in the studies of Russian and foreign scholars. According to the theory of lacunarity developed by Yu.A. Sorokin, «the process of intracultural and intercultural communication (both at the interpersonal and textual levels) is a conflict process due to differences in the volume and structuring of personal and ethnic experiences, both verbal and non-verbal» [Sorokina 2007, p. 44]. The study of lacunae, the identification of areas in which cultural disagreement between languages is observed, will help to explore more deeply the nationally determined features of meaning formation and will contribute to more effective intercultural communication.

I. Markovina considers the phenomenon of lacunarity, from the standpoint of ethnopsycholinguistics and views intercultural communication as a condition for identifying incongruity areas in communicants' worldviews [Markovina 2007, p. 4]. This theory of lacunarity has become relevant because lacunae of various types can be identified in the course of a comparative analysis of cultures and languages. The process of languages and cultures translation or contrastive comparison reveals the gaps that Shakhovsky et al. consider to be a mismatch of conceptual, linguistic, emotional and other categories of two / several linguocultural communities» [Shakhovsky et al., 1998, p. 82].

Z. Popova and I. Sternin suggest dividing lacunae into two types: motivated and unmotivated [Popova, Sternin, 2002]. Motivated gaps are explained by the absence of a corresponding object or phenomenon in the national culture. Unmotivated gaps do not mean that there is no specific concept in a particular language, since the latter, for various reasons, may simply not be verbalized in a given linguoculture, since it is communicatively irrelevant.

E. Alimova dealing with the lacunarity concept in her PhD thesis [2022] refers to the ideas of Popova and Sternin [2002] and brings them

into correlation with the semiotic triangle (concept, referent, form). The vertices of the triangle manifest connotative, denotative, nominative aspects of the sign. In the situation of cross-cultural communication all the constituents of the source language / culture sign correspond to the target language / culture sign we observe the full equivalence. Otherwise, if at least one of the constituents does not coincide that results in lacunarity. E. Alimova [2022] provides a lacunarity model for different types of discrepancy.

The first type is called a connotative lacunarity and relates to the *connotative* disruption between source (SL) and target language (TL). See Figure 1.

The second type, referred to as *nominative* lacunarity, accounts for the lack of lexicalized concept in TL (Fig. 2).

The third type — the *denotative* lacunarity — implies the absence of denotatum in TL refers to the «understanding of a lexical lacuna as a culture-specific referent» [Alimova 2022] (Fig. 3).

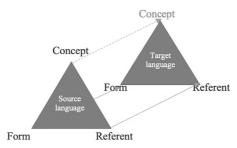
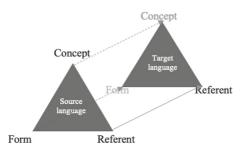
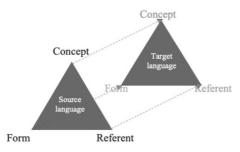


Fig. 1. A connotative lacunarity model Source: Alimova, 2022, 17.



*Fig. 2.* A nominative lacunarity model Source: Alimova, 2022, 18.



*Fig. 3.* A denotative lacunarity model Source: Alimova, 2022, 18.

Thus, the model offered by A. Alimova distinguishes three types of lacunae: connotative, denotative, nominative. Having studied different types of lacunae in corpus-based data the author concludes that lexical lacuna is «a knowledge-dependent discrepancy between two lexical systems manifesting itself as the absence of a direct equivalent in one of the languages due to the divergent culturally-conditioned denominative practices» [Alimova 2022, p. 222]. The term «knowledge-dependent» in [Alimova 2022] refers to encyclopaedic knowledge in terms of cognitive linguistics and is used in this paper to denote the culture-specific knowledge.

#### **Cultural Specifics of Onomastic Vocabulary**

The culture-specific perspective of onomastic studies in Russian linguistics date back to the late 80<sup>th</sup> of the XX century when the idea of onomastic worldview was uttered. Since then there appeared a number of studies in a whole range of approaches like culture-through-language studies, ethnolinguistic, linguocultural and cognitive ones.

The ethnolinguistic studies postulate the spiritual culture being the basis of culture-specific component of onym and searches the modes of this information representation [Berezovich 1999]. In that respect the studies of V. Golomidova are of particular interest as they anticipated the cognitive approach of the recent years. The author refers to the frame semantics in proper names and investigates the onyms from the linguistic and cognitive standpoint [Golomidova 1998, pp. 23–27].

The culture-through-language vector reveals the background knowledge in a proper name that is a «start point for associations objectifying the ethnocultural community collective consciousness» [Vereshchagin 1991, p.44]. This very approach, though is highly criticized [Berezovich 1999], for being of strictly synchronic character, focuses on the realia-

onyms — significant in terms of culture-through-language research units of onomastic vocabulary (*Big Ben, Moscow* etc.). The background semantics of a proper name as a culture-specific information representation mode, should be interpreted in terms of connotative meaning that is the whole range of socially significant cultural associations of a language community [Anikina 1988, p. 7]. The author suggests four-component structure of a connotative meaning: formal, situational, socio-historical and personally-associative. The similar distinction is found in Vereshchagin's research [Vereshchagin 1991, p. 44]. Though V. Neroznak [1995, p. 5], E. Berezovich [1999, p. 131] and V. Maslova [2018] criticize the culture-through-language approach as lacking the deep study of onomastic vocabulary organization principles. V. Maslova speculates on the culture-through-language studies as dealing exclusively with non-equivalent words (primary-named units) that does not condition the worldview as distinct from secondary-naming units of implicit content.

V. Neroznak offers a linguocultural view of onomastic vocabulary with encyclopaedic information in semantics being prioritized. The linguocultural perspective to onymic studies exploited by V. Maslova [2018] founds upon the concept of cultural information implicit character revealed only in a specific context [Maslova 2018, p. 30] thus referring to a discourse vector on proper names studies. The author renders toponyms as cultural concepts of particular structure with a stereotypic or prototype situation.

Thus, the meaning of any proper name is culture-specific and is determined by considering the structure of the onomastic concept, since «a separate individual concept is a bundle of knowledge, perhaps very rich, and highly schematic. An individual concept is capable of almost unlimited modifications, especially through the descriptive content of certain referential expressions» [Croft, Cruze 2004, p. 75]. The proper name information is initially processed subjectively and shows individual knowledge. The collective cultural definitions arise from individual concepts that interact and change over different periods of human history. The creation of proper names seeks to comprehend and evaluate human nature and environment, making the onym to transform into a symbol of culture. The socio-cultural assessment of names develops into human qualities' assessment [Alefirenko 2002, p. 76].

Thereafter, the culture-specific study of onomastic vocabulary implies the whole concept reconstruction, i. e. the representation of culture-specific meanings in a national consciousness. The reconstruction refers to value, notion, image and interpretation zone [Maslova 2018, p. 31]. This onomastic concept structure constituents are to be considered in translation and require their detection and out-of-the box interpreting solutions.

All stated above on the proper names culture-specific features does not contradict to the lacunae triangle model by Alimova [Alimova 2022, p. 222], though views the onym from the linguo-cognitive perspective as a cultural lacunae marker.

### The culture specific onomastic lacunae in «The Master and Margarita»

The onymic vocabulary embodies the symbolic character of the novel «The Master and Margarita». The two types of proper names: anthroponyms and toponyms employ the author's ironical worldview conception. The anthroponyms used in different (in plot and genre) chapters of the novel — Moscow (real narrative plan), biblical (historical narrative plan), demonic (unreal narrative plan) — are distinct in motivation and culture-specific structure that result in lacunarity of various types. This paper investigates the proper names of Moscow plan as reflecting onomastic concepts of a particular culture in terms of chronological, ethnographical and social features significant for the author.

We aim at considering the lacunarity of some anthroponyms via Russian-English (by Peaver and Glenny) translations contrasting. The proper names under investigation (Лиходеев — Likhodeev, Мстислав Лаврович — Mstislav Lavrovich, Пороков — Porokov, Пролежнев — Prolezhnev, Поприхин — Poprikhin, Благовест — Blagovest, Беломут — Belomut, Аннушка — Annushka) refer to the motivated or secondary-naming units and predominate in Bulgakov's onomasticon. The semantics of naming a character is strictly correlated with the appearance of the name bearer, his type of behavior, all valued and assessed by the author according to his worldview. The names meaning characteristics can be explained in the context of the novel plot-discourse, though some translators disregard or just unaware of them when rendering into the target language.

Let us consider the proper name *Аннушка* — *Annushka*, who spilled sunflower oil, and then tried to steal a diamond horseshoe from Margarita, in order to return this horseshoe to its rightful owner, it took the intervention of supernatural forces. Although at first sight the onym can be easily translated into the target language via transliteration, it results in lacunarity that V.Maslova [Maslova 2018, p.31] refers to as interpretational aspect of the onomastic concept. The researchers of Bulgakov's work argue that Annushka got her name from the famous Moscow tram "A" walked through the center of Moscow between Chistye Prudy and Kaluga Square. Being a tram "A", he got the nickname «Annushka» from

Muscovites [Itkin 2014]. Those associations or the components of the encyclopaedic knowledge are left silent for the foreign reader as neither of translators commented them.

M. Bulgakov	Peaver	M. Glenny
«Аннушка, наша Ан- нушка! с Садовой! Это ее работа!»	Annushka! From Sadovaya!	" Anna, it was our Anna! She was coming from Sadovaya! It's her job, you see"

Table 1. Annushka translations by Peaver, Glenny

Though Peaver, trying to preserve the cultural specifics accurately conveys the diminutive form of the name Anna and provides the transliterated form that reflects the positive, gentle attitude. Russian diminutive-hypocoristic suffixes, as S. Ter-Minasova states, serve to feature the Russian language need to express love, tenderness towards the world around [Ter-Minasova 2000, p. 153]. In his translation M. Glenny prefers using the common form of Russian name Anna, that has the same equivalents in many European languages thus depriving it from culture-specific meaning. These formal features (common or diminutive) are considered in terms of notional aspect they also refer to cultural identity.

Another proper name considered to be a lacuna in Bulgakov's novel is Беломут — Belomut. It is semantically motivated and refers to the features of positive hero character in the novel (белый — white) and the means of his disappearance (the deep lace). Belomut, as seen from the contrasting analysis, appears to be lacunar both in nomination (see the model by Akimova) and implicit cultural information i.e. interpretation zone (see Maslova). The nominative lacunarity of Belomut manifests in the name's inner form that should be considered as a contaminant of белый (white) and омут (deep place or pool in a river) semantically referring to white pool. The lacunarity of the encyclopaedic character becomes obvious if the prototype of Belomut is considered. It was a projection of the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs, who oversaw the construction of the White Sea-Baltic Canal.

As seen from the contrasting analysis, none of the translators was aware of such culture-specific information and left the gap unfilled.

The analysis of the onyms like Лиходеев — Likhodeev, Мстислав Лаврович — Mstislav Lavrovich, Пороков — Porokov, Пролежнев — Prolezhnev, Поприхин — Poprikhin, Благовест — Blagovest etc. results in the

Table 2. Belomut translations by Peaver, Glenny

M. Bulgakov	Peaver	M. Glenny
жере, пятидесятилетняя почтенная и очень деловая дама, три комнаты из пяти сдавала жильцам: одному, фамилия которого была, кажется,	"Anna Frantsevna de Fougeray, a respectable and very practical fifty-year-old woman, let out three of the five rooms to lodgers: one whose last name was apparently <b>Belomut</b> , and another with a lost last name".	been owned by the widow of a jeweller called de Foug- ere, Anna Frantzevna, a respectable and very busi- ness-like lady of fifty, who let three of her five rooms

similar output. They all refer to the semantic motivation type and appear to be «undeciphered» lacunas in the novel's translations.

#### Conclusion

The contemporary interdisciplinary vector to linguistic knowledge domain studies allows the researchers to view onomastic vocabulary as a complex phenomenon of linguistic, cognitive and cultural nature. The cognitive essence of onomastic vocabulary results in appearance of onomastic concept that encompasses the encyclopedic knowledge, the values and the associations referring to the proper name. The proper name in this case becomes a symbol and an access point to the culture-specific background.

The culture-specific lacunarity is easily revealed in translation or contrasting analysis, when the conceptual, linguistic, emotional etc. mismatches result in misunderstanding. Depending on the type of discrepancy there outlined connotative, nominative or denotative lacunarity. Though regardless of type the lacunarity is a cultural phenomenon in its essence.

The linguocultural and cognitive approach to onomastic vocabulary studies render a proper name as concept implicitly manifesting the cultural information, conditioning a worldview and revealed in a specific context. The culture-specific information of a proper name can be extracted by means of complete linguo-cognitive analysis of a whole concept constituents' inventory. This type of analysis appears to be crucial for onomastic vocabulary translating in fiction.

Investigating the culture specific onomastic vocabulary in «The Master and Margarita» via contrasting its Russian-to-English translations results in uncovering the range of proper names being lacunae. The moti-

vated character of proper names by Bulgakov determine their conceptual nature and require a profound study of notion, value, image, association and interpretational aspect in terms of comprehension and translation. Although the following study of various types of onyms (toponyms, hydronyms, etc.) could contribute deeply into the theory of onomastic lacunarity, yet all stated above proves the idea of onomastic vocabulary being a cultural lacunarity marker.

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#### F. V. BULGARIN'S NOVEL "PYOTR IVANOVICH VYZHIGIN" COMMENTED BY FRENCH LITERARY CRITIC E.-J. HÉREAU

F. V. Bulgarin's novel "Pyotr Ivanovich Vyzhigin" (1831), which takes place against the background of the Patriotic War of 1812, can be considered a forerunner of "War and Peace" by L. N. Tolstoy. It drew first a rather negative criticism. The French edition, published almost immediately after the Russian one, in 1832, included lengthy comments by journalist and literary critic E.-J. Héreau, which have not yet attracted the attention of researchers. It is the purpose of this paper to examine them. Far from the quarrels of the Russian literary scene, Héreau was relatively free from prejudices and passions. On the other hand, his being French could in some cases distort his perception of recent events affecting both France and Russia. Héreau's comments, many of which contain references to specific historical works and sources, are examined using biographical, historical-cultural, historical-genetic and comparative methods. As the French critic addressed mainly the French public, ignorant of the realities of Russian life, he gave them all sorts of information: basic notions about Russia; judgments about the moral character of Russians; criticism of Bulgarin's interpretation of some episodes of Napoleon's Russian campaign. Héreau appears to share in many respects the skepticism of Russian critics. Like them, he seems to regret the fact that the two storylines of the novel, historical and fictional, only occasionally intersect. However, Héreau was more concerned with questions of plausibility. In general, he paid more attention to the historical storyline, criticizing Bulgarin for using Ph. de Ségur as his main source of information.

Keywords: E.-J. Héreau, F. V. Bulgarin, *Pyotr Ivanovich Vyzhigin*, literary criticism, historical novel, Patriotic War of 1812.

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#### РОМАН Ф. В. БУЛГАРИНА «ПЕТР ИВАНОВИЧ ВЫЖИГИН» В КОММЕНТАРИЯХ ФРАНЦУЗСКОГО ЛИТЕРАТУРНОГО КРИТИКА Э.-И.ЭРО

Роман Ф. В. Булгарина «Петр Иванович Выжигин» (1831), действие которого разворачивается на фоне Отечественной войны 1812 г., может считаться предшественником «Войны и мира» Л. Н. Толстого. Произведение стало объектом критических нападок современников. Французское издание, которое появилось почти сразу после русского, в 1832 г., сопровождалось пространными комментариями журналиста и литературного крити-

ка Э.-И. Эро, которые до сих пор не привлекли внимание исследователей. Далекий от ссор русских литераторов, Эро был относительно свободен от их предубеждений и страстей. С другой стороны, будучи французом, он мог в некоторых случаях искаженно воспринимать недавние события, затронувшие как Россию, так и Францию. Комментарии Эро, многие из которых содержат отсылки к конкретным историческим трудам и источникам, анализируются с помощью биографического, историко-культурного, историко-генетического и сравнительного методов. Поскольку французский критик адресовался главным образом к французской публике, несведущей в реалиях русской жизни, он постарался представить ей разнообразную информацию: базовые сведения о России; суждения о нравственном облике русских; критика булгаринской интерпретации отдельных эпизодов Русской кампании Наполеона. В результате проведенного исследования стало ясно, что Эро разделял во многом скепсис русских критиков. Как и они, он испытывал сожаление по поводу того, что две сюжетные линии романа, историческая и художественная, лишь изредка пересекаются. Однако Эро больше интересовали вопросы правдоподобия. В целом французский комментатор уделял большее внимание историческому фону, критикуя Булгарина за то, что тот использовал Ф. де Сегюра в качестве основного источника своих сведений.

Ключевые слова: Э.-И. Эро, Ф. В. Булгарин, *Петр Иванович Выжигин*, литературная критика, исторический роман, Отечественная война 1812 г.

#### Introduction

"Pyotr Ivanovich Vyzhigin", published in St. Petersburg in 1831, became the third novel by F. V. Bulgarin after "Ivan Vyzhigin" (1829) and "Dimitry the Pretender" (1830). While "Ivan Vyzhigin" was presented as a "moral and satirical novel", according to the definition of Bulgarin himself, and "Dimitry the Pretender" as a historical novel, then "Pyotr Ivanovich Vyzhigin" had the subtitle "moral and historical novel". All three novels enjoyed reader success, especially "Ivan Vyzhigin", which was named "the first Russian bestseller" [Reitblat, 2001, p. 194]. It was the popularity of the first novel that prompted Bulgarin to write its following, which was "Pyotr Ivanovich Vyzhigin".

The publication of Bulgarin's novels was immediately followed by their French editions. "Pyotr Ivanovich Vyzhigin" in French edition of 1832 included lengthy comments by journalist and writer Edme-Joachim Héreau (1791–1836), French connoisseur of Russian literature. The action of the novel takes place against the background of the grandiose historical events of the Patriotic War of 1812. Héreau himself was a witness to the Russian campaign of Napoleon, as he spent ten years in Russia from 1809 to 1819. First a tutor in the family of a Russian prince, after Napo-

leon's invasion in 1812, he became, in his own words, "State prisoner in Russia" [Bulgarine, 1832, t. III, p. 244].

The purpose of this paper is to examine the comments by Héreau, which have not yet attracted the attention of researchers. "Pyotr Ivanovich Vyzhigin" drew first a rather negative criticism in Russia. That's why it seems that such an analysis will make it possible to reveal in what way the perception of the Bulgarin's text by the French critic converged or differed from the reviews of his Russian colleagues and for what reasons. It can be assumed that free from the prejudices and passions of Russian literary circles, Héreau brought more objectivity to his judgments. At the same time, one cannot ignore that his being French could in some cases distort his perception of historical events painful for both Russia and France.

#### Methods and material

E.-J. Héreau's comments to the French edition of Bulgarin's novel "Pyotr Ivanovich Vyzhigin", many of which contain references to specific historical works and sources, are examined using biographical, historical-cultural, historical genetic and comparative methods.

After his return to France, Héreau became executive secretary of the liberal "Revue Encyclopédique". A regular reviewer for the "Foreign books" rubric, he published articles on Russian literature and about such phenomena as censorship in Russia etc. Publications in the "Revue Encyclopédique" introduced the French reader to the literary and journalistic activities of F. V. Bulgarin. In 1828, an article by J. H. Schnitzler reported some remarkable biographical information about him [Schnitzler, 1828, p. 416].

A native of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Faddei Venediktovich Bulgarin (1789–1859) participated with the Russian army in the war of the Fourth coalition of 1806–1807, but went over to the side of Napoleonic France in 1811. His participation in the campaign against Russia can be explained by his Polish origin. Many Poles then believed that Napoleon would restore Polish statehood lost during the partitions. Captured by Prussia in 1814, he was extradited to Russia, which treated him generously due to the desire of Emperor Alexander I to attract Polish sympathies to his side. Having laid down his arms, Bulgarin in a short time managed to create a reputation in journalism and literature, largely thanks to cooperation with N.I. Grech.

Together they were engaged in the publishing of many reputable periodicals. Such publishing activity made Bulgarin an influential person in literary circles. A. S. Pushkin's words in a letter to p. A. Vyzemsky testify to this: "I am moving from politics to literature, that is, to Bulgarin" [Push-

kin, 1962, p. 34]. Pushkin at that time was in a literary controversy with Bulgarin, mixed with indignation for political reasons, since Bulgarin had a reputation as a consultant to the Third Department of the personal office of Emperor Nicolas I. Bulgarine, for his part, did not favor Pushkin, denouncing him as "literary aristocrat" [Feduta, 2015, p. 229–230].

The first publication of Héreau on Bulgarin dates back to the end of 1829, when his review of the novel "Ivan Vyzhigin" appeared in the "Revue Encyclopédique" [Héreau, 1829, p. 136–137]. In the next issue has been published another, more extensive review by Héreau, this time for the Paris edition entitled "Ivan Wijighine, ou le Gilblas russe". Héreau's verdict was ambiguous. In his opinion, Bulgarin's merit consisted in "a bold and faithful portrayal of morals" of Russian society. "As for the interest inspired by the characters and even the hero, it is almost nil, and it is not a skillfully plotted novel that the author wanted to present to us" [Héreau, 1830, p. 429].

It is worth noting that Héreau's last publication in the "Revue Encyclopédique" dates back to 1831. The reason lies in the change of directors of the journal. In April 1831, M.-A. Jullien de Paris, the founder of the journal, resigned his powers. With the establishment of the July Monarchy, tensions appeared in Russian-French relations. Having lost the opportunity to publish in the "Revue Encyclopédique", Héreau seems to be out of the situation by writing comments on the French edition of "Pétre Ivanovitch, suite du Gilblas russe".

Each of four volumes of the French edition was accompanied by comments by Héreau, placed for the most part at the end of the text. The intrigue is based on the love story of Pyotr Vyzhigin with Liza, who at the beginning appears as an orphan. Before marrying Liza, the hero has to overcome many trials. The French edition did not reproduce Bulgarin's preface, in which he reported that "the war of 1812 in my (his) novel is only an episode, and the novel itself is moralistic" [Bulgarin, 1831, t. I, p. II]. It is clear that in this way he tried to protect himself from criticism in advance. According to Bulgarin: "Everything that Napoleon and his associates say in the novel is not invented by me, but is drawn from the writings to which I refer" [Bulgarin, 1831, t. I, p. I]. It should be noted that Héreau, for his part, constantly referred to historical works on Napoleon's Russian campaign and memoirs.

#### Results

The originality of the novel by F. V. Bulgarin "Pyotr Ivanovich Vyzhigin" is that it tells about the recent past. But the choice of 1812 as the historical background for a rather trivial love story did the novel vulnerable

to criticism by witnesses and participants of the Patriotic War. Indeed, most contemporary to Bulgarin authors of historical novels like W. Scott. F. Cooper, p. Mérimée, A. de Vigny, preferred to describe events in the distant past. A kind of "payment" for courage was the rather harsh criticism of Bulgarin's novel by Russian writers, and not only Pushkin's circle. By the way, Pushkin did not devote a special text to the analysis of this novel. Immediately after its edition, critical reviews were published in the journals "Teleskop", "Moskovskij Telegraf". Their authors N. A. Polevoy, N. I. Nadezhdin did not belong to "literary aristocrats". Some of reviewers were hidden behind anonymity. Later A. A. Bestuzhev and V. G. Belinsky joined the critical voices against "Pyotr Ivanovich Vyzhigin".

The review by N. A. Polevoy criticized Bulgarin's ambition "to fit into one and the same work — both pictures of morals, and the events of the gigantic 1812, and the love story of the heroes of the novel, and great historical figures!" The narrow frame of the world of his heroes cannot accommodate huge historical events, which results in an unimaginable mixture of the great and the ordinary. "From this, two main characters appear in the novel: *Napoleon and Pyotr Ivanovich Vyzhigin*! They go hand in hand, can't part with each other and make us wonder how the writer did not see this inconsistency!" [Polevoy, 1990, p. 87–88].

N. A. Polevoy was echoed by the anonymous reviewer "M" from the "Telescope": "*Historical* scenes, or in general everything that relates to the war of 1812, is so sharply different from the rest — *moralistic*, like oil differs from water". According to the scathing critic, Bulgarin showed mainly a talent for historical scenes, as a result of which "*Petr Vyzhigin* barely drags behind Napoleon on a skinny nag" ["M", Telescope, p. 357–358].

On the contrary, A. A. Bestuzhev believed that "the historical part is completely consumptive, despite the fact that "Napoleon occupies more space in "Vyzhigin" than the hero of the story himself". The lack of persuasiveness consists in the author's superficial argumentation: "To assure that Napoleon went to Russia, deceived by Caulaincourt, that he would be received with open arms, it was possible in 1812, no later than; and even then these rumors were believed only in the Gostiny Dvor" [Bestuzhev, 1981, p. 448]. V. G. Belinsky considered that "Petr Ivanovich completely overshadowed Napoleon, which proved Bulgarin's inability to paint historical figures, especially such great ones as Napoleon" [Belinsky, 1842]. In general, Russian critical reviews differed in details, but agreed on the main thing — "Petr Ivanovich Vyzhigin" consists of two novels, the storylines of which intersect only from time to time.

Comments by E.-J. Héreau to the French edition were somewhat different from the usual critical review. They contain only analyze, but also

provide information from Russian life, because Héreau addressed for the average French reader, not familiar with life in Russia. So, Héreau gives explanations of the origin and meaning of some Russian words, names and patronymics, diminutive forms from names, traditional forms of addressing equals and superiors, ranks according the Table of ranks etc. He offers information about tea from a samovar, kvass, vehicles such as droshky, kibitka, telega etc. Héreau specifically dwells on the custom of Russian peasants to make the sign of the cross at the entrance to the hut, thereby indicating the piety of the people. It should be noted that Héreau was very accurate every time with regard to his sources. In most cases, he indicated not only the author and the title of the work cited or mentioned by him, but also the place of publication, publisher, year and pages.

The comments talk about the architecture of St. Petersburg, the land-scape and sights of its environs. On occasion, Héreau supplements the general information with his own impressions. So, the Kazan Cathedral containing the tomb of M.I. Kutuzov is "unfortunately crushed by the surrounding houses". Regarding the Yusupov Garden, owned by Prince Yusupov, Héreau also refers to his own memories: "We happened to see in his palace, in Moscow, very beautiful paintings brought by him from France..." [Bulgarine, 1832, t. I, p. 233–234].

The commentator points to those elements of the text that, in his opinion, are erroneous. So, he does not remember that in the vicinity of St. Petersburg there was a place designated as Largolova, but he had to stay many times in the picturesque place Pergola, called "Little Switzerland", to which the description given by Bulgarin fits well [Bulgarine, 1832, t. I, p. 237]. Apparently he means Pargolovo. When mentioning Krestovsky island, Héreau refers to the enthusiastic testimony of Dupré de Saint-Maure in his "Russian anthology" (Paris, 1823) [Bulgarine, 1832, t. 1, p. 234–236].

Héreau happens to dilute information about the architectural sights of St. Petersburg with anecdotes. So, according to rumors, one Englishman undertook a trip to St. Petersburg solely in order to enjoy the view of the lattice of the Summer Garden, after which he immediately left for London [Bulgarine, 1832, t. I, p. 234]. It is interesting to note that the same anecdote was reproduced by A. Dumas in his "Travelling impressions. In Russia" [Dumas, 1865, p. 49].

Among the comments of Héreau are those in which he corrects the author. Liza, having arrived in Vilna in search of her benefactors, the Shmygaïlo couple, remains for some time in the house of Pan Morikonsky, where she was given a separate room. But the author forgot that the only free room that remained in the house of was occupied by Morikonsky's daughter and son-in-low, who came to visit. Another time Bulgarin forgot

that Romuald Schmigaïo does not know French [Bulgarine, 1832, t. II, p. 228].

In addition to a purely informative function, Héreau's comments perform a moralizing one. As a rule, he reinforces the Bulgarin text with his own observations or makes skeptical judgments on certain issues. According to the novel's French ambassador, St. Petersburg is the only place in Europe where the fine manners of the Louis XIV epoch have been preserved. Only French abbots were missing. Of course, Héreau is perfectly aware of Bulgarin's irony. However, he confirms, that "nowhere do we find better manners, a better tone than in high society in Russia, which has faithfully preserved the tradition of fine manners under which our ancient nobility, it is true, sometimes hid its nullity" [Bulgarine, 1832, t. I, p. 239].

Prodigality is also a distinctive feature of the Russian nobility, which neither the author nor the commentator passes by. One of the protagonists, already in his advanced years, recalls how, as an adjutant of Suvorov, he competed with his comrades in prodigality. The entertainment was to burn bank assignments as fireworks. Commenting on this episode, Héreau refers to his own experience of living in Russia: "These traits of madness are rarer today, no doubt among the Russians; and yet we have seen, a few years ago, young madmen, inflamed by wine and gambling, lighting their pipes with banknotes of 10 and 25 rubles" [Bulgarine, 1832, t. I, p. 239].

The commentator also makes a judgment about the corruption in Russia. Mikhail Ivanovich, an old man, recalls that before officials did not give anyone an account of their actions. Since an imperial decree forbade accepting gifts. However, Héreau is skeptical. In his opinion, the decree is unlikely to be able to eradicate the bribery in Russia, because "there is no country where one can make a more just application of this verse of Molère: "There are accommodations with heaven" from the satirical comedy "Tartuffe or the Deceiver" [Bulgarine, 1832, t. I, p. 239–240].

The most critical part of Héreau's comments relates to the historical background of the novel. Héreay reproaches Bulgarin for drawing his information from Count de Ségur's ook "History of Napoleon and the Great Army in 1812", becoming one of the first historical stories about the Russian campaign [Ségur, 1824]. Héreau reproaches him with excessive dramatization of the narrative and too much interest in the psychological side of events. When commenting on some episodes, he wrote "See Ségur" and indicated page for finding analogies.

Héreau himself preferred the work of Colonel J. Chambray "The History of the Expedition to Russia" [Chambray, 1823]. Chambray participated in Napoleon's campaign in Russia and was taken prisoner in the battle of Berezina. Perhaps their common experience of being in Russian

captivity made Chambray such an authority in the eyes of Héreau, and perhaps the fact that the historian managed to work with documents from the archives of the military department. In any case, his history had a good reputation. Colonel D. P. Buturlin was another historian of the Russian campaign in whom Héreau trusted [Buturlin, 1824].

Bulgarin fully relies on the Ségur's version in reproducing Napoleon's famous proclamation addressed to the Grand Army on June 22, 1812 from the imperial headquarters of Vilkovyshki. In it, Napoleon announces the beginning of the Second Polish Campaign and even already thinks about the conditions of the future world: "...it will put an end to the disastrous influence which Russia has exercised for fifty years over the affairs of Europe" [Bulgarine, 1832, t. II, p.51]. Héreau pointed out that instead of "disastrous influence" with its negative meaning, the original proclamation mentioned "proud influence" of Russia. He refers to Chambray and Buturlin, who reproduced the proclamation in accordance with the original. "Mr de Ségur, in his "History of Napoleon and the Grand Army, said disastrous. May posterity not confirm this last epithet!" [Bulgarine, 1832, t. II, p. 229]. One can say that Héreau's wish was fulfilled [Kerautret, 2004, t. 3, p. 64].

Héreau also uses the memoirs by S. de Choiseul-Gouffier, from which he quotes about the historical ball at the Zakret estate near Vilna, as well as about the tragic event that preceded it. The architect Schultz did not properly calculate the strength of the foundation for the gallery he built in the garden, that collapsed two days before the arrival of Emperor Alexander I. The guilty architect drowned himself. The novel contains the same story. According to Héreau: "We did not expect, when writing the first note of this chapter, that we were going to find a few pages later, the account of the event which we had judged curious to record there...but it will not be quite a duplication..." [Bulgarine, 1832, t. II, p. 227]. This confession testifies to the method of Héreau's work. Unlike Bulgarin, he does not accept Choiseul-Gouffier's hints about a possible collusion between Schultz and the French in order to kill the Emperor and draws a parallel with the suicide of the famous chef-cooker Vatel [Bulgarine, 1832, t. II, p. 7].

Héreau repeatedly refers to his experience in Russia, in order to confirm, or more often to refute Bulgarin's interpretation of some phenomena. Commenting the scene of a popular gathering to organize resistance to enemy marauding he assures that Bulgarin exaggerated the bloodthirstiness of the Russian peasants. "Prisoner of State at the time of this disastrous war, we have unfortunately witnessed the ill-treatment and some of the excesses to which despair and revenge sometimes carried Russians against those who had invaded their territory, and who insulted even to

their God; several times also, we have been happy intermediary between them. But this exasperation of the Russian people is short-lived; it only manifested itself against enemies taken up arms, rarely against prisoners..." [Bulgarine, 1832, t. III, p.244]. In the public opinion of the July Monarchy, there was great prejudice against the Russians, so Héreau was trying to smooth out the unpleasant impression that the reader could have from the harsh words.

In this way, Héreau's comments allows to learn some facts from his biography, which is very valuable, since there is little information about his stay in Russia. There is an opinion that he was exiled to Siberia for seven years, from 1812 to 1819) [Wolpert, 2007, p. 506]. One can doubt the stay in Siberia attributed to Héreau, especially since he does not confirm this anywhere. Contrary to popular belief, the prisoners of war of the Napoleonic army were kept in the European part of Russia, and Héreau, as follows from his own words, acted as an interpreter with them. Commenting on the episode, where the inhabitants of Moscow cannot believe in its abandonment, Héreau recalls an era of Napoleon's expulsion from Russia. He happened then to witness similar illusions: "We saw the French prisoners believed their brothers in arms triumphant within the capital of the Russian Empire, when the allied troops were on their way to Paris; and, later, when it was a question of sending them back to their country, they still imagined that they were being deceived, saying that they were intended to form legions that were to be sold to the English, or to populate the Siberian deserts" [Bulgarine, 1832, t. III, p. 262].

Bulgarin, followed by Héreau, raised debatable issues of Napoleon's Russian campaign. There is an episode where Marshal Ney criticizes Napoleon for not using the Guards at the end of the Battle of Borodino on September 7. According to Ney, this error of the Emperor did not allow the Great army to achieve a complete victory over the enemy [Bulgarine, 1832, t. III, p. 261]. Indeed, some marshals, including M. Ney, known for his intractable character, expressed dissatisfaction with the unclear outcome of the Battle of Borodino. Héreau notes that Bulgarin once again borrowed information from Ségur, but at the same time he added from himself and put into Ney's mouth a phrase that he definitely could not say: "We are soon at the end of the world". According to the critic, in the mouth of Marshal Ney, it sounds implausible. Only a simple soldier could "look at Moscow like the Pillars of Hercules" [Bulgarine, 1832, t. III, p. 254].

The theme of implausibility is quite widely present in Héreau's comments. In one of the scenes, armed Russian patriots catch a Russian police commissar of the French government of Moscow, at the moment when he says a toast to the health of Napoleon. Héreau is quite skeptical: "The

police commissar of the French government! All this goes a little beyond the limits of invention and especially those of plausibility" [Bulgarine, 1832, t. III, p. 263]. Another episode, in which a carriage with women, accompanied by an escort of horsemen, calmly moves through the streets of Moscow, infuriates Héreau with its implausibility, especially the phrase: "They encountered many French soldiers, but none had the audacity to stop them" [Bulgarine, 1832, t. III, p. 240]. Héreau is indignant: "Stronger and stronger! But these are the inconveniences of the historical novel. It is very difficult, not to say impossible, to make the novel and history work side by side, without the latter having to suffer from the proximity" [Bulgarine, 1832, t. III, p. 263].

The position of Héreau commentator in relation to the historical background of the novel is pro-French. He does not strive for objectivity and judges everything from his French point of view and from the height of his personal experience of being in Russia during the tragic events described in the novel.

#### Discussion

In Russia and in France there is not a single study devoted to the journalistic and literary activities of E.-J. Héreau. However, his name is often mentioned on the pages of works devoted to French journals of the 1820s–1830s, the "Revue Encyclopédique", F. V. Bulgarin, Russian-French literary relations. Héreau is strongly associated with the "Revue Encyclopédique", a periodical that introduced the French reader to Russian literature, largely thanks to the mediation of Russian informants, such as S. D. Poltoratsky, Ya. N. Tolstoy, p. A. Vyazemsky [Durylin, 1937, p. 94; Zaborov, 2019, p. 37; Zaborov, 1978, p. 258–266].

Often, Russian writers themselves took the initiative of their publication in French. So, "translations of Bulgarin's works appeared, as a rule, not as a result of the choice of French editors, but at the initiative of Bulgarin himself" [Artiukh, 2019, p. 365]. Bulgarin resorted to the mediation of N.I. Grech [Artioukh, 2010b, p. 225]. By the way, it seems useful to point out E. A. Artiukh's erroneous interpretation of Héreau's phrase in the review on "Ivan Vyzhigin", when he refers to a French translation which "we knew was in press, and today we come to fulfill this commitment" [Artioukh, 2010a, p. 213; Héreau, 1830, p. 426]. It cannot be "Pyotr Ivanovich Vyzhigin" simply because at the time of this note, in February 1830, the novel had not yet been written. In real, the above phrase means that after a short note on the Russian edition of "Ivan Vyzhigin", Héreau finally had an opportunity to write on its French edition, as well.

In the 1990s and 2000s, many studies about F. V. Bulgarin were published, in contrast to the previous period, when he was seen, first of all, as a spy of the Third Section and a literary enemy of A. S. Pushkin. A. I. Reitblat did a lot to draw attention to the fate and literary work of Bulgarin [Reitblat, 1990, p. 87]. Nowadays "Pyotr Ivanovich Vyzhigin" is of increasing research interest as the first Russian novel about the Patriotic war of 1812. It is studied by such literary critics as N. N. Akimova, D. Rebecchini, L. N. Kiseleva, A. Yu. Sorochan etc. Some of them focus on exploring the Polish theme of the novel [Kiseleva, Yashchuk, 2019].

As N. N. Akimova rightly noted: "If the emergence of the European historical novel coincides with the end of the Napoleonic wars (in 1814, W. Scott's first novel "Waverley" was published), then the Russian historical novel as the genre takes shape by the 1830s" [Akimova, 2012, p. 4]. "Pyotr Ivanovich Vyzhigin" like the historical novel by M. N. Zagiskin "Roslavlev, or the Russians in 1812", was published on the eve of the twentieth anniversary of the victory of Russia. Interest in the Patriotic War was partly generated by the Polish uprising of 1830–1831, which caused a movement in support of the Poles in France [Rebecchini, 2012, p. 425, 430].

The researchers note at the same time that Bulgarin's hero now and then finds himself in the circumstances of a "foreign" world, which allows the reader to look at the conflict from the outside and deprives it of a "sharp nationalist basis" [Akimova, 2012, p. 22]. The image of Napoleon, displayed in the novel, has become the subject of discussion. Some researchers think, he was given an apologetic interpretation, while others believe that Bulgarin endowed him with a number of negative features [Reitblat, 2016, p. 244, Rebecchini, 2012, p. 430]. S. M. Petrov, for his part, was completely of the opinion that "Bulgarin impoverishes outstanding historical figures, stupefies and distorts their role and significance" [Petrov, 1984, p. 63].

It is stated that "Bulgarin was one of the first in the literature to give an objective assessment of Barclay de Tolly" [Akimova, 2012, p.31]. According to D. Rebecchini, who studied the ideological nature of Bulgarin's novel "Pyotr Ivanovich Vyzhigin": "At the same time, unlike Pushkin and in the future Leo Tolstoy, Bulgarin did not praise either Barclay or Kutuzov: from his point of view, Russia was saved by the tsar Alexander I, inspired by God and supported by most of his subjects, especially from the lower strata of the population" [Rebecchini, 2012, p. 431].

Russian reviews on Bulgarin's novel, as a rule, received only a brief mention in research papers [Akimova, 2022, p. 288–289]. Soviet literary critic S.M. Petrov was an exception, since he not only gave a long quote

from the "Moscow Telegraph" of 1831, but also fully agreed with the theses set forth in it, reproaching Bulgarin with "shameless treatment of history" [Petrov, 1984, p. 63]. We have to state that none of the researchers has not taken up the analysis of the comments by Héreau to the French edition "Pyotr Ivanovich, following of the Russian Gilblas" of 1832.

#### Conclusion

The study of E.-J. Héreau's comments to the French edition of F. V. Bulgarin's novel "Pyotr Ivanovich Vyzhigin" reveals that the French commentator had much in common with the negative reaction of Russian critics. Like them, he seems to regret the fact that the two storylines of the novel, historical and fictional, only occasionally intersect. But there is one nuance. Héreau was more concerned with questions of credibility. In his opinion, when these two storylines happen to intersect, they produce something implausible. Héreau, in general, paid more attention to the historical background and to its sources, convicting Bulgarin in copying Ségur's history of Russian campaign of 1812. As to the fictional storyline, Héreau suffered the same disappointment as in the case of "Ivan Vyzhigin". The critic remained of the opinion that Bulgarin succeeded in describing morals better than anything else. For Héreau, his comments were also an opportunity to share with fact that he took it upon himself to write a novel about the recent past. However, the symbolic meaning of "Pyotr Ivanovich Vyzhigin" is great in the sense that it can be considered the forerunner of "War and Peace" by Leo Tolstoy.

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# THE CONTRASTIVE RHETORIC OF METADISCOURSE MARKERS IN L1 AND L2 RESEARCH PAPERS: A CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON OF ABSTRACTS AND DISCUSSION SECTIONS OF MEDICAL RESEARCH PAPERS

Most researchers find themselves in a very competitive surrounding and are supposed to be published continuously in prestigious peer-reviewed journals. However, the norms adopted by the local academic communities may differ from the norms adopted by the international academic communities. Differences have various causes and often include metadiscoursal textual features. The vast majority of the research in metadiscourse basically follow the model proposed by K. Hyland in 2005. To analyze the distribution of metadiscourse markers, four corpora were created: two corpora representing medical cardiology texts written in English by L2 Russian researchers (abstract and discussion section corpora) and two corpora representing English medical texts written by L1 English researchers. The results suggest that interactive metadiscourse markers for sequencing, announcing goals and indicating the nature of a given statement (evidentials) are more frequent in both L1 English abstracts and discussion sections than in their L2 English counterparts. The findings of this study have important pedagogical implications, especially for classes in English for Specific Purposes, English for Academic Purposes, and English for Research Publication Purposes.

*Keywords*: contrastive rhetoric, metadiscourse markers, disciplinary community.

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# СРАВНИТЕЛЬНЫЙ АНАЛИЗ МЕТАДИСКУРСИВНЫХ МАРКЕРОВ В АНГЛО- И РУССКОЯЗЫЧНЫХ МЕДИЦИНСКИХ СТАТЬЯХ НА ПРИМЕРЕ АННОТАЦИЙ И РАЗДЕЛОВ «ОБСУЖДЕНИЕ»

Большинство современных исследователей находятся в высококонкурентной академической среде и постоянно сталкиваются с необходимостью постоянно публиковать свои исследования в высокорейтинговых академических журналах. Поскольку большинство журналов с высоким импакт-фактором публикуются на английском языке, то важной проблемой становится не только соблюдать лексические и грамматические нормы английского языка, но и корректно использовать дискурсивные стратегии и учитывать метадискурсивные характеристики англоязычного академического текста. Статья посвящена сравнительному анализу

метадискурсивных характеристик русских и английских статей по медицине. Для анализа было создано четыре корпуса тестов, включающих аннотации и часть «обсуждение (discussion)» в английских и русских статьях по кардиологии. Результаты исследования показывают соотношение использования метадискурсивных маркеров в двух языках. В частности, было выявлено, что интерактивные (interactive) характеристики метадискурса английских медицинских статей (маркирующих последовательность текстовых сегментов и маркеры эвиденциальности) чаще используются авторами-носителями английского языка, чем русскоязычными авторами. Результаты исследования могут быть использованы при создании учебных курсов по английскому для специальных целей и академическому письму.

*Ключевые слова*: контрастивная риторика, метадискурсивные маркеры, дисциплинарные сообщества.

Members of modern academic community find themselves under enormous pressure to enhance their effort to pursue their careers through continuous publishing, and most of their success comes from doing so in peer-reviewed journals indexed in prestigious international citation databases. Both scholars and journals pay great attention to the norms adopted by the international academic communities. When we turn to the academic text produced by L2 Russian speakers from different discourse communities, however, we can see that the distribution patterns of textual features can differ greatly from those in L1 research texts. Such a state of affairs results from different perceptions that L1 and L2 speakers have of academic conventions for different research paradigms. Research efforts in contrastive or intercultural rhetoric in academic English could help solve this problem by embedding explicit explanations in the academic writing process.

The dialogical nature of academic text is successfully elaborated in the famous monograph by Ken Hyland *Metadiscourse: Exploring Interaction in Writing* (2005), where he explains the two-fold nature of textual information, consisting of a proposition and comments (in other words metadiscourse) on the proposition constructed by a researcher. The author based his research on "a view of writing (and speaking) as a social and communicative engagement, offering a means of understanding the ways we project ourselves into our texts to manage our communicative intentions" [Hyland, 2005, p. 14]. According to Hyland, expressions that are used in the process of producing metadiscourse have two dimensions: one oriented towards the text (the interactive dimension) and the other oriented towards the reader (the interactional dimension). As he sees it, the researcher not only feels obliged to guide and interact with the reader but also offers his stance on, evaluation of, and engagement with the prop-

ositional aspects of the text [2005, p. 17]. However, we can find the strongest contradictory opinion in John Swales's argumentative essay (2019). He acknowledges the positive side of analyzing stance and engagement [Swales, 2019, p. 77] but is not sure that negotiating knowledge claims and straightening the logic and coherence of a text can be explained by the author's aim to gain his reader's approval. Notwithstanding the real intention of an author, Swales and many other authors (see below) at least accept that beyond the propositional content there are different language mechanisms that signal, for example, "stance and engagement" and other metadiscourse markers [Swales, 2019, p. 77].

Despite a long-established history of research into different aspects of metadiscourse, the "fuzzy" nature of the term itself is still being discussed [Hyland, 2017; Vafaeimehr, 2015, p. 38; Kobayashi, 2016, p. 22]. This "fuzziness", according to Hyland's later review [Hyland, 2017] has several aspects. First, many text items can act both propositionally and metadiscoursally, showing text information from the outer world or presenting attitude or stance. Then, not only do we see that metadiscourse items can differ in length but also that the list of potential markers never does seem to be complete, thus making pure quantitative calculations methodologically inviable. Moreover, we can see "unexpected realizations" of linguistic forms, and we have to be ready to enlarge any existing list. For example, Jiang and Hyland (2016) extended the list of metadiscourse markers (MM) to include "metadiscursive nouns", which "assist writers in pointing to material somewhere in the current context and shape how the reader responds to that material" (Jiang, Hyland, 2016, p. 508). This is exemplified by the authors' "according to this paradigm" text, which contains not only an evidential marker but also points to the source of information. The "metadiscoursal noun" paradigm reminds readers of a previously mentioned [Jiang & Hyland, 2016, p. 509] approach and offers writers an "assessment of that approach".

#### Literature review

The vast majority of the research in metadiscourse basically follows the model proposed by Hyland [Hyland, 2005]. Authors generally base their research on the assumption that the better they demonstrate their awareness of the reader, the more easily they will integrate into the disciplinary community and general academic community on the whole. Two dimensions are specified by Hyland: interactive and interactional, with further subdivision into five sub-categories for the interactive dimension and five for the interactional dimension (see Table 1).

Table 1. Model of metadiscourse (Hyland, 2005, p. 49)

Category	Function	Examples
Interactive	Help guide readers through the text	Examples
Transitions	express relations between main clauses	in addition; but; thus; and
Frame markers	refer to discourse acts, sequences or stages	finally; to conclude; my purpose is
Endophoric markers	refer to information in other parts of the text	noted above; see Fig; in Section 2
Evidentials	refer to information from other texts	according to X; Z states
Code glosses	elaborate propositional meanings	namely; e.g.; such as; in other words
Interactional	Involve readers in the text	Examples
Hedges	withhold commitment and open dialogue	might; perhaps; possible; about
Boosters	emphasise certainty or close dialogue	in fact; definitely; it is clear that
Attitude markers	express writer's attitude to the proposition	unfortunately; I agree; surprisingly
Self-mentions	refer explicitly to author(s)	I; we; my; me; our
Engagement markers	build an explicit relationship with reader	consider; note; you can see that

We found that researchers prefer not to analyse both dimensions but to select only one. We can likewise see that an overwhelming number of authors prefer to look into interactional categories to investigate rhetorical features of texts [Musa, Hussin, Ho, 2019; Hu, Cao, 2015; Afsari, 2017; Liu, Huang, 2017; Estaji, Vafaeimehr, 2015; Kashiha, Marandi, 2019; Can, Yuvayapan, 2018]. Rarely are both dimensions investigated [Farahani, 2017; Fatemeh, Gao, 2021; Siami, Abdi, 2012; Jin, Shang, 2015; Al-Shujairi, Ya'u, 2016], and the interactive dimension on its own seldom attracts the attention of researchers. A rare example is the research by Khedri, Heng and Ebrahimi [Heng & Ebrahimi, 2013], who explore how interactive metadiscourse markers are distributed in applied linguistics and economics research paper abstracts. Quite infrequently, we see a modified model of metadiscourse used, as in Yea, Othman and Wei [Othman & Wei, 2020], where the authors divide the interactional dimension into two

different dimensions — engagement and evaluation — and study disciplinary metadiscourse using eight Malaysian first-year ESL doctoral students' research.

Most studies of MMs have been conducted as cross-disciplinary comparisons. They are based on the suggestion that different disciplinary communities may require their members to follow different textual conventions. Kashisha and Marandi [Kashisha & Marandi, 2019], for example, analyzed 40 rhetorical moves from the introductions of papers in applied linguistics and chemistry. They found discipline-specific functions for each of the two disciplines and they were distributed along introduction moves, which were defined according to the CaRS (Create a Research Space) model. Among inferences drawn from quantitative research, the authors propose the fundamental idea of existing variations between 'hard' and 'soft' discourse communities. Similarly, Mina and Biria [Biria, 2017] investigated variations in the use of MMs in the discussion sections of social science and medical science papers. They found preferences for using transitions and frame markers in social science articles and hedges and boosters in medical science articles over other kinds of metadiscourse markers [Mina & Biria, 2017, p. 28]. Discipline-specific functions are investigated not only in academic texts of different branches but also in ones of closely related disciplines, as in the research paper by Estaji and Vafaeimehr [Estaji & Vafaeimehr, 2015]. The authors' aim is "to compare the use of metadiscourse markers in the introduction and conclusion sections of research articles in the two fields of mechanical and electrical engineering" [Estaji, Vafaeimehr, 44, 2015], and they found valid trends for the use of MMs in each discipline.

Cross-language or intercultural investigation of how different language communities use MMs across one academic genre stands apart and is represented in a wide range of languages. In his 'Investigating metadiscourse markers in Asian Englishes: A corpus-based approach' [Kobayashi, 2016] Kobayashi researched the distribution of metadiscourse markers according to their frequency counts in six languages (Chinese, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, Taiwanese, and Thai). He shows a substantial difference in the use of metadiscourse markers "between East Asian groups (viz., Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Taiwanese) and Southeast Asian groups (viz., Indonesian and Thai). Importantly, he underlinesthat we also have to look at co-occurrence patterns of MM to understand their maximum rhetorical effect [Kobayashi, 2016, p. 32].

However, most studies concentrate on the comparative research of MMs in L1 English academic texts and L2 texts produced by speakers of different languages. Kashiha [Kashiha, 2020], for example, explores meta-

discourse usage by analyzing the use of MMs in the Malay-speaking students' community from the perspective of how they serve as mechanisms to create a cohesive and coherent text. Even though the paper does not contain an overt comparison of L1 and L2 texts, phrases such as "a challenging task" for ESL (English as a Second Language) students or "nonnative speakers of English commonly face difficulties" [Kashisha, 2020, p. 194] show that we are always presented with an intuitive comparison of L1 and L2 discourse. Similarly, research into MMs without looking into the whole system of interactive or interactional dimensions by Can and Yuvayapan [Yuvayapan, 2018] compares how interactional metadiscourse features are employed by native academic authors of English and Turkish-speaking academic authors of English for the construal of their stance in their doctoral dissertations. They find significant underuse of MMs in Turkish dissertations.

Not including L1 metadiscourse features in the research, Mussa, Hussin and Ho [Mussa et al, 2019] analyse Yemeni L2 writing in the field of applied linguistics. They conclude that the 'most salient interactional strategies in Yemeni Arab L2 writing are making the bare assertion as well as marking certainty of claims." (Musa et al, 2019, p. 29). Importantly, these authors propose further ethnographic analysis by taking into account the perceptions of L2 writers using text-based interviews to investigate the functions of interactional metadiscourse. Moreover, and quite predictably, they propose to "compare the extent to which Arab L2 writers employ interactional metadiscourse strategies in comparison to Anglo-American L1 writers." (Musa et al, 2019, p. 29).

Shafqat, Arain and Dahraj [Shafqat et al, 2020] do analogous research for the Pakistani context, analyzing the ratio of interactive and interactional MMs in undergraduate students' works. They find that students use more interactive than interactional MMs and stress the importance of metadiscourse devices in learning and teaching writing skills in an English Language Teaching (ELT) context [Shafqat et al, 2020, p. 349].

A significant number of studies use English academic texts written by Chinese L1 speakers to investigate the distribution of MMs across different disciplines and genres. For example, Ho and Li [Ho & Li, 2018], in *The use of metadiscourse and persuasion: An analysis of first-year university students' timed argumentative essays* concentrate on only one function of Metadiscourse — that of persuasion. Thhe authors postulate that persuasion in academic discourse can be achieved "by making the logical relationship between clauses explicit and signposting the development of the text with interactive metadiscourse in various academic genres" [Ho et al, p. 54]. They also point out that the inefficient use of MMs by the target

group of students may be attributed to the insufficient priority of teaching metadiscourse to novice academic writers.

Presenting a different approach, A study of interactional metadiscourse in English abstracts of Chinese economics research articles [Liu & Huang, 2017] is unique. The authors, in principle, adopt Hyland's interpersonal model to provide a diachronic analysis of the abstracts. And they agree that researchers from different disciplinary communities may follow different conventions [Liu & Huang, 2017, p. 25]. However, they stress that there exists a "scant reflexion" about the reasons underlying the differences in the use of MMs in Chinese and English academic traditions. They show that in the field of MMs, Chinese researchers rely more on boosters than hedging devices, and this is heavily rooted in Confucian and Taoist tradition, which dictates that researchers provide more empirical support for their findings. Thus, the authors argue that Chinese scholars feel less obliged to argue with their readers and hence are not fully engaged in a reader-oriented approach to academic research. This brings us to the "need for EAP writing instruction to support multilingual writers and heighten their awareness of writing across languages and genres" [McIntosh & Connor, 2019, p. 14]. Another important issue is to revise the understanding of translingual concepts and notions that are currently developing in the field of English as a lingua franca (ELF) when doing cross-cultural comparisons of academic texts provided by scholars with different cultural backgrounds.

Unfortunately, diachronic research on MMs is not frequent, with Hyland and Jiang (2018) providing the most detailed analysis. The authors analyzed changes in four disciplines over a period of 50 years and found a tendency toward "a significant increase in interactive features and a significant decrease in the interactional" [Hyland & Jiang, 2018, p. 23]. They interpret their results as suggesting that researchers are more interested in the cohesive characteristics of texts than in direct communication with the readers. The diachronic research of Deng, Fatemeh and Gao [Deng et al, 2021] was aimed at examining the important textual features and a model of the evolution of MM for a 50-year time span. They explored 180 doctoral dissertations in the humanities, social sciences and engineering and found that "academic genres across hard and soft disciplines are changing in diverse directions" [Deng et al, 2021, p. 27]. They show a big difference in the tendencies of metadiscourse use: "while academic texts in the humanities and social sciences are evolving toward audience-responsible texts that are formal and objective, the sciences and engineering show more informality and subjectivity" [Deng et al, 2021, p. 7249].

Cross-cultural research on metadiscourse markers in academic texts written in two different languages are hard to find, yet they do exist. As an example, Bal-Gezegin [Bal-Gezegin, 2016] aimed to explore how interpersonal metadiscourse was used in Turkish and English book reviews. Of 120 expressions identified as interpersonal MMs by Hyland [Hyland, 2005], twenty-nine were chosen to be searched for. Apparently, further investigation into the technique of comparing is necessary because "the study was limited to Turkish translation of hedging devices which were found to be the most frequent ones in English." [Bal-Gezegin, 2016, p. 717].

Differences in rhetorical strategies are often studied in the field of English for academic purposes and rarely in media texts. Most research in metadiscourse of news reports follows Hyland's model [Hyland, 2005] showing that it plays an important role in the genre and calculating the balance between interactive and interactional dimensions [Hashemi & Golparvar, 2012]. A very illustrative example is *Interactional metadiscourse* markers in sports news in newspapers: A cross-cultural study of American and Iranian columnists [Tavanpour et al, 2016] which shows that Iranian and American news is different in the use of attitude markers, boosters, and hedges [Tavanpour et al, 2016, p. 1]. The Metadiscourse Features in English News Writing among English Native and Iranian Writers: A Comparative Corpus-based Inquiry by Farahani and Sabetifard (2017) also compares the use of interactive and interactional MMs in English language news written by L1 (British and American) and L2 (Persian) speakers. Surprisingly, they found that although interactional or intertextual features (transitions and endophoric markers) are underused in native speaker's texts, Persian news texts contain many more hedges, boosters and attitude markers. Interestingly, we see an investigation into contrastive rhetoric in news headlines [Laongpol, 2021] that follows the idea about rhetoric that feels very close to that of metadiscourse and thus is to be investigated (compare: "Rhetoric refers to persuasive writing or speaking used by people to manipulate the audience into agreeing with an idea..." as cited by Laongpol [Laongpol, 2021] from Shams [Shams, 2013, p. 146].

Although metadiscourse markers already have a long history of cross-cultural and cross-genre research, mastering them in academic writing requires more precise information on the particular disciplinary and language conventions of a particular disciplinary and language community. This review of the existing literature explicitly demonstrates the need to continue the research for different languages, considering the direct relation of such studies with effective language pedagogy in the academic environment. It also gives an approximate picture of the misbalance in the research of different languages. For example, we did not find any compre-

hensive cross-cultural research on the use of MMs in Russian and English academic texts, although different cross-cultural investigations into Russian and English research papers show significant differences in the distribution of language features across the two languages (see, for example, *Comparative analysis of politeness strategies in Russian and English dentistry texts*: Grigoriev, Rubtsova, 2021).

### Methods and data

Our research, which may be of great pedagogical significance, our research is aimed at filling a gap in cross-cultural metadiscourse studies in the field of English medical research papers written by L2 Russian speakers who have a 'functional nativeness' proved by their ability to be published in peer-review research journals with a high impact-index. Since writing academic texts is always a challenging task, we chose English as a language for comparison due to its predominant position in academic research. We hypothesized that Russian and English writers use different strategies to communicate with their readers, which results from different linguocultural approaches adopted in the disciplines. In order to solve the problem even partially, we chose abstracts as the most sought-after genre. To do this, we had to answer two research questions:

What are the interactional and interactive metadiscourse strategies employed in English medical paper abstracts by Russian L2 writers?

How do Russian L2 medical writers use interactional metadiscourse strategies to achieve persuasive goals across abstracts?

We created four corpora to analyze the distribution of metadiscourse markers, two representing medical cardiology texts written in English by L2 Russian researchers (abstract and discussion section corpora) and two representing medical texts written in English by presumably L1 English researchers from the Journal of The American Heart Association (abstract and discussion section corpora). This is a journal with a very high impact factor and is indexed in the Q1 Scopus abstract and citation database. For Russian corpora, we selected The Russian cardiology journal — a peer-reviewed journal of the Russian Society of Cardiology (RSC). The information about the authors we received from their bio-data. These journals have high prestige in domestic and international professional communities. We selected the Russian Cardiology Journal, based on a preliminary survey of its authors' use of rhetorical strategies and the linguistic features in the English versions of their papers originally written in Russian. Our corpora include four corpora of abstract and discussion sections, which we selected by means of random

sampling from around 20 papers. We limited our selection to one subdiscipline within medicine: cardiology.

We calculated metadiscourse markers in four corpora and then analysed the results qualitatively to eliminate those cases when the same language elements did not have a metadiscoursal function, as what might be metadiscourse in one rhetorical context may be expressing propositional material in another. For the purpose of analyzing frequency and functions of metadiscourse markers used in abstract and discussion sections of medical research papers, we used Hyland's [Hyland, 2005] well-known model of interactive and interactional dimensions.

First, we collected the data and analyzed it top-down. We analysed the functions of metadiscourse markers by investigating the context in which each marker occurred. Then we determined the main function of each MM. We assessed the inter-rater reliability based on the second-rater.

### Results

The results suggest that Russian L2 medical researchers use more interactive devices than interactional ones. Thus, Russian writers appear to be aware of the idea of a potential reader but are less concerned about the readers themselves than their English counterparts. Below we present the most significant results of cross-cultural research.

Analysis indicates that transitions are the most commonly employed interactional markers, of which additives (in addition, etc.) are preferential for Russian writers (I) and contrastives (but, etc.), for English writers (II). This is true for abstracts and also for Russian (III) and English (IV) discussion sections:

In addition, the concentration of LDL-C corrected for Lp(a)-cholesterol (LDL-Ccorr) was calculated (RA-6).

Job strain was not independently associated with CHD risk, but we observed a statistically significant interaction between job strain and social strain (P=0.04)... (EA-12).

It should also be noted that data appears in the literature that explain the clinical nervous system manifestations from a morphological point of view (RD-1).

Patients with higher hsCRP levels are also at a higher risk of having a cardiovascular event (ED-1).

The conjunctive adverb *however* is twice as prevalent in the English corpus for abstracts and discussion sections than in the Russian corpus:

(V) We did, however, find that male sex was strongly associated with the incidence of MI and MINOCA (ED-2).

(VI) However, a systematic review by Milevski M, et al. highlights a number of shortcomings in the use of remote BP monitoring (RD-11).

We find only a few frame markers in the Russian corpus, with a totally different picture in the English corpus. Among the most frequent frame markers are sequence markers. We find a majority of sequence markers in the discussion sections (VIII) compared to the abstract genre (the latter shows half as many markers as the discussion sections) (VII).

- (VII) Finally, nitrite generation-to-depletion ratios of gene abundances were created from the above summary scores. (EA-22)
- (VIII) Some observations, discussed next, related to the reported performance estimates might be of clinical interest. (ED-4)

The Russian corpus contains only one occurrence of *firstly* (IX), which is not found in the English corpus.

(IX) Nevertheless, according to ESC colleagues, noninvasive tests, firstly, are quite safe for patients, and secondly, they provide an accurate assessment of cardiovascular functional status.. [RD-8]

Frame markers announcing goals are common for abstracts in the English corpus, with 12 occurrences for the whole corpus (X), but they cannot be found in the discussion sections of the Russian corpus. The discussion sections of the English corpus do not contain any occurrences of goal markers, whereas those in the Russian corpus contain (XI) four examples with the verbs *aim* and *focus*.

- (X) We aimed to compare for the first-time early outcomes of Sapien-3 transcatheter heart valve (THV) with the balloon-expandable Myval device. (EA-26)
- (XI) This study focused on collecting anamnesis, symptoms and feelings of the patients themselves...(RD-1)

Endophoric markers can be seen only in the English corpus discussion sections (XII), with zero occurrences in the Russian corpus.

(XII) Although not statistically significant, the survival curves for Reint-CoA in men and women followed a similar pattern as those previously described for CE. [ED-7]

Evidentials, which are defined as the markers that help distinguish outsourced content, traditionally include reporting verbs or propositional attitude verbs. They are much less common in Russian papers than in English papers, with 'to show' dominating in the texts of abstracts (XIII) and discussion sections.

- (XIII) Assessment of the contribution of vascular risk factors to vascular aging showed that the leading positions are occupied by hypertension... [RA-20]
- (XIV) Similar studies in other countries show that the annual HF costs range from \$908 to \$40,971 per patient. [RD-5]

The English corpus demonstrates greater variety in the use of reporting verbs (*hypothesize*, *demonstrate* etc.).

Although we hypothesized that self-referred patients would be more adherent to lifestyle and medication recommendations... [ED-3]

The findings herein (N=206) demonstrate that our experience has been similar... [ED-14]

(XV) Study investigators reported that methamphetamine users had a higher prevalence of heart failure than the nonuser hospitalized population. [ED-4]

Interactional markers include hedges, boosters, attitude markers, selfmentions, and engagement markers. Results indicate that hedges and selfmentions are the most frequent markers in interactional metadiscourse.

One more distinction is the use of the epistemic verbs *may* and *might* in the English corpus of abstracts and discussion sections and its absence in Russian abstracts.

- (XVI) Some observations, discussed next, related to the reported performance estimates might be of clinical interest. (ED-4)
- (XVII) CAN and possibly other SGLT2 inhibitors might be useful for preventing AF and suppressing the promotion of atrial remodeling as an AF substrate. [EA-5]

There are significant differences in the use of self-mentions that 'indicate the degree of explicit authorial visibility' (Liu, Huang, p. 26, 2017) in the Russian and English corpora. The Russian corpus of abstracts demonstrates one fourth as many instances of 'I' compared to English abstracts.

- (XVIII) We utilized data from the 'Functional Impact of GLP 1 for Heart Failure Treatment' (FIGHT) study to address these knowledge gaps. (RA-22)
- (XIX) We used different viral titers to examine possible dose-response relationship and assessed viral loads in various fetal organs. [EC-8]

We find an even bigger difference in the use of self-mentions in discussion sections, with 4.3 times as many uses of 'I' and 4.6 times as many uses of "our" in the English corpus than in the Russian corpus.

We find seven times as many uses of epistemic verbs (*may*, *might*) in the English corpus abstracts (XX) compared to the Russian corpus abstracts and twice as many uses in the discussion sections.

(XX) Nitrite depletion by oral bacteria may also be important for determining the net nitrite available systemically. [EA-21]

Other hedges include *likely*, *seem*, and *appear*, with *likely* being preferential for the English corpus and no preferential use of either epistemic expressions or probability adverbs in the Russian corpus.

(XXI) Women were independently less likely to be admitted when presenting with CP. [EA-24].

Self-mentions are universally considered to be a tool to eliminate excess assertiveness and thus to avoid criticism on the part of the disciplinary community. Russian writers show a trend to use fewer selfmentions in the form of the inclusive pronoun 'we' and possessive 'our'.

(XXII) We hypothesized CVB3 can precipitate congenital heart defects when fetal infection occurs during critical window of gestation. [EA-8]

Engagement markers are considered to form a relationship with the reader. This is normally achieved, as seen in the English corpus, through the use of the second person pronoun 'you,' 'your' and 'yourself', the modal verb 'should', and also a number of engaging verbs or verbal phrases: be done, noticed, expected, kept in mind. These attitude markers and engagement markers are the least used metadiscourse and can be found only in the English corpus.

(XXIII) It should be noted that the study design described by Zhao et al. allowed for exclusion of patients with known interstitial lung disease, HIV coinfection... [ED-2]

The overall findings show that interactive metadiscourse markers for sequencing, announcing goals and indicating the nature of a given statement (evidentials) were more frequent in both English abstracts and discussion sections than in their Russian counterparts. The results also reveal that the use of transition markers for addition and comparison is almost the same in the English and Russian corpora for abstracts and discussion sections.

In interactional metadiscourse corpora, the overall findings indicate that English writers in both abstracts and discussion sections use

epistemic verbs and probability adverbs, and also self-mentions (first-person pronouns), considerably more often than their Russian counterparts.

#### Conclusion

We understand that the Russian lingua-cultural academic community has in mind traditional rhetorical norms that they extend to the English versions of the results of their academic publishing process, but Russian authors are now beginning to adopt English disciplinary rhetorical conventions. However, our research demonstrates that Russian academic texts show a scarcity of metadiscourse resources, so we have before us the pedagogical task of explaining the role of metadiscourse in the interaction between the writer and the reader. Moreover, we find that Russian writers pursue a less dialogic and more impersonal style in their papers, and they have a different balance between informality and objectivity. All these factors require thorough attention in order to provide expert advice in classes or consultations aimed at enhancing interpersonal consciousness in Russian academic discourse.

Thus, the findings of this study have some pedagogical implications, especially for classes in English for Specific Purposes, English for Academic Purposes, and English for Research Purposes. We also hypothesize that the proficiency level and correct use of MMs can serve as a testing index for academic correctness. This is especially true for what we consider the most important rhetorical trend not to express caution in academic genres, something that we do not see in the academic and research writing of novice Russian researchers. To assist those who have not yet reached a high level of proficiency in English, we should teach metadiscourse markers in our classrooms, stressing their role in the interaction between the writer and the reader. Of special importance here is the balance between informality and objectivity. As it follows from the corpus analysis, there are specific aspects of interaction in Russian written academic discourse that need to be taught at the first stage of the teaching process. To build solidarity with the audience and achieve sufficient similarity to academic text written according to Anglo-Saxon writing conventions, Russian medical writers have to learn how to apply various rhetorical devices. They are the following: the use of first-person pronouns to avoid an impersonal and less dialogic style in academic writing; the use of frame markers to show sequencing and announce goals; and the use of evidentials. They also have to expand the repertoire of verbs denoting the author's commitment to a proposition (for example, show, report, hypothesize, suggest, propose).

Regarding the use of interactional resources, the first stage of the correct use of MMs should include epistemic verbs, probability adverbs, along with both epistemic expressions and epistemic markers, which are not found in the Russian corpus.

#### Discussion and limitations

The present study experienced certain limitations in terms of sampling, the scope of the data, methodology and generalizability. Sample texts selected for Russian and English corpora represented a single discipline, cardiology, so our cross-cultural research should be extended to other fields of knowledge. We will probably find quite a different picture for the disciplines where the researchers are closer to Anglo-Saxon written traditions.

It also should be considered that the textual materials under analysis are the materials transferred from a native language (Russian) into one that is non-native. We may suggest that the transference shift to some extent to metadiscourse features of source texts that should also be analyzed to see the real cross-cultural differences and values of a particular discourse community. However, we should understand that though Russian writers are moving towards greater tentativeness in assessing the results of their research, more investigation is needed into the practical part of translanguaging theory and the ways and methods of overcoming the socially constructed language systems.

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#### ARABISMS IN SPANISH

This article deals with the study of lexical units of Arabic origin in Spanish, the analysis of historical factors as well as the division of arabisms into the main semantic groups of borrowings from Arabic. For many centuries, the Spanish culture has experienced a great influence of Arabic world. This process has influenced the appearance of new vocabulary in Spanish. This vocabulary is present until modern days in different spheres. The authors conducted their research in diachronic and synchronic paradigm, revealing historical reasons and presence of arabisms in modern Spanish. In order to increase motivation of learners of Spanish and understand language better, it is necessary to be familiar with etymological characteristics of lexical units. In this article, the notion of "borrowings" is studied, history of Arabic invasion on Spanish territories is briefly described, arabisms are divided into the main thematic groups. The results of the study will be useful for the Spanish language learners; everyone interested in the processes of language formation, Spanish language and culture development; researchers studying Arabic influence on world languages.

*Keywords*: arabisms, the Spanish language, borrowings, historical background, semantic groups, etymological characteristics, literature.

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#### АРАБИЗМЫ В ИСПАНСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

Данная статья посвящена изучению лексических единиц арабского происхождения в испанском языке, анализу исторических факторов, а также разделению арабизмов на основные семантические группы. На протяжении многих веков испанская культура испытывала большое влияние арабского мира. Этот процесс повлиял на появление новой лексики в испанском языке. Эта лексика присутствует до наших дней в разных сферах. Исследование проведено в русле диахронического и синхронического анализа, когда учитываются исторические предпосылки и изучается наличие арабизмов в речи современных носителей испанского языка. Для того чтобы повысить мотивацию изучающих испанский язык и улучшить его понимание, необходимо понимать истоки пополнения лексического богатства языка. В этой статье изучается понятие "заимствования", кратко описывается история арабского вторжения на испанские территории, арабизмы разделены на основные тематические группы. Результаты исследования будут полезны изучающим испанский язык; всем, кто интересуется процессами становления языка, развитием испанского языка и культуры; исследователям, изучающим влияние арабского языка на мировые языки. Ключевые слова: арабизмы, испанский язык, заимствования, историческая справка, семантические группы, этимологические характеристики.

### Introduction

The history of the Spanish language formation is closely related to the history of Spain — the country, which for centuries experienced invasions of different nations. The Arabs came to Spain in the 2nd part of the VIII century. In three years, they conquered the biggest part of the Iberian Peninsula, the Spanish being able to stay independent only in the north of Spain. In 756, on the territory of conquered Spain, an independent emirate was formed with its center in Cordoba; and its ruler abd al-Rakhman III named himself a khalif. The Arabs named their state al-Andalusia and built an empire, which significantly surpassed any other civilization based in Spain: Cordoba could boast 500 000 inhabitants; 700 mosques, 6000 castles, 70 libraries were built.

By the tenth century, Cordoba boasted a population of 500,000 people (whereas, for example, in Paris at that time there were about 38,000 inhabitants). According to the chronicles of those days, 700 mosques, about 60,000 palaces and 70 libraries were built in the city by that time, one of which reportedly contained 500,000 manuscripts. For almost eight centuries, the Arabs ruled in the Iberian Peninsula. During these times, their language assimilated with the language of the native people. The result of these events we can observe in modern Spanish, when a native speaker uses 4000 borrowed words daily.

Many scientists have turned their attention to the study of Arabic borrowings in the Spanish language. Among them are S. E. Belova [Belova, 2020], G. Erichsen [Erichsen, 2005], A. Kozlova [Kozlova, 2020], A. Shabkhazov [Shabkhazov, 2016], p. Gimenez-Eguibar [Gimenez-Eguibar, 2016] and many others. Despite the existing works on the topic, this article aims at the detailed study of different aspects of the problem, namely:

the study of the notion of "borrowing" as a way of language development and enrichment;

the study of reasons for the appearance of arabisms in the Spanish language;

the analysis of the main thematic groups of more than 500 arabisms in various spheres;

the study of linguistic and cultural influence of Arabic on modern Spanish.

The results of the study can be used by learners of the Spanish language and culture, in further etymological studies of the Spanish language, investigation of Arabic influence on the world languages. Without knowledge of historical development of language, it is impossible to have a clear picture of the modern language and culture formation.

#### Methods and material

This work is based on etymological, lexical study of more than 500 arabisms found in Spanish etymological dictionaries, division of arabisms into the main semantic groups. The notion "borrowing" is described in the article, reasons for the appearance of arabisms in Spanish are given, brief history of Arabic invasion on the Iberian Peninsula is described, more than 500 arabisms are divided into the main thematic groups, extra-linguistic factors for the dominance of arabisms in specific groups are revealed.

#### Results

## The role of borrowings in the vocabulary enrichment

The term "borrowing" has different definitions. On the one hand, it is a lexeme of foreign origin. On the other hand, it is the process when a word is being transferred from one language to another. Therefore, the essence of the notion "borrowing" is ambivalent.

Linguists distinguish various reasons for borrowing lexical units from one language to another; it occurs when:

The contact between one language with another occurs; one language is more "prestigious" than another and has more lexical diversity in the spheres of culture, education, science, etc.

The language encounters new phenomena, processes, which are not represented in the language by a lexical unit.

Some factors can influence the process of borrowing, for example, one of these factors is geographical closeness. It is obvious that peoples who live near each other may have deeper political, cultural links. Furthermore, when a country becomes a leader in some sphere — political, cultural, academic, etc. — borrowings from this "world leader" will become present in many other languages, for example, nowadays such language is English.

The process of borrowing can be of two types: internal and external. Internal exchange exists between dialects of one and the same language. Nevertheless, external borrowing — which is borrowing between different languages — is a more frequent type of borrowing.

Borrowings can be of different types: lexical, grammatical, morphosyntactic. In this specific study special attention is given to lexical borrowings from Arabic into Spanish.

According to E.Bernandez, borrowings can be divided into three types: those, which have preserved their initial form, partly preserved

their initial form, and those, which lost their initial form. Those borrowings, which preserved their initial form, are borrowings which did not receive any adaptation, even phonetic. The second group includes lexical units with partly adaptation. More often they preserved some part, namely root, but lost or changed some characteristics — suffixes, endings, having become more like other lexical units in the target language. The Spanish linguist states that to the third group belong assimilated words that are difficult to distinguish from other words of a given language [Bernandez, 1978].

Arabisms are borrowings from Arabic into other languages, or a feature peculiar to Arabic, but transferred to another language. Arabisms and berberisms began to penetrate into the Romance idioms of the Iberian Peninsula with the beginning of the Muslim invasion, that was after 711, when Arabic received the status of the state language. According to the experts, about 10 % of lexical units, including about 5-8 % of the everyday high-frequency vocabulary of the modern Spanish, go back to Arabic, and, to a lesser extent, Berber borrowings. Traces of Arabic influence are also found in the phonetics, morphology, toponymy of the Spanish language. There are many Arabic geographical names, names and proper names in Spanish, although there are very few Arabic verbs, adjectives and adverbs. This indicates that although the influence of Arabic was broad, it failed to fundamentally change the structure of the European language.

Spanish is one of the languages with the biggest amount of arabisms. The history of interconnection between Spanish and Arabic counts almost eight centuries. During these times, Spanish borrowed a significant amount of words from Arabic as from a more "prestigious" language at these times. The strongest influence was observed in the Southern provinces of Spain. According to linguistic analysis of the professor of University of Cadiz Ignasio Fernando, the biggest amount of arabisms are present in Andalusia, Levant is in the second place, followed by Aragon and Balearic islands. Researchers believe that nowadays approximately 4000 arabisms are present in Spanish. By the word "Arabism", we understand words of Arabic origin. Knowledge of etymological characteristics of a word will definitely motivate students to learn a language through acquiring historical and cultural heritage [Terentyeva, 2021].

# History of penetration of Arabic borrowings into Spanish

"Ancestor" of Spanish was Latin, which appeared in the Iberian Peninsula with Romans, who entirely conquered this area in 17 B.C. Gradually mixing with local languages, it was transformed into the Castilian language. Castilian became the language of the kingdoms of Castile and Leon in the XII century, its dominance allowed to become the official language of the state. Not all peoples living on these territories spoke Castilian — for example in Catalonia and the Balearic islands, Catalan was spoken, Valencian — in Valencian community, Galician — in Galicia, etc.

Historical traces of Arabic were first observed in VII–VIII centuries B.C.; it was referred to as language spoken in the Arabian Peninsula. It was mostly described by contemporaries from other countries. For the Arabs, the formation and development of their language started with appearance of Islam.

In 710–718, Arabic troops started massive invasion of the Iberian Peninsula. The Arabs were tolerant from a religious point of view and made changes in taxation, which made the Spanish favorable to the Arabs [Mikheeva, 2014]. The Arabic rule lasted for eight more centuries and a significant amount of Arabic words and phrases entered Spanish.

Only defeat of the Arabs started to change this process. Nevertheless, many words of Arabic origin were deeply rooted in Spanish and are still present in modern language, the formation of which began in the XIII century, and castellano was used as a basis. At these times, many Spanish chronicles, scientific, judicial documents, literary works were translated into Spanish. Translations were made from Arabic, the language of science in the Early Middle Ages, which substituted ancient Greek [Amekhina, 2018]. Since translations were made from Arabic, it reinforced penetration of Arabic borrowings into Spanish.

In the X century, the influence of Arabic reached its highest point. In less than one century the Arabic language gained enormous popularity, even Christians started to use it more frequently, partly refusing to use native Spanish. This fact led to inevitable change of Spanish [Zhuravel, 2017]. Borrowings from Arabic played a significant role in the evolution of Spanish; the greatest amount of borrowings entered Spanish at these times. After exile of the Arabs out of the Spanish territories, the Spanish tried to exclude Arabic vocabulary and substitute it with native Spanish words. Nevertheless, vocabulary of Arabic origin stays in Spanish until the recent times and this fact cannot be disregarded.

## Semantic groups of Arabic borrowings in Spanish

It can be observed that borrowings from Arabic entered Spanish not in separate lexical units but they can be united into specific semantic groups. For example, the presence of arabisms in geographical names can be explained by the fact that the Arabs — during their rule in the coun-

try — founded many settlements. Moreover, during the rule of the Arabs, schools, libraries were built, which stimulated the transfer of knowledge in the sphere of science and education. On the conquered territories, the Arabs established their laws and order, consequently, arabisms are observed in the field of law and jurisprudence. As it was noted before, many cities were built and rebuilt: many arabisms entered the spheres of architecture and everyday life. Since the Arabs were known as excellent merchants, many borrowings were present in the spheres of trade, monetary units, and measures. One more extended group of arabisms is the sphere of gardening and irrigation: the Arabs brought with them new plants, vegetables, fruits, previously unknown to inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula. Known for military skills, the Arabs left their traces in the vocabulary of the military area.

Our research was based on the study of more than 500 arabisms found in Spanish etymological dictionary and their division into semantic groups. The main semantic groups are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Division of arabisms in Spanish according to the main semantic groups.

Geographical objects
Plants and vegetables
Architecture, buildings, people's homes
Scientific and technical terms
Trade, monetary units, measures
Gardening
Law, administration

Examples of arabisms with etymological characteristics in each of the thematic groups are presented below:

Geographical features and their names.

During the eight centuries of Arabic rule in Spain, arabisms have penetrated into a large number of names of Spanish cities. For example, the current center of the Kingdom of Spain, according to one version of the scientists, has an Arabic origin: its capital Madrid — from the Arabic word "macherit" (macha — water source, particle it — multiplication, abundance. Madrid is a rich water source). This name was given by the Arabs, in view of the richest groundwater resources that fed almost 30% of the country. Other examples of geographical names include: Almudena

is the name of the cathedral of Arabic origin, from the Arabic toponym Almudaina (small town), the place where the Mother of God Almudena (María de Almudena), the patroness of Madrid, appeared; Gibraltar — from the Arabic phrase "Jabal Tariq" (Mount Tariq, was named after the Arab commander Tariq ibn Ziyad, who led the Arab invasion of the Iberian Peninsula; La-Mancha — from the Arabic word "mandza" (plateau); Medina — from the Arabic word "madinatun" (city); Alcira — from the Arabic word "al-gazira" (island); Granada — from the Arabic word "garnata" (gorge between mountains), etc.

### Scientific and technical terms

Arabic conquerors helped the development of science in Spain by transferring knowledge of a very high level. Thus, the following group of lexical units appeared. Some examples include: algebra — from the Arabic word "al-Jabr" (finding a missing value); algorithmo — comes from the name of the great Central Asian scientist of the 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn Mussa Al-Khorezmi; elixir — from the Arabic word "iksir" (medicine); cénit (zenith) — from the Arabic word "samt" (way over the head); nadir (astronomical concept) — from the Arabic word "naīīru as-samt" (opposite to the zenith), etc.

3. Plants, vegetables, fruits. For instance, albaricoque (apricot) — from the Arabic word "al-birqûq"; acelga (white beet) — from the Arabic word "as-silqa" (beetroot); alcachofa (artichoke) — from the Arabic word "al harshaf" (edible thistle); azafrán or saffron (saffron) — from the Arabic word "safrun" (yellow); algodón (cotton) — from the Arabic word "al-qúṭun", etc.

Architecture, houses, dwellings, everyday life.

The Arabs left a wealthy heritage in architecture. For example, five miles outside the city of Cordoba was the residence of the Caliph Madinat al-Zahra. The construction of this complex of marble, gypsum, ivory and onyx took forty years. In those days — before the destruction in the XIth century — it was considered one of the wonders of the world. Some arabisms are connected to architecture and building: alacent (the foundation of the building) — from the Arabic word "asasun"; alcázar (palace) — from the Arabic word "al-qasr" (citadel); tabique (wall, curtain) — from the Arabic word "tab" (partition); alacena (closet) — from the Arabic word "hizanah"; alcoba (bedroom) — from the Arabic "qubba" (night), etc.

5. A fairly large group of words of Arabic origin appeared in Spanish when the Arabs passed on their knowledge in the field of gardening and water supply: almunia (orchard) — from the Arabic word "almúnya";

noria (water pump) — from the Arabic word "nā'urra (grumbler); acequia (irrigation canal) — from the Arabic word "saqiyah" (canal); aljibe (reservoir) — from the Arabic word "yubb" (place of accumulation of water); albufera (lagoon) — from the Arabic word "al-buhayra".

- 6. Management and law: alguacil (constable, but in the XVth century this word began to mean the duty of a judge) from the Arabic word "wazir" (vizier, that is, assistant to the khalif); adalid (military commander, commander, head of a political party) from the Arabic "dalil" (leader); alcalde (governor, mayor) from Arabic "al-qāīī" (judge); alcabala (tax levied on the purchase or sale of goods) from the Arabic "alkibal" (collection); alboroque (award, encouragement) from the Arabic "albark" (treat), etc.
- 7. Trade, monetary units, weight and volume measures: almacén (a large store) from the Arabic "almus" (choice); azumbre (measure of liquid=2.16 liters) from the Arabic "assumr" (edge of the vessel); quintal (measure of weight of 50 kg) from the Arabic "qanatir"; arancel (customs duty) from the Arabic "arans" (fee); zoco (market) from the Arabic "sukun", etc.

# The modern influence of the Arabic language on the Spanish language and culture, the preservation and disappearance of arabisms

An important aspect is that the Arabic influence is still noticeable in the daily life of today's Spaniards. The Arabic language continues to play a significant role in the process of incorporating cultural elements from the East. In Spain, one would constantly encounter Arabic terms related to Arabic cuisine, food, gardening, etc. For example, the Arabic tradition of selling and eating nuts has become a part of Andalusian culture. Arabic and Persian desserts, such as Baklava, Dedos de Novia, etc. reached the Iberian Peninsula and were accepted by Spanish cuisine. Albóndigas — meatballs — is a traditional Andalusian dish rooted in oriental cuisine. The Arabs called this dish "al bundukua", which means "a ball".

Although in the case of traditional dishes or products, many people do not know their origin, Arabic elements in everyday culture are usually more explicit. For example, especially in Andalusia, examples of oriental architecture are found everywhere. These are shops, cafes, and ancient castles (Alhambra) in the center of Malaga there is a restaurant called Palacio Nazarí (Nazari Palace), which refers to the Nazari dynasty, the last dynasty of Muslims in Granada from 1238 to 1492. The defeat of this dynasty marked the end of the Al-Andalusia Empire.

Currently, Spain, especially its eastern part, is the territory with the highest settlement of Muslim fellow citizens. The majority of the Arab population of Spain are Moroccans. According to 2016 statistics, about 700 thousand people are residents of Morocco in Spain. In addition, a significant part of the Arab population living on the peninsula consists of people of Algerian origin. Therefore, we observe the presence of the Arabic language as such in Andalusian areas and areas with a high proportion of people of Arabic nationality. Trade and exchange with the Arab world, as well as Arabic-Spanish interdependence, remain unchanged. This can be recognized as one of the reasons for the spread of the Arabic language both in its spoken form and in writing. According to Juan Pablo Arias-Torres, a professor at the University of Malaga, an expert in Arabic-Spanish philology and history, Andalusia also continues to be a region where the Arabic presence is currently more noticeable in the language. In the cities of Ceuta and Melilla and regions with a high percentage of immigration, for example, in Almeria or Murcia, contact with the Arabic language and culture is the most constant and direct. The expert states that the historical connection in which the Arabic language refers to the rural world and artisans. According to him, agriculture, the army and clothing still remain the fields with the greatest number of arabisms. He also emphasizes that the evidence of cultural traces and linguistic features of the Al-Andalusia Empire are in monuments and archaeological finds, gastronomy, agriculture and toponymy. The Andalusian lexicon has a linguistic imprint of the Arabic language. The professor explains the more limited influence on the phonological and syntactic level of the Castilian language with a lack of phonological or syntactic characteristics due to the significant difference between the Arabic and Castilian languages [Arias-Torres, 2012].

According to Arias-Torres, most of the arabisms are unused archaisms. Arabisms that still exist in everyday speech are used without the speaker being aware of their Arabic roots, arabisms are no longer perceived by Spanish speakers as borrowings, because close contact ceased in the XV century, and arabisms were assimilated. The professor gives examples of very common arabisms in Spanish and others that are no longer used.

As for modern bilingualism, J.B. Arias-Torres claims that it existed only among immigrants, in some cases in the second generation. According to the expert, it was an imperfect bilingualism, that is, bilingual people often cannot speak both languages at a very advanced level. Although bilingualism was indispensable during Muslim rule, today Arabic immigrants are forced to learn Spanish [Arias-Torres, 2012].

Arabic-Spanish bilingualism, its cultural recognition and social significance in the Al-Andalusia Empire demonstrates the possibility of ex-

panding linguistic horizons and serves as a good evidence of the coexistence of people of different nationalities and languages.

Thus, we can conclude that arabisms are still present in everyday speech, but most speakers do not see Arabic roots in them, arabisms are no longer considered as borrowings.

#### Discussion

The results clearly show that intersection of Arabic culture with Spanish brought borrowings into Spanish which are still present nowadays. It is evident that almost all words starting with -al go back to the Arabic language. Moreover, all words starting with -z are of Arabic origin. The biggest amount of the most recent research works on borrowings from Arabic into Spanish aim at pointing out that stability of the role of lexical units of Arabic origin in Spanish and give understanding of enormous influence of Arabic world on Spanish culture. This specific study is aimed at the study of some common semantic groups of borrowings from Arabic, historical background and existence in the modern language. Most borrowings are connected with the spheres, in which Arabs brought the most changes on Spanish life culture. In some spheres, the Arabs were particularly distinguished (architecture, military, science, etc.); consequently, in these specific spheres Arabic influence is the most notable.

The results of the study will be of interest to students learning Spanish, since understanding of vocabulary origins increases motivation to study a foreign language and makes memorizing easier and faster [Kondrateva, 2021].

During the whole history of intensive coexistence of the two cultures — through borrowings from Arabic — speakers of the Spanish language acquired new ways of thinking and communication. Each borrowed lexical element brings with itself a cultural fragment. Combination of these fragments can enrich and change a language. Despite the fact that Arabic influence decreased, Spanish still possesses elements from Arabic. Arabisms experienced linguistic evolution and adaptation; some became archaic, other changed their meaning or form, but still preserve a role of one of the cornerstones of Spanish.

#### Conclusion

In this paper, the strongest influence of the Arabic language on Spanish, manifested at the lexical level, was considered. The most notable characteristics of the Arabic presence on the Iberian Peninsula throughout

history were highlighted. Innovative ideas from the Arabic world, adopted by the Spanish population, were transmitted through language communication and had a noticeable impact on cultural exchange. Thus, the following conclusions can be made:

In the Empire of Al-Andalus, as well as in modern Spain, there were and are still present areas with significant Arabic influence, especially in the south of the Iberian Peninsula, in Andalusia, in the Levant region, Aragon.

Arabic influence on the Spanish language and culture is due to the close contact of the Arabs and Spaniards.

Among the fields with the largest number of arabisms are agriculture, geographical names, plants, law, administration, etc.

- 4. Although many arabisms have fallen out of use, a large number of Arabic borrowings still exist in everyday speech.
- 5. Speakers of Spanish frequently use arabisms without knowledge of their Arabic origin.
- 6. In order to motivate learners of Spanish, it is necessary to know etymological characteristics of lexical units.
- 7. Without knowledge of historical background of language formation, it is impossible to understand modern processes of language functioning.

Thus, throughout the history of intensive coexistence of cultures and languages, through Arabic borrowings, native speakers of the Spanish language have adopted new ways of thinking and communicating. Each transmitted linguistic element brings with it a cultural fragment. The combination of these phrases can redefine and enrich the language. Although bilingualism has been reduced, knowledge of Arabic elements inherent in the Spanish language and culture is preserved in the lexical field and its application. Arabisms have experienced linguistic evolution and adaptation: some have fallen out of use, others have been restored.

In order to understand language and culture, it is essential to know the roots, which formed them. For Spanish, one of these roots lay in the Arabic language and culture. Close interrelation of the two languages left a rich heritage of lexical units. These lexical units can be found in different spheres of life: military, agriculture, irrigation, trade, geographical names, etc. Better knowledge of etymology of vocabulary leads to better motivation in studying a foreign language, easier memorizing. Spanish and Arabic are the two languages, based on the example of which, it is possible to observe how borrowings enter a foreign language and stay in language for centuries or forever.

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# STEREOTYPES OF FEMALE FAMILY ROLES IN CHINESE AND ENGLISH PROVERBS

The object of this study is the linguistic representation of the traditional female family roles of the Han and Anglo-Saxon peoples through proverbs. It is based on the theory of "linguistic stereotypes" and explains the characteristics of Chinese and English proverbs as a linguistic stereotype in terms of language form and content semantics. We aim to analyse the traditional family types of Han and Anglo-Saxon peoples before the 20th century, identify the types of female family roles and the corresponding female family role stereotypes in Chinese and English proverbs, and reveal the ethnic and cultural basis for the formation of female family role stereotypes. We identify 10 types of female family roles in Chinese and English proverbs in the context of which we analyse the types of Han and Anglo-Saxon family structures in the period between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. We summarise the stereotypes of female family roles in Chinese and English proverbs and the reasons for their formation. Finally, we analyse the ten types of female family role stereotypes at the level of the content of stereotypes and explore the cultural reasons for the formation of female family role stereotypes in proverbs based on the linguistic stereotype theory in linguistic culture. The female family role stereotypes summarised in this paper are all linguistic responses to the Sino-British ethnic community's perception of women. On the whole, Chinese and Anglo-Saxon women are subordinate in the family, and their status, words, actions and thoughts are influenced by the different living environments and humanistic customs of the two nations, resulting in different ways of thinking, which is reflected in the language through the proverbs that exist in the contemporary Chinese and English languages.

*Keywords*: language and culture, Chinese proverb, English proverb, female family role, language stereotype.

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# СТЕРЕОТИПЫ О СЕМЕЙНЫХ РОЛЯХ ЖЕНЩИНЫ В КИТАЙСКИХ И АНГЛИЙСКИХ ПОСЛОВИЦАХ

Статья посвящена языковой репрезентации традиционных семейных ролей женщины в китайских и английских пословицах. Исследование базируется на теории лингвистических стереотипов и раскрывает характеристики китайских и английских пословиц с точки зрения их языковой формы и семантики. В статье через призму пословиц анализируются традиционные типы семейного устройства в китайской и англосаксонской лингвокультурах в период с XVI до XX вв.; идентифици-

руются типы семейных ролей женщины и соответствующие им лингвистические стереотипы, закрепленные в пословицах; раскрываются лингвокультурные и этнокультурные основания формирования данных стереотипов. Устанавливаются 10 типов семейных ролей женщины в китайских и английских пословицах, в контексте которых анализируются структурные особенности семейного устройства в соответствующих лингвокультурах в заявленный временной период. На основе изучения семантики пословиц делаются выводы о культурных предпосылках формирования стереотипов о семейной роли женщины в исследуемых лингвокультурах в их языковой манифестации в пословицах, а также о том, какое этноспецифическое восприятие образа женщины закреплено данными пословицами. Исследование демонстрирует субординативную роль женщины в традиционной китайской и англосаксонской лингвокультурах, при этом семейный статус женщины в каждой из изученных лингвокультур демонстрирует специфику, детерминируемую различными условиями жизни, религиозными верованиями, менталитетом и устоявшимися традициями и обычаями народов. Это, в свою очередь, находит языковое воплощение в синхронии в фонде функционирующих пословиц в китайском и английском языках.

*Ключевые слова*: лингвокультурология, китайская пословица, английская пословица, семейная роль женщины, лингвистический стереотип.

### Introduction

In the 1980s, Chinese scholars began to dabble in the study of women in proverbs. With the rising status of women, more and more scholars have shown a keen interest in proverbs about traditional women. The research of the linguistic literature on women from 1987–2021 on the China National Knowledge Infrastructure (CNKI) reveals at least 71 relevant research studies published in recent decades. Chinese scholars' research mainly focuses on the comparison of women in Chinese and English proverbs, with a total of 14 published papers, accounting for about 19.7% of the total, followed by the interpretation of female figures in English, Chinese, Japanese, Russian, and Uyghur proverbs, each accounting for about 15.5%, 9.9%, 5.6% and 7% (Current status of research before 2021).

Research on female-related proverbs in Chinese linguistics has been conducted mainly on the basis of theories from the sub-disciplines of linguistics, such as grammar, rhetoric, cognitive linguistics and language and culture. In grammar, scholars have mainly studied the syntactic structure and grammatical function of female-related proverbs [孙文娟,2013; 阳利, 2007]; in rhetoric, scholars have focused on the rhetorical patterns of female-related proverbs [罗福腾, 1997]; in cognitive linguistics, scholars have mainly used the conceptual metaphor theory as the basis, taking

female-related proverbs as the corpus, comparing the conceptual metaphors in female-related proverbs of different ethnic groups, and exploring the reasons for the commonality and individuality between the two ethnic groups in the context of social culture [石吉梅, 2011; 郭晋豫, 2014].

In recent years, the hot topic of scholars' research is to combine female-related proverbs with social culture, based on the theory of linguistic culture, to explore the female issues of various ethnic groups from different perspectives, including the perspectives of gender discrimination, female image, marriage view and social relationship, with the research focusing on the perspective of gender discrimination. Scholars have produced a wealth of research on female sexism, and there is a relatively complete body of research on the vocabulary, content and reasons behind female discrimination reflected in proverbs [杨青, 余祥越, 2003; 赵玲, 2012]. From the perspective of the image of women, scholars have mostly studied the image of women as a whole across ethnic groups [王兰霞, 1996; 龙千红, 2000]; in addition, scholars have also slightly covered the study of the image of women's social and family roles [常辰晨, 2010; 王尧, 2011]. In terms of the concept of marriage, scholars have mainly analysed men's criteria for choosing a spouse: when choosing a fiancée, men focus on appearance and character, age and genus, family traditions, etc. [谭俊蕾, 2010; 白艳, 2011]. In terms of social relationships, scholars have mainly studied women's family relationships as traditional women's lives were confined to the family [高玉霞, 2007]. Scholars of folklore use proverbs reflecting the customs and traditional habits as a corpus from which to unearth the traditional practices followed by women of different ethnic groups [木 克代斯, 2011; 张艳, 2012; 张艳萍, 鞠娟, 2013].

When scholars from various countries other than China study women in English proverbs, most of them focus on comparing English with various European and American national languages. The analysis of the literature collected by scholars from various countries reveals that scholars from various countries have studied women in English proverbs in two main directions: linguistic and ethnographic. Scholars of female proverbs in English in various countries have based their research on theories of cognitive linguistics, gender linguistics and linguistic culture [Li, 2008; Nikolaeva, Yakovleva, 2015].

In cognitive linguistics, scholars have mainly explored the world picture behind the proverbs by analysing the metaphorical and lexical components of the proverbs [Honeck, 1997; Kaplan, 2002; Iakovleva, Nikolaeva, 2016]. In gender linguistics, scholars mostly study the distinctions and connections between masculine and feminine concepts in proverbs in

terms of conceptual metaphors manifested as linguistic metaphors [Kimberly, Winick, 2004; Lau, 1996].

Scholars of English female proverbs in various countries have done a lot of research on female-related proverbs in the context of linguistic culture, focusing on the overall image of women reflected in proverbs and analysing the overall female image of a nation from multiple perspectives, such as appearance, character and marriage [Lauhakangas, 2014; Mieder, 2010].

Most of the scholars' studies on the female image of proverbs in the linguistic and cultural field have focused on the analysis of the female image as a whole, and through their research results we can only grasp the female image in general terms and have only a general understanding of the women of the nation.

#### Methods and material

In order to appreciate the unique image of women's roles in the family in a more concrete and intuitive way, and to understand women in a holistic way, this paper will use the theory of linguistic stereotypes, based on the research results of Chinese scholars and scholars from various other countries, to analyse the different role stereotypes of Chinese and Anglo-Saxon women in the family and the socio-cultural reasons for their formation, using the corpus of Chinese and English proverbs as a basis.

The Chinese corpus of this article is mainly drawn from the Dictionary of Proverbs (Revised Edition) (2004) edited by Xu Zongcai [徐宗才, 应俊玲, 2004] and Ying Junling and the Chinese Dictionary of Proverbs (2011) edited by Wen Duanzheng [温端政, 2011]. English proverbs were drawn from the Dictionary of English Proverbs (1992) [Mieder, 1992].

Through the documentary research method, we study the relevant literature and identify 10 types of female family roles in Chinese and English proverbs in the context of which we analyse the types of Han and Anglo-Saxon family structures in the period between the 16th and 20th centuries. Finally, inductive analysis is used to summarise the stereotypes of female family roles in Chinese and English proverbs and the reasons for their formation [Jessie,1975].

#### **Research Results**

## 1. Stereotype theory in the context of linguistics and culture.

We consider stereotypes to be the fixed perception of the surrounding reality by a certain national cultural community, which is culturally

differentiated and is divided into thinking, behavioural and linguistic stereotypes [赵爱国, 2006].

People use language to express emotions, exchange information and convey ideas, which in turn form culture. People put their emotional attitudes and subjective evaluations of things into their language, which gives it a unique worldview, outlook on life and values that reflect the stereotypes specific to that people [Maslova, 2005]. Language stereotypes are therefore linguistic combinations with fixed referential meanings, which reflect a fixed set of judgments of a certain ethnic cultural community about phenomena, things, people and other objects in the world.

According to Song Hongying, language stereotypes not only have a fixed referential content, i.e. the content expresses a specific national cultural meaning, but also have fixed connections between words, so that language stereotypes contain both a content level and a form level. The form of the language stereotype, i.e. the fixed expression, is divided into words, phrases, sentences and chapters according to the size of the linguistic unit: 'words' can include words without equivalence, words with accompanying meaning, and contextual words [宋洪英, 2011]. Language stereotypes are thus expressed formally as words, phrases, sentences and paragraphs, which are fragments of the conceptual system in the picture of the linguistic world, with evaluative features and emotional overtones. The use of linguistic stereotypes in communication can save the participants time and effort and achieve perfect communicative results.

A proverb is a short, educational statement commonly accepted by the people of a given nation, which records and reflects the nation's perception and evaluation of the world, i.e. it contains the most complete understanding of the world by the people who speak the language, reflecting the nation's history, customs and worldview, etc. The content of a proverb is the knowledge, experience and judgement accumulated by the people of a particular nation in the process of understanding and transforming the world, and its form is a closed sentence structure, a more fixed and familiar language. Therefore, a proverb is a linguistic stereotype [赵艳芳, 2000].

# 2. Female family role stereotypes in Chinese and English proverbs.

The roles of women in Han and Anglo-Saxon families are: wife, mother, daughter, sister, widow, (maternal) grandmother, (maternal) granddaughter, mother-in-law, daughter-in-law and mother-in-law — ten roles in all. Therefore, in this article we will analyse the Chinese and English proverbs that are centred on these ten types of roles.

After collecting proverbs related to women's family roles from the selected dictionary material, it was found that the proverbs were about wives (40%), mothers (10%), widows (9%), daughters-in-law (9%),

mothers-in-law (15%), daughters (8%), sisters (7%), grandmothers and granddaughters (6%). This paper will use the collected proverbs as a corpus base to analyse these ten types of female family role stereotypes.

## [1] Wife and widow stereotypes

The Han and Anglo-Saxon nations' women are similar in three respects: the status of husband and wife in their relationship, the way of choosing the wife's appearance, and the role of wife as the key player in the family, as can be seen from the following proverbial comparison.

## The subordinate position of a wife

- (1) 妻跟夫走,水向东流。 (if the wife and her husband walk at the same pace, the water flows in the direction of her husband.)
- (2) 嫁出去的女儿,泼出去的水 (A daughter who marries is like water that spills out.)
- (3) All women can be caught, spread but your nets.
- (4) A good wife and health is a man's best wealth.

## The importance of a wife's physical appearance

- (5) 女为悦己者容 (a woman keeps her face beautiful to please herself and her husband.)
- (6) 孔雀美丽在羽毛,妻子美好在性格 (A peacock is beautiful in its feathers, a wife is beautiful in her character.)
- (7) A fair face is half a portion.
- (8) Plain women are as safe as churches.

## The role of wife as the key player in the family

- (9) 无梁不成屋,无妻不成家。(No house without a beam, no home without a wife.)
- (10) 花卉是草原的装饰,妇女是家庭的光辉。(Flowers are the decoration of the grassland, women are the glory of the family.)
- (11) 死了家主妇,折了擎天柱。(When the wife of the family dies, the life of the family is in disorder.)
- (12) 妇女能顶半边天。(Women have great potential, whatever men can do, women can also do.)
- (13) A virtuous woman is a crown to her husband.
- (14) Men make houses, women make homes.
- (15) A tent without a wife is like a fiddle without a string.

#### Widow discrimination

The social group of widows is highly discriminated against and loathed, often ridiculed and often the target of gossip. The following proverbs show how difficult this image can be in life.

- (16) 寡酒难吃,寡妇难当。(it's hard to drink without food to go with the wine, and it's hard for a widow to live with a dead husband.)
- (17) 再刷无好布,再嫁无好妇。(A tattered cloth is still bad even if it is mended, and a widow who remarries will not have a better home, but will be disliked after all.)
- (18) He who married a widow and three children marries four thieves.

# [2] Mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, and mother-in-law stereo-types

Since ancient times, the relationship between a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law has been in a tense atmosphere among the Han Chinese, and the issue of getting along with them has become a major problem in every family. The daughter-in-law is not only subordinate to her husband, but also to all her relatives who are older than her. The Anglo-Saxons, on the other hand, have fewer, if any, problems with mother-in-law-daughter-in-law relations, as after marriage most of them build their own families and do not live with their mothers-in-law, so there are few, if any, problems in this area, and thus the English proverbs are rare in this respect.

- (19) 婆婆打媳妇天下有。(A mother-in-law beats her daughter-in-law. This is very common in usual life.)
- (20) 丑媳妇早晚都得见公婆。(An ugly daughter-in-law will have to face her parents-in-law sooner or later, you can not hide your ugliness if you want to marry.)
- (21) Mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are a tempest and hail storm.
- (22) Happy is she who marries the son of a dead mother.

Han Chinese mothers-in-law began preparing dowries for their daughters from the time they were small. When choosing a wife, men are tempted by wealth and expect a generous and unstinting mother-in-law who can give them a large dowry, as well as expecting her not to ask for a very high dowry money outlay and to interfere with their family affairs on a regular basis. At the same time the man will maintain a good relationship with his mother-in-law. Anglo-Saxon mothers-in-law, on the other hand, rarely interfere with their married daughter's family and do not expect much from their son-in-law, as long as their daughter is happy. Therefore, no English proverbs were found in the selected corpus sources and only the Chinese proverbs are listed here.

- (23) 岳母既不是母亲,也不是对手。(A mother-in-law is neither your mother nor your rival.)
- (24) 丈夫爱富妻和慷慨的岳母。(A husband loves a rich wife and a generous mother-in-law.)
- (25) 女婿就是丈母娘的儿子。(The mother-in-law will treat her son-in-law as if he were her own son.)

## [3] Mother and daughter stereotypes versus sister stereotypes

Both traditional Han and Anglo-Saxon peoples put family and children first in their lives, and mothers always love and protect their children and dedicate their lives to them. In traditional Han families, boys are favoured. The reason is that the boy is the future breadwinner of the family. Girls, on the other hand, are meant to be other people's wives and labourers in other people's homes. The mother spends a lot of energy teaching her daughter to master all female domestic matters in order to prepare her daughter to be a good wife, mother, and matriarch in the future. The Anglo-Saxon people had no particular preference for their children, but valued and loved them all equally. Mothers are just as likely to teach their daughters to master female domestic matters in preparation for their own independent lives and for marriage. These are reflected in the following proverbs.

- (26) 要想赢得女儿的欢心,必须先从她母亲着手。 (To win a daughter's heart, you must first start with her mother.)
- (27) 女儿是父母的贴心小棉袄。(Daughters are the sweethearts of their parents).
- (28) The daughter of a good mother will be the mother of a good daughter.
- (29) A mother's love is like a circle. It has no beginning and no ending.
- (30) Mother's love will dash up from the depths of the sea.

## Sisterhood stereotypes

Sisters in both Han and Anglo-Saxon families are taught by their mothers from an early age how to do household chores and are therefore very good at them. They are good helpers for their mothers. In addition, the sisters have to look after the younger siblings. If a parent dies, then the older child takes on the responsibility of the parent and raises the younger brother and sister.

- (31) 姐妹们一起就像河和水。 (Sisters together are like a river and water, they can match well for each other.)
- (32) 姐姐现在穿的衣服,妹妹以后也要穿。 (The clothes worn by the sister will be left to the sister to wear.)
- (33) Sisters before misters.
- (34) You are a second self.

# [4] The (maternal) grandmother and (maternal)granddaughter stereotype

Both Han Chinese and Anglo-Saxon (maternal) grandmothers have a similar affection for their (maternal) grandchildren. Even though they are getting older and weaker, they are always thinking of their children and grandchildren, trying not to be a burden to them and helping to look after them. Grandmothers are the protectors and companions of their grandchildren, and they care for and protect their grandchildren, so that they can grow up happy and healthy. The (maternal) grandmother usually has a close relationship with the children and loves them. Unlike their parents' approach to their children, they do not treat them harshly, but are usually gentle and caring towards their grandchildren, turning a blind eye to their mischief, forgiving them for minor faults and soothing them when they are sad. For the children their (maternal) grandmother is their support and guardian.

- (35) 家有一老,如有一宝。(If there is an old person in the family, it is like there is a treasure at home.)
- (36) 女儿的女儿们比谁都可爱。(Granddaughters are lovelier than anyone else.)
- (37) I think of you as the eternally young grandmother.

The analysis of the examples provided above shows that stereotypically the two nations' wives, mothers, sisters and (maternal) grandmothers and (maternal) granddaughters are only stereotypically positive, while the other five family roles are both positive and negative.

#### Discussion

# 1. Analysis of the common reasons for the formation of female family role stereotypes in Chinese and English proverbs

One of the reasons for the similarities between Chinese and English female family role stereotypes in proverbs is the influence of the patriarchal societies of the Anglo-Saxon and Chinese peoples. In addition to economic power there is also the social promotion of the idea that men are inferior to women. The story of Adam and Eve is a widespread Christian story in Western countries, where God created the man Adam and the woman Eve was created from a rib of Adam's body (Adam's rib). This conveyed the status of women as self-evident; a man could survive without his rib, but a rib was meaningless without its support, and the story took hold with Christian preaching.

During the Han Dynasty, Confucianism became the orthodoxy of feudal society, with the patriarchal system, the core concept of the family, sharply dividing men from women and influencing the Han nation for thousands of years. This dominant ideology heavily influenced the role of women in the family, which was largely confined to domestic affairs, limiting women's activities to the home.

This is also true in marriage, where double standards of chastity and the three virtues of submissiveness for women shackle women and deprive them of their natural qualities, leaving Han and Anglo-Saxon women in a subordinate position in their marital relationships.

Both the Han and Anglo-Saxon traditions were unkind to widows, discriminating against them, ridiculing them and conditioning them to be subordinate to men by harsh regulations. Neither ethnic group placed much importance on the education of women, and even discouraged them from attending school. When women are stereotyped, men discriminate against them for having 'long hair and short wisdom' and 'When an ass climbs a ladder, we may find wisdom in women'.

Since both peoples are in the same global village, share a common understanding of the objective world and subjective experience, and exist in the family of 'human beings', the perception of many things is the same. Proverbs come from life, and the fact that these everyday experiences are incorporated into proverbs passed down leads to the fact that there are Chinese and English proverbs that have many similar conceptual stereotypes of female roles in the family. For example, women are susceptible to the influence of their thinking and emotions due to their biological peculiarities, and are smaller and less physically capable than men. For example: 'Men make houses, women make homes.' The pursuit of beauty is the same for all human beings, and the beautiful appearance of women is a constant pursuit for men in a patriarchal society. It is also the pursuit of women for themselves, as the saying goes, 'A fair face is half a portion'.

# 2. Analysis of the reasons for the individuality of women's family roles in Chinese and English proverbs

While there are similarities between the family roles of women in Chinese and English proverbs, their differences cannot be ignored. The reasons for variability can be attributed to experiential differences, regional differences and so on, and are explained in two ways.

## [1] Survival environment

The development of a language is inextricably linked to the local context, which is both geographical and human. It influences every aspect of

the production and life of its people, and naturally this influence permeates the proverbs.

As the English proverbs in this paper are selected from the Dictionary of American Proverbs, the Anglo-Saxon nation of the United States has been chosen for analysis. When it comes to proverbs, Americans use the full array of English proverbs inherited from British English during the early colonial period of the American history. These proverbs commonly reflect the insular character of Great Britain and the close connection of its inhabitants with sea and maritime shipping, as well as reflect the importance of the proximity of the ocean in the early colonial period of the history of the United States. For example, the phrase 'All women can be caught, spread but your nets', for example, relates to the daily fishing life of the fishermen, treating women as fish to be caught. The phrase 'Mother's love will dash up from the depths of the sea' is a metaphor for the depths of the sea and the greatness of a mother's love. Wind is an important consideration in sailing, so wind is also often found in the metaphorical thinking of Anglo-Saxon peoples, 'A woman is a weather-cock'.

China, on the other hand, has been a vast country since ancient times, with its people mainly concentrated on the plains surrounded by mountains and dependent on agriculture for their livelihood. This is why there are many Chinese proverbs relating to mountains and land, such as "An ugly wife is a treasure in her home" and "Land is a man's wing, and a man is a woman's wing", which express the dependence of women on men because land was the only source of income for the ancient working people. This is because land was the only source of income for working people in ancient times. This is because land was the only source of income for the working people in ancient times, and there is also a saying related to the mountains: "A tiger relies on a mountain, an official relies on a seal, and a woman relies on a man". There are also many proverbs related to agricultural products, such as "A child never leaves his mother, and a melon never leaves its seedlings". In addition, the topography of China is high in the west and low in the east, so there are many proverbs that correspond to this, such as "Wives follow their husbands, water flows eastwards". Proverbs like that are all unique to Chinese and reflect its geographical specificity.

In China, the influence of Buddhism and Taoism on the Chinese people is unparalleled. Buddhism was introduced to China during the Han Dynasty and reached its peak during the Sui and Tang Dynasties. For over 2,000 years it has quietly influenced traditional Chinese culture and has created unique words and phrases associated with it. Buddhism, which preaches great compassion and the universalisation of all beings, has cre-

ated many images, such as the 'living Bodhisattva' and the 'God of Wealth', which have had a huge impact on Chinese folklore, culture, art as well as aesthetics and thinking, and in proverbs Chinese often uses demons as the source domain, for example: "A woman does not fight to become a demon". A demon is also the opposite of a Bodhisattva, the personification of evil. Taoism was founded by Laozi and further developed by Zhuangzi, whose 'theory of Yin and Yang' holds that the world we live in is a unified whole and that materiality is its foundation, and that everything in the world has two sides, Yin and Yang, which are opposed to each other and at the same time unified. The contradictory movement of Yin and Yang is the fundamental cause of the occurrence, development, change and demise of all things in the world. Yin represents the female in Taoism, and Yang represents the male. The balance between Yin and Yang is a balance between men and women that will last, as in the saying "women can hold up half the sky".

In terms of religious beliefs, the different religious influences of the English and Chinese speaking peoples have led to differences in their metaphorical thinking. The English-speaking peoples are mainly influenced by Christianity and use a lot of Christian source domains, while the Chinese peoples are profoundly influenced by Buddhism and Taoism and only use source domains with Buddhist and Taoist overtones.

### [2] Customs and traditions

Over thousands of years of human history, each nation has developed its own distinctive customs and traditions, which are a source of centredness for a people and which encourage people to understand cultures with different perspectives and different thinking. Food culture is an important part of national customs and traditions. Wine has been flourishing in European countries since around the 6th century BC, and people love to taste and drink wine, and regard good quality wine as a treasure. This is why there are many proverbs that use wine as a source domain and project it onto women as a target domain. "Commend not to your wife, wine nor house".

China, with its vast land and climate, grows a large number of grains and cereals, and the Han Chinese love to eat grains and their products. The earliest wine was made from grains fermented in vats over time, and in Chinese proverbs, when wine is used as a metaphor for women, it is this white wine that is referred to: "漂亮而无德的女人,是一缸醉人的酒" (A beautiful and immoral woman is a vat of drunken wine).[徐宗才,应俊玲, 2004] It is not surprising that such an important ingredient appears in proverbs as a source domain concept, as rice is an indispensable

ingredient at the dinner table, especially in the southern regions. Tofu is also one of the more representative of Chinese food culture, having been invented 164 years ago by Liu An, the grandson of China's Han Gaozu Liu Bang, and is made from the beans of the five grains. It has been an important food for the Han Chinese since ancient times. Such eating habits permeated the creation of the language, '女人三十豆腐渣'. (A woman's face become older and older every year from the age of 30 onwards, it looks like bean dregs.)

In summary, the similarity between Han and Anglo-Saxon social history and the same cognitive base, as well as the fact that both groups of women themselves have the same physical and psychological make-up, have led to a considerable number of similarities in the proverbs on the role of the Chinese and English women in the family. The main reasons for the differences are the different environments in which they existed, the different beliefs and ideas that the people were taught, and the very different human customs of the two peoples. This has influenced the creation of the language in every way and is reflected in the proverbs.

#### Conclusion

When it comes to stereotyping wives in proverbs, only a good, faithful, virtuous and hard-working wife can be called a good wife, otherwise she will only bear the name of a bad wife. To be a good wife, she must always put her husband first, obey him and listen to his teachings, and he must love and care for his wife in order to bring harmony to the family.

Although there is sympathy for widows, the image of widowhood is still predominantly negative in both cultures. Both ethnic groups believe that widows are completely free and in control of their own lives because they are free from the discipline of their husbands.

The Han Chinese believe that mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law will always be the cause of conflict in the family. The Anglo-Saxon people, on the other hand, have few problems with their mothers-in-law because they leave their mothers after marriage and their wives and mothers-in-law do not live together.

The Han Chinese love their generous mothers-in-law, who treat their sons-in-law like their own sons for the sake of their daughters. However, once the mother-in-law demands a lot from her son-in-law and starts to interfere with her daughter's housekeeping, this peaceful relationship is broken, and she will be complained about by her son-in-law. The Anglo-Saxon mother-in-law does not interfere in the married life of her daughter and son-in-law and asks little of her son-in-law, as long as her daughter is happy.

Both peoples have great respect for the mother and she has a very high status. Because the mother loves her children very much, she is also adored by them. They never bother with their children, they can sacrifice themselves for their children, and she is a wonderful, selfless, warm and beloved woman.

On the one hand, the Han love their daughters very much and protect them until they marry them; on the other hand, the dowry they have to prepare when they marry makes them feel that their daughters are money losers. The daughter has to learn how to handle the household from her mother from an early age in order to become a proper hostess, which makes her act in a very similar way to her mother. The Anglo-Saxon people always loved and liked their daughters and did not need to prepare a dowry for their married daughters. The mother likewise taught her daughter from an early age to learn all kinds of household chores, so this would also make her act in a similar way to her mother.

The stereotype of the sister in Chinese and English proverbs is that she is a second mother, for she has to look after her younger siblings for her mother, she depends on her brothers, and people compare a sister without a brother to being as lonely as a bare branch. For the Chinese, sisters are also among their closest relatives.

The Chinese and English proverbs reflect the stereotype of the (maternal) grandmother who, although old and living in hardship, still looks after her family, exists for her children and grandchildren, working for them all her life and protecting them like a shield, and the (maternal) grandchildren respect and love their (maternal) grandmother as much as they love their mother. Granddaughters are loved by their elders in both peoples.

The female family role stereotypes summarised in this paper are all linguistic reflections of the ethnic cultural community's perception of women. Generally speaking, women of the two ethnic groups are subordinate in the family, and their status, words, actions and thoughts are influenced by their own specific cultures, i. e. their different living environments, religious beliefs and humanistic customs result in different ways of thinking, which makes each of them present individual characteristics when choosing their source domain.

The overview of the proverbs on the role of women in the family from both peoples shows that there are far more positive than negative attitudes towards the status of women in the family, but we cannot exclude that there are still negative aspects. Although the status of women is now significantly higher and they are increasingly moving out of the home and into society, with freedom and choice, the traditional images of women have not disappeared, but remain more or less intact, as evidenced by the survival of these images in proverbs that remain in active use.

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# LANGUAGE ACTIVISM IN RUSSIA: PREREQUISITES AND FORMS OF EXISTENCE

One of the topical areas of study of modern Russian sociolinguistics is the theory of language activism, which, as a rule, correlates with the activities oriented towards languages that are not supported de jure or are not efficiently supported de facto to maintain their functioning in various areas of communication. The article discusses approaches to the definition of the concept of language activism, analyzes the prerequisites for the emergence of the language activism in the Russian Federation and the forms of its existence. In this analysis, the author relies on the field sociolinguistic research conducted within the period of 2021–2022 on the territory of the Republic of Tyva and Sakha (Yakutia).

*Keywords*: languages of Russia, language policy, language situation, language activism, language enthusiasts.

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# ЯЗЫКОВОЙ АКТИВИЗМ В РОССИИ: ПРЕДПОСЫЛКИ И ФОРМЫ СУЩЕСТВОВАНИЯ

Одним из актуальных направлений современной отечественной социолингвистики является теория языкового активизма, которая, как правило, соотносится с деятельностью, ориентированной на языки, которые не поддерживаются де-юре или поддерживаются недостаточно эффективно де-факто для сохранения функционирования в различных сферах коммуникации. В статье рассматриваются подходы к определению понятия языкового активизма, анализируются предпосылки возникновения языкового активизма в Российской Федерации и формы его существования. В данном анализе автор опирается на полевые социолингвистические исследования, проведенные в период 2021-2022 гг. на территории Республик Тыва и Саха (Якутия).

*Ключевые слова:* языки России, языковая политика, языковая ситуация, языковой активизм, языковые энтузиасты.

#### Introduction

Activism as a separate notion is mainly defined as a series of vigorous actions aimed at achieving a certain goal by a group of individuals. It is often treated controversially due to its oppositional spirit, because in fact "it manifests as confrontational activity that directly challenges the order of things" [Combs, Penfield, 2012]. With reference to language policy language activ-

ism implies a set of actions, as a rule, oriented towards the languages that are not supported de jure or are not efficiently supported de facto to maintain their functioning in various areas of communication. Thus, these grassroots movements are able to influence the existing language policy implemented from the top, and that is exactly what makes this topic very sensitive.

When we think of a typical portrait of a language activist is possible to single out "internal" language activists who are a part of an ethnic community that is worried about the fate of their mother tongue (irrespective of their personal language competence), and "external" ones who for some reason decided to deal with the language of the people with whom they originally have not been connected. The case of internal language activism may be presented by people of different age and sex, including elderly people who after becoming grandparents start to realize the importance of the transmission of their mother tongue to their grandchildren, after having ignored this fact for a long time being young parents in relation to their own children, which resulted in a language shift of the latter towards the majority language. External activists usually include those who, for certain reason, have begun to take an interest in the minority language, such as spouses in mixed marriages.

Another important issue in the analysis of this concept is the distinction between language activists and linguists. Florey et al. [Florey et al., 2009] distinguish these notions in accordance with the following parameters: activity, indigeneity and training. According to the first one, language advocacy, revitalization and maintenance belong to the realm of language activists, while language documentation and description refer to the realm of linguists. According to the second one Florey and Penfield stress, that the term language activist is applied "almost exclusively to indigenous peoples" and in this point their share the idea of internal vs. external language activist. Finally, the third criterion refers to the linguistic skill level, which proves to be lower among activists, most of whom are not professional linguists [Florey et al., 2009].

We see that this classification refers to typical cases of linguistic activism, while at present, with the development of interdisciplinary research, it is possible to expand the possibilities of this area beyond the scope of linguistics.

#### Problem statement

"Language activism manifests differently at different times in different contexts" [Combs & Penfield, 2012]. In the context of the Russian Federation, in which language activism began to manifest itself relatively re-

cently, the Internet played an important role in its formation. At the same time, due to the traditional power distance inherent in the Russian culture according to Hofstede's scale1, the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within the country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally, an ambiguous attitude has formed in society towards language activists, as well as towards activism in in general. This was the reason for the long-term replacement of this concept by the concept of language enthusiasts as having a positive connotation. Currently, the term "language activism" is actively used in journalistic articles and video materials of language communities (for example, "Country of Languages"2), and increasingly appears in Russian-language scientific publications, to a greater extent, international scientific platforms like WoS and Scopus, to a lesser extent in Russian Science Citation Index (RSCI). In particular, when searching by keywords, one can find 12 articles in RSCI, all of them belong to the period 2020–2022.

#### Research methods

The source base for this sociolinguistic study is the research of the Russian scholars in recent years in this area, as well as the results of the field studies conducted by the author in 2021–2022 in the Republics of the Russian Federation, including Tuva and Sakha (Yakutia). In the course of this study, we conducted a series of interviews with linguists, historians, language activists, cultural figures, and youth. The choice of respondents was determined, first of all, by their ability to identify signs of a language shift at the initial stage and analyze the language situation in the region. Key interview questions focused on the analysis of the dynamics of the functioning of languages in the respective region in recent years and the attitude of informants to the current situation and the measures taken by local residents to preserve their language.

#### Results and discussion

# Prerequisites for language activism in Russia

Globalization and technological development are the main prerequisites for the development of activist movements in support of the language. "The fact is that the process of globalization, leading to the unification of cultures, gives rise to a desire for cultural self-affirmation among some ethnic groups and causes a desire to preserve their own cultural values. <...> The range of forms of resistance to the process of globalization

is quite wide, from passive rejection of the achievements of other cultures to active resistance to their spread and establishment. As a result, we are witnessing numerous ethnic conflicts, extremist actions, strengthening of nationalist sentiments, activation of regional fundamentalist movements" [Sadokhin, 2013]. Naturally, the process of globalization did not bypass Russia with its cultural and linguistic diversity, which also faced challenges in the form of information and communication tools with the predominant functioning of the majority languages and a decrease in the prestige of minority languages within the community.

The second prerequisite for the formation of language activism is the state language policy, focused on the functional development of the majority language. "Today, one can often hear discussions about the state of minority and underused languages, the functional ability of which is gradually fading away, unable to compete with the dominant languages in terms of status and functional development. In turn, world linguistic experience shows that the fate of such languages largely depends on the individual efforts of language enthusiasts" [Bitkeeva & Mandzhieva, 2022]. So, language activism, as a rule, correlates with activities in relation to languages that are not supported at the official level or are not sufficiently supported to provide its functioning in real life. Social tension from quasilegal recognition of legal rights of a language as a result of a certain language policy becomes one of the prerequisites for the language activism. One of such triggers in the Russian Federation was an amendment to the language legislation of the country, which caused heated debates among the Russian society, i.e. the adoption of amendments to the Federal Law "On Education in the Russian Federation" and the introduction of a provision for the voluntary study of minority languages in 2018 [Bitkeeva et al, 2022]. According to the latest edition of the law, the opportunity to receive education in the native language (from among the peoples of the Russian Federation, including the Russian language), the study of the Russian language as the languages of the Republics of the Russian Federation is provided on a voluntary basis "according to the statements of the parents (legal representatives) of minor students upon admission (transfer) for training in educational programs of preschool education, having state accreditation of educational programs of primary general and basic general education3". The amendments led to a tendency among representatives of various ethnic groups to choose in favor of teaching children in Russian in order to successfully pass the exam and further enter universities. At the same time, it also gave rise to activist movements in support of the language among those segments of the population who noticed a danger to the continued functioning of their language.

## Types of language activism in Russia

Further, we will consider the types of language activism on the example of their manifestations in such Republics of the Russian Federation as Tuva and Sakha (Yakutia).

### Digital activism

Describing the current language situation in the republics of the Russian Federation, informants, as a rule, pay attention to the influence of television and the Internet on the formation of Russian-speaking competence and the language shift towards the Russian language among ethnic groups, primarily among the younger generation. At the same time, it is the Internet that gives rise to a variety of methods for the preservation and revitalization of the language used by the language activists. The so-called Internet activism (or digital activism), which implies the use of electronic communication technologies, such as email, social networks and podcasts for various forms of activity, the presentation of individual information to a wide audience in the world, is effectively correlating with the language activism.

The desire to keep in touch with other representatives of the Tuvan ethnic group is expressed in the tendency to join various kinds of community chats based on the family or territorial proximity of the participants. The language of communication in such communities is often the Tuvan language, which in some cases is specifically stipulated in the rules of the community (Kaplunova, 2022b).

School teachers are beginning to introduce digital educational resources into their lessons. Nadezhda Maksimovna Ochirova, a teacher of the Even language at the Experimental boarding school "Arktika" with indepth study of humanitarian and cultural subjects in Neryungri (Yakutia), shoots school videos that she uploads to the Internet, contributing to the formation of students' linguistic and communicative competence, practical mastery of the language.

Documentation as another way of language revitalization, "because documentation of lesser-used languages using digital technologies also results in the production of new cultural objects to be stored, displayed, and circulated, attention is also focused on the forms of sociality sustained by the creation and exchange of such electronic artifacts" [Eisenlohr, 2004]. One way to document and maintain a language is to run it on such a platform like Wikipedia. In an interview with a language activist, the creator of the Sakha Wikipedia, PhD in medical sciences, Nikolai Nikolaevich Pavlov-Khalan, we found out that he realized the importance

of preserving the Yakut language at the moment when his children went to kindergarten and after two weeks began to mix language codes in family communication (Kaplunova, 2022a). In addition to Wikipedia, which is an encyclopedia, there are other projects, such as Wiktionary, Wikisource, Wikiguide, Wikinews. These are separate sites, which also have different language versions. So far, there are two such sites in the Yakut language, i.e. Wikiquote and Wikisource. Wikisource is a collection of works in a language including either fiction, or scientific articles, or journalist works. Wikiquote includes quotations from fiction and folklore, films, interviews, including phraseological units, proverbs and sayings. In addition to spreading the Yankut language on wiki sites, N. Pavlov-Khalan also contributed to the spread of the Even language. As N. Pavlov-Khalan said in the interview, "In the section of Russian Wikinews, we once made a subsection in the Even language. About four years ago. I helped a student, who spoke her native Even language very well. Then we published several articles in Russian Wikinews on Even topics." (Kaplunova, 2022a). In addition to Wikipedia projects, there is a number of other effective projects coordinated by N. Pavlov-Khalan, including a public movement "CyberSakha4", whose members created such project as SakhaTyla.ru5, which accumulates various already published books related to the Yakut language. There are phrasebooks, dictionaries, audio content.

Yandex, a transnational company in the information technology industry, can also be considered as a language activist due to the presence on its platform of the Russian-Yakut and Yakut-Russian online translator on open access for all Internet users.

# Language events

The practice of conducting the so-called Total Dictation (originally held in Russian) in ethnic languages in the format of a voluntary mass test of knowledge is also assessed by researchers as a manifestation of language activism that contributes to the spread of the practice of holding such events in the field of national languages, "improving the culture of speech and, in general, developing the languages of peoples Russia" [Neflyasheva, 2020]. In 2011, for the first time in the Republic of Tuva, the Headquarters of Youth Organizations hosted the first total dictation in the Tuvan language, dedicated to the International Mother Language Day. Six years later, within the framework of the Festival of the Mother Language from February 14 to February 16, 2017, the Total Dictation in the Yakut language was organized for the first time in 24 educational institutions of the city of Yakutsk for everyone, including students, teachers, parents.

#### Language nest

One of the traditional ways of language revitalization language nest aimed at preschool children is also worth considering as the type of language activism. This method implies the presence in the kindergarten of a teacher who is a native speaker of the revived language, who uses it when communicating with children. This method has been used since 2022 in the kindergarten of Khatystyr (Aldan region) of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) to preserve the Evenki language. In the context of a shortage of pedagogical personnel among the local population who speak the Evenki language, the kindergarten invited Mikhailova Svetlana Stepanovna from the village of. Iengra (Neryungri region), who is not indifferent to the fate of her native language,

# Culture as the means of language promotion

The high level of ethnic identity and cultural heritage of Tuvans are recognized by the residents of Tuva as key factors contributing to the preservation of the Tuvan language in the region (Kaplunova, 2022b). As an example of cultural activities that contribute to maintaining the prestige of the Tuvan language is the Oduchu musical project, created in the summer of 2018 by Tuvan performers Chingis Sorzhu and Mengi Mongush, which was awarded the Russian World Music Awards in 2019 in the Best New Project nomination6. Young people perform music in ethnic style, in their texts they instill love for their homeland and Tuvan traditions.

A special role in maintaining the ethno-cultural self-consciousness of the Tuvans is played by throat singing khoomei, which is often considered the "cultural brand of Tuva" [Lamazhaa, Suzukey, 2019]. As Tuvan culturologists note, "Performances in the Tuvan language, storytelling competitions and other events help to motivate young people to learn their native language. We especially noticed this after the performances of the Tuva National Orchestra" [Kaplunova, 2022b].

The cultural heritage of the Yakuts is presented by the modern Yakut cinema, which has become one of the main centers of film production in Russia in recent years. Yakut films are diverse, include various genres, but all of them are distinguished by the features of the Yakut ethnic group and Yakut way of life (for example, "The sun does not set above me", "The King Bird", "Scarecrow", etc.). "The symbols and collective cultural images present in the films replace the viewer with an adventure: a journey to this unique region. 7"

In turn, theatrical performances in the Yakut language are organized by the Sakha Academic Theater named after P. A. Oyunsky (Yakutsk) and the Republican Puppet Theater (Neryungri). In the languages of the peoples of the North, performances are organized by the State Theater of Indigenous Peoples of the North (Yakutsk).

#### Conclusion

With the widespread effect of globalization and the tendency of the language shift towards the majority language among the representatives of national minorities, the sociolinguistic community has begun to pay more attention to the problem of the disappearance of languages with low vitality. The development of Internet technologies plays a dual role in the life of the languages of national minorities. On the one hand, this is the reason for the acceleration of the language shift even among those peoples who had fewer prerequisites for this (for example, the Tuvans). At the same time, the development of technology has opened up new opportunities for the preservation and even revitalization of such languages. With the UN General Assembly proclamation of the International Year of Indigenous Languages in 2019 and the forthcoming International Decade of Indigenous Languages (2022-2032), language activism around the world has taken on a new lease of life. And this is also felt in the multinational Russian Federation, where Russian language activism, like its foreign counterparts, exists largely on the Internet, which leads to the emergence of an increasing number of studies on this topic [Khilkhanova & Dugarova, 2022]. Manifestations of language activism as within the framework of Internet activism. and in more traditional forms are various and diverse, which is proved by examples from such Republics of the Russian Federation as Tuva and Sakha (Yakutia).

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# PRAGMATEMES IN THE SITUATION OF EDUCATIONAL BILINGUALISM

The article focuses on the peculiarities of understanding and translating pragmatemes in the situation of educational bilingualism. We conducted a questionnaire [Pragmatemes] among 37 1–4 year students of the Bachelor Programme *Philology: English Language and Literature, Translation Studies* in order to find out students' knowledge of English pragmatemes. The results of the analysis of the questionnaire show that in most cases students, when translating a pragmateme, choose a false literal counterpart; they lack knowledge about synonymous pragmatemes and their communicative register. In addition, comprehension and usage of pragmatemes becomes more complicated if they reflect national or cultural specifics. The results of the research indicate that students find it difficult to choose an adequate translation of pragmatemes and recognize their semantic, stylistic and semantic-stylistic features. Students become hostages of both purely linguistic and linguistic-cultural interference. Therefore, it is necessary to pay more attention to the study of pragmatemes in the situation of educational bilingualism.

*Keywords*: pragmateme, interference, translation, synonymy, communicative register.

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#### ПРАГМАТЕМЫ В СИТУАЦИИ УЧЕБНОГО БИЛИНГВИЗМА

Данная статья посвящена особенностям понимания и перевода прагматем в ситуации учебного билингвизма. Мы провели опрос [Прагматемы] 37 студентов 1-4 курсов, обучающихся по профилю «Зарубежная филология: английский язык и литература», с целью выяснить, насколько студенты владеют прагматемами английского языка. Результаты анализа опроса показывают, что в большинстве случаев студенты выбирают «ложный» дословный перевод прагматемы; респонденты не владеют синонимамипрагматемами в полном объеме и не всегда знают, каким коммуникативный регистром обладают прагматемы. Также особую сложность в понимании и употреблении вызывают прагматемы, несущие национальнокультурную специфику. Результаты исследования свидетельствуют о том, что студенты затрудняются при выборе адекватного перевода прагматем и распознании их семантических, стилевых и семантико-стилистических особенностей, становясь заложниками как сугубо языковой, так и лингвокультурной интерференции. Следовательно, необходимо уделять большее внимание изучению прагматем в ситуации учебного билингвизма.

*Ключевые слова:* прагматема, интерференция, перевод, синонимия, коммуникативный регистр.

#### Introduction

Bless you! — Будьте здоровы! [lit. Be healthy!], Will you marry me? — Ты выйдешь за меня? [lit. Will you go after me?], Out to lunch — Ушел на обед [lit. Gone to lunch] — these seemingly heterogeneous phrases belong to the same class of linguistic entities, namely the class of pragmatemes.

The term was proposed by I.A.Melchuk [Melčuk, 1995] to denote phrases whose sphere of use is strictly limited by extralinguistic situation. For example, the pragmateme-warning "Stand clear of the closing doors, please" can be heard on the subway, whereas the pragmateme "Queue Ahead" is seen only on electronic road signs (see Pic.1).



Pic. 1. Pragmateme "Queue Ahead"

Picture 1 demonstrates that pragmatemes can be accompanied by various non-verbal signals (images, sounds or light).

Pragmatemes are widely used in oral and written speech and can be represented by questions, requests, prohibitions, warnings, notifications, orders or congratulations [Cybulskaya, 2019; Vorobey, 2011].

Probably, due to their ubiquity, according to the requirements of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), the knowledge of stereotypical utterances such as greetings, civilities, signs and posters, notices on packages is required by the initial levels of foreign language acquisition, in particular, levels A1 and A2 of language proficiency proposed by the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages<sup>1</sup>.

It must be recognized that pragmatemes have completely undeservedly turned out to be on the periphery of the Russian researchers' inter-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (2022). *Self-assessment grid — Table 2 (CEFR 3.3): Common Reference levels.* Retrieved from https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=090000168045bb52

ests. The qualitative and quantitative analysis of the publications on ready-made speech formulas showed that in the period from 2012 to 2021 out of 1008 scientific publications only 17 articles (less than 2%) are devoted to the study of pragmatemes [Kayumova, Pakhomova, 2022]. Moreover, the articles are mainly of linguistic orientation and descriptive in nature, i.e. the definition of the concept and typology are given, the functioning of entities in oral or writing speech is studied or classifications of pragmatemes under different criteria are given (e. g. [Bogdanova-Beglaryan, 2014]).

This paper aims to partially compensate for the lack of empirical educational research on pragmatemes. The researchers set a task to find out to what extent bilingual Russian students are proficient in their knowledge of English pragmatemes and whether they are affected by inter-language interference.

#### Methods and materials

The main research tool was a questionnaire located at https://forms. gle/fnK3wP8dgz3tXjBv8. The questionnaire included twenty-eight multiple choice questions. The questions can be subdivided into 3 types according to the task that they set: (a) choose the best variant of translation of the Russian phrase into English, (b) fill in the gaps and (c) find the stylistically most appropriate variant.

The survey participants were 37 first- to fourth-year students enrolled into a Bachelor program *Philology: English Language and Literature, Translation Studies* in Leo Tolstoy Higher School of Russian and Foreign Philology, Kazan Federal University (Russia). The survey was anonymous and voluntary.

#### Results and discussion

According to the answers received, the respondents are artificial sequential bilinguals: the acquisition of a second language took place in an educational environment (primary school) about 10-15 years ago.

The majority of the respondents were 4<sup>th</sup>-year-students (62.2%) followed by 1<sup>st</sup>-year-students and 3<sup>rd</sup>-year-students (21.6% and 16.2% respectively). In general, the respondents evaluated their level of English proficiency as independent and above (intermediate (32.4%), upper-intermediate (35.1%) and proficient (27%)), which anticipated good results in the completion the questionnaire tasks.

Indeed, some of the questions gave little trouble to the respondents. They are as follows:

- Choose the best translation of the Russian phrase "По газону не ходить" (lit. Don't walk on the lawn; Eng. Keep off the grass) into English;
- Choose the best translation of the Russian phrase "От себя/На себя" (lit. From yourself/To yourself; Eng. Push/Pull) into English:
- Choose the best translation of the Russian phrase "Счастливого пути!" (lit. Happy way!; Eng. Have a good trip!) into English.

The respondents selected the correct counterpart with ease which might be explained by the fact that they could have frequently encountered these phrases in real life. For example, in Russia you can often see a 'Push/Pull' sign on a café or hotel door, especially in tourist places.

Now let us proceed to analyzing the answers to the questions which were particularly challenging for the respondents.

About 60% of respondents made a mistake (see Chart 1, 2 and 3) when choosing the best translation for the following pragmatemes:

- "Осторожно, окрашено" (lit. Be careful, painted; Eng. Wet paint);
- "Срок годности" (*lit.* Term of validity; *Eng.* Best before);
- "Передаю ему/ей трубку" (lit. Give him/her the handset; Eng. I'll put him/her on).

The examples show that accurate counterparts of the Russian pragmatemes in the English language are not their equivalents; they are analogues because — despite being semantically identical — they have differences in their syntactic structure and componential composition.

For example:

Окрашено (lit. Painted) an elliptical sentence A word combination

wet paint

If differences either in syntactic structure or componential composition were minimal, we would say that inter-language counterparts were partial equivalents. For example:

> <u>Ушел</u> на обед (lit. <u>Gone</u> to lunch) Out to lunch an elliptical sentence an elliptical sentence

If there were no differences at all, inter-language counterparts would be named full (or complete) equivalents. For example:

Счет, пожалуйста! (lit. [the] bill, please) The bill, please a sentence a sentence

The terminology given is based on the classification of phraseological counterparts suggested by E. F. Arsentyeva [Arsentyeva, 1989]; however, it fits the analysis of pragmateme translation as pragmatemes just as phraseological units are set expressions.

Let us come back to the analysis of the respondents' translations of the pragmatemes (see Chart 1, 2).



The term of freshness

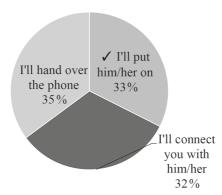
11%

Best after 3%

The term of validity
48%

Chart 1. Answers to the question "Choose the best translation of the Russian phrase "Осторожно, окрашено" into English"

Chart 2. Answers to the question "Choose the best translation of the Russian phrase "Срок годности" into English"



*Chart 3.* Answers to the question "Choose the best translation of the Russian phrase "Передаю ему/ей трубку" into English"

We observe that students employ calque or loan-translation and, as S. I. Vlakhov and S. P. Florin once coined, '*slavishly* copy' the structure and componential composition of the source pragmateme in the target language [Vlakhov, Florin, 2009].

Chart 3 demonstrates that 35% of the respondents used a false literal translation ("I'll hand over the phone to him/her") while 32% selected

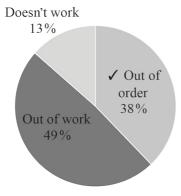


Chart 4. Answers to the question "Choose the best translation of the Russian phrase "Не работает" into English"

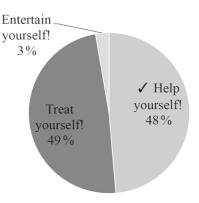


Chart 5. Answers to the question "Choose the best translation of the Russian phrase "Угощайся!" into English"

a pragmateme which resembled a Russian phrase with similar, still not identical, meaning (*Rus*. "Соединяю вас [с...]"; *lit*. Connect you [to...]) (see Chart 3).

Approximately 50% of the respondents mistranslated the following pragmatemes (see Chart 4 and Chart 5):

- "He работает" (*lit.* Doesn't work; *Eng.* Out of order);
- "Угощайся!" (lit. Treat yourself!; Eng. Help yourself!).

When choosing the best translation of the phrase "He pa6otaet" into English (*lit*. Doesn't work; *Eng*. Out of order), 49% of the respondents selected the incorrect option "out of work". If such a counterpart was used in a real-life situation, communication will fail because the phrase "out of work" has a completely different meaning — being without a paid job.

In Chart 5 we see a sample of literal translation again. Almost half of the respondents (49%) are under 'hypnosis' of the component *treat* (*Rus.* угощаться); therefore, they opt for the erroneous counterpart "Treat yourself".

Some of the questions in our questionnaire suggested several correct answers. For instance, the students were asked to choose the best translation of the Russian phrases "Вход только для персонала" (*lit*. Entrance is for personnel only) and "Линия занята" (*lit*. Line is busy) (see Charts 6 and 7).

As regards the pragmateme "Вход только для персонала", it means that entrance is for staff/employees/personnel only. We may assume that the majority of the respondents (64%) chose the correct English counterpart "Staff only" as they have encountered this variant of translation in real life or in cinematography. We suppose that the phrase "No trespass-

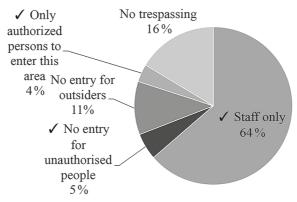


Chart 6. Answers to the question "Choose the best translation of the Russian phrase "Вход только для персонала" into English"

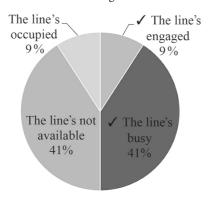


Chart 7. Answers to the question "Choose the best translation of the Russian phrase "Линия занята" into English"

ing" is quite familiar to the respondents for the same reason. However, semantically it has little connection with the pragmateme "Staff only". This pragmateme is used on signs to warn people not to enter a place or area because it is somebody's property. In addition, we notice the influence of interference when some of the respondents (11 %) chose the calque-translation "No entry for outsiders" because in Russia it is much more likely to be seen on signs which run as follows: "Посторонним вход воспрещен" (*lit*. Entrance is forbidden to outsiders).

Chart 7 shows that almost half of the respondents (41 %) mixed up two pragmatemes — "The line is busy" and "The number is unavailable". We may suppose that it happened due to the fact that they often hear the phrase

"The number is unavailable" in real life during a call. As for the phrase "The line is busy", it is not pronounced. Callers hear an audible signal instead, the beep-beep tone. 9% of the respondents selected the incorrect literal translation ("The line is occupied"). The same percentage of the respondents selected the correct counterpart "The line is engaged" which, actually, has a regional marker 'British English' in dictionaries [Cambridge].

Thus, it can be concluded that the respondents are usually unaware of synonymic pragmatemes, whereas the knowledge of synonymic variants is of great importance. Occasionally, different *locations* require the use of one or another synonym (as in the examples of "No trespassing" and "Authorized personnel only"). In other cases, *situations* require the use of a particular synonym. For example, the phrase "Excuse me" can be used both when apologizing and when drawing attention, while the phrase "I'm sorry" is used only for expressing an apology.

Our questionnaire also included questions asking the respondents to choose the most stylistically appropriate translation of pragmatemes (see Chart 8).

When the respondents were asked to choose the most polite response to the words of gratitude, the majority (70%) selected "You're welcome!" as it is, indeed, a very common reaction to the words of gratitude. However, there is another option which is correct — "It's my pleasure!". According to the dictionary [Britannica], "My pleasure" is similar to "You're welcome", but more polite and more emphatic. We suppose that the respondents are confident in using a more common pragmeteme "You're welcome"; therefore, they selected it as being the most polite one.

Chart 8 lets us conclude that the students are not always aware of the communicative register of different expressions, which can also hinder ef-

We insist that for effective communication in a foreign language, it is necessary to have certain sociolinguistic competencies, including knowledge of pragmatemes. By sociolinguistic competence, following M. Meyerhoff, we mean "skills and resources speakers need to deploy in order to be competent members of a speech community using language, not only lexically and grammatically but socially appropriately, i. e. suitably

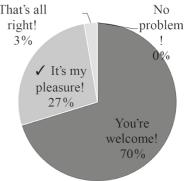


Chart 8. Answers to the question "Which is the most polite response to the words of gratitude?"

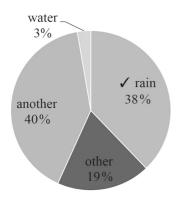


Chart 9. Answers to the question "Fill in the gap in the English phrase which is used to politely refuse a meeting: "\_\_\_\_\_\_ check"

in different contexts or with different interlocutors" [Meyerhoff, 2006, p. 96].

In the third type of questions we asked the repondents to fill the gaps in pragmetemes. The case of the English pragmateme "raincheck" is of particlar interest in this regard. The phrase means 'another time'. When choosing the right answer, 62% of respondents made a mistake. To answer this question correctly it was necessary to be acquainted with the cultural and historical context. Initially, 'a raincheck' was a ticket that allowed you to see an event (usually baseball) at a different time if it was cancelled because of rain. Nowadays, this expression is used when it is not possible to accept an invitation to a

concert, performance, etc., but there is a desire to attend it another time [Cambridge].

Chart 9 indicates the respondents' limited cultural background which did not allow many of them to select the correct answer (see Chart 9).

After the survey, some of the students volunteered to share their impressions and thoughts about their knowledge of pragmatemes with the researchers. On the whole, the students were surprised by their questionnaire results, because it turned out that they "have been learning English for so long, but they do not know so much, although at first glance these phrases are elementary things".

We believe that insufficient time is devoted to teaching pragmatemes. If a student is surrounded by a natural language and cultural environment, his/her acquaintance with pragmatemes takes place 'unconsciously', i.e. a person, studying a foreign language, does not make much effort to learn them by heart. Being in an artificial bilingual environment, a student needs special learning strategies to acquire these seemingly easy phrases [Ovchinnikova, 2008]. Moreover, we should keep in mind that the respondents were not simultaneous, but sequential bilinguals.

#### **Conclusions**

In general, the results of the research indicate that in the situation of artificial educational bilingualism pragmatemes pose an obstacle in the way of students. They find it challenging to choose an adequate translation

of pragmatemes and recognize their semantic, stylistic and semantic-stylistic features. Students fall victim to both purely linguistic and linguistic-cultural interference. Therefore, it is necessary to pay more attention to the study of pragmatemes and develop learners' sociolinguistic and cultural competence.

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# USING DIGITAL TOOLS IN ORIENTAL LANGUAGES LEARNING (THE SAMPLE OF THE HINDI LANGUAGE)

The emergence of new educational digital platforms and tools entails the need to adapt to new realities and increasingly use them in teaching. This article describes the concepts of digital resources and tools used in teaching oriental languages. Hindi language is considered as an example. It is suggested that digital tools simplify language learning and change the process of perception. Arguments for expanding and popularizing the use of digital tools in Hindi language learning and teaching are then presented. Studies showing that the use of digital tools leads to cognitive and linguistic changes in students are reviewed. The methodology includes a description of the features of using digital tools in language teaching and highlighting positive and negative experiences in practice. It concludes by discussing the implications for language education in the digital age, particularly for learning Hindi with digital tools. *Keywords*: Hindi, digital tools, languages, Oriental languages, digitalization, new methods.

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# ИСПОЛЬЗОВАНИЕ ЦИФРОВЫХ ИНСТРУМЕНТОВ В ИЗУЧЕНИИ ВОСТОЧНЫХ ЯЗЫКОВ (НА ПРИМЕРЕ ЯЗЫКА ХИНДИ)

Возникновение новых образовательных цифровых платформ и инструментов влечет за собой необходимость адаптации под новые реалии и все большего их применения в преподавательской деятельности. В данной работе излагаются концепции цифровых ресурсов и инструментов, использующихся в изучении восточных языков. В качестве примера берется язык хинди. Сделано предположение, что цифровые инструменты упрощают изучение языка и модифицируют процесс восприятия. Затем приводятся аргументы в пользу расширения и популяризации использования цифровых инструментов в изучении и преподавании языка хинди. Рассматриваются исследования, раскрывающие то, что использование цифровых инструментов приводит к когнитивным и лингвистическим изменениям у учащихся. Методы включают в себя описание особенностей использования цифровых инструментов в преподавании языка и выделение позитивного и негативного опыта на практике. В заключении рассматриваются последствия для языкового

образования в цифровую эпоху, в частности для изучения языка хинди с помощью цифровых инструментов.

*Ключевые слова*: хинди, цифровые инструменты, языки, восточные языки, цифровизация, новые методы.

#### Introduction

The use of digital tools in education has become indispensable in the era of online learning. Since their emergence, digital tools have proven effective in providing language development benefits in a variety of contexts. Digital tools include a wide range of everything from computers, apps, web pages to digital textbooks and materials. In fact, language departments are gradually changing the face of foreign language teaching by integrating technology into their language programs. But the question arises: how and in what ways does the use of mobile devices make language learning easier or better? According to surveys by DataReportal, Hootsuite, and We Are Social, 94.9 % of Russian adults have smartphones; 97.3 % of youth ages 16 to 29 [Digital 2021, 2021]. Thus, devices easily provide access to authentic materials and online resources, making language learning more dynamic.

Hindi is the official language of the Republic of India. It is one of the widely spoken languages in India. There is a lot of digital content in the form of games, stories, poems, and thematic conversations, as well as basic grammar and vocabulary knowledge. Some of the language learning apps are Duolingo, Hindipod, Rocket Language. Other online resources for learning Hindi language are bilingual dictionaries that provide word meanings, such as Collins Dictionary. They are more oriented to individual learning.

The purpose of the study is to see how digital platforms and resources affect students' Hindi language learning. Oriental languages are difficult to learn because of the spelling of words that are different from the familiar Latin alphabet, so teachers are looking for ways to make learning clearer and more accessible through various advances in digitalization. With this in mind, this article aims to address this topic and draw conclusions for teaching and learning Hindi in the digital age. The article presents a digital Hindi language tutorial called Hindi Shabdamitra, which is a tool for learning vocabulary and grammar of specific words and informal language learning assignments. Another tool is the online language learning program Rosetta Stone, which teaches many languages, including Hindi. Therefore, it is very important to know the advantages and disadvantages of such tools in order to formulate or approve strategies to use them.

Literature on vocabulary learning strategies, the psychology of language learning, and digital educational applications shows that multimodal learning always leads to better memorization [Dale, 1969]. Various mechanical strategies such as repetition, context, usage, and visual correlation have been tested by expert linguists to enhance vocabulary [Atasheneh, 2015].

Multimedia learning environments have been studied in various settings [Shams and Zaits, 2008], which shows their positive impact on students. To increase students' readiness for independent technology, language learning using mobile devices and gamification is considered an effective pedagogical strategy. These strategies help to engage and motivate the student to learn in a relaxed environment [Werbach and Hunter, 2012; Figueroa Flores, 2015].

A. Al-Kadi analyzed digital tools and concluded that they provide students with "opportunities for online communication and participation; language learners using these versions of the internet are not only consumers but also producers of technology-based materials" [Al-Kadi, 2018, p. 8].

Sociologists conduct quantitative research on the benefits or harms of using digital tools in language learning, and teachers try out different tools in practice, but we see very little collaborative research on the impact of specific apps and platforms used by teachers and students in learning oriental languages.

#### Methods and material

From a sociocultural theory perspective, these digital tools mediate students' learning and development processes, which is why there have been many studies exploring this over the past decade [Jung et al., 2019; Nishioka, 2016]. Because cultural tools are constantly evolving, this means that our learning, reasoning, and knowledge are transformed as new resources become available [Lanz-Andersson et al., 2009].

The study looks at popular digital platforms, including Hindi Shabdamitra and Rosetta Stone. For a complete evaluation, the author analyzes the work of sociologists to understand the effectiveness of digital resources. This provides a comprehensive understanding of the use of digital tools. The study will also examine how online platforms facilitate student learning by providing easy access to authentic materials online.

The paper also presents an experiment conducted with online Hindi students and in addition to the results, the students also anonymously described their experiences with online resources. An experiment is also used as a method.

Three focus groups consisting of Hindi students were selected for this purpose. Two groups used two programs, Hindi Shabdamitra and Rosetta Stone, as additional tools. The third group used the traditional method of studying Hindi without electronic tools. This experiment was used to see how effective the electronic tools were so that they could be used in future teaching activities.

## Results and analysis

Hindi Shabdamitra is a digital tool designed to help learn and teach the Hindi language, which is enriched and simplified according to the learner's level of understanding. Hindi Shabdamitra is one such comprehensive e-learning tool that helps in learning Hindi language, pronunciation, grammar and concept understanding through illustrations, definitions and examples. It is designed for a wide range of audiences and is available in both web and app formats for flexibility in use. The tool is designed for a wide range of target audiences, and the interface has a tiered architecture. Level 1 is for beginners, level 2 is for intermediate students, level 3 is for advanced students, level 4 is for advanced students, and level 5 is for experts. The amount of information displayed depends on the level selected. At each level, information is displayed depending on the part-of-speech category and grammatical properties.

Another digital tool that helps us make learning Hindi language easier is Rosetta Stone. It is a computer-based language learning tool and a mobile language learning tool. It was created with the goal of teaching the language using immersion technology. The purpose of the app is to improve students' vocabulary, pronunciation, reading, listening, writing or grammar through multimedia content in context.

Prasetyo says the tool accelerates students' vocabulary learning through useful methods and practices. It promotes the acquisition of both receptive and productive vocabulary [Prastyo, 2018, p. 304]. Hanif argues that this software with technological innovation can provide a more enjoyable and innovative learning experience for students because traditional learning can be boring and not as rewarding as technology-based learning [Hanif, 2015].

We set out to investigate Hindi Shabdamitra and Rosetta Stone and compare their effects on vocabulary learning. In this study, the researchers involved students who were divided into three groups, each of which consisted of 8 people, a total of 24 people. The participants were of average or lower level, their ages ranged from 18 to 19 years old. These groups consisted of two experimental groups and one control group. The first

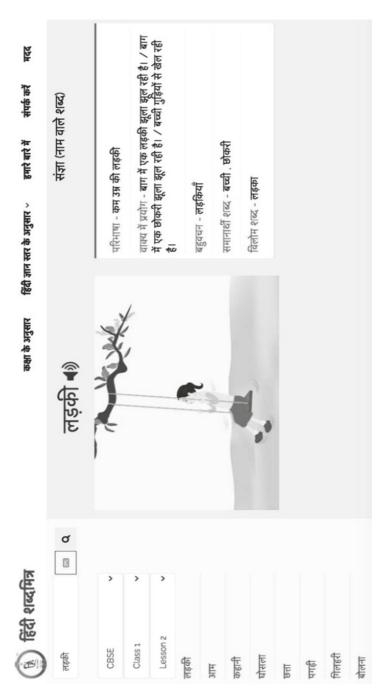


Fig. 1. Hindi Shabdamitra Interface. An example of a lesson



Fig. 2. Rosetta Stone Interface. An example of a lesson

group was under the supervision of a professor, and the classes were conducted traditionally. The experimental groups were taught using technical means: one group was taught using the Rosetta Stone platform, and the other group was taught using the Hindi Shabdamitra platform. The data were collected through pre-testing and post-testing. The experiment lasted for 2 weeks. The result of the instructional comparison was in favor of the digital tools. Participants who were trained using technology achieved better results in vocabulary learning than those who were trained using a classroom approach. At the same time, Rosetta Stone proved to be more comprehensible and accessible than Hindi Shabdamitra.

We asked students' opinions about using platforms to learn Hindi. And according to the participants, digital platforms have the following advantages: instant feedback from the program and the ability to correct their mistakes at the same time, performing activities without fear of making a mistake with a low affective filter, visual support and pictures.

At the same time, some students noted that they lacked the motivation to use electronic resources without instructor supervision and meeting deadlines, and would choose a combination of traditional and e-learning.

Using Rosetta Stone and Hindi Shabdamitra has a positive effect on students' vocabulary acquisition. In addition to the academic effect, the use of these digital tools influenced student behavior and feedback. Because these platforms have authentic and appealing interfaces, they help students focus on lessons and learn vocabulary better. These factors motivate stu-

dents and ensure productive interaction between students and teachers. Moreover, students will not get bored thanks to these colorful and enjoyable platforms that use pictures, animals, and games as supporting tools.

#### Discussion

We conducted an experiment and found out how digital platforms and resources affect students' Hindi language learning. These multimedia programs and online resources provide a safer environment and make it easier for people to understand the activities, participate and engage in the lessons. In addition, these digital tools are useful for developing other skills such as grammar, listening, pronunciation, and speaking.

On the other hand, these tools are also useful for teachers. They can be used to grab students' attention and improve interaction. With Hindi Shabdamitra and Rosetta Stone, teachers can deliver more informative and enjoyable lessons.

At the same time, it is important to note the challenges oriental language teachers may face. They involve teaching manual spelling of words due to the peculiarities of the alphabet and the additional explanation of grammatical basics, such as the Hindi language. Therefore, electronic tools can be used as supplementary, as they are not yet perfect enough to replace the teacher.

Of the additional disadvantages it is worth mentioning the presence of paid versions of the programs and restrictions on access due to payment problems from Russia, as well as technical failures, which can be observed when downloading tasks, for example, in Hindi Shabdamitra.

#### Conclusion

The study shows that mobile computing technology plays an integral role in every discipline, including Hindi language learning. Digital platforms reduce processing time by providing a quick search for authentic materials and access to a wider range of language resources. They are used by students for a variety of purposes, both in and out of class. Students also improve their speaking skills by listening to recordings of native speakers to improve articulation. The use of Hindi Shabdamitra and Rosetta Stone also contributes to the self-organization of the learning environment. However, it is clear that students do not consider these tools to be their only teachers. Overall, the study shows that students consider digital tools as important tools to enhance different language modalities and enrich the language learning experience.

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# JAPANESE VERB "NARU": KEY TO UNDERSTANDING OF JAPANESE MENTALITY

The connection between language and culture, specifically how the grammatical and lexical constructions of a language manifest the peculiarities of a nation's culture, has long been researched. In Japan, one such grammatical construction of interest is the verb "naru". There is a commonly held thesis that the use of this word strongly reflects the Japanese worldview and value system. Hence, considering how it is translated by speakers of other languages can be one way in which to consider the different perspectives they may hold. For the most part, Japanese researchers believe that there are two important camps of thought, either translating "naru" with a word close in meaning to the Russian "stanovitsya; stati" (to become) or with a verb similar to the Russian "delati; sdelati" (to do). In this paper, the author analyzes 28 variants of the use of the verb "naru" in Japanese and variants of its translation into Russian. The study concludes that only in 6 out of 28 cases, the translation of this verb using the Russian verb "stanovitsya-statj (to become)" is adequate. In response to these findings, the author hypothesizes that the frequent use of the verb "naru" in the Japanese context is meant to emphasize the importance placed on how the state of a person or the surrounding world has changed. In contrast, when placed into the Russian context, emphasis is given to action and the actor performing it. By attempting to explain these linguistic differences, we are able to make grounded assumptions about the perspectives and values held by the speakers of these two languages.

*Keywords*: Japanese, Russian, comparison of cultures, verb *naru*, verb *stanovitsya* — *statj* (to become), Japanese mentality, Japanese national character.

С. И. Латышева

# ЯПОНСКИЙ ГЛАГОЛ «НАРУ» КАК КЛЮЧ К ПОНИМАНИЮ ОСОБЕННОСТЕЙ МЕНТАЛИТЕТА ЯПОНЦЕВ

В настоящее время многие исследователи ищут ответ на вопрос о том, как в том или ином языке, его грамматических и лексических конструкциях, проявляются особенности национального характера и национальной культуры. В Японии еще в 80-х годах XX века был выдвинут тезис о том, что часто употребляемый в японском языке глагол «нару» является одним из языковых явлений, отражающих мировосприятие японцев, а сравнение различных вариантов его перевода на иностранные языки позволяет лучше понять различия культур народов — носителей этих языков. По мнению ряда японских исследователей, важное значение

имеет, переводится ли данный глагол «нару» на иностранный язык глаголом, близким по своему значению к русскому глаголу «становиться/ стать», либо глаголом, близким по значению к русскому глаголу «делатьсделать». В настоящей работе автором проанализированы 28 примеров употребления японского глагола «нару», приведенные в японском грамматическом словаре, и варианты его перевода на русский язык в каждом из этих случаев. В результате исследования оказалось, что только в 6 из 28 случаев адекватным является перевод глагола «нару» с использованием русского глагола «становиться-стать». На основании этого анализа автор высказывает гипотезу о том, что относительно частое употребление глагола «нару» в японском языке свидетельствует о том, что в сознании японцев то или иное изменение состояния человека или окружающего мира воспринимается как некая данность, при этом гораздо менее важное значение придается тому, в результате чьих именно действий произошло изменение этого состояния. В русском же языке гораздо большее внимание уделяется именно действию и актору, совершающему это действие. Сравнение этих лингвистических конструкций позволяет сделать предположения о чертах национального характера носителей этих двух языков.

*Ключевые слова*: японский язык, русский язык, сравнение культур, глагол *становиться/стать*, японский менталитет, японский национальный характер.

#### Introduction

As the world gradually emerges from the COVID crisis and begins a retrospective analysis of population behavior during the pandemic, many researchers are once again turning to a study of Japanese society. Japan was one of the few countries where restrictive measures during the pandemic were simply "requests". Yet for more than two years most of the Japanese population has worn masks and obeyed recommendations from the government. This is a stark contrast to other countries, where tough lockdowns have been periodically introduced, at times provoking powerful protests by their citizens. An inevitable question arises: what explains the obedient behavior of the Japanese population even during exceptionally trying circumstances?

The stability of Japanese society, underpinned by each individual's discipline, has been explored by various researchers, including by leading Soviet and later Russian scientists back in the 90s. [Lebedeva, 1996, p. 5] This phenomenon has been primarily explored from a socio-economic lens, including in the analysis of "Japan's economic miracle" of the 60s, and the pre-"bubble" roaring 80's. In explaining the unique traits of Japan's society, researchers have consistently pointed to factors, including Japan's

geography, frequent natural disasters, importance of agriculture, Confucian influence on social hierarchy, Buddhist ideas, 200-years of isolation, and forced external transformation during Meiji and post-world war periods.

Against this backdrop, it is interesting to consider how such historical, socio-political and economic factors are reflected in the grammar and structure of Japanese language. Early foundation for this type of analysis was laid by Japanese linguists in the 1980s. One topic explored by researchers at the time was the special role that the verb "naru" plays in the Japanese language and how it compares to its closest English equivalent — the verb "to become". Professor Yoshihiko Ikegami, a Japanese linguist, was a pioneer in this space, drawing conclusions on fundamental differences in mentality of native Japanese speakers versus native English speakers [Ikegami, 1981; Ikegami, 2006]. This research established an early framework that grouped countries and cultures by how frequently the verbs "to become" vs. "to do" appeared in the language.

#### Previous research

In 2016, this research received new attention when, led by Professor Michiyo Moriya from Soka University, Japanese researchers included Turkish, Korean and Chinese languages in the orbit of languages used for comparative analysis. Results of a further expanded version of this study, which also captured Mongolian, Yakut, Uighur, Sinhalese, Kazakh, German and Russian languages, were presented at a conference in 2017. Researchers found that while verbs corresponding to "naru" were present in all analyzed languages, in all languages except Japanese, there is emphasis on the role of a particular subject, performing certain actions. Additionally, in some cases, "naru" could not be translated into other languages through a close or equivalent substitute, and instead required the use of fundamentally different grammatical structures that do not include the verb "become".

The most characteristic example used by Professor Yoshihiko Ikegami [Ikegami, 2006] was the example of "HARU NI NATTA (the verb "naru" is used in the past tense, translated as "Spring has come". A variant of this phrase "HARU GA KITA" exists, but the former, impersonal phrase containing the verb "naru" is more common. Translated "literally, the phrase becomes "It became spring," as though "there was a reincarnation of something in spring."

# Use of the Verb "Naru" and its equivalents in Japanese, English and Russian Languages

The table below where the examples of usage of the verb "naru" in Japanese are quoted from the Japanese Grammar Dictionary [Dictionary, 2015, p. 439-440] presents an intuitive analysis of the role that verb "naru" plays in the Japanese language. The Russian and English translations help highlight the verb's role in the Japanese language, contrasts its usage in other languages, and offers examples of when the verb has no structural equivalents.

Table 1. Examples of usage of the Japanese verb "naru" and possibility to translate it with Russian verb «стать» (statj)

	USAGE OF VERB "NARU"	JAPANESE	RUSSIAN	ENGLISH	POSSIBILITY OF USING VERB стать (statj)
1	NARU	木が切り倒さ れて山が裸に なってしまっ た。	Когда вырубили деревья, гора ста- ла «лысой».	The trees were cut down, and the mountain is now bare.	possible( version гора обнажилась is also possible)
2			Она перерабо- тала и заболела.	Because she worked too much, she became ill.	impossible – заболела стала больной – these two verbs have dif- ferent meaning
3			Здесь раньше было тихо, а теперь стало весьма оживленно.	This used to be a very quiet place in the past, but it's gotten busy now, hasn't it?	possible
4			Я выпил, и у меня покраснело лицо.	I drank and my face got red.	Possible but not best way to express the meaning (Я выпил, и лицо у меня СТАЛО КРАСНЫМ)
5		れたために車 が増えて段々		extended, the num- ber of cars has in-	possible

	1			0011111	iuation of the Table I
	USAGE				POSSIBILITY
	OF VERB	JAPANESE	RUSSIAN	ENGLISH	OF USING VERB
	"NARU"				стать (statj)
	Turice	体図の中田が	D.	3.5	
6		練習の成果が	1 /	My practice paid off	
		あって、よう	/ 1	· '	, .
				able to read all the	the meaning (B
		全部読めるよ	читать всю хира-	hiragana.	результате упраж-
		うになりまし	гану.		нений я наконец
		た。	,		научился читать
		7-0			всю хирагану. —
					Я СТАЛ ЧИТАТЬ
					ХИРАГАНУ)
7		以前は無口だ	Раньше я говорил	I used to be a man	possible
			мало, а теперь стал	of few words, but	
		はよくしゃべ	говорить много.	recently I have	
		るようになり		come to talk quite	
		ました。		a lot.	
8			Я стал работать		possible
		事をするよう	с ним и многому		Possible
			,	working together	
		になって、ず	научился.	with him, I have	
		いぶんいろい		learned so many	
		ろなことを学		things.	
		びました。			
9	N+KARA	この本は4つ	Эта книга состоит	This book consists	impossible
	NARU	の章からなっ	из 4 глав.	of 4 chapters.	
		ている。		1	
10			Этот комитет со-	This committee	impossible
10		委員長以下5	стоит из 5 чело-	consists of	iiipossioic
		人の委員から	век, включая пред-	5 members in	
		なっている。	седателя.	addition to a	
L				chairperson.	
11		日本の議会は	Парламент Япо-	The House of	impossible
		衆議院と参議	нии состоит из па-	Councilors and	
		院とからな	латы представи-	the House of	
		る。	телей и палаты		
			советников.	comprise the Diet	
				in Japan.	
12		3つの主更か	Я предложил по-		impossible
12					impossible
		論点からなる	вестку дня из трех	agenda on three	
		議題を提案し	главных вопросов	1 *	
		た。	для обсуждения.	discussion.	
13	КОТО	この大会も今	В этом году со-	This competition is	Different meaning
	NI NARU	年で4回目と	ревнования бу-	the forth one this	
			дут проводиться	year, isn't it?	
		りますね。	в четвертый раз.	[	
14			Мы с ним двою-	This means that	impossible
14		松とのの人はいとこどうし			impossible
		1000000	родные братья.	him/her and I are	
		ということに		cousins.	
		なる。			

	USAGE OF VERB "NARU"	JAPANESE	RUSSIAN	ENGLISH	POSSIBILITY OF USING VERB стать (statj)
15	R+ SOU NARU	叱られて泣き そうになる。	Меня отругали, и я чуть не за- плакал.	I was close to tears when I was scolded.	impossible
16		このにおいを かぐとくしゃ みが出そうに なる。	Когда я чувствую этот запах, меня тянет чихнуть.	When I smell this odor it makes me feel like sneezing.	impossible
17	TO NARU N/ NA+ TO NARU	彼はまだ20 歳なのに、も うすぐ1児の 父となりま す。	Ему только 20 лет, но он скоро ста- нет отцом первого ребенка.	Even though he is only 20, he will become the father of a child soon.	possible
18		人々は次々に島を出て行き、ついにそこは無人島となった。	другим покидали	People left the island one after another, and eventually it turned into a desert island.	possible
19		様々な問題が	Стало ясно, что в этом законопро- екте есть много проблем.	It became clear that the bill had various problems.	possible
20		終的には悲劇	В конце концов эта война закон- чилась трагиче- ски.	This war ultimately came to a tragic end.	impossible
21			В конце концов переговоры двух стран закончились безрезультатно.	In the end the negotiations between two countries broke down.	impossible
22	N+TO NARU TO	3月ともなる とだいぶ暖じられる く感じられる ようになりま す。	март, будет ка- заться, что сильно	If it is in March it will likely feel quite warm.	Impossible
23		ると、ある程 度は自分でお 小遣いをかせ	Когда становишь- ся студентом, надо хоть немного зарабатывать себе на карманные рас- ходы.	Once you become a college student you have to earn some of your pocket money.	possible

	USAGE OF VERB "NARU"	JAPANESE	RUSSIAN	ENGLISH	POSSIBILITY OF USING VERB стать (statj)
24	NI NARU		Со следующего года 4 мая станет выходным днем.	From next year May 4 will be a school holiday.	possible БУДЕТ выходным днем is also possible
25		来年の秋に結 婚することに なりました。	Мы планируем пожениться этой осенью.	We have decided to get married this fall.	impossible
26		会議は5時からになりました。	Заседание будет в 5 часов.	This meeting is now to start at 5.	impossible
27	N+ NI NARU	られるが、数 学になると全	Язык я могу объяснить, а, если говорить о математике, я ничего не могу сделать.	I can teach lan- guage arts, but as for mathematics, I can't teach it at all.	impossible
28		くいったの に、いざ本番	Хотя на репетициях все получалось, во время выступления я переволновался.	I did very well at the rehearsal, but when it came to the actual performance, I was too nervous.	impossible

#### Discussion

As seen from the table above, there are cases when the verb "naru" is easily translated into Russian by the verb "statj" — "to become". This is illustrated by examples 1, 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8. However, there are three instances where "naru" cannot be translated by the verb "statj" when: a) such translation alters meaning of the sentence; b) an expression including "statj" sounds unnatural in the Russian language; and c) a more concise phrase is available to convey the meaning. We discuss specific examples below.

First, the table demonstrates that it is categorically impossible to translate the Japanese "N+KARA NARU" (examples 9–12). This expression is used to communicate that the subject consists of sub-elements. Second, though a translation is possible, both the expression "...KOTO NI NARU" and "R+SOU NARU" lead to a distortion of meaning in Russian. (Examples 13–14 and 15–16, respectively). Third, considering the construction "N/NA+TO NARU", some of the examples (17–19) can be

translated with the Russian verb "stanovitsya/statj", but generally such a translation is unacceptable (as can be seen in examples 20-21).

It is less clear for the construction, N + KOTO NI NARU, where there are two cases. In example 22 the translation with "stanovitsya/statj" does not work, while it makes perfect sense in example 23. The expression ... NI NARU is similarly divisive, as it can be translated in example 24, but fails in examples 25–26. Finally, in the case of N + NI NARU, translation into Russian also requires the use of other expressions, not the verb "stanovit-sya/statj".

In short, we see that the Russian verb "statj" — "to become" in some cases cannot act as an equivalent of the Japanese verb "naru". Here, the verb "statj" in the Russian language has the meaning of a complete change of state, a qualitative transition from one state to another, and not a temporary phenomenon. This is why in example 2 — "became ill" and "got sick" has fundamentally different meanings in Russian. It is necessary to use other expressions when emphasizing only the very beginning of the process, and not fundamental changes, as examples 15 and 16 illustrate.

#### Conclusions

While the above discussion seems like a purely linguistic problem, it highlights a potential difference in Japanese people's perception of their surrounding world and reactions to it. Such active use of "naru" — an impersonal construction –highlights that Japanese society may perceive many processes as occurring due to reasons unknown or unexplainable by the influence of specific forces and persons. Accordingly, any resistance to some negative moment is meaningless. If there is no specific actor causing the situation, then indignation is fruitless.

The study of the verb "naru" helps identify the deep roots of processes that have been consolidated in the language and which may partially explain the mentality, worldview and actions of the Japanese population. Practically, it offers a clearer understanding of the deep meaning of this Japanese verb, and helps attain most interesting and price version of the verb's translation into other languages.

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# THE ROLE OF LEXICAL MEANS TO CREATE EXPRESSIVENESS IN THE LANGUAGE OF ADVERTISING ON THE INTERNET

This article is devoted to the study of lexical means to create expressiveness in the language of advertising on the internet. Researchers express an abiding interest in this topic. However, the emphasis is mainly placed either on certain means of advertising, or on a specific part of speech. The purpose of this study is to consider the ways in which different parts of speech (i.e., nouns, verbs, adjectives, numerals, pronoun and adverbs) are used in internet advertising slogans. The paper takes on the following tasks: addressing the vast empirical data in the area of research and applying it as a basis for our study; determining the functions of different parts of speech in a sentence; identifying how frequently they are used; and establishing the degree of their expressiveness in advertising, which is considered to be of paramount importance when attracting the attention of potential buyers. The material for the present study was selected from Spanish- and English-language websites covering the period from 2012 to 2021. The research methods include comparison, synthesis and analysis of data, as well as comprehensive semantic analysis. General tendencies in the use of specific parts of speech are supported by concrete examples, which totalled several hundred. The results of the study allow us to conclude that different parts of speech are applied to create a vivid and memorable advertisement and fulfil not only a semantic, but also a stylistic and expressive function. Apart from this, with a view to creating greater expressiveness, the considered means are combined with visual images, which enhances their impact on the consumer of advertising.

*Keywords:* parts of speech in advertising, morphological forms, advertising text, expressive function, pragmatic potential.

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# РОЛЬ ЛЕКСИЧЕСКИХ СРЕДСТВ ДЛЯ СОЗДАНИЯ ВЫРАЗИТЕЛЬНОСТИ В ЯЗЫКЕ РЕКЛАМЫ В ИНТЕРНЕТЕ

Статья посвящена изучению лексико-грамматических средств создания выразительности в языке рекламы в интернете. К данной теме существует устойчивый интерес со стороны исследователей, однако акцент в основном делается либо на определённых видах рекламы, либо на какой-либо конкретной части речи. Цель данной работы — изучить, каким образом различные части речи (а именно: существительное, глагол, прилагательное, числительное, местоимение и наречие) используются

в рекламных интернет-слоганах. В рамках данной цели поставлены следующие задачи: основываясь на обширном эмпирическом материале, выявить функции разных частей речи в предложении, частоту их употребления в рекламе, степень экспрессивности, играющую важную роль для привлечения внимания потенциального покупателя. Материал для настоящего исследования подбирался на испаноязычных и англоязычных сайтах за период с 2012 по 2021 годы. Методы исследования включают в себя сопоставление, синтез и анализ информации, а также метод комплексного семантического анализа. Общие тенденции употребления той или иной части речи подкрепляются конкретными, наиболее показательными примерами, общее количество которых достигает нескольких сотен. Результаты исследования позволяют сделать выводы о том, что разные части речи используются для создания яркой и запоминающейся рекламы и несут в себе не только смысловую, но и стилистическую и экспрессивную функцию. Кроме того, для создания большей выразительности данные средства комбинируются с визуальными образами, что усиливает их влияние на потребителя рекламы.

*Ключевые слова:* части речи в рекламе, морфологические формы, рекламный текст, экспрессивная функция, прагматический потенциал.

#### Introduction

Advertising is considered part and parcel of the modern society life. In recent years, scientists have demonstrated a significant interest in various aspects of the analysis of the language of advertising. At the same time, while advertising language as a whole is particularly popular among researchers [Naranjo, 2019], the language of internet advertising remains a little studied area. This article is concerned with the study of the use of parts of speech in the language of advertising, their functions and roles in advertising slogans, and their pragmatic potential.

The relevance of the research is determined by the need for a detailed analysis and comprehension of the features of an advertising text from the morphological, lexical, grammatical and other perspectives, since it is advertising slogans that make it easier for consumers to recognize goods and their manufacturers. In addition, the selected research topic was due to the lack of comprehension of the morphological component of advertising texts, as well as the persuasive function of slogans in online banner advertising.

Internet advertising is characterized by its relative cheapness, instantaneous feedback from the consumer, wide audience coverage and high degree of expressiveness. There are several types of internet advertising, including banner ads, contextual ads, targeted advertising in social media and on search engines, viral ads and so on. The present article deals with

online banner advertising — ads that are placed on the sides or in the lower part of the websites. This type of advertising combines textual and visual components, which makes it possible to attract the attention of potential consumers with the utmost probability.

Regarding the degree of scientific elaboration of the research topic, it is worth noting that researchers demonstrate considerable interest in the analysis of advertising texts, although internet advertising slogans have not been examined in sufficient detail. The works of both Russian [Karamysheva, 2020, Vlasova, 2016, Khrabskova, 2022, Kaspirovich, 2020, Vorobeva, 2021, Murashova, 2019] and foreign researchers [Zakirovich, 2022, Rodríguez del Pino, 2020, Taricco, 2020] provided a theoretical basis for the present article. In addition, the emphasis is mainly placed either on specific types of advertising, for example, on social advertising [Ilduganova, Garaeva, Nurieva, 2018, 881-886] or advertising that targets women [Egorova, 2018, 136-139], or on one particular part of speech [Wang, 2019, 174–178, Hryashchikova, Denisova, 2015, 1–8]. It is noted by many linguists that in modern advertising, there is a tendency to primitivize the terms and expressions, that is, the syntax is simplified and high-frequency and stylistically marked vocabulary is used; in addition, the form of address is becoming less formal — in Russian, the informal "you" (ты) is used instead of its polite form "You" (Вы), [Karasik, Slyshkin, 2022, 14-31]. The conciseness and multidimensionality of the advertising text are another key tendency noted by researchers [Kazlov, 2021].

#### Research Methods and Material

The methodology of this study includes several stages. First, we employed the method of selection, analysis and synthesis of advertising slogans presented on various websites. Then, using comprehensive semantic analysis, we identified the general characteristics and features of each part of speech, and this was used to form the basis of a corpus of the most representative examples of their use. The material of the study includes texts and slogans from Spanish- and English-language advertising on the internet covering the period from 2012 to 2021. The total sample size of empirical data amounted to more than 200 ads, from which the most representative examples from the pragmatic potential point of view were selected by the method of continuous sampling, clearly demonstrating the role and functions of various parts of speech in advertising slogans. Additionally, a linguistic interpretation of the selected examples was carried out, which allowed us to determine the frequency of use of a given of speech, its lexical and grammatical characteristics and its role in creat-

ing the expressiveness of the statement. The present article provides the results of the analysis of such parts of speech as nouns, verbs, adjectives, numerals, pronouns and adverbs.

#### Results and Discussion

The noun plays the principal role in advertising, since this part of speech defines the object (what is being "sold") and is considered to be a nominative for a particular service or product designation. Additionally, both concrete and abstract nouns can be used in advertising language. The former simply specify a particular product, they can be proper names — of the manufacturer or of the product itself. And the latter are used to characterize those features or values that a person acquires when buying a product, for instance, success, health, or beauty. It is noteworthy that some researchers consider concrete nouns to be significantly more effective than abstract ones. This position stems from the fact that concrete nouns facilitate the creation of a more accurate image of the advertised product, while the frequent use of abstract nouns in the advertising text makes it less memorable and expressive.

Figure 1 illustrates an advertisement for an Audi car. The only word describing this car is "Jealousy." The advertisers are relying on the desire of the majority of people to be successful and wealthy, and thus drive a good car. This abstract noun conveying human emotions is a well-chosen one, since it transmits an underlying message that everyone can relate to, supported by a visual image — a woman pouring paint on the car as if taking revenge on its owner.

Figure 2 illustrates an advertisement for Vidacol, a well-known yoghurt drink in Spain. The slogan presented on this advertising banner is composed entirely of nouns and can be translated as "One bottle of Vidacol



Fig. 1. Car advertisement

per day. Your habit to fight cholesterol." This slogan captures the attention of potential consumers largely due to the absence of verbs that have been deliberately removed, since the verbal tendency is widespread in the Spanish language, that is, the verb is used decidedly more often than, for example, in Russian, which tends towards nouns.

The ad for sun cream in *Figure 3* draws the consumer in by emphasizing the essential characteristic of the product. In this case, the advertising slogan is "*Perfect protection*." Using the abstract noun in this phrase, the advertisers claim that it is this particular product that will best protect the skin from ultraviolet rays. In the picture, this thesis is supported visually — the sunscreen literally protects the child from ultraviolet radiation.

Adjectives, as a rule, characterize the product defined by the noun, specify its properties. All adjectives used in the language of advertising are divided into relative ones, which name the objective characteristics of the advertised product (material, manufacturer, manufacturing method), and qualitative ones. The latter are evaluative, they draw attention to the product describing its advantages.

Figure 4 depicts a stylized advertisement for Pepsodent toothpaste, in which a qualitative adjective written in large print ("blanco," i.e., "white") is the keyword, that is, it determines the benefit that the consumer will obtain using this toothpaste. An ex-



Fig. 2. Yoghurt drink advertisement



Fig. 3. Sun cream advertisement



Fig. 4. Toothpaste advertisement

clamation and an imperative mood with the polite address by "You": "Surprise your friends!" ("Asombre a sus amigos") are also used in this



Fig. 5. Soft drink advertisement



Fig. 6. Charity advertisement

advertisement with a view to increasing its expressiveness.

Another noteworthy example of internet advertising is the banner ad for the soft drink "Light" (Figure 5). It is characterized by a single adjective — "extra-refreshing" ("extrarefrescante"), which is expressive and emotive, and therefore, along with the visual image, creates a memorable advertisement.

The verb in the advertising text has significant pragmatic potential. The main categories of the verb are mood, tense and person. Verbs in the imperative mood are known to produce the greatest impact on the consumer, since they perform a motivation function, which is crucial for advertising [Hsieh, 2021, p. 167–168]. Forms in the indicative mood are most often used in the third person singular in the present tense, thus indicating the functions that the product is able to perform. If the verb is in the future tense, the consumer is being informed about the prospects of using the product; and if it is in the past tense, then, on the contrary, the result of the use of a product is highlighted. Sometimes the verb is conjugated in the second person singular in both the indicative and subjunctive mood, which creates a friendly tone and the atmosphere of involvement.

*Figure 6* illustrates an advertisement encouraging women to purchase a special

line of cosmetics for charity, which implies that part of the money raised during the campaign is to be directed to a fund to help women suffering from breast cancer. Three verbs "to connect, to tell, to defeat" ("Conectar, comunicar, vencer") are used in the infinitive to enhance the level of expressiveness and sonority of the slogan. This is one of the few cases where the verb is used in the infinitive form.

The banner in *Figure 7* illustrates an advertisement for a bookstore. Its slogan reads as follows: "*Find your way*." The word "way" is used in a

figurative, metaphorical sense, creating a beautiful image: throughout the years, the person has been looking for books that shaped his or her worldview, and a bookstore helps the reader find the right book. The picture illustrates a kind of a "city" of books, and it can be inferred that there is a wide variety of literature for all tastes, and this is the main criterion by which the consumer is guided when choosing a bookstore. The verb is in the imperative mood, which is typical for advertisements that use verbs.

Figure 8 illustrates an advertisement for a well-known soft drink brand, the slogan says: "Take all the good" ("Toma lo bueno"). Thus, the quality and the beneficial properties of the advertised product are emphasized. The verb is in the imperative mood in the second person singular. Not only does it motivate a person to action, but also promotes trust in the relationship with the consumer.



Fig. 7. Bookstore advertisement



Fig. 8. Soft drink advertisement

In the language of advertising, personal, possessive and demonstrative first- and second-person singular or plural pronouns are most frequently used. Thus, one gets the impression that the person the ad is targeting is actually there. Moreover, such advertising is said to be personal. With the help of these pronouns, the advertiser attempts to establish a relationship of trust with the consumer. Several examples of advertising with the use of pronouns are to be considered.

Figure 9 illustrates an advertisement for a well-known Nikon camera with the personal pronoun "I". The advertisement is created in such a way that it seems as if the new camera model introduces itself and wishes to get to know the consumer. This way an atmosphere of trust is created without the involvement of any "middlemen," i.e. retailers.

An advertisement for the school of art and design (*Figure 10*) represents a ballpoint pen that, instead of a logo, bears the following inscription: "*It is in your hands.*" This slogan can be interpreted in both



Fig. 9. Camera advertisement

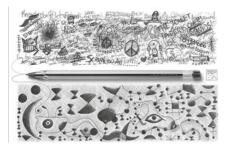


Fig. 10. Art school advertisement



Fig. 11. Car advertisement

a direct and a figurative sense, that is, it implies both a pen and the artist's talent (a dilogy phenomenon). By attending the art school, one can systematize their abilities and transform them into skills, as well as develop their talent, as the cubist painting of Salvador Dali (which also resembles the abstract works of Joan Miro) clearly demonstrates. Therefore, the illustrated pen appears to be a kind of a feature of what the artist was able to depict before art school, and how he managed to master his skills having attended it.

Demonstrative pronouns are far more common in English-language advertisements than in their Spanish-language counterparts. Thus, for example, the slogan represented in the car advertisement (*Figure 11*, the slogan is placed in the upper left corner) reads as follows: "For those who can't fly."

This way, the reader's attention is focused on the essential quality of the car — its smooth ride, as if you are floating in the air when driving. The banner depicts an ostrich flying on a motorcycle, another version of the

advertisement depicts a penguin — birds that cannot fly flying, but which now have the opportunity thanks to the motorcycle being sold. "Those" is a demonstrative pronoun that indicates plurality, in other words, a certain group of people who would like own a comfortable car with soft suspension, and there are many such people.

The use of adverbs in the language of advertising is intended to characterize the product in terms of its convenience, reliability and other advantages by drawing attention to a special feature of an object or action. This

is another way to directly influence the buyer, suggesting that his or her life will change instantly and completely if they buy the product being advertised. We should mention here that adverbs are not frequently applied in the language of advertising, especially in Spanish-language slogans, due to their heaviness. It is worth noting that most of the internet advertising banners containing adverbs that we managed to find are concerned with alcohol or refreshing soft drinks.

Thus, for example, an advertisement for ice tea (Figure 12) uses the following slogan: "The only tea that will quickly quench your thirst" ("¡El único té que termina rápidamente con tu sed!). In this case, the heaviness of the adverb formed from the adjective by adding the suffix -mente appears to be its advantage, since the suffix is emphasized in the slogan. The adverb mentioned above is very sonorous and has an expressive tone, thus attracting the attention of the consumer. A large inscription on the



Fig. 12. Tea advertisement



Fig. 13. Sardines advertisement

banner also inspires the consumer's confidence, that is, it convinces us that the information is credible.

Numerals in advertising texts are used to state the price, especially when it comes to special offers, sales or discounts. They can also indicate the quantitative characteristics of the product: size, height, volume, etc. From a pragmatic point of view, numerals play a significant role — they create the impression that the information presented in the advertisement is reliable. The most commonly used numerals are "first" and "one," which are, in fact, perceived by the consumer as "the best."

It is worth drawing attention to the fact that numerals are often utilized in advertising to specify a discount on a product or special offers. They are not expressively coloured when performing this function, but still appear to be quite widespread. As a rule, in cases like this, there is a combination of two levels — the lexical and the graphic — since in such situations, numerals are highlighted graphically to provide greater persuasiveness. For instance, *Figure 13* illustrates an advertisement for sardines that are sold three for the price of two, which is very attractive to buyers.

#### Conclusion

Based on the analysis of a significant number of examples, some of which are discussed in the article, it can be concluded that the noun is most frequently used part of speech in internet advertising (about 35% of all the examples analyzed), which is explained by its predominance over other parts of speech, as well as wide opportunities for creating expressiveness of the statements. Adjectives, often functioning as epithets, mainly serve to characterize a particular product (about 17% of all the examples analyzed). Having a set of forms, categories, semantic connotations, the verb represents a vivid expressive means in advertising (about 20%). Furthermore, the most common forms used are the imperative and the second person singular, which stimulate to action. The most common pronouns (about 12%) are personal, possessive, and demonstrative. Personal pronouns create a sense of the consumer "presence," while possessive pronouns encourage confidence in the product among consumers. Adverbs are less commonly applied in advertising slogans, mainly qualitative adverbs are used, which helps create the imagery of the advertised phenomenon, determine its features and properties (about 6%). Numerals are most often used to specify the cost of goods, the amount of discounts, the sales period, etc (about 10% of all the examples analyzed). Thus, any part of speech can become a powerful expressive means in advertising on the internet. The selection of certain lexical and grammatical structures in advertising texts is determined, firstly, by the characteristics of the advertised product itself, as well as by the goals and objectives of the customer, for example, the task to promote a new product or increase demand for an existing one. In this regard, one should distinguish between classical advertising means and specific ones, which are determined by the characteristics of the product itself.

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# SYSTEM-FUNCTIONAL FEATURES OF SEMIOTIC MECHANISMS ORGANAZING INTERNET MEMES ABOUT CORONAVIRUS

The article studies semiotic mechanisms of organizing Internet memes on coronavirus (COVID-19) as polycode texts reflecting the socio-cultural phenomenon significant for an indefinite period. It also examines relevant evaluative meanings of COVID-19 arising through the interaction of image and text in polycode units. Systemic functional multimodal discourse analysis serves as the research methodology and provides the framework for linguistic, cognitive and pragmatic aspects of the study. In line with the approach, a comprehensive interpretation of a communication act incorporating text analysis along with situational and cultural reflection, the inductive method and its main research procedures (observation, analysis and comparison) are applied to specify the COVID-19 discourse in Internet memes. The analysis of the system-functional peculiarities of coronavirus-related Internet memes has specified textual means of designing a communicative intention in polycode units, semiotic elements of pragmatic impact, as well as a multimodal perspective of interpreting the COVID-19 discourse through the interaction of verbal and visual references. The results show that COVID-19 memes convey condition-, interaction- and event-oriented evaluative meanings. The study revealed that the semiotic tools of different origin and precedence degree enable verbal-visual interaction to convey the sense of kinship and shared experience. Along with the disturbing meanings of apprehension and danger, the Internet memes noticeably express social unity and confidence in overcoming the challenges. The meanings are reinforced by the images of significant cultural value in the Russian community. Keywords: polycode text, multimodality, Internet meme, pragmatic impact, semiotic code, COVID-19 discourse, precedent phenomeno.

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### СИСТЕМНО-ФУНКЦИОНАЛЬНЫЕ ОСОБЕННОСТИ СЕМИОТИЧЕСКИХ МЕХАНИЗМОВ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ИНТЕРНЕТ-МЕМОВ О КОРОНАВИРУСНОЙ ИНФЕКЦИИ

В статье анализируются семиотические механизмы организации интернет-мемов, посвященных коронавирусу (COVID-19). На материале поликодовых текстов, отражающих значимый на неопределенный

срок социокультурный феномен, исследуются релевантные оценочные значения, возникающие в поликодовых единицах в результате взаимодействия изображения и текста. Методологией исследования лингвистических, когнитивных и прагматических аспектов объекта послужил системно-функциональный мультимодальный дискурс-анализ. В соответствии с выбранным подходом для детализации дискурса COVID-19 в интернет-мемах была использована комплексная интерпретация коммуникативного акта, включающая анализ текста наряду с ситуативной и культурологической рефлексией, индуктивный метод и его основные исследовательские процедуры (наблюдение, анализ и сравнение). Анализ системно-функциональных особенностей интернет-мемов о коронавирусной инфекции позволил выявить специфические текстовые средства оформления коммуникативной интенции в поликодовых единицах, номенклатуру семиотических элементов прагматического воздействия, а также наметить полимодальный ракурс интерпретации дискурса COVID-19 через взаимодействие вербальных и визуальных референций. В результате исследования мемов о COVID-19 выявлены обобщенные оценочные значения, связанные с понятиями состояния, взаимодействия и события. В ходе исследования установлено, что семиотические средства разной референциальной отнесенности и степени прецедентности позволяют в вербально-визуальном взаимодействии передавать чувства единения и общего опыта. Наряду с манифестацией опасения и опасности интернет-мемы выражают социальное единство и уверенность в преодолении трудностей. Установленные значения усиливаются образами, имеющими значительную культурную ценность в русскоязычном сообществе.

*Ключевые слова*: поликодовый текст, мультимодальность, интернет-мем, прагматическое воздействие, семиотический код, дискурс COVID-19, прецедентный феномен.

#### Introduction

The emergence and spread of COVID-19 has significantly changed the life of society and caused the introduction of new social practices (remote work or study, self-isolation, etc.). With the spread of the pandemic, the COVID-19 discourse has reached the global level incorporating local communities, authorities, the healthcare sector and the media. In the context of lockdown and imposed social distancing, social media became an operational tool to connect with others, share information, experiences and opinions, as well as to consider the situation and find the ways to adapt to it. Diverse semiotic options employed in the ongoing interpretation found their reflection in numerous Internet memes as creative responses of netizens. Being polymodal cultural units, which are commonly ironic or humorous by nature, memes circulate in digital media

and convey different interpretations of "coronavirus" as a new precedent phenomenon of our time.

Numerous works within linguistics domain are devoted to the analysis of COVID-19-inspired lexical processes. Against this background, the aim of the work is to fill the research gap associated with the diverse semiotic resources used in reflecting the COVID-19 discourse. COVID-related memes highlight various facets of the phenomenon ranging from the virus itself to its origin, the spread, changes in social life arrangement, protective measures, local and global economic impact and other. Since the mediated COVID-19 discourse enacts a diversity of opinions and thematic discourses it cannot be comprehensively evaluated without reference to the pragmatics of sociolinguistic semiotics of the speech community. The focus of the study is to consider text-image interaction within COVID-19 memes and specify relevant evaluative meanings of COVID-19 as conveyed through certain semiotic mechanisms used in polycode units.

#### Methods and material

Numerous studies have viewed social media in terms of semiotic instrumental potential [Tan 2020; Stöckl 2020]. The framework for this study is the combination of mediated discourse analysis (MDA) and systemic functional multimodal discourse analysis (SF MDA) [Norris, 2005; Scollon, 2001]. They highlight sociocultural aspects within digitally mediated communication and focus on the convergence of various semiotic resources in social practices. SF MDA operates meaning-making through a set of methods, namely framing, composition and relevance [Kress, Leeuwen, 1996], theme and information structure [Halliday, 1989] and image-text logico-semantic relations [Martinec, 2005]. The present study adopts SF MDA to COVID-related memes to unveil how the polycode units operate text-image relations to convey socially and culturally relevant evaluative meanings of the phenomenon.

Social semiotics stipulates the concept that communication necessitates participants to make the messages comprehensible in line with the context [Kress, Leeuwen, 2001]. Hence, meme production is defined by the use of semiotic resources relevant to an individual in a specific social environment. The relevance concept equally concerns the viral potential of a meme and / or its constituent parts. Semiotic means of expression (e.g. images, visual structuring, and verbal elements) create meaningful propositions bound up with interests and concerns of the source community. Hence, these propositions reveal significant semantic dimension related to COVID-19 discourse.

Since "representation requires that sign-makers choose forms for the expression of what they have in mind, forms which they see as most apt and plausible in the given context) [Kress, Leeuwen, 2001, p. 13], it gives space to account for multimodal features expressed by culturally and contextually relevant intertextual elements, images, their origin and relevance for the community in question. The analysis followed a number of steps: 1) data retrieval of Internet memes featuring COVID-19 topic from online platforms accumulating memes (Memepedia (2022), Fishki. net (2022) and Pikabu (2021); 2) theme reference identification (verbal and / or image indication of COVID-19), 3) analysis of visual / verbal elements and their semantics, 4) the interpretation of visual and verbal code interplay; 6) analysis-based inference about generalized evaluative meaning conveyed by the meme.

Four hundred and twenty Internet memes were collected over a period starting from the spread of the virus to May 2021. Capturing the development of the "COVID" precedent phenomenon from its early use gives insight into the intended meanings of the speakers due to the interplay of codes in polymodal objects. The selection of memes was classified in line with the generalized evaluative meanings they convey. The semiotic codes the mechanisms used to convey the evaluative meanings were analyzed within each group. Following general observations, the most representative Internet-memes were selected for illustration and in-depth analysis.

#### Literature Review

New modes of Internet communication provide an abundance of perspectives for the analysis of information exchange features. Being highly adaptive and tuned to meet the participants' needs, social media offer a platform for "one-to-one and one-to-many communication" [Jensen, 2015, p. 1]. Some earlier studies accounted for computer-mediated communication and focused on the social context and the concept of language use stipulated by the given situation [Danet, 2007; Marcoccia, 2008]. Recent studies give a greater stress on multimodality of Internet communication and account for various semiotic forms and mechanisms involved in it [Jewitt, 2016; Marchenko, 2019]. A number of studies examined multimodality in different platforms: YouTube discourse [Benson, 2017], WhatsApp status messages [Sánchez-Moya, 2015] and emoticons in WhatsApp [Sampietro, 2016]. These studies foster the idea that each code employed in interaction as a social semiotic resource actualizes a specific function. The claims emerge mostly from Halliday's social semiotics, which serves the groundwork for systemic functional multimodal

approaches [Kress, Leeuwen, 1996], that emphasize peculiarities in which signs combine in multimodal contexts to convey different meanings.

COVID-19 discourse in media has been investigated both in terms of traditional media — news reports, articles, headlines, etc. [Luporini, 2021], and the new media — social media posts and messages. The researches highlight the COVID-19 mediated discourse in terms of multivocality of written and visual communication, functional multimodal discourse analysis and word usage strategies. The studies reveal that the use of different modes (e. g. text, image, audio, video) create both multimodal and multivocal discourses.

The findings in specifically lexical studies highlight the emergence and the use of COVID-19 neologisms, semantic shifts and other lexical processes [Mweri, 2021; Prekazi, 2021; Roig-Marín, 2020]; and view the phenomenon in the light of metaphoric conceptualization and demonstrate how the pandemic is framed in the discourse with metaphors [Craig, 2020].

This research addresses semiotic mechanisms employed in COVID-related Internet memes as polycode texts in which people express their opinions and concerns about personally and socially relevant topics.

#### **Results and Discussions**

The significance of the pandemic and its consequences has spurred the use of 'COVID-19' lexeme, coinage of various neologisms and numerous posts, memes included. The development of the semantic and associative potential of the phenomenon in question is underway, yet certain specific meanings can be traced. The analysis of the interaction of semiotic codes and generalized evaluative meanings indicates the semantic shades of a historic event or crucial period that has affected the lives of people and compelled to reassess the basics of social interaction, hygiene and other aspects of human activity.

COVID-19 memes clearly trace the chronology of events related to the pandemic (disease outbreak and its localization, discussion of the possibility / inevitability of spread on a national / global scale, the reaction of official authorities / individual feedback, lockdown, self-isolation, etc.), current events of the national and international level. At the initial stage, the coronavirus memes reflect the concepts of unemployment, poverty and decay. The polymodal units under consideration feature other episodes of the news agenda, for instance, a container ship that ran aground in the Suez Canal on March 23, 2021. The diachronic analysis suggests that the relevance and recurrence of generalized evaluative meanings manifested

in Internet memes is volatile. While some meanings are periodically reinterpreted and updated (e.g. unpredictability and rapid development of the situation), others remain chronologically attached to a certain stage in the development of events (in particular, vigilance regarding the security of packages from the world-famous virtual marketplace, stayhome, stopcoronavirus hashtags, etc.).

Overall, the Internet memes with the evaluative conceptualization of COVID-19 convey contrary hyperbolic meanings, e.g. the most appalling virus vs an unremarkable virus, insurmountable circumstances vs minor obstacles, the absence of a medicine as a fatal circumstance vs a product from the daily diet as a panacea for a disease, etc. For example, the meme in Fig. 1 presents a hypothetical situation in which a man is concerned about the lady sneezing, yet the reassurance that it is a TB rather than a coronavirus symptom relieves the tension. Thus, the opposition is manifested: coronavirus (high degree of danger) — another serious infectious disease (minimal degree of danger).

The verbal exchange is reinforced with the visual code featuring the same image of a couple having a conversation over a cup of coffee. Since the visual code suggests similar emotions in both parts of the message, the contradiction is delivered through the verbal part.

In some cases, COVID-related memes feature contrast through jux-taposition of both integrated codes, e.g. the meme in Figc. 2. The verbal part of the message serves the headline for the images below and trans-



Fig. 1. Symptoms meme

## Они сражались за здоровый мир



Fig. 2. The 'fight' meme

lates as "They fought for a healthy world". The visual code demonstrates casual patterns of pastime like playing games, contemplation and taking a nap. The oxymoronic contradiction emerges from the interplay of peaceful images and the 'fight' semantics implying taking some actions in order to achieve the set goal.

A special note to be given to the attributes associated with COVID, namely the coronavirus molecule, a protective mask, gloves, a screen, a sanitizer, a coronavirus test tube, etc. Due to extensive mass media coverage and multiple channels for replicating the messages, COVID-19 has developed a set of intrinsically associated and well-known symbols. Yet, the ongoing update of recommendations/requirements for preventive measures and the dynamics of the pandemic continuously prompt rethinking of their value and axiological shades of meaning. We illustrate this observation with the following examples.

With the skyrocketing demand for personal protection in the early stages of the pandemic, internet memes manifested the high value of masks. So, Fig. 3 shows a photograph of V. Mayakovsky reciting verses. The photo is edited with the image of a protective mask added to the raised hand of the poet.

The verbal code is a transformed precedent text referring to the poet's work "A Poem about the Soviet Passport" (1929). The original verse says about the subject of pride, namely the passport: "Read this and envy me, I am a citizen of the Soviet Union". The precedent lines are transformed and concern the possibilities provided by a mask: the person can go shopping and use the public transport. The metrics of the original verse is preserved

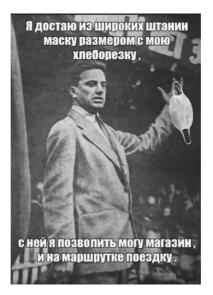


Fig. 3. The mask meme



Fig. 4. The 'deadly virus' meme

which in line with the visual code enhances the effect of authenticity. Yet, certain memes question the efficiency of a protective mask in an ironic way, e. g. Fig.4.

The meme above features four captions demonstrating different types of masks. The captions say (from top to bottom, left to right): dust, pesticides, radiation, deadly virus. Three pictures show the appropriate masks used specifically for the protection against the pollution indicated in the caption, while the one in the lower right corner displays a model wear-

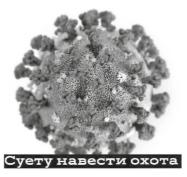


Fig. 5. The 'fuss' meme

ing a textile safety mask. The opposition emerging from the image of the least sophisticated mask and the caption claiming the protection against a lethal virus serves the basis for ironical interpretation.

The image of the coronavirus molecule, which is inextricably linked with the concept under consideration, also appears to be precedent and is employed in memes both in realistic 3D format and in the variant of simplified vector graphics.

In Fig. 5 the compilation of the image of a molecule and a text meme popular on social media (it says: Wanna make a fuss) creates an ironic reference to the current context, precisely the life in the context of the spread of coronavirus infection. Apparently, the achievement of an ironic effect in this case does not depend on the awareness of the precedent text and its social background, although it enhances the polyphony of meanings. The phrase can be interpreted as an expression of the desire to move on to active actions, to relax and do something extraordinary, which, in the context of a non-verbal code, is logically deduced to specific activities and conditions.

The widespread impact of the coronavirus pandemic on the social and economic life of society, the alarming state caused by the fundamentally new circumstances of work and study, were also reflected in numerous Internet memes. As in other thematic areas of COVID-19 conceptualization in polymodal units, changes in social interaction have a dual representation. Accordingly, the reflection over social distancing in the context of talk shows is represented in Fig. 6 as verbal / visual analogy. The meme is split into two horizontal parts by a text saying 'Talk shows with social distance remind Jedi High Council'. The photo on the top features a screenshot of a popular show, while the caption at the bottom demonstrates an administrative body, the Jedi Council, from the Star Wars series.



Ток-шоу с социальной дистанцией начинают напоминать совет джедаев



Fig. 6. The 'Jedi Council' meme

Along with such an ironically official and pompous interpretation, there are concepts / phenomena that are opposed to COVID-19 as even less desirable, requiring avoidance (e.g. toxic and dull people).

#### **Conclusions**

The analysis of semiotic mechanisms of organizing COVID-19 Internet memes allows us to draw the following conclusions. The emergence and spread of COVID-19 has radically changed the life of society and provoked the introduction of new practices of social interaction. The uniqueness of the situation, permanent uncertainty and new experience of social communications are reflected in Internet memes about the coronavirus as a new precedent phenomenon of our time, as well as related phenomena. The analysis of Internet memes provides an idea of content and pragmatic components of the modern polycode text and cultural space as a form of existence of culture in the human mind. The associative field of the emerging precedent phenomenon includes such concepts as a fateful event affecting the interests of all people, reassessment of the foundations of social interaction, hygiene, protection measures, various human activities, unpredictability and rapid development of the situation, vigilance in relation to biological safety.

The results show that COVID-19 memes convey condition-, interaction- and event-oriented evaluative meanings. The meanings emerging from the interplay of semiotic codes reveal contrary hyperbolic

pairs: the most terrible virus — a trivial virus, insurmountable circumstances — minor obstacles, the absence of a medicine as a fatal circumstance — a product from the daily diet as a panacea for a disease, etc. The linguistic component of the phenomenon under consideration, reflected in memes, also reveals binary connotative opposition: coronavirus — ordinary, familiar, everyday, COVID-19 — official, significant, dominant.

Currently we trace an intermediate stage in the formation of COVID-19 evaluative potential. The formation process will continue at the next stages of the narrative, when the volume of discursive practice gradually accumulates, and the phenomenon is understood from the point of view of its categorical characteristics. The universal precedent phenomenon, which is socially and culturally significant for an indefinite period, requires interpretation in terms of the form, methods and specifics of reflection in mass communication, as it represents a comprehension of a unique phenomenon of individual and collective significance.

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## HOSPITALITY FROM THE RUSSIAN AND VIETNAMESE PERSPECTIVES: WEB CORPORA ANALYSIS

The article presents a fragment of the large-scale international study aimed at investigating the Russians and Vietnamese self- and mutual perceptions embedded in language and culture. In order to discriminate the cultural difference in the content of the notions designated by the quasi-equivalent lexemes in the two languages, the authors attempt to analyze one of the common characteristics of Russian and Vietnamese "self-portraits". The notion of hospitality (гостеприимство/hiếu khách) was examined using corpus data. The SketchEngine and two built-in web corpora, ruTenTen11 and VietnameseWaC, were utilized for automatic construction of thesauri of this notion. It was shown that the sets of semantic components that describe the studied lexical unit demonstrate certain degree of incongruity and provide additional information about Russian and Vietnamese "self-portraits" that include quasi-equivalent lexis.

*Keywords*: corpus study, psycholinguistics, intercultural Russian-Vietnamese dialogue, ethnic self-identification, characterological self-portrait.

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# ГОСТЕПРИИМСТВО В ПРЕДСТАВЛЕНИИ РУССКИХ И ВЬЕТНАМЦЕВ: ДАННЫЕ ВЕБ-КОРПУСОВ

В настоящей работе представлен фрагмент масштабного международного исследования, направленного на изучение функционирующих в языке и культуре взаимных представлений и самопредставлений русских и вьетнамцев. С целью выявления культурных различий в содержании понятий, выраженных квази-эквивалентными лексемами, авторы предприняли попытку проанализировать одну общую характеристику «автопортретов» русского и вьетнамского народов. Объектом исследования послужило понятие гостеприимство/hiếu khách, изученное на материале корпусных данных. Для автоматического создания тезауруса данного понятия использовался сервис SketchEngine и два встроенных веб-корпуса, ruTenTen11 и VietnameseWaC. Показано, что набор семантических компонентов, составляющих значение изучаемых лексических единиц двух языков, демонстрирует определенную степень неконгруэнтности и позволяет получить дополнительную информацию об «автопортретах» русских и вьетнамцев, включающих в себя квази-эквивалентную лексику.

Ключевые слова: корпусное исследование, психолингвистика, межкультурный диалог Россия — Вьетнам, этническая самоидентификация, характерологический автопортрет.

#### Introduction

The multi-level investigation of mutual perceptions between representatives of different cultures and nations is a crucial for proper intercultural dialogue, the establishment of which prevents possible misunderstanding, miscommunication, and intercultural conflicts. Russia and Vietnam are the two nations with a long history of mutually beneficial relationship in many fields. A number of previous studies were devoted to the investigation of the culture-specific linguistic images of the world, namely the concept of Vietnam in the Russian linguistic consciousness [Uong, 2018]; the regional aspects of the Russian linguistic consciousness [Balyasnikova et al., 2018]; the reflection of the world in the linguistic consciousness of the Vietnamese [Nguyen, 2000]; etc. In order to reveal the differences in the linguistic images of the world, such studies often include the comparison of the data obtained in different nations, contrasting, e.g., the concept holiday [Haitong and Chulkina, 2021] and the svoy-chuzhoy opposition [Paderina and Xue, 2021] in the Russians and the Chinese; the concept of hometown in German, Russian, and Vietnamese cultures [Mymrina and Abdrashitova, 2015], to mention but a few. However, comprehensive, multifaceted studies devoted to mutual representation of the Russians and the Vietnamese in language and culture were initiated only recently [Markovina et al., 2021; Markovina et al., 2022].

This paper relies on the data obtained in the questionnaire-based study of Russian–Vietnamese mutual perceptions from linguistic and cultural perspectives [Markovina et al., 2022]. One of the notions, hospitality (гостеприимство/hiếu khách), was among the most frequent characteristics attributed by both the Russian and the Vietnamese respondents to their respective nations. Bearing in mind the importance of hospitality for the cultural frameworks of the two nations, we decided to further investigate гостеприимство/hiếu khách by corpus linguistics methods.

Corpus linguistics is a relatively new field of linguistics that enables the researchers to analyze large textual collections (linguistic corpora) by special computer software [McEnery and Hardie, 2012]. However, it can provide information regarding grammar, discourse, metaphors, etc., as well as gain invaluable ethnopsycholinguistic and sociolinguistic data about different peoples across the globe.

The current study describes the preliminary results of the interim stage of the international project "Mutual representations of Russians and Vietnamese in language and culture" supported by the RFBR and VASS.

#### Materials and methods

The notion гостеприимство/hiếu khách was investigated using SketchEngine, an online corpus linguistics research tool [Kilgariff et al., 2004], and two built-in corpora, Russian Web 2011 (ruTenTen11, 18.2B words) and Vietnamese Web (VietnameseWaC, 106.4M words). Both corpora are comprised of Internet web-pages (i.e., they are similar in terms of source text genres), are cleaned, deduplicated, and tagged. Moreover, these corpora have close data collection periods (2011 and 2010, respectively). The size difference between the selected corpora was disregarded as only qualitative data were used in the present study.

The semantic comparison of the notions гостеприимство and hiểu khách was performed using built-in automatic thesaurus function. The LogDice score values (provided in the parentheses) reflect the co-occurrence of the investigated notions and the notions from the generated thesauri. However, they are provided for information purpose only due to the qualitative nature of the study. The attempt to explain different shades of meaning was made using two lexicographic sources [The Explanatory Dictionary of the Contemporary Russian Language, 2014; The Vietnamese Explanatory and Translation Dictionary].

#### Results and Discussion

Hospitality is often regarded as a national characteristic (e.g. Russian hospitality) and should not be confused with the hospitality industry. Moreover, is can be viewed as a crosscultural and even transhistorical phenomenon [Kossakowska-Maras, 2020]. Previous studies have focused on the conceptual difference between the Russian and the Chinese hospitality [Tugusheva, 2018], as well as on the investigation of the hospitality in Russian culture using Russian classical literature as the data source [Kiseleva and Sakharchuk, 2019].

The Russians are renowned for their hospitality, which is confirmed by the corpus data. In the Russian corpus, this noun is often combined with corresponding adjectives, such as:

- радушное гостеприимство (cordial hospitality), хлебосольное гостеприимство (good table-hospitality), щедрое гостеприимство (generous hospitality): the qualitative adjectives provide additional shades of meaning;
- русское гостеприимство (Russian hospitality), абхазское гостеприимство (Abkhaz hospitality), восточное гостеприимство (Oriental hospitality): these adjectives denote the region famous for its hospitality;

 непревзойденное гостеприимство (unsurpassed hospitality), исключительное гостеприимство (exceptional hospitality): these adjectives describe the degree of hospitality.

We can assume that the frequency of relevant collocations found in the corpus and their diversity designate the value of the notion (personal quality/character trait) for this particular culture [Ge, 2022].

The Explanatory Dictionary of the Contemporary Russian Language defines гостеприимство (hospitality) as "Радушие по отношению к гостям, любезный прием гостей" (Cordiality towards guests, amiable welcome of guests), thus, confirming that радушие (cordiality, score 0.298) is indeed one of the most important qualities that describe гостеприимство (hospitality). This is supported by both the corpus data and the results of our previous studies, where радушие (cordiality) was one of the mentioned qualities linked with гостеприимство (hospitality) [Markovina et al., 2022].

A hospitable person is usually the one who should demonstrate доброжелательность (benevolence, score 0.273), дружелюбие (friendliness, score 0.272), доброту (kindness, score 0.256), and отзывчивость (responsiveness, score 0.231) towards guests. Шедрость (generosity, score 0.267), as in шедрое гостеприимство (generous hospitality), traditionally characterizes the host's attitude towards the provision of food and drinks to the guests, while искренность (sincerity, score 0.219) implies the absence of hypocrisy.

It is of interest that уют (cosiness, score 0.213), found in the corpus data, is also an important aspect of Russian hospitality: welcoming guests into a place that gives a feeling of comfort, warmth, and relaxation is an essential part of what is understood by the Russian term гостеприимство (hospitality).

In our opinion, both благородство (nobility, score 0.205) and великодушие (magnanimity, score 0.202) are rarely used towards guests; these nouns describe a person of high virtue, who also demonstrates гостеприимство (hospitality).

During the previous stage of the current research, Russian respondents provided two other qualities related to гостеприимство (hospitality) — добродушие (good nature) and жизнелюбие (love of life). The Vietnamese respondents linked hiểu khách (hospitality) to thân thiện (friendliness), nhân ái (benevolence), and niềm nở (cordiality) [Markovina et al., 2022].

The lexicographic source showed that the Russian радушие (cordiality) is а «Сердечное, ласковое отношение, соединенное с гостепри-имством» (Warm, affectionate attitude, combined with hospitality) [The

Explanatory Dictionary of the Contemporary Russian Language, 2014], whereas the Vietnamese hiểu khách (hospitality) is more active, "enthusiastic" [The Vietnamese Explanatory and Translation Dictionary].

According to the Vietnamese corpus, hãn hữu (rarity, score 0.5) is the key component related to the Vietnamese hospitality. However, it describes not the rarity of hospitality itself, but its unsurpassed degree [Quynh 2021; Van Thang 2018]. In a similar manner, Vietnamese hospitality is also characterized by ưu việt (superiority, score 0.4) and chi li (particularity, score 0.38). Of particular interest is the tinh khiết (purity, score 0.32), which may describe the quality of food being served [The Vietnamese Explanatory and Translation Dictionary].

The corpus data suggests that the Vietnamese experience khoái chí (joyfullness, score 0.34) when welcoming the guests and usually dress with bảnh (elegance, score 0.32) for such occasions. A series of notions found in the Vietnamese corpus (bấp bênh (precariousness, score 0.298), nhiêu khê (difficulty, score 0.38), and đạm bạc (frugality, score 0.34)), in our opinion, may reflect possible economic hardships and other limitations that prevent demonstration of proper hospitality. Another notion, hiệu nghiệm (efficacy, score 0.33), might denote the result of hospitality.

The study discussed is the second stage of the international research project aimed at investigating the Russian–Vietnamese mutual perceptions reflected in both languages and cultures. At the first stage of the project the authors obtained two sets of characteristics that constitute the ethnic portraits and self-portraits of the two nations. The second stage provided the comprehensive in-depth analysis of the culture-specific content of the notion hospitality (гостеприимство/hiếu khách), based on corpora data. At the further stages of the research all the components of the ethnic portraits and self-portraits will be compared and analyzed based on the methodology developed and tested at the stage described in this paper.

#### Conclusion

The results of the study revealed the incongruity between the sets of semantic components of the studied lexical units. The hospitality of both peoples is described as generous, but for Russians it is more important to demonstrate their cordiality, while for the Vietnamese hospitality includes the idea of superiority.

The authors are well aware of the limitation of this study, which is the application of the Internet-based corpora as the source for the analysis of the culture-specific notions. Such corpora typically contain the limited

variety of texts, thus, not giving the comprehensive idea of the respective cultures. However, the textual content of the studied corpora provide the foundation for further research on the topic.

The use of corpus linguistics approach yielded additional information about Russian and Vietnamese self-portraits that include quasi-equivalent lexis. The result supports the assumption that the data obtained using traditional methods can be effectively analyzed by corpus linguistics methods and by this combined approach comprehensive description of the meanings of the "common" cultural phenomena of various peoples can be obtained. Based on the results of the stage described, the ethnopsycholinguistic research will be done in order to reconstruct the Russian-Vietnamese mutual perceptions reflected in the respective languages and cultures. The authors believe that the ultimate result of this international project will promote better understanding and more effective cross-cultural communication of the two nations.

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# MOTIVATION OF THE CHINESE CHARACTERS WITH OBJECT SEMANTICS

Motivational features that determine the choice of the main semantic component of complex Chinese characters with object semantics are established and described in this article. The analysis of the determinatives that are included in multicomponent characters of various semantic types (nominations of clothing, transport, furniture, weapons, containers, etc.) made it possible to reveal their frequency regarding of different thematic relevance. The material of the study based on the group of compound characters (structurally including from two graphemes in a sign, one of which is a determinative), denoting object names selected according to the principles of classification of lexical units, undertaken when compiling the semantic dictionary ed. N. Yu. Shvedova, dissertation research by M.I. Oleinik, as well as the described classes of object nouns (物品类名词) in the study of Zhang Daoxin, Zhang Jiahua. The total volume of the analyzed characters with object semantics amounted to 967 units. The analysis of the selected signs showed that the choice of the determinative of the complex Chinese character with object semantics is based on the relevance of the material as the most significant historically or functionally characteristic of the described representation of objects that are spatially limited, can be identified and counted. The evolution and development of the basic graphemes of Chinese writing determine, at the same time, the relevance of such motivational features as category, form and object, as well as their different frequency within different semantic groups of complex signs with object semantics.

Keywords: motivation, determinative, character, object, semantics, sign, Chinese.

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# МОТИВИРОВАННОСТЬ КИТАЙСКИХ ИЕРОГЛИФИЧЕСКИХ ЗНАКОВ С ПРЕДМЕТНОЙ СЕМАНТИКОЙ

В данной статье путем анализа производных сложносоставных знаков китайского языка с предметной семантикой устанавливается набор мотивировочных признаков, обусловливающих выбор основного смыслового компонента иероглифов. Определяется набор детерминативов, входящих в состав многокомпонентных иероглифов, описывающих в языке предметы различного типа (обозначения одежды, транспорта, мебели, оружия, контейнеров и др.). Выявляется частотность детерминативов относительно иероглифических номинаций предметов разной тематической отнесенности. Материалом выполненного исследования послужила группа сложносоставных иероглифов (структурно вклю-

чающие от двух графем в знаке, одна из которых — детерминатив), обозначающих предметные имена, отобранные согласно принципам классификации лексических единиц, предпринятым при составлении семантического словаря под ред. Н.Ю. Шведовой, диссертационном исследовании М.И. Олейник, а также описанным классам предметных существительных (物品类名词) в работах Чжан Даосинь, Чжан Цзяхуа. Общий объем проанализированных иероглифов с предметной семантикой составил 967 единиц. Анализ отобранных знаков показал, что выбор детерминатива сложного иероглифического знака китайского языка с предметной семантикой обусловлен релевантностью «материала» как наиболее значимой исторически или функционально характеристикой описываемого представления об объектах, которые пространственно ограничены, могут быть выделены и подсчитаны. Эволюция и развитие базовых графем китайского письма детерминируют, в то же время, релевантность таких мотивировочных признаков, как «категория», «форма» и «объект», а также их различную частотность в пределах разных семантических групп сложных знаков с предметной семантикой.

*Ключевые слова*: мотивированность, детерминатив, иероглиф, предметное имя, семантика, знак, китайский язык.

#### Introduction

One of the topical research areas in the study of the Chinese characters at the present time becomes the revealing of the motivation features of complex signs. The important step towards solving this problem can be made by the analysis of the semantic components of complex characters, the choice of which determines the specific construction of Chinese logograms [Gotlib, 2019], as well as the entire writing system as a whole [Rezanenko, 1985].

Starting from Xu Shen's dictionary [Xu Shen, 2006], Chinese writing is organized according to the radical principle (部首), which allows not only to form the corresponding areas of characters, primarily in lexicographic sources, but also to serve the basis of the methodological system of teaching the Chinese language with the help of the author's frame [Filimonova, 2019], nest [Molotkova, 2017], programming [Ioffe, 2012], monad and modus [Sharavyeva, 2020] and other structures, united by some general associative-semantic idea. This idea, laid down in the works of Russian and Western European sinologists back in the 19th-early XX centuries [Vasiliev, 1884; Karlgren, 1923; Wieger, 1965], is subsequently reflected as a relative allocation of semantically minimal parts of the Chinese writing (see S.P. Andrews' elementary characters, V.F. Rezanenko's basic characters, I.V. Sharavyeva's graphomonades, A.D. Gring and K.V. Karaseva's primitives etc.), and in the area of differentiation of the

meaning of the characters. For example, the Russian lexeme "жить" corresponds to three Chinese characters (活 (determinative "water"), 住 (determinative "person"), 过 (determinative "movement; step"), which, according to the character classification, are not included in one (single core semantics "жить"), but into three different character groups (with the determinatives "water", "man" and "movement; step"), which, according to Tan Aoshuang [Tan Aoshuan, 2004, p. 14], is far from being a purely formal association for convenient search for signs, as it may seem when study dictionaries built on the radical principle. Tan Aoshuang shows the semantic potential of the determinative and its ability to convey different meanings of the whole sign using the example of the Russian verb "жить" and its Chinese correlates. Russian sentences 1) Старик живет; 2) Старик живет в Москве and 3) Старик плохо живет correspond to Chinese 1) 老头儿活者 (活 (determinative "water"), 2) 老头儿住在莫 斯科(住 (determinative "man")), 3) 老头儿日子(生活)过的不好(过 (determinative "movement; step"). In the first example, the determinative "water" represents the meaning of physical existence, in the second, the determinative "man" expresses permanent location in some limited space, and in the third example the determinative "movement; step" means "to live", and often with a negative evaluative connotation [Tan Aoshuan, 2004, p. 14].

From the above example, it becomes obvious that in the Chinese writing determinatives are the set of motivational features that determine the construction of the entire writing system, and, probably, also determine the significant discrepancies between oral and written language, noted by Stephen Andrews in 1854 [Andrews, 1854, p. 22] and V. P. Vasiliev in 1898: "There is't a single language in the world in which ... the written language differs from the spoken language as much as in the Chinese language..." [Vasiliev, 1884, p. 1].

On the one hand, character associations according to the radical principle (部首) can be considered as semantic areas of signs, where the radical is the semantic pointer to the object area through the definition of a prototype object or feature with which the concept is closely related. These connections can pass along the line of similarity of the form, the choice of the most frequently used material in the manufacture (竹 'bamboo' — 笔 'writing tool-pen'), correlation with the organ of the human body and its function (目 'eye ' — 瞠 'peer'), an instrument with which an action is performed ( $\ddagger$  'hand' — 把 'hold firmly') etc.

On the other hand, the question arises regarding the reverse process, i.e. what motivational associations can unite signs with the certain common nuclear meaning of object, process, abstract ideas, etc., what se-

mantic determinative components can be distinguished in such groups of units and, finally, what motivational features determine their inclusion in complex characters. The answers to the above mentioned questions are in the centre of our attention and is the aim of this research.

#### Methods and material

The material for solving the problem included a group of compound characters (structurally from two graphemes in the sign, one of which is a determinative), denoting object names. They are the nominations of instruments (笛 'flute', 笔 'pen', 锤 'hammer', 剑 'sword' etc.), containers (桶 'bucket', 盆 'basin', 篮 'basket' etc.), furniture (柜 'wardrobe', 镜 'mirror, 桌 'table' etc.), clothing (衫 'shirt', 裤 'trousers' etc.), vehicles (艇 'boat', 船 'boat', 橇 'sledge'), natural objects (星 'star') etc., selected according to the principles of classification of lexical units, undertaken when compiling the semantic dictionary ed. N. Yu. Shvedova [Shvedova, 1998], dissertation of M. I. Oleinik [Oleinik, 2001], as well as the classes of object nouns (物品类名词) described in the works of Zhang Daoxin, Zhang Jiahua and others. Since it is well known that semantic derivation is not associated with the graphic form of the sign, i. e. the secondary meanings of signs are not motivated by its form, only signs with the etymologically first meaning of an object were included in the material of the study. Consequently, the signs object meaning of which developed later under the influence of both linguistic and extra linguistic factors, were not included in the material of the research.

The sources for selecting material for our study were, first of all, the first lexicographic works on the Chinese language [说文解字, 康熙字典], etymological dictionaries [字源查询, 汉字字典], as well as modern Chinese explanatory dictionaries [汉语规范词典]. The total volume of the analyzed characters with object semantics amount to 967 units.

#### Results and discussion

The analysis of the meaning of complex characters with object semantics showed that the inclusion of a determinative in their composition is made due to a number of factors associated with the high relevance for Chinese speakers of such properties as the "material" and "function" of the described object. This determines the semantic organization of character groups according to the relevance of a certain characteristic or differential feature of the described representation. Thus, the semantic organization of Chinese writing turns out to be non-correlative or partially correlative

It becomes obvious that for the graphical representation (processes, objects, constant or variable signs, abstract concepts) in the Chinese writing, there is a special set of semantic components, which if we consider the group of characters — nominations of objects, consists of 68 graphemes-determinants, which is 32% of the entire system of basic graphemes [Rezanenko, 1985] or simple logograms in the theory of O. M. Gotlib [Gotlib, 2019] presented in the Chinese writing. Consequently, the high relevance of the designation of object leads to the "involvement" in this process of the third of all means available in the set of simple characters (214). This subsystem of means is a combination, first of all, of graphemes that allow representing in graphics either categorical feature of semantics (34%) or differential properties (66%) (most often the material from which the object is made). This leads to a specific semantic organization of the Chinese characters within object names in particular, and the entire system in general.

The set of semantic determinative components that are included in complex signs of the Chinese language with object semantics consists of such graphemes as 木 'wood', 钅 'metal', 竹 'bamboo', 土 'earth', 艹 'grass', 衤 'clothing', 皿 'vessel',  $\Box$  'mouth', 纟 'silk', 车 'vehicle', 火 'fire',  $\Box$  'strength',  $\Box$  'stone', 舟 'boat' etc.

Most often complex character signs with object semantics include such determinants as 木 'wood', 钅 'metal', 竹 'bamboo', 土 'earth', 艹 'grass' (more than 45 % of the total number of units). The data obtained testify to the high relevance, first of all, of the motivational attribute "material" in the nomination of objects in Chinese writing. However, the data obtained regarding the entire system of object names, since in any case they are a general indicator of various semantic types of designations (furniture, clothing, transport, containers, etc.), cannot be considered as a single motivational feature for all nominations of objects, regardless of their type. The analysis of each of the semantic areas of object names showed that motivational signs can vary: "Furniture nominations" — "material", "Clothes nominations" — "category", "Household items nominations" — "material", "Nominations of writing instruments" — "material", "Nominations of transport" — "category" etc. In total, we have identified 4 moti-

vational features (material, category, form, object), frequency of which differs relatively to the entire system of object names.

Less often, the motivational feature for creating multicomponent characters with the object semantics of the Chinese language is such features as "category" (裤 'trousers' (clothes), 船 'boat' (boat)), "shape" (卷 'bundle' (roll up), 帚 'broom' (stick)) and 'object', with which the functional characteristic of the item is associated (炉 'stove' (fire), 巢 'nest' (wood)). At the same time, it should be noted that, despite the low sign-forming productivity of these determinants relative to the entire system of designations of object names, within certain semantic groups of designations, these motivational features become, on the contrary, leading ones. Thus, in the group "Nominations of clothing items", most of the characters contain the determinative representing the categorical attribute ( $\ref{k}$  'clothes'), for example,  $\ref{k}$  'shirt',  $\ref{k}$  'trousers',  $\ref{k}$  'skirt',  $\ref{k}$  'robe ',  $\ref{k}$  'floorlength dress' etc. A similar situation is observed in the group "Nominations of transport" ( $\ref{k}$  'boat' (boat),  $\ref{k}$  'boat' (boat), etc.).

Among the semantic groups included in the material of our research (furniture, household items, stationery, musical instruments, working tools, accessories, parts of buildings, transport, weapons, sports equipment, parts of vehicles, etc.), the largest area of he nomination was made up of object names denoting working tools of various types (锤 'hammer', 钻 'drill', 锉 'file', 铲 'shovel', 锥 'awl', 锯 'saw' etc.). The most frequent motivating feature in the creation of the characters of the described group is the "material" from which this or that object was made. The most common determinative among the signs denoting work tools was the determinative 钅 'metal', which accounted for 35.9% of the nominations presented in this group. The determinative 竹 'bamboo' is the basis of 10.3% of the characters of this semantic group, 石 'stone' is less frequent (7.7%) etc. For example, 磁 'magnet' (stone), 錾 'chisel' (metal) etc.

The semantic group "Nominatons of household items" consists of objects names of dishes, appliances, means intended for cleaning and cleaning the house (杯 'cup', 桶 'bucket', 帚 'broom'), children's toys, textile products used to furnish a bed (被 'blanket', 垫 'lining', 枕 'pillow'), items designed to preserve other items or protect them from pollution and other negative effects (套 'case', 盒 'box', 盖 'lid'), bathroom and toilet accessories

that perform an auxiliary function (箔 'curtain') etc. As well as in the semantic group "Nominations of working tools", most of the characters are motivated by the attribute "material" (for example, 梳 'comb' (wood), 毯 'carpet' (wool), 筷 'sticks' (bamboo), 锁 'castle' (metal) etc.).

At the same time, the inclusion of a determinative (for example,  $\pi$  'wood') do not always testify to the motivation caused by being related to the material of manufacture of the object. The high semantic potential of each determinant of Chinese writing leads to the possibility of its functioning as a motivator of various features. In particular, for example, in the case of  $\pi$  'pillow', the etymological dictionary describes the history of the creation of the sign as follows: whose head is leaning against a tree.... The inclusion of the determinative  $\pi$  'tree' is thus motivated to the connection with the place of rest and the position of the body. The object  $\pi$  'tree' acts as the head localizer when a person is resting. The motivational sign "object" also determines the inclusion of complex multicomponent signs and other semantic components, in particular,  $\pi$  'fire,' which can be found, for example, in the hieroglyph  $\pi$  'lamp', where the associative line with fire as a light source is obvious.

The semantic group "Nominations of furniture" includes mobile or built-in objects of reality names, occupying a certain volume in space, necessary for furnishing residential and public premises, as well as other various areas of human stay (座 'armchair', 床 'bed', 臬 'table'). The most frequently used determinatives are + 'wood' and + 'metal', for example, 椅 'chair' (wood), 板 'board' (wood), 镜 'mirror' (metal ) etc.

The group "Nominations of musical instruments" included signs, the motivational feature for the creation of which was the "object" and "material of manufacture" (锣 'gong', 笛 'flute' etc.). Thus, the gong is a traditional ancient Chinese percussion musical instrument that belongs to metal idiophones and is made of the material close to bronze, it became the motivational basis for the presence of the determinative \( \xi \) 'metal' in this character. Similar example can be given with the character 笛 'flute', where the upper part of the sign is formed by the determinative 竹, which means "bamboo", indicates the material from which a typical Chinese flute is made. Some of the units are formed by using the determinative  $\square$  'mouth' (嘂 'ancient musical instrument, ocarina type', 器 'musical instrument', 叭 'trumpet'). Consequently, the relevance of the feature "object-source (producer) of sound" is reflected in the character nomination of wind instruments, while the sematic feature "material" is leading in the nomination of musical instruments that were historically made from a certain type of material, for example, 琴 'qin , the zither (a seven-stringed plucked musical instrument similar to a table harp' includes the determinative  $\pm$  'Jade'

in a reduplicated form which in ancient times reflected a certain type of harpsichord, which was usually made of jade stone. At the same time, according to one of the versions, the character was originally depicted pictographically as the guqin itself, when viewed from the side. The upper lines depicted strings, and the rounded lines depicted a resonant chamber, external similarity became the basis for the choice [Smirnov, 2019].

The semantic group "Nominationss of garments" includes characters denoting products or a set of products that protect the body from the negative effects of the environment and perform aesthetic functions. This semantic group is made up of outerwear (衫 'shirt', 袍 'robe'), headwear (帽 'hat', 罩 'cap'), hosiery (袜 'sock'), shoes (靴 'boots'). In addition to the names of clothing items, this group can also include the names of various adornments (镯 'bracelet', 圏 'ring', 箍 'hoop'), which belong to its periphery [Oleynik, 2001, p. 25]. It confirms the legitimacy of attributing the names of jewelry to items of clothing and the data of the "Russian Semantic Dictionary", in which the names of jewelry are located in the same section with the names of items of clothing [Shvedova, 1998].

The analysis of the character nominations of these objects showed that the most frequent determinative among the characters that make up the group "Nominations of clothing items" is the categorizing determinative ネ 'clothes', which is included in 39% of signs, for example: 裤 'trousers', 裙 'skirt', 袍 'robe' etc. Less frequent motivational feature "material" (22%) (扇 'fan' (feathers), 镯 'bracelet' (metal), 箍 'hoop' (metal), 帽 'hat' (fabric) etc.). The determinative 足 'leg' is included in the character 跟 'heel', which specifies a part of the shoes. At the same time, the holonym 鞋 'boots (shoes)' is formed graphically with the help of the determinative "skin", which indicates the non-correlation of the choice of the semantic component along the line of holo-meronymic relations.

The semantic group "Nominations of parts of buildings" combines the names of individual interconnected structural parts or elements of reality that have a specific purpose. First of all, the character 房 'building', which is above-ground buildings with premises for various activities, can be attributed here, further 墙 'wall', which serves as a fence between the premises from the outside space or separating them from other premises, 梯 'stairs', which serves to communicate between premises located on different floors. Other examples of nominations of parts of buildings can also serve as signs that included in the above mentioned group: 塔 'tower', 桥 'bridge', 泉 'fountain' [Oleynik, 2001]. 56% characters are based on such motivating feature as "material", which in 44% is represented by the determinative 木 'tree': 栅 'fence', 框 'frame', 梯 'ladder'. The motivational feature "material" can also be expressed by the determinants 钅 'metal' and

石 'stone' (see 钟 'bell' and 碑 'stele'). The least common determinative is 土 'land' (17%), for example, 塔 'tower', 堡 'fortress', 墙 'wall'.

Due to the panchrony of the Chinese signs [Aleksakhin, 2015], the historical features of the development of Chinese society can be traced in the graphics to the present, despite the reforms [Zavyalova, 2014]. This characteristic refers, first of all, to the nominations of the basic representations necessary for human life. So, for example, the considered semantic group includes B 'window', which consists of the determinative T 'cave' and the grapheme B 'hole', their combination literally means a skylight in a cave as a skylight in a house, which transmits light. Consequently, the object as a holonym of the class to which this sign can be assigned can also serve as a motivational basis for the graphic designations of parts of buildings in Chinese writing.

The semantic group "Nominations of transport" included units naming objects intended for the transportation (艇 'boat', 橇 'sleigh', 船 'boat'). In accordance with the peculiarities of the functioning of certain items, the names of which form this group, three subgroups can be distinguished in it: the nominations of air, land and water transport. The most common determinative in this semantic group is the categorizer 车 'cart (transport), which indicates the choice, first of all, of a categorical feature as a motivational basis for the signs of this group. Initially, the character 车 'cart (transport)' was depicted with a vertical line in the center, which displayed a shaft — one of two round poles fixed on the front axle of the carriage and connected to the arc that serve to harness the horse. Circles on both sides in the lower part pictograms are wheels; the horizontal one, passing through the wheels, is the axle, and the short horizontal protrusions at the end of each axle are checks — parts of the wagon that hold the wheels on the axle. The original meaning is a vehicle for movement on land on wheels [Sharavyova, 2020].

The main determinatives representing this group can also include the determinative 舟 'boat', which denotes water types of vehicles and, accordingly, is part of such characters as 艇 'boat', 船 'boat' etc. The units of this semantic groups can also contain determinative "material", but the percentage of indicators for this category will be much lower. The semantic group "Nominations of parts of vehicles" is represented by units that designate parts and accessories to vehicles: 舵 'rudder', 轮 'wheel', 帆 'sail', 锚 'anchor'. Motivating signs for the writing of these meronymic nominations are the holonymic objects 舟 'boat' and 车 'cart (transport)' or 'material' (see 锚 'anchor' (metal)).

A similar trend in the choice of a determinative-categorizer is also characteristic of the nominations of the semantic group "Phytonyms",

which included the names of objects of the real world that were created by nature itself without human intervention, mainly these are the names of the building components of plants and wildlife in general (树' tree' (tree), 茎 'stem' (grass), 葉 'leaf' (tree), etc.).

The semantic group "Nominations of weapons" includes the names of devices and objects that are structurally intended for attack or defense, for example, 剑 'sword', 刃 'blade', 箭 'arrow', etc. Most of the presented character nominations are motivated by the object, suggesting the presence of a sharp part that forms the basis of its function (剑 'sword' (knife)). At the same time, "material" can also act as a motivational feature, for example, 箭 'arrow' (bamboo).

The semantic group "Nominations of food products" was made up of objects naming products that in reality occupy a certain volume in space, having internal integrity, conservatism of form and correlation with the semantics of the number. These are, for example, such characters as 饼 'cake', 茄 'eggplant', 李 'plum', 蛋 'egg' and many others. A significant proportion of the designations of produced secondary products are motivated by a categorical feature and contain, respectively, the determinative 食 'food' in their writing (see 饼 'cake; pancake', 饽 'bun', 飴 'candy'). At the same time, individual designations can be motivated by other signs, for example, "material" (see cake 糕 (determinative "rice") or "object" (蛋 'egg' (animal)). It should be noted that character signs of fruits and vegetables, the original semantics of which is associated primarily with the need to nominate plant fruits, include determinatives representing holonyms of a partitive connection, for example, 茄 'egg-plant' (grass), 李 'plum' (tree), etc.

The semantic group "Nominations of writing objects" includes the names of products and accessories used for correspondence and paperwork, study, creativity, for example, 笔 'pen'. The traditional spelling of this character 筆 originally meant a brush made from animal hair and a bamboo stick. The upper part of the character is the determinative "bamboo" ( 竹); the lower part of the 聿 resembles a hand holding a bamboo pen. The creation of this hieroglyphic sign is motivated, therefore, by the material of manufacture of this writing object — wool and bamboo.

Character-nominations of sports equipment are units that include sports equipment, devices, mechanical and electronic means, the use of which is provided for by the rules of competition in certain sports, for example 棋' chess'. Motivational features, which are the basis for the graphic display of objects of this type, can be "material" (棋 'chess' (wood)) or "shape" (盔 'helmet' (pan)). Some of the designations are the result of semantic derivation (拍 'racquet', 球 'ball').

Due either to the specific features of the object or the historical characteristics of the object in some cases different motivational signs are chosen to designate one concept. For example, material and function. The nomination 皳 'ball' is interchangeable with another designation — 毬 'ball'. In this case, the determinants 皮 'skin' and 毛 'wool' are variable. According to Chinese lexicographic sources, 毬 refers to an ancient type of leather ball stuffed with wool, which was hit with a stick or kicked. The cognitive basis is the "material", but the representatives are different, on the one hand, 皮 'skin' — the external structure of the ball, is more general, since it can be filled inside with any substance, while 毛 'wool' characterizes a certain type of ball. A kind of hyper-hyponymic connection arises, where the choice of a determinative is made either by a general or a particular concept. Similar situation arises when considering the pair of signs 踘-鞠, where the determinatives 足 'foot' and 革 'skin' can be used in the graphics in the meaning of "ball". Therefore, the choice of a semantic component may be determined by the specifics of the named concept (a ball stuffed with wool; a ball made of leather) or its function, in which case the choice of the determinative is based on the knowledge of what the object is intended for and how to use it. On the other hand, the desire more accurately define the specific feature and indicate in the graph a more specific representation leads to similar nominations with other meanings, cf., for example, 骾 'bone stuck in the throat' (determinative 骨 'bone') and 鲠 'fish bone' (determinative 龟 'fish').

#### Conclusion

Thus, the choice of a determinative of complex character sign of the Chinese language with object semantics is determined by the relevance of the material as the most significant historically or functionally characteristic of the described representation of objects that are spatially limited, can be identified and counted. The evolution and development of the basic graphemes of Chinese writing at the same time determine the relevance of other motivational features (category, form, object), as well as their different frequency within different semantic groups of complex signs with object semantics. Since (as the material of the study showed) different determinatives can become "representatives" of one motivational feature, even in the field of nomination of the same representation, it can be concluded that the semantic components of complex signs of Chinese writing are not just indicators of the semantic area, but also become the means of conveying connotative evaluative shades of meaning, territorial and specific varieties, as well as historical features of certain concepts.

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## FUNCTIONAL MODELS OF ELEMENTARY DISCURSIVE UNITS IN RUSSIAN ESPORTS COMMENTARY

The paper is devoted to the issue of the local structure modeling of the eSports commentary spoken genre on an example of the Dota 2 computer discipline. ESports commentary is a spontaneous and creative speech aimed at describing of what is happening on the computer-gaming field. The main factors that force us to study it are the high popularity, the influencing nature of speech, as well as the lack of scientific attention. A theoretical and methodological framework of the study contains the elements of the structural and cognitivediscursive approaches in linguistics. The key research methods are language modeling, analysis of the local discourse structure in the cognitive perspective and quantitative analysis with regard to the corpus-based approach. The statistics were calculated for the sample with the total volume of 41 minutes and 30 seconds. The speeches belong to 14 Russian eSports commentators; they were delivered in 2017-2019. As a result, we have obtained a set of relevant patterns that represent characteristics of typical elementary discursive units (syntagmas) in the Dota 2 eSports commentary. These include a quick pronouncing, boundary pauses absence, frequent nuclear accent presence and embodiment of nouns and verbs. One part of the statistics represents general features of the Russian spoken discourse and human consciousness (e.g. the frequent use of absolute pauses); the other part correlate with a specificity of the situation in which the commentary is produced (e.g. the frequent use of short structures).

*Keywords*: eSports, commentary, Dota 2, language model, functional model, elementary discursive unit, spoken discourse.

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### ФУНКЦИОНАЛЬНЫЕ МОДЕЛИ ЭЛЕМЕНТАРНЫХ ДИСКУРСИВНЫХ ЕДИНИЦ В РУССКОЯЗЫЧНОМ КИБЕРСПОРТИВНОМ КОММЕНТАРИИ

Статья посвящена проблеме моделирования локальной структуры киберспортивного комментария на примере выступлений ведущих в сфере компьютерной дисциплины Дота 2. Киберспортивный комментарий представляет собой спонтанную и творческую речь, направленную на описание событий, происходящих на компьютерно-игровом поле. Основными факторами, вынуждающими нас обратиться к изучению данного жанра, являются его высокая популярность и степень воздействия на зрителя, а также малая изученность с лингвистической точки зрения. Теоретико-методологическая рамка исследования содержит элементы структурного и когнитивно-дискурсивного подходов в лингвистике. Основными методами являются языковое моделирование, анализ локальной структуры дискурса в когнитивной перспективе и количественный анализ в рамках корпусного подхода. Статистики были подсчитаны для выборки объемом 41 минута и 30 секунд; проанализированная речь принадлежит 14 киберспортивным ведущим, выступавшим в 2017-2019 годах. В результате анализа была получена совокупность паттернов, которые позволяют судить о характеристиках типичных элементарных дискурсивных единиц (синтагм) в киберспортивном комментарии. Эти характеристики включают: быстрое произнесение, отсутствие внешних пауз, частое появление несущих акцентов, существительных и глаголов. Одна часть статистик объясняется «нормой» русского устного дискурса и особенностями человеческого сознания (напр. частое использование абсолютных пауз в речи). Другая часть указывает на специфику сферы и ситуации, в которой производится рассматриваемый дискурс (напр. частое использование коротких структур).

*Ключевые слова*: киберспорт, комментарий, Дота 2, языковая модель, функциональная модель, элементарная дискурсивная единица, устный дискурс.

#### Introduction

The virtual environment and eSports have long been a part of many people's lives. Having begun to flourish more than twenty years ago, the field of eSports, and online eSports in particular, has got a rapid and serious development at the beginning of the XIX century becoming "...a fundamental element in today's digital youth culture" [Wagner, 2006, p. 437; Pankina, 2016, p. 34]. Within the eSports discourse, genres similar to those established in the sports field years ago, such as interview, news, official announcement, analytics and commentary, have come into being.

The profession of an *eSports commentator* (*caster*) is one of the most crucial types of activity within the eSports community. Casters' participation at the tournament broadcasts primarily contribute to attracting the viewers and keeping them at the screen. As Randhawa (2015) truly notices, "all together, professional gamers, audience members, and commentators present a dynamic understanding to video games as a performative medium" [p. 16]. In this plain triad, commentators perform a mediation role: they deliver information emerging from gamers' actions on the computer-playing field to the viewer. Although the informing function is the most significant, we should acknowledge that commenting is something more than just dry game facts enumeration. Indeed, we should not forget

about such tasks as audience entertainment, self-presentation and image development [Sukhodimtseva & Sukhodimtsev, 2016; Li et al., 2020]. In this way, the aspect under the focus in the current paper is commentators' language as a tool for delivering game facts, for evoking emotions in the viewer and bringing fame for the community members.

Notably, what makes the eSports commentary *relevant* for studying is not only its special functionality, but the discursive space and the conditions in which it is produced. Combining sports and gaming terminology, the features of monologue and dialogue speech, *eSports commentary* represents a swiftly-generated, unprepared and creative spoken discourse constrained by media-community norms [Mikulinskiy, 2020, p. 95–96; Himik, p. 461]. These factors both expand the range of scientific studies to be conducted on the casters' speech material and increase the applicability of results. In this research, however, we limit ourselves to answering *the following question*: when Russian eSports commentators strive to stay within the genre, to fulfill their professional duties and not to fall short under the influence of conditions, what specific discursive structures do they primarily rely on? By saying "specific discursive structures" in this context, we are referring to quite concrete phenomena: elementary discursive units and their constituents.

Elementary discursive units (hereinafter, EDUs), which in some linguistic theories are also referred to as "syntagmas", are elementary building blocks of the genre. Given the fact that any discourse can be regarded from the global and local perspectives, our focus falls on the local (inner) structure of the eSports commentary, the elements of which are EDUs in different forms and relations [Carlson et al., 2003, p. 86; Kibrik, 2003, p. 35]. Since EDUs are very diverse in their organization and semantics, the only adequate way to represent and study them seems to be through modeling. Thus, the aim of the study can be formulated as follows: using the functional model of the local structure of the Russian eSports commentary, to identify the EDUs characterized by the greatest relevance, and make assumptions about their functional load in the genre under consideration.

The stated aim implies performing *the following objectives*: 1) to define the philosophy of the study and outline its theoretical and methodological framework; 2) to select, collect, transcribe and annotate the material of the study, the oral speech of Dota 2 eSports commentators; 3) to create and describe related aspects of models of the eSports commentary local discourse structure; 4) to perform a quantitative analysis of the EDU *patterns* (submodels) in the material; 5) for the most frequent patterns, make assumptions about the role that they play in the current genre.

Dota 2 has been chosen as a **computer discipline** on the example of which the current research is conducted, and the reason for this choice can be justified. First consideration is the high online and popularity of the game, the data on which can be found on the Steam website (https://steamcharts.com/app/570). Secondly, the Dota 2 professional and fan communities, including Russian commentators> circle, are highly developed, whereas access to official tournaments and various international competitions is free. This simplifies the procedures for material search and selection.

#### Methods and material

The material of the study is 41 minutes and 30.17 seconds of oral speech that belongs to 14 Russian Dota 2 commentators who performed during 9 eSports official tournaments conducted from 2016 to 2019. Such a period was chosen due to the fact that the game has undergone significant changes before 2016 and after 2019, and it could affect the commentary structure. The audio recordings were derived from the competitions broadcasts available at YouTube.com website. The material, thus, contains 14962 tokens distributed by 1819 EDUs.

It should be noted that the described sample is just a step on a way to the broader goal: the creation of the *Russian eSports commentary spoken corpus* (*RECSC*). The term "corpus" is designed to emphasize that the sample is not a simple collection of the graphically registered audio recordings. Its compilation is subject to the principles of representativeness, balance, homogeneity, electronic representation and presence of annotation (including the designations for transcription). And since a number of these principles are not observed for the material of the current study, the existing sample cannot be called a corpus so far. The table 1 below contains the information on the comparison of the research material ("observed") with a future corpus sample ("required"), on the basis of which more reliable conclusions could be drawn.

As you can see from the table, the relative representativeness, balance and homogeneity of the sample come speech selection with regard to three key criteria: number of interlocutors (C1; single vs. pair performances), speech belonging (C2; the commentators) and game event type (C3; active vs. passive events). For the C1, the shares of 25% and 75% were established based on the analysis of 100 random video recordings of the Ruhub YouTube channel for 2018: about three quarters of the recordings turned out to be paired performances. The establishment of equal shares for the individual casters (C2) is connected with the assumption that syntactic

Table 1. Data on the current research sample and its required state

Principle	Criteria/Type	Description		
Volume sufficiency	-	Required: ~100 min. of speech, ~25.000 tokens; ~4000 EDUs Observed: ~41 min. of speech; 14962 tokens; 1819 EDUs		
	Interlocutors number (C1)	Required: ≈25% on single and ≈75% on pair performances Observed: 21.4% vs. 78.6%		
Representativeness, balance & homogeneity	Speech belonging (C2)	Required: equal shares for each caster in the sample Observed: for 11 casters, the shares are approximately equal, with maximum deviation of 30 seconds. For 3 casters, there is a strong deviation of 3 minutes or more.		
	Game event type (C3)	Required: equal shares for active and passive events Observed: 48.4% vs. 51.6%		
Representation	-	Wrapped in XML tags, access is carried out through a Python program		
	Metadata	Displays data on corpus, on its subsections, on tournaments and on audio segments		
Presence of annotation	Transcriptional annotation	Displays 25 discursive phenomena		
	Morphosemantic annotation	Displays verbals, tokens, lemmas, part-of-speeches, multi token words, part-of-speeches and lemmas of multi token words.		

and semantic characteristics of commentary seem to greatly vary from one person to another. And finally, various game situations (C3) also have a serious impact on the discourse production. The game recordings, due to their great length, cannot be entirely put into the sample; however, the in-game events variety should certainly be taken into account. Thus, aiming to classify game events, we have divided them into *active* ones (chases, battles and attacks) and *passive* ones (all other points, for example, gold farming). Due to the impossibility of adequate calculation, their shares were also set equal.

The sample is also accompanied by the annotation, which acts as the most general functional model within the study. It includes three types: metadata, transcriptional data and morphosemantic annotation. The last two act as submodels. For now it is enough to specify that a number of phenomena are displayed in each type, and some of them form the EDU patterns, which are the subject of our attention.

A theoretical and methodological framework of the study contains the elements of the structural and cognitive-discursive approaches in linguistics. Using the term "(functional) language model", we primarily refer to the works by Apresjan (1966), Baranov (2001) and Kravtsova (2014), whose ideas partly date back to the classical descriptivists and functionalists' proceedings. Our view on the notions of discourse, EDUs and discursive transcription is fully consistent with Kibrik's (2003) understanding that is based, in particular, on proceedings by Chafe (1994), Levelt (1993), Du Bois (1992), Du Bois et al. (1993) and Carlson, Marcu and Okurowski (2003). The annotation was approached through the lens of studies by McEnery and Hardie (2012), Garside, Leech and McEnery (2013) and Kuebler and Heike (2018).

Selection of the material consisted in stratified random sampling. With respect to the C1 and C2 (see the table 1 above), we created a list of casters whose speech needs to be sampled. Then we randomly chose the video records that contain their single and pair performances from YouTube.com. And finally, aiming to meet the C3, we extracted audio segments with commentators' speech during active and passive events with respect to the volume. When extracting the recordings, "Sound Forge 9.0" program was applied for their adequate processing.

Working with the material, namely its transcription, annotation and patterns counting, was performed with a variety of methods and methodics. The main place among them is occupied by an analysis of the local discourse structure in the cognitive perspective developed and described by Kibrik, Podlesskaya and their colleagues (2009). This method, being complex, assumes the application of other methodics such as expert assessment of pitch frequency and tone directions, determining the pauses duration and types, linguistic units semantic load analysis, introspection and many others, including general scientific methods, e.g. comparison and classification. The result of its application was discretely reflected speech in the form of EDU sequences. Further, the transcribed material was wrapped into the XML annotation by means of the Python programming language. This included automatic part-of-speech tagging with subsequent manual processing (correction of the errors in tags assignment via the dictionary method). Lastly, following the corpus-based study philosophy, a calcula-

tion of relative frequencies and *n-gram analysis* were performed to determine the degree of relevance of the EDU patterns. When working with the material, we also used a number of programs and electronic resources: Sound Forge 9.0, Notepad++, Speech Analyzer 3.0.1 and Google colab.

#### Literature Review

The theoretical and methodological framework of the research contains four general aspects: eSports studies; language modeling; discourse analysis and discursive transcription; and sample annotation. Let us consider the prerequisites, notions and methods of each aspect, around which the study is built and which determine the gap formed.

- 1) ESports: issue field & the gap. While in the foreign scientific literature scientific interest in eSports began to arise in the first decade of the 20th century [cf. Wagner, 2006], in Russia, apparently, humanities became interested in this phenomenon much later. Following Boguslavskaya et al. (2018), we understand *eSports* as a competitive video gaming in the virtual environment [p. 104]. As games vary, eSports studies are typically bound to specific team disciplines (e.g. Dota 2). Each discipline has its own media community responsible for the event coverage, and eSports commentators are its integral part [Boguslavskaya et al., 2018; Sukhodimtsev & Sukhodimtseva, 2016]. Both foreign and Russian literature touch on the topic of eSports casters' activity, cf. work by Kempe-Cook, Sher and Su (2019) that describes casters' practices; study by Sukhodimtsev (2016) where the relevance of eSports among the youth seems to be confirmed; work by Hamari and Sjöblom (2017) that investigates motivations of eSports watching, etc. Linguistic and discursive aspects of the eSports commentary, however, seem to be rarely touched [cf. Zaripov, 2016]. What is more, apparently, no scholar addressed eSports commentary from the cognitive-discursive perspective and researched its production and local level structure. Given the relevance of such a study outlined in the introduction, we have just stated about its *scientific novelty*.
- 2) Language modeling. Modeling is a method that consists in replacing the original with a model in order to study the former through the latter. Yartseva et al. (1998) and Apresjan (1966) define *language model* as an artificially constructed device, tangible or intangible, which purpose is to simplistically imitate the behaviour of language, as it is not directly observable. For any language model, the following is true: 1) it is an ideal object that transmits *the most significant* (for the researcher) *structural* and *functional* properties of language; 2) the language model in itself, therefore, is *formal* and *functional*; 3) it has *predicative* and *explanatory*

nature; 4) language models can be used for studying *discourse production* [Apresjan, 1996, p. 79–80; Baranov, 2001, p. 6–7; Kravtsova, 2014; Kibrik & Podlesskaya, 2007, p. 31].

The proceedings by Apresjan (1966) and Yartseva et al. (1998) represent the classification of language models that seems to be generally acceptable. However, we are interested in a specific type: *a model of analysis*. This type of language model falls into the category of *functional models* that are able to correlate the form and the content of linguistic units; it represents a "finite number of rules for an infinite number of sentences analysis" [Apresjan, 1966, p. 106; our translation, A.D.]. According to Revzin (1977), such a model is designed to output syntactic and morphological categories that the constituents belong to. Earlier Apresyan (1966) suggested dividing language models into *syntactic* and *semantic* based on kinds of output records: structural vs. semantic.

3) **Discourse analysis and discursive transcription**. *Discourse analysis* as an autonomous branch of linguistics was established at the end of the XX century. Currently, there is a large variety of approaches to discourse investigation. Following Kibrik (2003), the paper focuses on the *functional-cognitive approach* to discourse understanding where the speaker's perspective (speech production) is taken as a basis. Let us briefly list the main ideas that we adhere to.

In Kibrik (2003), *discourse* is understood as the unity of communication as a procedure of knowledge exchange and text produced in the process of it [p. 4]. Van Dijk and Kintsch (1983) notice that discourse as a complex phenomenon has two sides or forms: global and local. At the local level that interests us most, discourse is represented in the form of sequentially generated quanta or elementary discursive units [Kibrik 2003, p. 35]. With regard to Chafe's (1994) cognitive view, EDU reflects the focus of speaker's consciousness and carries rheme. From the position of Austin's Speech Act theory (1963), sequences of EDUs form speech acts (*sentences*). Their flowing is needed for communicative intentions realization [Kibrik & Podlesskaya, 2009, p. 95].

According to Du Bois (1992), discursive transcription is a procedure that implies theoretical comprehension of a discourse flow including the selection of phenomena for displaying. Apart of prosodic characteristics of speech, discursive transcription reflects other language aspects such as grammar and semantics, as well as situational, extralinguistic information [p. 73–74]. Thirteen years ago, Kibrik and his colleagues developed a cognitive-discursive transcription system, a set of related rules and principles for discrete reflection of Russian spoken discourse [namely, Kibrik & Podlesskaya, 2009]. The groundwork of this system is particularly repre-

sented by the proceedings by Austin (1963), Van Dijk and Kintsch (1983), Mann and Thompson (1988), Chafe (1994), Du Bois (1992), Du Bois et al. (1993), Levelt (1993), Tomlin et al. (1997) and Kibrik (2003). Their system is designed to reconstruct speaker's cognitive processes and operates with a number of special notations. These include "accent" (prosodic emphasis), "nuclear accent" (stressing the syllable of a word that carries information important at the current step of production); "accent tone direction" (tone behavior within accents), "pause" (a period of silence (absolute p.) or hesitation (filled p.) at the border of an EDU (outer p.) or inside it (inner p.)); "illocution" (the communicative purpose) and many other [p. 65-94]. In a sounding speech flow, EDUs are distinguished with accordance to a set of criteria. Kibrik and Podlesskaya (2007) suggest seven of them, but in the current research we will be focusing on the two particular: a) presence of a pause on an EDU border; b) presence of a nuclear accent inside an EDU [p. 57-60].

4) Sample annotation. Many books and manuals on corpus linguistics consider the issue of sample annotation. In the paper, the term "annotation" is understood as linguistic and extralinguistic data about the (corpus) sample, its parts and smaller units displayed in the form of tags [McEnery and Hardie, 2012, p. 29; Garside, Leech & McEnery, 2013, p. 2]. To annotate/encode means to add such information into the sample. Garside, Leech and McEnery (2013) notice that annotation should be performed according to a list of certain principles: a) verbal (raw) component should be easily separated from annotations; b) annotation should include metadata; c) the basis of annotation should be a well-established theory [p. 6-7]. Dealing with spoken discourse implies drawing the line between transcription and prosodic annotation. O'Keefe and McCarthy (2012) see this difference in the abstraction degree; annotation deals with data interpretation, while transcription is both about verbal-prosodic representation and interpretation of data; transcription always precedes annotation [see also Garside, Leech & McEnery, p. 2]. Linguistic annotation (assignment of tags to linguistic units) can be performed at any level including discourse, e.g. part-of-speech (PoS) annotation simultaneously relates to morphology and semantics (and, in a sense, syntax).

#### **Results**

It was previously noticed that transcription and morphosemantic annotation act as the most general and complex models within the study. The model of discursive transcription represents an adapted system developed by Kibrik and Podlesskaya (2007). As it displays twenty five phenomena of

different nature, we are going to abstract from the system as a whole and concentrate on its particular aspects that will help us to construct an image of the most typical (hence, relevant) EDU in the eSports commentary. Namely, these aspects are as follows: duration of EDUs, pauses, accents and nuclear accents, tone directions and illocutive meanings. Similarly, as morphosemantic annotation model contains PoSes of words (including multi-token ones) together with their lemmas, we will only focus on PoSes. Let us elaborate on transcriptional data.

The sample incorporates **1819 EDUs** and an average length of an EDU equals to **4.1 tokens**, whereas its duration is **1.26 seconds**. About 99.1 % of EDUs contain verbal components (i.e. words). There are **989 pauses** in the material; 69 % of them (683) are outer pauses; the rest 31 % (306) are inner ones. By dividing the number of outer pauses (683) by the number of EDU boundaries (1701), we get that pauses are present between 40.01 % of EDUs. In average, regardless of its type, a pause lasts **0.324 ms**. About 84.7 % (838) of the pauses are absolute or respiratory. Inner pauses turned out to be respiratory in 74 % of cases; outer ones are respiratory in 74 % of instances. Filled and mixed pauses, being very rare, occur in 7.1 % and 8.1 % of cases correspondingly. Interestingly, they are distributed between outer and inner pauses in a very different manner: filled and mixed pauses have a tendency to occur inside EDUs (distribution is 4.3 % and 6.3 % for outer; 14 % and 11 % for inner). The outlined statistics are briefly summarized in the table 2 below.

Table 2. Data on EDUs and pauses

EDU length (avg)	4.1 tokens, 1.26 seconds						
EDU boundaries	present in 40.01 %; absent in 59.99 %						
D CIII	Pause location						
Pause filling	Outer	Inner	Total				
Respiratory/Absolute	89.3 %	74 %	84.7 %				
Filled	4.3 %	14%	7.1 %				
Mixed	6.3 %	11%	8.1 %				

Now we are going to consider the issue of accents. There are 2439 accents in the material; 1814 of them are nuclear. Nuclear accent is present in 1672 EDUs (92%), the rest of EDUs either contain several nuclear accents (3%) or do not contain any (5%). This may happen, for example, due to false starts or prosodic merging. With the help of special denotations and programs, we have modeled the location of the nuclear accent

in an EDU; the result of this procedure is presented in the table 3 below. In the scheme, 'C' stands for a so-called "common part", i.e. part without nuclear accents, whereas 'N' stands for a token with the nuclear accent. It can be observed that the nuclear accent gravitates towards the end of an EDU ('CN' and 'N' structures together occur in almost 80 % of cases). In 10.5 % of cases, the nuclear accent is located in the middle (between "common parts"). Other structures such as one with nuclear accent preposition ('NC') appear even rarer. Table 3 also contains several examples of EDUs that match the modeled structures.

Table 3. Probabilistic model of nuclear accents location in EDUs

Pattern	'CN'	'CNC'	'N'	,C,	'NC'	'CNCN'	Other, e. g. 'NCNC', 'NNN', 'CNCNCN'
Freq-cy	1264	191	186	80	36	26	38 in total
%	(69.5%)	(10.5%)	(10.3 %)	(4.4%)	(1.9%)	(1.4%)	each <1 %
Example (Rus.)	Потенциал \ <u>е</u> сть,	их /\мн <u>о</u> го довольно,	∖∂ <u>a</u> ,	То <u>есть</u> ==	\пр <u>я</u> мо / скажем.		
(Eng.)	Potential \ <u>e</u> xists,	them /\ m <u>a</u> ny rather,	\ <u>ye</u> s,	Namely ==	\dir <u>e</u> ctly /saying.		

According to quantitative data on the directions of tones in accents presented in the table 4, eSports casters predominantly operate with *simple tones* such as "/" (rising) and "\" (descending). Pure rising and descending tones take place approximately in 84% of both nuclear and other accents. Among other frequent tone directions, there are allophones of a rising tone: "/\" (rising-descending; almost 10% of any accents) and "-" (straight; almost 4% of any accents). These allophones are typically used when enumerating changing game events. As for descending tones, their "substitutes" such as "\/" (descending-rising) can be considered exotic, as well as all other tone directions in EDUs within the sample.

Situation with the illocutive meanings that EDUs sequences bear in the eSports commentary is simple and quite predictable: **96**% of speech acts are *statements*. Exclamations and questions almost entirely share the remaining 4%; all other illocutions (including directives and complex illocutive meanings) seem to appear with a probability less than 1%.

Table 4. Statistics on tone directions

Tone type	/ (rise)	\ (descent)	/\ (rise- descent)	- (straight)	\/ (descent- rise)	Other, e. g. \-, /-
Frequency (nuclear accent)	891	630	176	73	16	22 in total
Frequency (any accent)	1215	845	241	95	18	25 in total

Now let us briefly describe the basis of the part-of-speech annotation *model*. PoS tags that constitute it were taken from three separate systems: a) Universal Dependencies Treebank (ADJ — adjective; ADP — preposition; ADV — adverb; AUX — auxiliary word; CCONJ — coordinating conjunction; SCONJ — subordinating conjunction/allied word; INTJ interjection; NOUN — common noun; PROPN — proper noun; VERB verb or infinitive; NUM — quantitative number/word; PART — particle or discursive marker; PRON — pronoun); b) pymorphy2 Python library (PRT — participle; GRND — adverbial participle; COMP — comparative, PRED — predicative word) and c) discursive transcription system (tags were suggested by us; NF — broken lexeme; UNK — illegible fragment). The necessity to combine these tags into one system is driven by the facts that: 1) rare forms for Russian spoken discourse (e.g. adverbial participles) bring certain meaning and are worth being specified; 2) words with unknown PoSes cannot be omitted due to the objectivity principle. As a result of the morphosemantic annotation procedure, all words in the sample (including multi-token ones such as κακ pa3, eng. just) got their PoS tags. Then followed the calculation of relative frequencies for the patterns from three functional submodels of PoS model: unigrams, bigrams and EDU structures. The output was quantitative data that gives an idea of the morphological, semantic and syntactic nature of the structures frequently used by eSports casters.

Statistics on *unigram patterns* in the eSports commentary can be found in table 5 below. In brief, it illustrates the picture with the prevailing core part-of-speeches, (proper) nouns  $(20\,\%+5.1\,\%)$  and verbs  $(17.2\,\%)$ , typically forming nominative and predicative EDUs. Among auxiliary part-of-speeches, as we can see, particles & discursive markers  $(12.3\,\%)$  and prepositions  $(8.4\,\%)$  are the most numerous. Adverbs and adjectives, respectively, share  $10.7\,\%$  and  $6\,\%$ .

Table 5. Unigram PoS patterns

NOUN	VERB	PART	ADV	ADP	PRON	ADJ	CCONJ	PROPN	SCONJ
20 %	17.2 %	12.3 %	10.7%	8.4 %	7.2 %	6%	5.2 %	5.1 %	2.3 %
PRED	NUM	NF	AUX	INTJ	UNK	COMP		PRT	GRND
1.9%	1.4%	0.6%	0.6%	0.4 %	0.2 %	0.2 %		0.1 %	0.1 %

With respect to *bigram part-of-speech patterns*, it was decided to take four most frequent structures for an illustration. They are presented below (examples are in square brackets):

Preposition + Noun, 363 occurrences. Example: Попытка выйти [в \спину], (Attempt to enter [from \rear],);

Verb+Noun, 265 occurrences. Example: [/Продолжают греки] убивать /курьеров, ([Continue Greeks] to\_kill /couriers);

Adjective + Noun, 256 occurrences. Example: [невероятная игра]  $\cdot \cdot (0.4)$  от /\обоих \игроков. ([unreal game]  $\cdot \cdot (0.4)$  from /\oboth \players);

Particle/discursive marker + Noun, 205 occurrences. Example: следом [правда /\омнинайт,] (next [really /\omniknight,]).

And finally, four the most frequent *part-of-speech patterns of the EDUs* in the eSports commentary are the following:

Participle/discursive marker, 69 occurrences. Example:  $\delta a$ , (\yes,);

Noun, 68 occurrences. Example: \Дифуза, (\Diffusal,);

Verb + Noun, 54 occurrences. Example: Прыгнул \кентавр, (Jumped \centaur,);

Noun + Verb, 36 occurrences. Example: apd/cmoum, (ward/dwells,).

#### Discussion

Having represented the quantitative and qualitative data on the typical structural and semantic characteristics of EDUs in the eSports commentary, on the typical patterns within the genre, now it is time to comprehend and interpret the obtained results. There are two assumed sources of explanation: extralinguistic context (situation) and consciousness specificity.

1. The first group of phenomena includes ones that can be interpreted with appeal to Dota 2 commentators necessity *to speak in a fast pace* and do it *almost constantly without any preparation*. Dota 2 is a game where events can change dramatically within a few seconds, and commentators should be able to keep up when covering them in live. They simply do not have a right to keep silence for too long, as there is audience waiting for the

emotions expressing and explanations of what is happening. Apparently, it results in deviations from the norm of the Russian spoken discourse shown in Kibrik and Podlesskaya (2009): average EDUs are pronounced faster (1.26 s. for the commentary vs. 1.85 s. for the common discourse); pauses shift from the EDU boundaries inwards (40.01 % boundary pauses for the commentary vs. 62.7 % for the common discourse); during tense game moments everything except nouns (à objects) and verbs (à actions) is omitted for time saving; the most frequent EDUs patterns are very short (participles, nouns), etc.

2. The second group contains phenomena that correspond to the norm and seem to reflect the most general *properties of human consciousness*. Whereas the speech apparatus can be trained, consciousness limits the volume of information that can be simultaneously kept active and requires time for switching between frame slots [Chafe, 1996]. Therefore, commentators resort to various pauses usage in almost similar way as children in Kibrik and Podlesskaya's (2009) study: both in casters' and children's speech absolute pauses occur in 84.5 % of cases, while filled and mixed pauses more often take place inside EDUs; discursive markers (particles) are often used for taking time to think. Nuclear accents are typically held (92%) in order to denote the purpose of the current discursive step and focus audience's attention on the most significant aspects of the narrative. At the same time, accents gravitate towards postposition (which is typical for Russian spoken discourse), whereas tone directions in them are usually simple.

#### Conclusion

Summing up everything that has been said, through addressing functional language modeling and eSports sphere characteristics, the ideas of cognitive-discursive, structural and corpus linguistics, we managed to identify of the most relevant EDU patterns in the eSports commentary and to make certain assumptions about their role in the genre. Thus, with a high probability of more than 50 %, a random elementary discursive unit in the eSports commentators' speech: 1) is quickly pronounced; 2) is not separated from another EDU with an outer pause; 3) if contains a pause, it is short and absolute/respiratory; 4) embeds the nuclear accent with a simple tone direction in a postposition; 5) contains nouns and verbs. It is not, however, required that a typical EDU contains more than one such characteristic with a chance of 50 %; therefore, their dependencies should be studied in more detail.

The explanation for these and other results presented in the paper is assumed to consist in the extralinguistic factors, i.e. situation in which

commentators produce their speech, and human consciousness features. From the one side, the need to speak constantly and specificity of Dota 2 discipline require that eSports casters use their speaking skills at the maximum level. From the other side, human consciousness that controls language use limits commentators capacities, forces them to resort to pauses and discursive markers. Aiming to keep up with such conditions and to achieve their professional goals, they train to use short and informative structures in their speech and strive not to load these structures with redundant elements. The latter, however, does not always work out.

Lastly, we would like to note that the findings are subject to an important constraint. Namely, the research sample is not fully representative and balanced, as its compilation is in process. When using the presented statistics in other research, e.g. in a more thorough investigation of the eSports commentary production, this fact should be taken into consideration.

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# TRANSLATOLOGICAL ASPECTOF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL ARCHETYPE AS A TOOL TO IMAGE BUSINESS POLICY OF REGIONAL TOURISM

Object of the study is focused on the identification of the socio-cultural archetypes as a fundamental component of the image policy of the Rostov region on the texts of excursions. Research methods provide a synergetic approach and include hypothetical-deductive method, the comparative method, the descriptive method, the method of translation analysis, the method of contextual analysis, as well as the case method, the method of "brainstorming". In our study, the evolution of interdisciplinary research allowed us to verify specific directions of studying the concept of "branding" of the region: firstly, from a tourist perspective, secondly, taking into consideration the convergent context of cultural genotype phenomena and archetypes, and thirdly, basing on the fundamental paradigm of knowledge of anthropocentric linguistics. In the course of the analysis, two groups of students studying Chinese and Arabic focused on the intensification of certain research trajectories on the basis of historical texts about the Rostov region. In the course of the study, we identified five main research trajectories including historical, geographical, geopolitical, industrial and modernist images which are characterized by using specific socio-cultural archetypes. The task of the guide-interpreter was to prepare the texts of the excursions, taking into account the contiguous identity and proximity of the socio-cultural archetypes of nations, so that the text would thereby reveal for the recipient (tourist) a high index of cultural and genetic involvement, a natural coefficient of accessibility and acceptance of the brand book text. The final product of the study was the writing of a brandbook for the Rostov region, aimed at Chinese and Arab tourists.

*Keywords*: archetype, tourism, branding, translation, guide-interpreter, travel brand book.

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#### ТРАНСЛАТОЛОГИЧЕСКИЙ АСПЕКТ СОЦИОКУЛЬТУРНОГО АРХЕТИПА КАК ИНСТРУМЕНТ ИМИДЖЕВОЙ ДЕЛОВОЙ ПОЛИТИКИ РЕГИОНАЛЬНОГО ТУРИЗМА

Объект исследования сосредоточен на выявлении социокультурных архетипов как фундаментальной составляющей имиджевой политики

Ростовской области в текстах экскурсий. Методы исследования предусматривают синергетический подход и включают в себя гипотетикодедуктивный метод, сравнительный метод, описательный метод, метод переводческого анализа, метод контекстуального анализа, а также кейс-метод, метод «мозгового штурма». В нашем исследовании эволюция междисциплинарных исследований позволила верифицировать конкретные направления изучения понятия «брендинг» региона: вопервых, с туристической точки зрения, во-вторых, с учетом конвергентного контекста культурных генотипических явлений и архетипов, а также, в-третьих, опираясь на фундаментальную парадигму познания антропоцентрической лингвистики. В ходе анализа две группы студентов, изучающих китайский и арабский языки, акцентировали внимание на активизации определенных исследовательских траекторий на основе исторических текстов о Ростовской области. В ходе исследования мы выделили пять основных исследовательских траекторий, включающих исторические, географические, геополитические, индустриальные и модернистские образы, для которых характерно использование специфических социокультурных архетипов. Задача гида-переводчика состояла в том, чтобы подготовить тексты экскурсий с учетом смежной идентичности и близости социокультурных архетипов народов, чтобы текст тем самым выявлял для реципиента (туриста) высокий индекс культурногенетической вовлеченности, естественный коэффициент доступности текста брендбука. Конечным продуктом исследования стало написание брендбука Ростовской области, ориентированного на китайских и арабских туристов.

*Ключевые слова:* архетип, туризм, брендинг, перевод, гид-переводчик, туристический брендбук.

#### Introduction

In the modern world there is a considerable competition among cities and regions in their willingness to attract as many tourists and investors as possible. The priority direction in the development of the territorial subjects is the development of regional marketing and the formation of a high-quality territorial brand, which ensures the flow of tourists and investments in the effective development and realization of the potential of the city and the region. The issue of training professional employees capable of promoting successful programs is relevant. It is essential to note the significant role of a guide-interpreter in the complex diorama of the tourist potential of the region. The guide-interpreter needs to demonstrate highly qualified competencies of a linguist, a guide, a historian, a cultural critic, a psychologist, as well as a manager, i. e. to apply certain knowledge and management skills in the organization of tourist activities. The guide-interpreter is to know the region and understand the text at the

level of regional consciousness, have linguistic education, extralinguistic and interdisciplinary knowledge, which together help him to develop a competent strategy for successful branding of the region.

#### Discussion

The interdisciplinarity of research has become a key aspect in our project, organizing the projected transformation of the institutional structure of modern science. The innovative and reflexive environment of studying society, the active search for the fundamental principles of human existence, the critical understanding of conceptual anthropological theories integrate the experience and efforts of diverse disciplinary knowledge, stimulate the search for a common and understandable language for solving a given problem.

In modern linguistics, the topic of interdisciplinarity manifests itself constructively in the integration of knowledge and synthesis of the experience of such sciences as psychology, sociology, history, philosophy, cultural studies, neurobiology, effectively and extensively recoding the meanings of the processes of the latest intercultural communication, focused on language learning in order to cognize the native speaker himself, models of the formation of his thinking and mental schemes of attitude and behavior [Ashurova, 2021, pp. 306–308]. In our study, the evolution of interdisciplinary research allows us to verify specific trajectories of studying the concept of "branding" of the region. Firstly, we consider this concept from a tourist perspective (business trajectory), secondly, our priority trajectory is the convergent context of cultural genotype phenomena and archetypes in the aspect of translatology, thirdly, we rely on the fundamental methodology and paradigm of knowledge of modern anthropocentric linguistics.

Let's turn to the concept of "archetype" and its main characteristics in the focus of modern scientific directions. The concept of "archetype" includes common, original universal motives and images, meanings and meanings that are generally significant for the history of culture, psychophysiological features common to all people [Roesler, 2012, p.226]. According to K. G. According to Jung, the "archetype" is an inherited mental structure that pushes us to experience and carry out life experiences in a certain way. An archetype is a way of psychically comprehending an object. This structure influences people's thoughts, actions and feelings. The scientist emphasized that "the surface layer of the unconscious is personal" [Jung, 201, p.203].

The personal layer is constructed on the "collective unconscious". This layer is characterized by innateness and is determined by social behavior.

The "collective unconscious" consists of mental patterns of behavior that are inherent in all individuals and form a single basis for the mental life of each representative of the ethno-culture [Shelburne, 1976, pp. 20–21]. The process of selecting the target chain of mental schema images is created and built up in memory in the process of sensory perception of meta-perceptions of reality, determined by archetypal models and conceptual images. Archetypal structures have an unconscious influence on human judgments, creativity and actions. The archetype has a universal character regardless of place and time and is the basis of cultural and historical processes, a special form of which is created by mentality [Jung, 201, p. 203].

In modern cultural studies, the cultural archetype is of particular importance. The cultural archetype is archaic cultural prototypes, normative and holistic orientations that are models for people's lives and have retained their significance through centuries of history for modern culture [Kononenko, 2003, p. 48]. This archetype has the nature of symbolism and is realized in the value-semantic direction. The cultural archetype is stable and not realized, it is found in all areas of human activity, including in everyday life. This structure forms fantasies and is the source of fairy tales, customs and myths. Cultural archetypes are a fundamental criterion for the formation of a worldview, stereotypes and artistic activity. They establish not only the past and present culture, but also the future. If cultural archetypes are destroyed or filled with components of someone else's culture, then the cultural system becomes incapable of preservation and reproduction [Gaidenko, 1990, p. 23].

Cultural archetypes, creating unchanging models of life, are divided into two types: universal and ethnic. Universal cultural archetypes reflect the general fundamental structure of human existence. These archetypes preserve and reproduce the collective experience and ensure the unified development of society. Ethnic cultural archetypes represent the primary characteristic features of an ethnos as a cultural unity. Each nation has its own special ethno-cultural archetypes, which establish the characteristics of the character, worldview and creativity of people [Bulgakov, 1993, 54]. This type of archetypes is formed at the level of the ethnoculture of mankind when classifying the experience of a nation.

The socio-cultural component is an important component in the design of the branding of regional tourism, therefore, in our case, a socio-cultural metric is considered, which, in the conditions of the historical development of society and the interaction of different peoples, reveals its convergence of ethnocultures.

For the successful functioning of tourist branding, it is necessary to carefully study the cultural archetype of a particular people for the correct

formulation of motivations and adequate organization of tourist attractions. For each nation, its culture is of paramount importance, since it is understandable to native speakers and is something native and, in most cases, beloved for them. A collision with incomprehensible and unusual customs, traditions, cultural events and phenomena of another region often causes misunderstanding, rejection and, as a result, leaves an unfavorable impression of the city or region than expected by the host party [Ovodova, 2019, p. 119]. To avoid or reduce the percentage of probability of such situations, it is necessary to study and compare their cultural archetype with the archetype of the people among whom they will fall, in this case, the Russian.

The task of the guide-interpreter is to find common points of contact between the two cultures and, based on this, to carry out more successful intercultural communication, which will contribute to the promotion of tourism in the region. The guide-interpreter must have the skills of translation switching, in particular, the skills of switching between languages and cultures. These switchings are characterized by predictability, repeatability, purposefulness, and parameter setting. For effective switching of linguistic and cultural codes at the stage of awareness of the text in the source language, it is necessary to correctly form an idea of the original text and deverbalize it [Tutova, 2017, p. 18].

The importance of these processes is related to the peculiarity of the translator's perception of the text. When switching, the interpreter uses a number of mental processes related to the ability to anticipate switching, navigate the situation, replace one linguistic culture with another. An interpreter needs to be able to predict probability and have associative thinking skills. In the process of translation, the linguist uses his previous linguistic and cultural experience and searches for suitable linguistic means in the translation language based on associations. When creating a text in the translated language, cultures and languages are compared and coordinated with each other. This process of switching linguistic and cultural codes takes place on the basis of a system of linguistic and cultural regulation [Emelyanova,2019, p. 2].

Each person learns the world of his ethnos through the study of particulars from the general identity of the people and then transmits them to the ethnos. The bearer of the ethnos feels the particular as a single world of the ethnos and extracts from it only what is understandable and close to him. Further, on the basis of the private, the individual forms his ideas, which he later relies on when developing conclusions about a particular ethnic group as a whole. There are several types of behavior of ethnic groups: inborn, historically determined, social [Zhaparov, 2016, p. 90].

The historical type of behavior is permanent, unchanged and individual in connection with the identity of the history of each individual people. This type is passed down from generation to generation through traditions and customs. The next type of behavior is social, it is dominant and covers all spheres of life of the people. The nature of this type is determined by the essence of a particular epoch. The social type is characterized by cognition due to mental activity. Inborn type, on the contrary, contains the instincts of self-preservation and the fear of the disappearance of differences from similar ones [Zhaparov, 2016, p. 91].

As part of our project, we are exploring scenarios of the territorial branding of the city of Rostov-on-Don, namely scenarios of the image policy of the development of the tourist potential of the Rostov region. In order to attract attention and expand the circle of potential tourists coming to the region, it is necessary to analyze the world of ethno-communities, their mental maps, their socio-historical experience in order to compare them and bring them closer to the cultural archetype of the southern capital.

#### Methods and Material

As part of the research track, students of the Southern Federal University in the field of Translation and Translation Studies under the guidance of professors of the Department of Translation and Information Technologies in Linguistics conducted a project "Socio-cultural archetype as a fundamental component of the image policy of the Rostov region" within the discipline "Theory and Practice of Translation". The relevance of the design and research work is to improve the professional competencies of future guides, linguists and interpreters who ensure and implement the development of socially significant areas of activity in the regions of the country, in particular the tourism industry. The novelty of the research is revealed in the definition of a relevant socio-cultural component in the design of regional tourism branding, considered as a socio-cultural metric of the nation, which, in the conditions of the historical development of society and the interaction of different peoples, reveals its convergence of ethnocultures. In our project, such ethnocultures have become Russian, Chinese, and Arabic. Research methods provide a synergetic approach to understanding the analysis and the effective research product. The following methods were used in the work: the hypothetical-deductive method, the comparative method, the descriptive method, the method of translation analysis, the method of contextual analysis, as well as the case method, the method of "brainstorming" and the method of cooperative activity.

Stages of work on the project:

- 1) the study of the concepts of "archetype" and "genotype" in an interdisciplinary focus, namely from the point of view of psychology, sociology, history, linguistics, sociolinguistics, linguoculturology;
- integration of knowledge and synthesis of the experience of sciences from the position of their relevance to identify variants of dynamic socio-cultural archetypes of the ethnoculture of the Rostov region;
- 3) classification of dominant archetypes by significant characteristics and their further systematization taking into account certain value images, actualized as research trajectories.
- 4) correlation and verification of relevant variants of archetypes of one culture (Rostov region) to dominant scenarios of universal ethno-cultural archetypes of another nation (Chinese/Arab).
- 5) search and translation of the necessary text that implements the convergence of socio-cultural metrics of ethnocultures;
- 6) compilation of the "Tourist brandbook of the Rostov region" (for Chinese and Arab guests of the city and region).

During the analysis, two groups of students studying Chinese and Arabic as a second foreign language were focused on the intensification of certain research trajectories. These trajectories implement specific universal scenarios of archetypes, marking, on the one hand, the unique collective experience of the nation and, on the other hand, ensuring the unified development of society.

#### Such trajectories are:

- 1. historical image (scenarios of the archetype of the hero who is looking for the meaning of life, the defender of the fatherland; concepts of understanding the hero's family, his home, the hero's values are also focused here);
- 2. geographical image (scenarios of the archetype of father and mother, homeland, understanding of the geographical location and genotype of the behavior of perception of the native land and its nature: rivers, landscapes);
- 3. the geopolitical image (scenarios of the archetype of God, as well as one's own-someone else's, in this case, one can regard the multinational nature and geopolitical specifics of the region);
- 4. industrial image (scenarios of the Sage archetype, here we mean the economic development of the city, its production, storerooms of raw materials);

5. modernist image (scenarios of the archetype of the Self, comparison of unique cultural images, as well as attractions of scientific potential) [Ivanova, 2019, p. 202].

#### **Results**

1. Consider the first trajectory — the "historical image" (the archetype of the hero, defender of the Fatherland, his home, family, family values).

Firstly, the project revealed the cultural concept of the Cossacks in terms of the convergence of foreign (Chinese and Arabic) and Russian cultures.

Example text (1) from a travel brandbook:

"The Cossacks are an integral part of the Russian people and are of great importance for the Rostov region. During the six-hundred-year development, the history of the Cossacks was formed on the basis of social and cultural communities, and as a result, a special way of life and martial art emerged that distinguish the Cossacks from other nationalities of Russia."

哥萨克人是俄罗斯人民不可分割的——部分,对罗斯托夫地区意义重大。在五六百年的发展历程中,哥萨克人的历史是在社会文化共同体的基础上形成的,由此产生了一种区别于其他民族的哥萨克人的特殊生活方式和武术。俄罗斯。

The image of the Cossacks, we assume, can be verified in the historical memory of the Chinese in connection with the genotype of the Albazins. In China, there were descendants of the Cossacks — Albazins (阿 尔巴津人), who live on the territory of China to this day [Chen Peng, 2012, p. 3]. The archetype here is found in the unchanging characteristic spiritual forms acquired by the people in the process of historical development. The genotype in this case is the natural and spiritual forms that belong to the individual from birth.

Example of text (2) from the tourist brandbook:

"In 2003, the historical museum "Cossack Kuren of the 19th century" was opened. It is located in the Rostov region. Here you can see items of traditional Cossack crafts and everyday life. The house is an architectural monument and completely repeats the layout and decorations of the house of the last century."

في عام ٢٠٠٢، افتتح المتحف التاريخي «كوخ القوزاق» والذي ينتمي للقرن التاسع عشر». ويقع في مدينة روستوف. هنا يمكنك أن ترى عناصر من الحرف التقليدية والحياة اليومية للقوزاق. الكوخ عبارة عن نصب معماري ويحاكي تمامًا تصميم وزخارف منازل القرن الماضي.»

The proximity to Russian culture can also be found by residents of the Middle East. In the culture of the Russian people, one of the symbols of the family is the house, i.e. for a Cossack it is a Kuren. The Cossack kuren symbolizes family unity, family values, the union of kinship, family life, which of course is also relevant for Arab culture [Jaber, 2016, p. 3]. Arab house symbolizes the center of the world and one of the most important pillars of the society for the Muslim family [Trabzon, 2019, p. 3].

2. The next archetype of rapprochement between cultures is the "*geographical factor*".

Example of text (3) from the tourist brandbook:

"The Don River is not only the natural, but also the cultural heritage of the country. The Don has witnessed many historical events — from the battles on Kulikovo Field and the campaigns of Stepan Razin to the construction of the Volga-Don Canal and one of the largest artificial reservoirs in Russia — Tsimlyansky."

顿河不仅是自然的,也是国家的文化遗产。 唐见证了许多历史事件,从库利科沃战场和斯捷潘拉津战役到伏尔加-顿河运河和俄罗斯最大的人工水库之一的建设。

The Chinese Yangtze River ("Changjiang") and the Russian Don River ("Dunhe") are of great importance for the history of both countries. The Yangtze is the most important river in the history, culture and economy of China. The prosperous Yangtze Delta region produces up to 20% of China's GDP [Zhang, 2006, p. 148]. For this reason, this geographical object converges the Russian and Chinese genotypes [Podkorytova, 2019, p. 451].

Example of text (4) from a travel brandbook:

"The Don steppe, sung in epics and folk tales... the beauty of the steppe is in its immensity, just think of the vastness and expanse. There is a boundless living sea all around, which sways and shimmers with smooth waves from the slightest breath of wind."

顿河草原,在史诗和民间故事中歌唱··· 草原的美丽在于它的无垠,想想它的广阔和广阔。环绕着无边无际的活海,微风吹拂,波光粼粼,波光粼粼。 但在中国也有同样美丽的草原,其中之一就是蒙古-满洲草原。

In addition to the Don, the Don steppe serves as a geographical factor of rapprochement between Russian and Chinese culture. There are no less beautiful steppes in China, one of them is the Mongol-Manchurian steppe. At the height of summer, the steppe is completely covered with greenery and merges with the sky in the distance.

### Example of text (5) from the tourist brandbook:

"There are many beautiful natural places in the Rostov region. The Rostov region is full of various natural monuments. One of them is the Donetsk Ridge. This is a unique place, a hill formed more than 1.5 billion years ago. The terrain is characterized by hilly terrain, a large number of gullies, ravines, and river valleys."

هناك العديد من الأماكن الطبيعية الجميلة في مدينة روستوف. تعج مدينة روستوف بالمعالم الطبيعية المختلفة. واحد منهم هو دونيتسك ريدج. هذا المكان فريد من نوعه ،هو عبارة عن تل تشكل منذ أكثر من ٥,١ مليار سنة. يتميز بالتضاريس الجبلية وعدد كبير من الأخاديد والوديان الأنهار.

Donetsk Ridge was chosen because of the geographical image. It was considered from the position that in both cultures geography and landscape are connected with large spaces and peoples' will. So, there is a similarity of cultures of different peoples, but with similar images. Like the Rostov region, many countries of the Middle East can boast of a rich natural world, so it may be interesting for Arabs to visit the natural attractions of the Rostov region.

3. The contact of the two cultures also occurs through *a "Geopolitical image*". Example text (6) from a travel brandbook:

"Rostov is a city where people of different nations and faiths live in peace and harmony. In it you can find both Orthodox churches and a Muslim mosque. The Cathedral Mosque of Rostov-on-Don is the only mosque in Rostov-on-Don. The construction of the mosque lasted from 1999 to 2003. The minaret of the mosque reaches a height of 27 meters. At the end of the week, classes in Arabic, the Koran and Islamic history are held at the mosque. Attendance can reach 1,500 people."

روستوف - مدينة يعيش فيها الناس من مختلف الأمم والأديان في سلام ووئام. يمكنك العثور فيها على كل من الكنائس الأرثوذكسية والمسجد الجامع - جامع روستوف-نا دانو، هو المسجد الوحيد الذي يوجد بمدينة روستوف. استغرق بناء المسجد من عام ٩٩٩١ إلى عام ٢٠٠٠، يصل ارتفاع مئذنة المسجد ٢٧ مترا. في نهاية الأسبوع، يحتضن المسجد دروسا في اللغة العربية والقرآن الكريم والتاريخ الإسلامي. يمكن أن يصل عدد الحضور إلى ٠٠٥١ شخص.

A large percentage of the population of the Middle East are Muslims, so many of them would be interested in visiting a mosque not only in their hometown, but also in other cities [Sapronova, 2006, p. 183; Baker al-Husseini]. It is worth noting that despite the common religion, the buildings of mosques are unique in each country.

4. Arab and Russian cultures find common ground also through the "*Industrial Image*":

### Example text (7) from the travel brandbook:

"Rostov-on-Don is one of the largest economically developed cities in the south of Russia. The main industries of Rostov-on-Don are machine and instrument making, metallurgical production, chemical production, light industry."

مدينة روستوف نا دانو- هي واحدة من أكبر المدن المتقدمة اقتصاديا في جنوب روسيا. صناعة الآلات والأدوات، والمطروقات، والمواد الكيميائية، والصناعات الخفيفة هي الصناعات الاساسية التي تشتهر بها مدينة روستوف نا دانو.

The Arab South is mainly industrialized countries. In this focus of industrialization, there is a dialogue and comparison with the images of the high industrial potential of the Rostov region: active development of industrial parks, implementation of large industrial projects, introduction of innovations [Bocharova, 2015, pp. 11–12].

5. The "Modernist image" is of particular interest in our study. This image includes intensification of the attraction of a tourist object by identifying and bringing together individual life interests in their close connection with the genotype of the nation, archetypal family values and cultural preferences of recreation:

Example text (8) from the travel brandbook:

"Rostov-on-Don offers many options for walking — these are parks and the embankment. One of the famous parks for walking is Maxim Gorky Park. It is located within walking distance from Pushkinskaya Street, which runs through the center of Rostov and is also loved by Rostov residents for walking. And of course the embankment, here you can find many restaurants with local cuisine, as well as take a ride on a pleasure boat."

تتمتع روستوف بالعديد من الاماكن للخروج و التنزه — مثل الحدائق والكورنيش . تعد حديقة جوركي من أشهر حدائق التنزه، تقع على مسافة قريبة من شارع بوشكينسكايا، الذي يمر وسط روستوف ويحبّه أيضًا سكان روستوف للمشي والتنزه، وبالطبع على الكورنيش، يمكنك أن تجد العديد من المطاعم التي تقدم المأكولات المحلية، فضلاً عن ركوب قارب المتعة.

Park named after Gorky in Rostov can be associated with Arabs with theme parks of entertainment in Dubai, which have a huge scale.

The text of example (9) from the tourist brandbook:

"Log Park in the village of Staraya Stanitsa, called "Little Switzerland". The park is located near Kamensk-Shakhtinsk. Created by a private entrepreneur at his own expense. There are a huge variety of objects there: sculptures, mini-waterfalls, decorative buildings. Entrance is free, a separate paved road leads to the park, there is convenient Parking."

منتزه لوغ بمزرعة ستارايا ستانيتسا. المنتزه الملقب ب»سويسرا الصغيرة" بالقرب من كامينسك شاختينسك. تم إنشاؤه بو اسطة رجل أعمال على نفقته الخاصة. هناك مجموعة كبيرة

Loga Park combines both the concept of a family and the concept of a park, so it may be of particular interest to a tourist from the Arab world. The next attraction of Rostov-on-Don, which will arouse the interest of foreign guests, is the estate museum of M. A. Sholokhov in the village of Vyoshenskaya.

The text of the example (10) from the tourist brandbook:

"The museum was founded in 1984. In 1942, a bomb hit destroyed the Sholokhov family house, and the writer's mother was killed. The house was completely restored in 1948 and was the place of work of the Soviet classic. Every local thing belongs to Mikhail Alexandrovich, and his grave is located here. Conditionally, the museum is divided into two parts: the estate itself and a garage with cars."

تأسس المتحف عام ٤٨٩١ . في عام ٢٤٩١، دمرت قنبلة منزل عائلة شولوخوف، وقتلت والدة الكاتب. في عام ٢٤٩١، تم ترميم المنزل بالكامل وكان مقرا لعمل الكلاسيكية السوفيتية. كل شيء هنا ينتمي إلى ميخائيل ألكساندروفيتش، ويقع قبره هنا أيضًا. ينقسم المتحف إلى قسمين: العقار نفسه ومرآب للسيارات.

M. Sholokhov is a world–renowned writer, many foreigners visit his estate when they want to get to know the writer better. Arabic literature is also rich in talents, for example, Naguib Mahfouz. Of course, many trajectories in our study reveal points of contact as a reflection of cultural contacts, refractions and cooperation in specific historical epochs of the development of nations. For example, the "historical and modernist image" is often updated.

The next aspect in the context of the convergence of cultural archetypes are the monuments of the Soviet army. The text of example (11) from the tourist brandbook:

"In Rostov and the Rostov region there are many monuments dedicated to the exploits of brave Soviet soldiers. For example, recently in the Neklinovsky district of the Rostov region, near the village of Sambek, the People's military-historical museum complex of the Great Patriotic War "Sambek Heights" was opened. The Memorial of Glory located there was erected in honor of the soldiers of the 130<sup>th</sup> and 416<sup>th</sup> rifle divisions, who were awarded the honorary title of "Taganrog"."

Approximately 50 monuments to Soviet soldiers have been erected in 45 cities of China. They began to be installed already in 1945. One of the most representative is a monument in Harbin, on the pedestal of which there are figures of Red Army soldiers holding a star. The memorial com-

plex to Soviet and Mongolian soldiers in Zhangjiakou (Hebei Province) is also famous. The monument was originally erected in 1945, 60 Soviet and Mongolian soldiers from the Soviet-Mongolian horse-mechanized group were buried here in a mass grave." 在中国,苏联士兵受到尊重,他们钦佩他们的勇气和英雄气概。这就是为什么在中国各地竖立了50多座苏联士兵纪念碑。

### Conclusions

Thus, we conducted an interdisciplinary study aimed at identifying the points of contact of socio-cultural archetypes in Russian (southern region), Chinese and Arabic linguocultures within the framework of tourist discourse in order to promote the branding of the Rostov region. During the analysis, two groups of students studying Chinese and Arabic as a second foreign language were focused on the intensification of certain research trajectories. These trajectories implement specific universal scenarios of archetypes, marking, on the one hand, the unique collective experience of the nation and, on the other hand, ensuring the unified development of society. The trajectories included historical image (scenarios of the archetype of the hero who is looking for the meaning of life, the defender of the fatherland; concepts of understanding the hero's family, his home, the hero's values are also focused here); geographical image (scenarios of the archetype of father and mother, homeland, understanding of the geographical location and genotype of the behavior of perception of the native land and its nature: rivers, landscapes); the geopolitical image (scenarios of the archetype of God, as well as one's own-someone else's, in this case, one can regard the multinational nature and geopolitical specifics of the region); industrial image (scenarios of the Sage archetype, here we mean the economic development of the city, its production, storerooms of raw materials); modernist image (scenarios of the archetype of the Self, comparison of unique cultural images, as well as attractions of scientific potential). The task of the guide-interpreter was to prepare the texts of the excursions, taking into account the contiguous identity and proximity of the sociocultural archetypes of nations, so that the text would thereby reveal for the recipient (tourist) a high index of cultural and genetic involvement, a natural coefficient of accessibility and acceptance of the brand book text. The final product of the study was the writing of a brandbook for the Rostov region, aimed at Chinese and Arab tourists.

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# THE ROLE OF TRANSLATION ANALYSIS IN TEACHING POETRY TRANSLATION

This article focuses on the role of translation analysis and its use in the learning of poetry translation in the education of translators. A future translator needs not only to learn how to translate a text correctly from one language to another, but also to understand the whole process of implementing the task. This is a necessary factor because translating poetry is one of the most difficult types of translation. The aim of our study is to identify and establish the role of translation analysis in the translation of poetic works, and to elaborate methodological guidelines for its use in classes to teach poetry translation. The author considers the problems of translation of poetic works and provides a theoretical basis for translation analysis. As a consequence, the article highlights the positions of different Russian academics on the concept of "translation analysis" and provides a gradual analysis of the phases of the process. From these findings, it was concluded that translation analysis is important and necessary for translating any kind of poetic text, and a suggested list of recommendations for working with a foreign text step by step using translation analysis was drawn up.

*Keywords*: translation analysis, pre-translation analysis, poetry translation, translation teaching, translation process, translation strategy.

А. А. Оболенский

### РОЛЬ ПЕРЕВОДЧЕСКОГО АНАЛИЗА ПРИ ОБУЧЕНИИ ПЕРЕВОДУ ПОЭЗИИ

Данная статья посвящена роли переводческого анализа и его использования при обучении переводу поэзии при подготовке переводчиков. Будущий специалист должен не только научиться грамотно переводить текст с одного языка на другой, но также понимать весь процесс реализации поставленной задачи. Это является особенно необходимым фактором, поскольку перевод поэзии является одним из наиболее трудных видов перевода. Целью нашего исследования является определить и установить роль переводческого анализа при переводе произведений, а также разработать методические рекомендации по его использованию на занятиях по обучению переводу поэзии. Автор рассматривает проблематику перевода поэтических произведений и приводит теоретическое обоснование переводческого анализа. В результате в статье освещаются позиции разных отечественных учёных по поводу концепции «переводческого анализа», а также производится поэтапный анализ стадий данного процесса. На основе полученных данных были сделаны

выводы о важности и необходимости использования переводческого анализа при работе над переводом любого рода поэтических текстов, а также был составлен список рекомендаций для поэтапной работы с иностранным текстом с применением переводческого анализа.

*Ключевые слова*: переводческий анализ, предпереводческий анализ, перевод поэзии, обучение переводу, переводческий процесс, стратегия перевода.

### Introduction

Poetry has been one of the most popular means of expression and storytelling in many cultures. From the ancient times, people have composed poems, odes, sagas, poems, and other forms of verses to tell and describe entire events or personalities. In other words, it can be noted that poetic fiction has always facilitated communication between different nations, traditions, cultures, etc.

Nowadays poetry is still of great importance and its use in modern foreign language teaching methodology, especially in translation classes, is relevant. The work with poetic texts not only helps to improve students' translation skills, but also allows them to expand their extra-linguistic and cultural knowledge as well as develop their aesthetic abilities and skills. However, even today, learning to translate literary poetic texts is a rather difficult but necessary task.

This paper focuses on the process of teaching the translation of poetry in a foreign language class and the role of pre-translation and translation analysis in this process. In our research we will explore the aspects which a translator needs to take into account while working with a poetic text. We will also consider in detail the concept of translation analysis and examine each of its stages. Translation analysis not only helps in the translation, but also allows the specialist to become familiar with the content of the text. The use of this type of analysis will not only help build a clear structure for working with a poetic work, but also broaden and develop the personality of a future translator. That is why it is important for students to understand not only the specifics of translating this kind of text, but also the role of pre-translation and translation analysis in this process.

### Methods and material

The theoretical basis of our research was based on the works of such Russian scientists as M.P.Brandes and V.I.Provotorov, I.S. Alekseeva, G.D.Tomakhin, S.I.Vlakhov, etc. The materials of our research were

scientific articles and works of these specialists, published in various scientific journals, textbooks, reference books, manuals, and electronic resources. The method ofcomparative analysis of literature was used, as well as modelling to create a system of theoretical recommendations for working with a poetic text.

The practical significance of our work lies in the use of this system of recommendations as a methodological basis for teaching poetic translation in foreign language classes and as a possible material for the creation of teaching aids.

### Results

In order to produce a good, high-quality translation, students need to carefully analyze the text of a work and consider various linguistic and extra-linguistic factors, in other words, gather an information base on the work, which will then help to generate a clear and concise scheme for working with the text of a poetic work. This is to ensure that the translation is of high quality and as close to the original as possible. Based on the strategy of I.S. Alekseeva we would like to present theoretical recommendations and our own strategy for working with a poetic text, which can help the student to realize the task. For this purpose, it is necessary to work with poetic text according to this scheme:

- 1) As first step a student needs to read the text carefully and slowly several times. He/she needs to look at the structure of the text, the content and design, the rhymes, stanzas, etc., the protagonists, and make any necessary notes. In other words, a translator starts a pre-translation and translation analysis of the text.
- 2) It is particularly significant to consider the external details of the work: time and date of publication, authorship, time of creation. It is very important at this stage to formulate the communicative purpose of this poetic text, to understand for whom it is intended. It is definitely worth seeking out and finding out extra-linguistic information about the text, if possible. The translator needs to find out this information in order to reproduce it in his/her own work with his/her own background knowledge. And it is especially worth stopping and paying attention to the author's individual style, his/her use of various tools and techniques, rhymes, and forms to emphasize the nuances of the work. Only by analyzing all the "pitfalls" of the original text can the future professional begin to work on building a strategy for translational analysis and on translating the work.
- 3) The next crucial step is to identify and establish the composition of the information: look at the possible cognitive information, the

expressiveness of the text and its aesthetic value. It is especially worth paying attention to the emotionality and aesthetic nuances of the work. Because this kind of information that plays a crucial role in the process of conveying the author's main message to the reader.

- 4) A student needs to identify the genre and type of poetry in order to use the norms and rules characteristic of this type of text in the future.
- 5) Determine the communicative purpose of the text of the poetic work. This procedure will help the translator determine the communicative relationship between the sender (author) and the receiver (reader). This will then help the student identify the main concept in the translation.
- 6) Begin the process of translation analysis, working with the text of the poetic work using the text of the word-for-word translation. During this process, it is necessary to be very careful to double-check each of your actions, to constantly carry out and identify correspondences with the text of the original work, to reflect, if possible, the features of the original work in the translation.
- 7) A particularly essential point would be to think about the translation of the title of the poem. This will allow the pragmatic potential of the poem to be conveyed and brought to life. The main task here will be to intrigue and interest the future reader, to draw his or her attention. The task of the student translator here is to create a title that fully corresponds to the author's title and can entice them just as much as the author of the work intended.
- 8) It is necessary to analyze the translated text. Check the translation for inconsistencies, inaccuracies, missing letters or words, mistakes, etc. Double-check the translation, submit it to the teacher or a more experienced translator to identify possible errors or inaccuracies.
- 9) The last step in this process will be to make adjustments and complete the poem.

### Discussion

The process of translating texts from one language into another has always been a complex and time-consuming task. It is essential for future professionals to understand and realize that the main task of the translator is not simply to translate a text from one language into another, but to convey all the emotional, linguistic, cultural, and ethical features of the original text. In written sources, namely in works of fiction, we can find detailed information about the national culture of a people: its mentality, historical events, its ethnography. These texts preserve not only

the national traits, traditions, and universal values of a nation, but also its culture, because literature is one of its components.

The linguacultural component, on the other hand, is the most challenging aspect of translation. It requires not only the students' translation skills, but also the knowledge of the extra-linguistic nuances of the culture of the translated language. Different ethnic groups may have diametrically opposed views on certain actions, concepts, and events. This cultural mismatch is the most acute problem for the translator. Therefore, the main goal of the specialist translator is to provide a clear, accurate and adequate translation that not only conveys the message of the source text, but also mediates between the two peoples.

But translation is a creative process that cannot be reduced to a simple choice of dictionary equivalents that correspond to a certain word in the original. A dictionary cannot present all the specific and possible combinations where a word occurs, so the context, its imagery and emotional content come to the fore, which is important to convey to the reader, a native speaker of another culture, in the best possible way [Pushkina, Tolstova, Krivoshlykova, 2020]. This translation should reveal all the emotional aspects and should be as comprehensible as possible to the person for whom the translation was made. As I. A. Bunin highlighted that it is not words that should be translated, but power and spirit [Babkova, 2009].

The important thing that the student must clearly understand is that one of the fundamental issues in fiction translation is the problem of evaluating the quality of the transfer of realities. It is often difficult, if not impossible, to convey the full meaning of the source words. However, the main objective here is to minimize losses in the semantics, pragmatics, and stylistics of the text. In most cases, such difficulties occur when a word or phrase that is present in the source language is absent in the target language, but this does not mean that it is impossible to translate it.

The issue of translating cultural realia is particularly important. This is necessary to understand the culture and traditions that are represented in the original text. G.D. Tomakhin defines the concept of "realia" as names of material culture objects, historical facts, state institutions, names of national and folklore heroes, mythical creatures, which are unique to certain nations and peoples [Tomakhin, 1986]. In a different view of S.I. Vlakhov claims that realias are words (and phrases) which denote typical objects of life (everyday life, culture, social and historical development) of one people and are strange to another; being carriers of national and/or historical flavor, they usually have no exact equivalents in other languages and, therefore, cannot be translated on a common basis, but require a special approach. [Vlakhov, 1980].

Thus, it is evident that the main component of a realia is its coloring. That is why it is important for a future translator to realize that the transfer of coloring one language to another is the main "stumbling block" in working with realities [Vlakhov, 1980]. And, indeed, the realia is a part of the source text, so it is necessary to convey its meaning in order to translate it adequately. Consequently, the question is not whether it is possible to translate realia, but exactly how to translate it.

After analyzing all the available information, the following conclusions and recommendations can be made [Kunina, 2017]:

- 1. The main problematic situation for the future translator remains in choosing the appropriate method of translation when translating a particular fragment.
- 2. In order to work clearly and adequately, a student must have a deep understanding of the realia themselves, otherwise the loss of meaning of a part of a message will result in the inability to translate the work.
- 3. There are a number of features to consider when choosing a translation method:
  - 1) The commonness of the realia, the frequency of its use.
  - 2) The presence or absence of additional meaning
  - 3) The importance and significance of realia in creating the atmosphere of the original text.

All the means and methods of translation have their positive and negative sides. A future professional needs to work very carefully with the text in order to avoid possible losses. This implies a high degree of professional training and creative work on the material. Only under these conditions is it possible to implement and produce a quality and adequate translation product. That is why it is essential to use a pretranslation and translation analysis of the text in order to work very carefully through the whole text of the work, to find possible pitfalls, linguistic and extra-linguistic points in order to translate the work correctly and adequately.

The first step is to consider the concept of this analysis, as well as its interpretation by academics that translation analysis is the active activity of a translator specialist, which aims to gain an in-depth understanding of the original text to be translated, to identify its main communicative task. As a result, the translator develops a translation strategy for a particular text [Parshina, 2019]. This process reflects the translator's competence in translating texts in a particular field.

In addition, in her work "Professional Training of Translators", I.S. Alekseeva claims that text analysis in translation training is not of

a scientific-philological but an applied character, it is a necessary stage of translation practice [Alekseeva, 2001].

According to V. V. Sdobnikov the translation text analysis can be defined as a procedure for establishing the purpose of a text in terms of its creator, the nature of communicative impact on the recipients of the original text, the purpose of the translation text and the characteristics of the perception of the translation by its potential recipients [Sdobnikov, 2011].

There are three main steps in translation analysis. Students need to be very well acquainted with each of them. These are pre-translation text analysis, variant analysis, and retrieval and analysis of translation results [Alekseeva, 2001, p. 149].

- 1. Pre-translation analysis is the first point of working with a text. It is an important stage that the student should begin his/her work with the text. The first step is to take a visual look at the entire text of the work. The main task at this stage is to look carefully at the work and analyze the information received. This process includes the following phases [Alekseeva, 2001, p. 150]:
  - Collecting of external data on the text
  - Identification of the sources of the text and its recipient
  - Determination of the information content
  - Formulation of the communicative purpose of the text
  - Determination of the speech genre of the text
- 1.1. Pre-translational analysis of a text should begin with the collection of external data about the text [Garaeva, Giniyatullina, 2016]. Here, it is necessary to consider such important aspects as the time of creation, time of publication, authorship, any external information and all the information that will help to give a clear understanding of the characteristics of the work when translating the text. A pre-translation analysis can be used to understand the type of text to work with.
- 1.2. The next step is the identification of the source of the text and its recipient, in other words, who and to whom the information is transmitted [Alekseeva, 2001, p. 151]. In order to carry out this operation, it is necessary to understand for whom exactly the author has created this work. Such information can be found in the introduction or annotation of the text. If such data is not available, the learner can only find this information during further work and analysis. The availability of such data will help to understand which linguistic features need to be conveyed when working on the text. For example, if the work was created for children as the target audience, then vivid characters and simple and accessible syntax should be

used. If the text was created for an adult audience, more complex syntactic constructions can be used.

- 1.3. The next step is to determinate the information content [Alekseeva, 2001, p.151]. In order to understand it, it is important to know types of information of the text. For the convenience of translation, all information can be divided into three categories: cognitive, emotional, and aesthetic:
- 1.3.1. Cognitive information is considered to be objective data about the outside world [Alexeeva, 2001, p. 152]. Such information has its own definite image. The main feature of such information is independence from the context and absence of emotional coloring. This type of information is formalized in the work by means of a neutrality of the literary norm.
- 1.3.2. Emotional information is considered to be a type of information that is conveyed by specially colored vocabulary and syntax. It reflects feelings and emotions in a text [Alekseeva, 2001, p. 152].
- 1.3.3. Aesthetic information conveys to the reader a sense of beauty [Alekseeva, 2001, p.155]. Such techniques as epithets, metaphors, allegories, wordplay, and rhymes are used as tools to convey such information. This is the type of information used in poetry.
- 1.4. The fourth step in the pre-translation analysis is for the student to determine the communicative purpose of the text. Having shown the information richness of the text, we have to determine the communicative purpose of the text from the data obtained. It can range from making contact and communicating new information to conveying one's ideas or proofs of something to the reader. The identification of the communicative purpose of the translation will enable the translator to determine the main idea and thought in the translation [Alekseeva, 2001, p. 155-156].
- 1.5. The fifth and final stage of pre-translation analysis is the identification of the speech genre [Alekseeva, 2001, p.156]. This detail that helps to get a full picture of the work and how the text is shaped and composed. Over the entire history of literature, mankind has created stable standard forms of texts with norms, patterns and rules that are applicable to all languages. The study of speech genres is the domain of functional linguistics. Speech genre is necessary for a clear and thorough work by a professional to analyze and understand the speech genre to work with.

We have looked at all the stages of the pre-translation analysis of a text. A skilled translator spends an average of 5 to 10 minutes analyzing all of these aspects, but a young one should take his time and work in a calm atmosphere.

2. The second stage of translation analysis is analytical variant search [Alekseeva, 2001, p. 157]. The translation process itself is a search. That's

why at this stage it is worth working through each action taken by the translator to determine the type of correspondence and unit of translation.

3. The third stage is the analysis of the result of translation [Alekseeva, 2001, p. 159]. This stage exists in order to adequately evaluate the completed text translation. This work implies a purely mechanical order of work. The first stage is to check the text for missing words, structures, or fragments. The second stage is to assess the unity of style of the translation, but without referring to the original work. As it will be quite difficult for a student to spot their own mistakes, it will be necessary to enlist a more experienced professionals in helping to identify possible errors or inaccuracies. But first of all, it is up to the student to determine the appropriateness of the translation.

In their work "Pre-translational Analysis", M. P. Brandes and V. I. Provotorov highlight that the translation process is an activity which, like any activity, is governed by norms. By norms the authors mean specific requirements and prescriptions [Brandes, Provotorov, 2001, p. 28]. Obviously, the use of static norms is implied during the translation of any work. This entails the use of linguistic tools in the process of translation from one language to another, rather than simply overlaying the target language on the content. Academics characterize the main nuances of translation problems in this way [Brandes, Provotorov, 2001, p. 28]:

- Translation boundary
- Adequacy
- Combination of the creative and non-creative elements
- Language equivalence

The future professional should also be aware that there is a hierarchy within these norms.

First of all, it is necessary to define the framework norms, which directly cooperate with the determination of the boundaries of the translator's working field. This is followed by the adequacy of the translation, in other words, the future translator needs to pay attention to the organization of the text and the characteristic features of the content, the speech personalities of the communicants as well as the author. Next, we should pay attention to the definition of creative and non-creative origins and linguistic equivalence [Brandes, Provotorov, 2001, p. 29]. These tools will help to identify not only the exact relationships between the translation and the original text, but also the presence or absence of creative and aesthetic features in the text, which are especially important when translating poetry.

Furthermore, attention should be paid to the definition of creative and non-creative origins and linguistic equivalence [Brandes, Provotorov, 2001, p.29]. These tools will help to assess not only the exact relationship between the translation and the original text, but also the presence or absence of creative and aesthetic features in the text, which are especially important in poetry.

Learning the basic concepts of translation analysis will help the future specialist to formulate the text more comprehensively and clearly in terms of linguistic means, to compose its semantic structure. The most important thing when working on a piece of work is to convey the meaning of the work to the reader as much as possible.

Translation analysis involves not only the analysis of culturally relevant factors, structural and structural-functional components, but also the analysis of translation transformations such as substantiation, modulation, generalization, calquing, etc.; the consideration and accurate evaluation of all the different solutions and techniques used by translators to achieve maximum equivalence. It should not be forgotten that translation analysis is used not so much to extract the specific meaning of a text, but rather to identify translation priorities and strategies when dealing with the text [Alekseeva, 2001, p. 158].

The study of poetic translation cannot be carried out without evaluating and comprehending the original work and the translation procedure itself [Romanenko, 2017]. When these two aspects are considered, it is constructive to turn to the interlinear translation, which implies an in-depth pre-translational analysis of the original work. According to L. L. Nelyubin a word-for-word translation is a literal translation of a poetic text, observing the basic lexical and grammatical norms of the target language, which serves the function of familiarizing the reader with the content of the original, which is often accompanied by the translator's notes, explaining the specifics of form. [Nelyubin, 2003, p. 156].

The word-for-word translation is an act of expression. According to N.E. Nikonova: It invites reflection on the text, forces us to look at the aesthetically integral text analytically and refers to different meaningful planes [Nikonova, 2008, p.62]. The word-for-word translation of poetry reveals its inner qualities and regularities, the mutual conditioning of its components, thus revealing the translation invariant of the literary work — the structure through which the author's artistic idea is realized [Lotman 1972, p. 37].

A literal translation is the main component of the original work, which characterizes the breadth of its use. This type of translation is widely used in poetry — specialists use it as source material when creating

a translation. But at the same time, the interlinear translation can function as an independent text. The reference to the substitutes indicates "the highest degree of trust in the original author" and a refusal "to transform (its) imagery" [Tikhonova, 2013, p. 36].

Undoubtedly, a word-for-word translation has wide application in linguistics and literary studies. Demonstrating, on the one hand, a benchmark of accuracy, the translator's understanding of a work illustrates possible strategies of interpretation of the original text, thus allowing the individual and cultural-historical characteristics of the poet-translator's work to be displayed.

In the results of our research, we will present recommendations that can be used when teaching students translation in the class.

### Conclusion

Thus, we can see that translation is a complex and multifaceted process that requires not only theoretical knowledge and practical skills, but also an activity that involves the use and correct application of one's creative and speech skills and extra-linguistic knowledge. Nevertheless, every student should realize that only by following the guidelines and the work plan, the desired result can be achieved. The use of translation analysis can not only help students to structure their work when translating a poetic work, but also to teach them to pay attention to possible pitfalls in the text and extra-linguistic features, which will serve to develop their attention, knowledge, and versatile development of the future specialist translator's personality, as well as his/her creative abilities.

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### LINGUISTIC AND PRAGMATIC POTENTIAL OF ENGLISH-LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENTAL INTERNET MEMES

The study deals with English-language Internet memes which communicate environmental issues. The material for the study was taken from Reddit, which is used to share topical memes on the Internet. The study analyses the linguistic and pragmatic potential of English-language environmental Internet memes and describes their visual pattern and verbal component. It is shown that after reframing, the visual template of viral Internet memes becomes a means of attracting attention to environmental issues. While keeping the same visual template, new lines, captions, and headings referring to environmental issues can be added to the verbal template; in some cases, environmental Internet memes are created specifically to explain the negative consequences of human economic activity or to evaluate environmental stunts. The author determines the set of relevant strategies and tactics based on the lingvopragmatic model, characterizes the verbal and non-verbal means ensuring their implementation. It is found that dominant strategies are the strategies of drawing attention to environmental issues, informing; argumentation; intimidation; creating a comical effect; development of a stereotype of environmental behaviour, which are implemented by tactics of focusing attention, reducing the situation to an absurdity, and negative prediction. Considering the identified communicative strategies, the typology of environmental Internet memes is proposed, and five main linguopragmatic types are identified: informing, persuasive, intimidating, humorous, ironic-sceptical. The relevant linguistic means to implement communicative tactics in English-language environmental Internet memes are colloquial vocabulary, idioms, professional vocabulary (environmental terms), synonyms, antonyms, metaphors, imperatives, present participle, colloquial syntactic constructions, expressive syntactic means: antithesis, question-answer constructions, anaphora, epiphora, and ellipsis.

*Keywords:* online communication, environmental communication, environmental Internet memes, linguopragmatic potential, communicative strategies, tactics, English.

Е. Б. Павлова

## ЛИНГВОПРАГМАТИЧЕСКИЙ ПОТЕНЦИАЛ АНГЛОЯЗЫЧНЫХ ЭКОЛОГИЧЕСКИХ ИНТЕРНЕТ-МЕМОВ

Объектом исследования являются англоязычные интернет-мемы, транслирующие экологическую проблематику. Источником материала послужил сайт Reddit.com, который используется для распространения

актуальных мемов в сети интернет. В статье анализируется лингвопрагматический потенциал англоязычных экологических интернет-мемов, описывается их визуальный шаблон и вербальный компонент. Показано, что в результате рефрейминга визуальный шаблон вирусных интернет-мемов становится средством привлечения внимания к экологической проблематике. При сохранении визуального ряда в вербальный шаблон могут добавляться новые реплики, подписи-заголовки, отсылающие к экологической проблематике; в ряде случаев экологические интернет-мемы создаются специально для разъяснения негативных последствий хозяйственной деятельности человека или оценки экологических акций. Автором на основе лингвопрагматической модели определяется набор релевантных стратегий и тактик, характеризуются обеспечивающие их реализацию вербальные и невербальные средства. Установлено, что доминирующими являются стратегии привлечения внимания к вопросам экологии, информирования; аргументирования; запугивания; создания комического эффекта; выработки стереотипа экологичного поведения. Названные коммуникативные стратегии реализуются тактиками акцентирования внимания, негативного прогнозирования, доведения ситуации до абсурда. С учетом выделенных коммуникативных стратегий в работе предложена типология экологических интернет-мемов, выделено пять основных лингвопрагматических типов: информирующий, убеждающий, запугивающий, юмористический, иронически-скептический. Релевантными языковыми средствами реализации коммуникативных тактик в англоязычных экологических интернет-мемов является разговорная лексика, идиомы, специальная лексика (экологическая терминология), синонимы, антонимы, метафоры, приемы языковой игры, императивы, причастия настоящего времени, разговорные синтаксические конструкции, средства экспрессивного синтаксиса: антитеза, вопросно-ответные конструкции, анафора, эпифора, эллипсис.

*Ключевые слова*: виртуальная коммуникация, экологическая коммуникация, экологические интернет-мемы, лингвопрагматический потенциал, коммуникативные стратегии, тактики, английский язык.

### Introduction

Environmental communication as an independent phenomenon has been the subject of linguistic study since the mid-1980s [Littlejohn, Foss, 2009]. According to A. J. Flor, environmental communication is a set of communication strategies and methods regulating the rational use of natural resources and compliance with environmental protection [Flor, 2004]. M. Meisner interprets environmental communication as a process of information exchange on environmental issues [Meisner, 2015]. In addition to the communicative function, R. J. Cox considers environmental communication as having pragmatic and constitutive

functions. According to him, the essence of the pragmatic function of environmental communication consists in education, prevention, persuasion, and cooperation during environmental activities. The constitutive function helps to shape environmental public awareness, it aims to introduce the systems of environmental values, ideologies, and views into the minds of people through communication [Cox, 2010]. The spread of the Internet has significantly expanded the sphere of environmental communication. The emergence of social networks has given rise to various formats of environmental online communication. Memes with great pragmatic potential have become one of such booming formats [Izgarsheva, 2020; Kanashina, 2018; Kvyat, 2015; Rebrina, Shamne, 2022; Ross, Rivers, 2019; Shchurina, 2012; Shifman, 2013; Veshnyakova, 2016; Zhang, Jichang, Ke, 2016; Zhang, Pinto 2021]. Environmental Internet memes are particularly active in English-language online communication; they instantly go viral and penetrate the national environmental online communication of other countries. This explains the relevance of studying the linguopragmatics of English-language Internet memes on environmental topics.

### Methods and material

While communicating socially significant ideas, environmental Internet memes have a complex pragmatic component. The purpose of the study is to determine the stratagem and tactical organization of English-language environmental Internet memes which ensures their pragmatic potential. To achieve the purpose, the following steps were taken: to identify the dominant communicative strategies and the tactics which represent them and receive verbal and nonverbal objectification in texts of environmental Internet memes; to establish relevant linguistic means and characterize a nonverbal component (visual pattern) of the meme; to differentiate main types of environmental Internet memes depending on the identified communicative strategies.

The website Reddit.com (reddit.com: search results by environmental memes) was the source for material collection, which is used to share current memes on the Internet. Reddit.com being a hybrid of a website and a social network allows you to upload your own videos and links to third-party sites, provides keyword search, and has standard social network tools. In fact, Reddit.com is a new media platform to organize, package and share environmental content [Simon, Xenos, 2000], and the phenomenon of the Internet meme turns into a significant factor influencing a new environmental media landscape [Ross, Rivers, 2019].

The selected Internet memes were analysed using linguostylistic and linguosemiotic methods, and content analysis. The linguopragmatics of English-language Internet memes is based on the previously developed linguopragmatic model of environmental online discourse which includes the following components: goal  $\rightarrow$  intention/communicative-pragmatic attitudes  $\rightarrow$  strategy  $\rightarrow$  tactics [Pavlova, 2021].

The influential potential of English-language environmental Internet memes was also considered in the light of the typology proposed by N. A. Zinovieva. This typology is based on the principle of dichotomies: "the source of the meme (truth-lie dichotomy); the object of reality which needs to be reflected (character-evidence/idea dichotomy); appeal to the level of cultural involvement (tradition-innovation dichotomy); semantic dominants (background-figure dichotomy); the form of representation (image-text dichotomy); the effect (thought-action dichotomy)" [Zinovyeva, 2015].

#### Results

Internet memes can respond quickly to current events, have a strong emotional impact on the addressee, reach a wide audience of Internet users, actively communicate environmental views online and offline, and satisfy the audience's need for entertainment and creativity. Environmental Internet memes offer a timely understanding of environmental issues through the prism of politics, economics, and human psychology. They serve to form a topical agenda (reflect reactions to the latest eco-events, actions of eco-activists) and problematization of reality fragments (true memes and specially created or false memes); Internet memes are used to focus the audience's attention on the problems of climate change, plastic pollution of the oceans, deforestation, loss of biodiversity, etc., protest against hypocritical actions of large corporations, government agencies, pseudo eco-activists, mock the actions of eco-activists and obtrusive and useless eco-propaganda (self-generated or true memes) or discredit the actions of corporations and states hiding behind concerns for the environment (false memes); promote environmental consciousness and stereotypes of eco-friendly behaviour (false and true memes).

Based on the linguostylistic, linguosemiotic, and content analysis of environmental Internet memes, the following specification of the linguo-pragmatic model for this segment of environmental online communication can be proposed.

Purpose (why speak?) — to support and promote environmental ideas / demonstrate a sceptical attitude to environmental actions  $\rightarrow$  Intention

(what is one's intention to speak?) — to influence the addressee / communicative and pragmatic attitudes: to influence the addressee (how?) with informative and emphasizing (to inform about the problem, draw attention to it, support the idea of sustainable production, make think about the scale of environmental problems), persuasive (to prove the need to protect nature and the danger of the consequences of environmental disasters); recreational (to entertain the audience, mock the futility of the actions taken); regulatory (to reinforce the desired stereotype of behaviour) attitudes  $\rightarrow$  strategy (by what speech acts?) — to draw attention to environmental issues, inform, give reasons, intimidate, create a comical effect, develop a stereotype of environmental behaviour  $\rightarrow$  tactics (what means?) — verbal, non-verbal.

Below is a true meme-innovation which visual template was made up of footage from the movie Star Wars: Episode 2 — Attack of the Clones (2002, USA) (Fig. 1). The meme with the original title For the better, right? appeared on Twitter in 2021, then it was posted on Reddit where it went viral. As a result of changing the situational framework, the entertaining picture has become a template for generating new meanings including drawing attention to the environmental problem of climate change. While retaining the same image, new remarks were added to the verbal template, and there appeared a caption referring to environmental issues After climate summit, as well as a generalized name for a collective actor World leaders whose face is Anakin, the movie character with hidden evil inten-



Fig. 1. The For the better, right? meme

tions. In the analysed meme, the intention of influencing the addressee is objectified to encourage them to think about urgent global environmental problems. The meaningful look of Anakin Skywalker, his silence, as well as the changed face of his interlocutor Padme Amidala create a feeling of anxiety. As a result, based on a well-known visual template, a new verbal component, a new centrepiece of the Internet meme and a new generalized meaning have been formed to draw attention to the problem of reducing emissions into the atmosphere and ironically emphasize the lack of real action from world leaders. The use of images of famous characters against a green landscape creates a contrast between the verbal and nonverbal elements and implements the tactic of focusing the attention of the Internet audience on the problem at hand. The verbal component, apart from the title, contains one statement We promise to reduce emissions and a duplicate question You will actually do it, right? which has different intonation and is nonverbally objectified by the facial expressions of the character Padme Amidala.

- In general, this meme is an example of the implementation of the strategy to draw attention to global climate problems.
- The following Internet meme, which uses the well-known visual template *Drakeposting*, objectifies the intention to influence the addressee to endorse ecological ideas and specific environmentally friendly methods of economic activity (Fig. 2.)



Fig. 2. The Drakeposting meme

The original visual template of the meme Drakeposting, based on still images from the Drake music video, is not modified. The footage shows Drake in a bright orange jacket first spectacularly refusing something and then showing an approving gesture. After reframing, the verbal component of the meme which clarifies what Drake does not support (traditional farming methods) and what he supports (regenerative farming) has been transformed. In this example, the strategy of informing is implemented by means of the tactic of focusing attention. As a result, a new centrepiece of the Internet meme has been formed including a wellknown visual template, a new verbal component, and a new generalized meaning — to support the idea of sustainable production. According to the typology proposed by N. A. Zinovyeva, this Internet meme is a true meme, it represents a meme-innovation since it uses a precedent phenomenon — an existing topical meme. The image of a recognizable meme character enhances the pragmatic effect of the creolized text and triggers the audience to share the views expressed in it. The tactic of focusing attention is realized through the contrast between the verbal (standard and special vocabulary) and non-verbal (the image of a famous rapper) means. Verbal and non-verbal elements complement each other — elliptical syntactic constructions (Supporting destructive "traditional" farming practices / Supporting regenerative farming practices) provide a concise caption and the visual component of the meme allows to understand its meaning more precisely.

Next, let us consider an Internet meme which implements the intention to influence the addressee through the strategy of argumentation. The *Which of these is true about climate change* meme shown in Fig. 3 is a

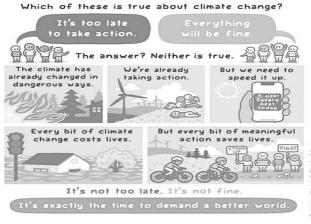


Fig. 3. The Which of these is true about climate change meme

false meme created specifically to explain the truth about climate change. It looks like a comic strip and makes an emotional appeal for practical actions aimed at preventing negative consequences of global warming. The verbal component contains several argumentation techniques: the meme begins with a rhetorical question *Which of these is true about climate change?* attracting the attention of the addressee and encouraging him to reflect on the problem posed. Other expressive syntactic means are also used in the text part of the meme: antithesis, question-answer constructions, syntactic parallelism (anaphora and epiphora). The mem ends with a call to action.

In this meme, visual elements illustrate and support verbal elements. Contrasting colours mark the climate pessimists in purple and the optimists in yellow; the appeal phrase is placed on a red background.

The following are typical examples of Internet memes which objectify the intention to influence the addressee through the strategy of intimidation implemented by the tactics of negative prediction.



Fig. 4. The Sarah Connor is on fire meme



Fig. 5. The Cat in the Hat meme

Visual templates of the memes are footage from Terminator 2: Judgment Day (1991, USA) (Fig. 4) and The Cat in the Hat (2003, USA) (Fig. 5); these templates are not modified. The centrepiece of these memes constitutes a new generalized meaning (climate change is disastrous for humanity) and a stable visual template. These memes are true, refer to well-known contemporary feature films and their conceptual dominant is thought. The memes explain the same thing — devastating effects of climate change. The pragmatic potential of the meme Sarah Connor is on fire is provided primarily by the apocalyptic image and is addressed to the so-called climate sceptics as the caption Climate change deniers at the top of the meme goes. The verbal component of the meme contains a rhetorical question encouraging the addressee (climate sceptics) to think about the negative consequences of global climate change and the need for concrete actions to prevent the disaster: When it comes to climate change why are so many people still on the fence? The use of the idiom on the fence adds to the expressivity of the statement. The pragmatic effect of the meme The Cat in the Hat is created mainly by the emphasis on the verbal component which consists of two statements: A bright future for younger generations; Climate change and its effects likely causing mass extinction. The first part of the statement contains irony created by using the metaphor a bright future. The tactic of negative prediction is also objectified by the term *mass extinction*. In general, the verbal element overwhelms the visual element.

As part of the strategy to create a comical effect, tactics to mock ecoactivists' stunts, activities of large corporations and states, and the discrepancy between their statements and actions are implemented. The true meme *Environmental activists* (Fig. 6) has an original visual template based on a screenshot from the video game *Cuphead* (2017). This template



Fig. 6. The Environment activists meme



Fig. 7. The Just Stop Oil meme



Fig. 8. The Captain Planet and the Planeteers meme

is not modified. After reframing, the following caption was added: *Environmental activists talking about climate change*; *Them using Yachts and airplanes*. The comical effect of the meme is created by the resonance of the verbal and nonverbal (illustrative) components.

The strategy of creating a comical effect is realized in this case by the tactic to reduce the situation to an absurdity. The false meme *Just Stop Oil* (Fig. 7) contains an immediate emotional response to the recent stunt by the protesters of environmental activist group *Just Stop Oil* who threw tomato soup over Vincent van Gogh's painting *Sunflowers* at the National Gallery in London. The meme template consists of four images,

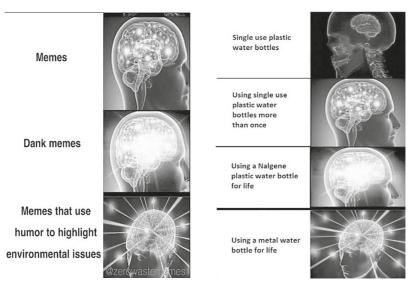


Fig. 9.1. The expanding brain meme

Fig. 9.2. The expanding brain meme

each with captions. The sequence of the meme's images and their accompanying lines ironically represent the absurd situation which shows how *Soup on Van Gogh* stops oil production and saves the world from a climate collapse.

The strategy of developing a stereotype of eco-friendly behaviour and promoting environmental consciousness is realized in the following memes. Figure 8 shows a meme which visual template is footage from animated environmentalist superhero television *series Captain Planet and the Planeteers* about superheroes who save the Earth from an environmental disaster. This meme can be characterized as a false meme with an explicit pragmatic motivational message — a call not to litter. The creolized text of the meme objectifies the regulatory attitude which is expressed in the desire to reinforce the necessary stereotype of eco-friendly behaviour. The text part of the meme uses colloquial vocabulary, the imperative, colloquial syntactic constructions; the negative particle *not* is highlighted in capital letters and italics.

Let us consider two versions of the viral true meme-innovation which has the conventional name *Expanding brain meme* (Fig. 9.1.; Fig. 9.2). After reframing, the meme entered environmental communication; it implements the strategy of promoting ecological consciousness and developing a stereotype of eco-friendly behavior. It is known that this meme appeared on Reddit in January 2017. It usually uses a sequence of three or four im-

ages, but the last image always depicts a large brain with beams radiating out of it or a fully glowing person. The verbal or non-verbal signs to the left of the expanding brain ideally show progression of ideas (from supposedly primitive to more advanced) but can also be an ironic way to emphasize the absurdity of each following idea.

The Internet meme templates presented in Figures 9.1 and 9.2 are not modified. The centerpiece of the analyzed Internet memes constitutes a new generalized meaning (the importance of highlighting environmental problems in a meme format and the need to use reusable cups to reduce plastic pollution) and a set visual pattern. The sequence of verbal signs in the left part of the meme does not allow us clearly to answer the question of how serious the pragmatic message of the creolized text is, which is a sign of the so-called post-ironic meme.

### Conclusion

The study of English-language environmental Internet memes has revealed the following dominant strategies: to attract attention to environmental issues, to inform, to give reasons, to intimidate, and to create a comical effect. The strategies of attracting attention to environmental issues, informing and arguing are implemented primarily through specially selected facts and appeals to ethical and emotional arguments, elements of resonance of verbal and non-verbal elements; the strategy of intimidation is objectified as a rule by emotional reasons containing an element of threat, negative prediction; the strategy of creating a comical effect is implemented by elements of language game, resonance / dissonance of the background, object, character, verbal and non-verbal elements and sometimes reduce the situation to an absurdity. As a rule, as a visual component, widely known images-templates, images of recognizable memecharacters, footage from famous films, cartoons, video games are used and actively involved in reframing related to environmental issues. Based on the analysis of the stratagem and tactical organization of creolized Internet memes, five main linguopragmatic types were differentiated: informing, persuasive, intimidating, humorous, ironical and sceptical. Due to their flexible pragmatic potential, environmental Internet memes are becoming a popular genre of English-language environmental discourse, which is a product of both new online humorous culture and mobilizing environmental PR-technologies.

The present study examined the English-language environmental internet memes posted on Reddit. We propose that future researchers turn to other Internet resources (social networks) for more extensive results.

In addition, environmental Internet memes can be studied in other languages, which would allow a comparative analysis for the diversity of coverage of the phenomenon under study. Despite its limitations, the current study has contributed to the literature and research on English-language environmental Internet memes. The obtained results of the study of linguo-pragmatics of English-language environmental Internet memes provide an opportunity to outline the contour of the development of this phenomenon and provide additional material for the analysis of global environmental Internet communication.

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### CLASSIFICATION OF METAPHORS ACCORDING TO THE LEVELS OF DECODING

On the basis of the material under investigation we propose our version of metaphors classification. The suggested classification is based on the traditional one (genuine, trite and sustained metaphors). A four-level classification of metaphors is presented within the scope of the article. Its main criterion is the degree of difficulties in their comprehension. The metaphors are arranged according to the principles of fluent and crystalized intelligence. A semantic structure of a word is viewed as a multi-level configuration of meanings. It is fixed by a dominant invariant meaning. The analysis of the English substantive "a leg" is presented. We have developed a new approach to the phenomena under consideration called the invariant-component method. As a result, the obtained semantic metaphorical clusters have lead to the lexical invariant definition. The latter is viewed as a set of basic dominant components that form the semantic core of a polysemous word. The results of the study led to the conclusion that lexical invariants make it possible to successfully decode metaphors of the first basic level according to our classification.

*Keywords:* metaphors, semantics, meaning, flexible intelligence, crystallized intelligence, polysemous word.

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### КЛАССИФИКАЦИЯ МЕТАФОР ПО УРОВНЯМ ДЕКОДИРОВАНИЯ

В статье предпринята попытка определения характера отображения значений в семантическом пространстве лексикона посредством раскрытия содержания метафор. Приведена трехуровневая классификация метафор, основным критерием которой является степень трудности их восприятия, где метафоры располагаются по принципу от простых к сложным. Выдвинута гипотеза о том, что семантическая структура слова, как многоуровневая конфигурация значений, закрепляется доминирующим инвариантным значением. В качестве доказательства представлен анализ английского субстантива a leg с использованием инвариантно-компонентного метода. В результате определены семантические метафорические кластеры значений этого слова и его лексический инвариант как совокупность базовых доминантных компонентов, образующих семантическое ядро слова. Результаты исследования позволили сделать вывод о том, что лексический инвариант позволяет успешно декодировать метафоры первого базового уровня.

*Ключевые слова:* метафоры, семантика, значение, гибкий интеллект, кристаллизованный интеллект, многозначное слово.

"There is nothing more fundamental to thought and language than our sense of similarity".

(Willard Quine)

### Introduction

Technical and general progress continuously leads to the development of languages whose vocabulary can be changed dynamically, reaching up to 30 % per century. In the process of mental and speech activity, individual consciousness is equally prone to both generalizations and personal interpretation of incoming information that refracts the objective perception of the surrounding world. A person is driven by the desire to streamline the received symbolic connections and relations between them under the influence of cultural, socio-economic, national, religious, personal and other factors, which give rise to the need for new nominations. The use of the means available in the language is of great importance, since it makes it possible to use them to designate something for which there has not yet been a special nomination.

The easiest way to adapt a new notion is to borrow a word from the language where it already exists. A new term (both as a nonce-word of a language-inventor or a borrowing) can as well appear as a new addition to the structure of already existing polysemous word. In this case we deal with metaphors. At the same time, there is a process of renewal within the structures of polysemous words: the meanings perceived as the main ones cease to be direct meanings over time, moving into the category of figurative ones. For example, it's a matter of a discussion which meaning is classed now as the main one for the word *a summit* — that of a mountain peak or a meeting of heads of states. In the same way, the first meaning of the English word *a coach* eventually shifted from *a cart* to *a bus*.

The most frequent figurative meanings in the composition of polysemous words are metaphors and phraseological units. In modern cognitive linguistics, a metaphor is interpreted not only as a means of giving the text a special emotional and evaluative expressiveness, but also as a mechanism for generating new cognitive scenarios. Among the reasons for word structures expanding there are extra linguistic factors (for example, the new metaphors appearance in Russian of 1980s: cmehka - a wall (as modular sectional furniture),  $\partial bo \ddot{u}ka - deuce$  (TV and a video recorder), npucmabka - console (a tape recorder), etc.

A metaphor is an applicable tool for nominating new artifacts in any area of human life. It is also almost the only way to meaningfully define objects of a high degree of abstraction. The change of paradigms towards

the virtual construction of entities is characterized by a change in the vector of metaphorization towards the objectification of the world. For example, only a user with a deep understanding of the computer system can be called a root, as if being a part of a plant deeply buried in the ground.

Since metaphors are the most frequent figurative meanings, it is important to understand how they are decoded by our consciousness. In conditions when technical progress simplifies our thinking, it is important to aware that some complicated culturally multi-coded metaphors may present difficulties for understanding. Thus, the inability to decode complex metaphors might be directly related to the lack of interest in systematic literature reading.

Within the framework of this article we propose a classification of metaphorical meanings based on different types and levels of metaphors comprehension and decoding abilities. The typology is also based on the principle of using the type of intelligence: flexible (mobile) and crystallized [Cattell, 1971]. The classification includes simple basic intuitive metaphors, expanded associative non-trivial metaphors and nested multi-stage metaphors. Thus, complex expanded associative non-trivial and nested multi-stage metaphors decoding presupposes the use of flexible intellect and a strain of the imagination.

At the same time, our research proved that effective decoding of metaphors, at least of the first level of complexity, can be carried out not traditionally through the main meaning but through the proposed dominant nuclear components — a lexical invariant. The latter already exists and functions in the lexicon as a result of multiple use of metaphorical meanings.

That is, instead of two cognitive operations (first appealing to the semantic components of the first meaning and only through them to the metaphor itself), we propose one cognitive operation. We believe that this is how the brain works — efficiently and economically.

### Classification of metaphors

The material under investigation gave us the opportunity to set intermediate links between genuine and trite metaphors. Below we present a classification of metaphorical meanings, the main criterion of which is the degree of difficulty of their decoding and general perception. Accordingly, metaphors are arranged according to the principle from simple to complex:

The first class of metaphors are *conventional or conditional metaphors*. They are so familiar that we rarely notice them. Conventional metaphors are used without much cognitive effort and are so common that they seem to be natural and self-evident descriptions of everyday life. They, as a rule, are not characterized by the presence of imagery and creativity. This type of metaphor is also classed as "truly dead": *to see one's point, to fall into ranks, give tone to sth, display bravery, impose an embargo, fly into a rage, ill deeds,* etc. For example, in the word combination of three significant words: *to see one's point* we came across two metaphors — *to see* (understand) and *a point* (a view).

The **second** class of metaphors includes basic intuitive metaphors, which are usually perceived instinctively and automatically. They are used without much cognitive effort and are so common that they seem to be natural and self-evident descriptions of everyday life. Here is an example of English basic intuitive metaphors: *coat/knee/sleeve of a pipe, nose of a ship, head of a mountain/river/bay, branch of a company, chain of events/circumstances*, etc.

Compared to English, metaphorization is not that extensive in Russian: thus, for the Russian word *εοποβα* — *a head* there are many lacunas: *coat of a pipe* and *head of a mountain / river / bay*, etc. Thus, about 103 metaphorical meanings are found in the structure of the English polysemous word "a head". The Russian analogue, even including the derivatives of "a head", contains only 15-20 metaphors. Even in Russian, where word-formation models and direct nomination prevail, there are quite a lot of intuitive metaphorical transfers.

From the typology proposed by G. Lakoff and M. Johnson [Lakoff & Johnson 1980], the orientational metaphors, such as to feel up/down, were includes to our classification of metaphors as the simplest and most obvious. By the way, orientational metaphors can be supplemented with the following mechanism: "being important is always good, being unimportant is bad". For example, all metaphors with a component head can illustrate this mechanism. Thus, if we refer to a part of an object as head, be it the top or the beginning, it will always be the important part of it. For example, in metaphor the head of a table "head" is any place at the table that the owner considers the most important: it can be either the end of the table or its center.

The first group of basic intuitive metaphors also includes synesthetic metaphors, such as a green old age (happy age), yellow silence, green envy, humid green, pale sound, bitter tone, low sound, bright sound, sweet sounds, cold / warm light, light creaking, heavy hum, etc. Synesthetic metaphors based on the level of tactility are quite common. It is obvious that hugs or any physical closeness can create a feeling of warmth or cold: a warm / cold friendship or handshake. These metaphors, although of linguo-cultural nature, are usually perceived without much effort and cognitive dissonance.

The second group of basic intuitive metaphors also includes synesthetic metaphors, such as a green old age (happy), yellow silence, green envy, humid green, pale sound, bitter tone, low sound, bright sound, sweet sounds, cold / warm light, light creaking, heavy hum, etc. These metaphors, although they are of a linguo-cultural nature, are usually perceived without much difficulty and cognitive dissonance for individuals with imagination.

From around the age of four, children display an ability to transfer metaphorical meanings from one modality to another [Marks & Stevence, 1966]. In this respect, metaphor is classed as the earliest cognitive function that directly affects language acquisition. As for synesthesia, color synesthetic metaphors also come from childhood.

The first class of metaphors also includes numerous anthropomorphic metaphors. They are usually not difficult for comprehension either. Anthropomorphism serves as an umbrella term for such phenomena as animism (personification), animatism (personification with endowing inanimate objects or animals with human emotions and abilities): *a devouring prairie*; *Notre'Dame squats in the dusk*; *Mother Nature blushes before disrobing*, etc.

As is demonstrated in our studies [Pesina, et al 2021], the vector of anthropomorphism is bidirectional. We distinguish centrifugal-nominative and centripetal-nominative anthropomorphism. The first is focused on likening the surrounding objects and phenomena to the structure and functioning of one's own body. The second one is focused on the reverse process: the nomination of personal properties like character, appearance, etc., on the analogy of the appearance and qualitative characteristics of the surrounding objects and phenomena.

We use basic intuitive metaphors so often that we do not even notice that they are figurative meanings that imply overthinking. Their decoding involves a crystallized type of intelligence that involves reasoning (usually verbal) based on the prior knowledge and the ability to infer secondary relational abstractions by applying previously comprehended primary abstractions.

In contrast to the crystallized type of intelligence, flexible intelligence (also mobile or fluid) includes reasoning (often non-verbal) about new problems. Flexible intelligence is able to "produce" knowledge different from the existing one, solve new problems. It is associated with the acquired critical skills as understanding, interpretation and learning [Cattel, 1971].

In the understanding of the next type of metaphorical rethinking, which we called "leveled expanded associative non-trivial metaphors", both these forms of intelligence are involved.

So the third class of metaphorical meanings includes extended associative non-trivial metaphors, which, unlike intuitive ones, require the activation of voluntary attention. They assume a significant distance between the source and target domains. These are expanded non-trivial metaphors. They are fresh and often perceived as a shock of recognition, since they contain a paradox, a search for similarities in dissimilar objects. To decipher extended associative non-trivial metaphors, an individual needs several interconnected cognitive processes. It is necessary due to the high density of embedded information.

When creating such levelled metaphors, several or at least two initially poorly correlated domains can be used. From them a single domain is subsequently constructed. If the cognitive dissonance arising from the perception of associative non-trivial metaphors or the delay in decoding information is critical, then understanding does not occur.

This class of metaphors includes structural, ontological and polymodal (multimodal) metaphors, for the understanding of which at least two semiotic channels of information perception are used, for example, verbal and visual. Mixed verbal-graphic metaphors form one idea from two or more domains. This is, for instance, embodied in metaphorical memes, various kinds of promotional products containing figurative rethinking on condition that metaphors should not be trivial.

The polymodal metaphors are often analyzed with the help of the theory of conceptual integration developed by J. Fauconnier and M. Turner. Instead of the two-term scheme of Lakoff and Johnson, they rely on a system of four basic components, in which two concepts project their components onto each other, and do not replace one concept with another, as in the theory of conceptual metaphor. Moreover, the complete replacement of one domain by another rarely occurs as through one meaning, as a rule, "shines through" another (the effect of oscillation or palimpsest).

Internet communication is often metaphorical and polycodal. For example, at least two cognitive processes occur if you see a picture of a tiger preparing to jump and read the inscription: "This is how your wife is waiting for you when you say that you will come in 10 minutes, but come in 2 hours ..." We are witnessing an anthropomorphic, or rather animate rethinking, when the qualities of an animal are transferred to a person and, therefore, it must be attributed to the first type of a simple intuitive metaphor. However, at least two cognitive processes are involved here: the perception and combination of graphic and linguistic information. Based on this criterion, such example of recategorization is more difficult to perceive and can be attributed to the third class of metaphors.

Nevertheless, we recognize that there is a field for discussion here, as graphic perception may serve as means of linguistic content understanding. In addition, metaphors are so diverse and rooted in our lives that it is extremely difficult to draw a clear demarcation line of classification between them.

Finally, **the fourth class** of metaphors includes nested multi-stage metaphors with multiple degrees of understanding. In such transfers, the semantic arrow in turn points to the semantic movement as a multi-level (double, triple, etc.) rethought of information, occurring in someone's imagination.

This type of metaphors can cover the entire literary work — a poem or prose (cf. F. Wheelwright's diaphora, meaning the combination of the most diverse details into a single new perspective). At the same time, semantic information can be packed into a number of metaphorical images that interact with each other in the most unusual way. We are talking about the formation of new complexes by successive fusion of some impressions that are difficult to commensurate.

Critical thinking, a high level of culture, a good working combination of flexible and crystallized intelligence are needed to understand nested metaphors. The individual must see a generalizing idea and be able to produce ideas.

## Illustration of nested multi-stage metaphors

Let us give a brief illustration of nested metaphors. A generalizing nested metaphor is created through the feelings and thoughts of the character in Franz Kafka's novel "The Process". Through the dialogues, descriptions and internally represented speech a generalized nested metaphor is created. This is an image of a monster state, into the clutches of which any most ordinary harmless inhabitant can fall. The monster methodically devours people, drawing them into all thoughts of humiliation, exterminating all human. Thus a reader can visualize a monster or other horror incarnate.

Within the framework of a parallel allegorical understanding of the same novel, another metaphor may arise: the monster can be a formidable accusatory machine of justice, mercilessly grinding the soul of a person. A multi-stage metaphor with multiple degrees of understanding can be an incessant nightmare from which awakening is impossible. Thus, the only deliverance is death.

The nested metaphor is constantly enriched with colors of doom and hopelessness, similar to a narrow rut from which one cannot get out. This is the road along which many are doomed, but always go in the same direction.

The next association is connected with descending into orbit and rotating on it until the person approaches the sizzling center. Approaching the center is also inevitable. The center appears as a black hole, where a person who has passed the point of no return. On reaching the point the person would inevitably be stretched, torn apart and swallowed up forever. So metaphorically and allegorically Kafka brilliantly predicted the emergence of fascism. Thus the system into which a person gets by chance sets itself the boundary conditions for him.

Possible trajectories of reaching the programmed end differ for the main characters of F. Kafka's works only by the degree of the nightmare and its nuances. So, in the novel "America" the fatal friends of the protagonist pursue him, as in a nightmare, and overtake him everywhere and always. At the same time, the system itself, as it were, destroys other possible scenarios for the development of events, i.e. other stories, leaving only one inevitable.

Interestingly, in relation to the development of the universe within the framework of astrophysics, the phenomenon of multiple histories was discovered in the 1960s. It was discovered by the famous physicist, one of the founders of quantum electrodynamics, Nobel laureate R. Feynman. Later, this hypothesis was refined in the sense that the boundary conditions may not be specified at all.

Thus, it may not be the system, but the person himself sets fatal boundary conditions for himself and moves within the framework of the trajectory set by himself. In this regard, the genius of F. Kafka lies in the formulation of the right questions, which humanity has yet to answer.

Within the framework of these works, nested multi-stage metaphors of personified horror are constantly present in the background of linguistic consciousness. They impose a multi-stage perception, including figurative, dictate the multiplicity of cognitive transitions. Such metaphors construct a mode of perception, as if toning everything that happens. The individual must be intellectually, morally, ethically and culturally ready to construct such associative links.

Nested multi-stage metaphors are a serious intellectual burden on general perception, attention and memory. This is perhaps the only way to catch and meaningfully define objects of a high degree of complexity, i. e. multi-level abstractions. With their insensitivity, a situation arises when whole layers of culturally coded and ethically marked thinking, embodied in the figurative Aesopian language, cannot be understood.

We are talking not only about the carriers of the so-called naive picture of the world or average native speakers, but also about those who have received higher education. Clip communication, testing aimed at choosing the right answer, and not at creative problem solving, the lack

of systematic literary reading skills can have far-reaching negative consequences for the state of linguistic consciousness. It is connected with the corresponding bundle and fine-tuning of the crystallized and flexible types of intellect.

Our experimental data show that even people with the higher humanitarian education do not always structure their thoughts, do not realize them, cannot interpret the meanings. Very often they cannot link the existing metaphorical figurative meanings in one polysemous word structure [Pesina et al. 2019]. Meanwhile, in order to operate with metaphors of the third and the fourth classes from those presented above, it is not enough to somehow feel and decode them. It is necessary to understand their functions and feel their advantage over non-metaphorical nomination.

There are studies on how the level of development of crystallized and flexible intelligence affects the processing of metaphors. For example, L. Trick and A. Katz [Trick & Katz 1986] found a positive correlation between people's scores on a test of reasoning by analogy and scores on the comprehensibility of metaphors. As their studies have shown, neither the measurement of the level of vocabulary (crystallized intelligence), nor the ability of verbal-analogous reasoning contributed to the prediction in terms of understanding metaphors.

In contrast, D. Chiappe & p. Chiappe's research [Chiappe & Chiappe 2007] suggests that both fluid and crystallized intelligence affect metaphor processing. In their study, recipients who scored high on a test of working memory on measures of vocabulary and familiarity with printed text (crystallized intelligence) generated better interpretations of metaphors faster.

A good working memory, as well as a good level of inhibitory control, predetermine the correct processing and interpretation of metaphors [Ackerman, Beier & Boyle 2005]. These executive functions are associated with neuroplasticity and reflect the ability of excitatory and inhibitory neurons to create the necessary signal circuits. This skill is closely related to the work of flexible intellect.

In general, as we believe, at present there is not enough junction of cognitive linguistics, linguistic pragmatics, neurolinguistics, psycholinguistics, philosophy of language and methods of teaching language to set and solve the ambitious task of cardinally refocusing and boosting the speech-thinking processes of people of all ages. We need the proven reliable methods that can constantly develop imagery and the power of thinking. At the neuro-linguistic level, we are talking about the development of neuroplasticity and the formation of appropriate stable neural circuits.

# Examples of basic intuitive metaphors decoding by means of lexical invariants

The awareness of these basic frequent components can help the user in metaphorical meanings decoding. The invariant semantic components unite the contextual realizations of all the figurative meanings of the polysemous word.

The conscious use of lexical invariants allows us to see not only the "raw material" from which a certain figurative meaning is formed, but also to understand the logic of the formation of the entire structure of the word. The lexical invariant has a dynamic nature and is formed as a result of frequent use of the metaphor in question. Lexical invariants unite metaphors into a single structure.

In connection with the foregoing, it is important to find the key to decoding at least basic intuitive metaphors, to learn to see the commonality that unites the contextual realizations of the figurative meanings of the same word.

We have proposed a hypothesis for the effective decoding of basic intuitive metaphors in order to rely on the common thing that unites the contextual realizations of the figurative meanings of the same word. To do this, we use the concept of "lexical invariant", which we understand as an abstract linguistic entity, a cluster of semantic components. Ehis cluster underlies all or a number of meanings of the polysemous word in one of its configurations in accordance with the intuition of the average native speaker.

In the process of a metaphor decoding as part of a speech context, the lexical invariant can make it easier and faster to understand the metaphor. The context metaphor implements one of the dominant semantic components of the lexical invariant. Or, in other words, the latter is embodied in one of its combinatorial variants [Solonchak, Pesina 2015].

Let us illustrate what has been said by presenting below the results of the analysis of the English polysemous substantive *a leg*. The following are the invariant components that hold together the semantics of the English word *a leg* which we call a lexical invariant: **a long straight, often lower and branching off part of an object which acts as a support or a distinct portion or a stage between two stops or positions (long straight, often lower and a branching part of an object that acts as a support or separate part or step between two stops or positions**).

This lexical invariant includes the most significant integral and differential semantic components and is formed at the level of the language system through numerous contextual realizations of meanings (in particular, metaphorical ones). It is opposed to the term "variant", which functions

at the speech level as a contextual realization of the invariant. This opposition is built into the language-speech dichotomy [Kostina, Zerkina & Pesina 2015; Pesina et al. 2021].

As an illustration of the functioning of the lexical invariant, let us present an empirical invariant-component analysis of the polysemous English word *leg*. All metaphorical meanings can be divided into five clusters. In each of the clusters, the configuration of the semantic components is somewhat different. As a result of the analysis of 16 meanings of the polysemous word *a leg*, the following groups of metaphors can be identified:

part of an object, long, straight, acts as a support (leg of a triangle; leg of a divider/compass — side of a triangle other than base or hypotenuse);

part of an object, long, straight, branching off from the main object (leg of a road (a way radiating from an intersection); leg of antenna (a branch or lateral circuit connecting a communication instrument with the main line); leg of a cricket field (the part of the field to the left of and behind a right-handed batsman and vice versa);

part of an object, long, straight, lower, acts as a support (leg of a plant — the part of a plant stem between the base and the point from which branches arrive; leg of a table/chair/bed (the part of furniture that rests on the floor and helps to support its weight);

a distinct portion or a stage between two stops or positions, long, straight (leg of a long journey/flight — one of the distinct portions or stages of any course or journey; that part of an air flight pattern that is between two successive stops or positions, or changes in direction);

part of an object, long, straight leg of a football game/a dart match/races etc — a part of a game, a part of a race, or a game of a pair or series of games.

The use of a lexical invariant makes it possible to avoid the phase of comparison and directly decode the metaphor through the dominant core features of the invariant. Since the language has the property of economy, the functioning of such a meaningful core, covering, together with the main meaning, the entire semantics of the word, is effectively and justified.

That is, the bundle of nuclear features we have presented is capable of directly decoding metaphorical transfers, bypassing the first nominative-non-derivative meaning. Based on this generalizing meaning and the analysis carried out (the results of the invariant-cluster analysis are presented above), we specified the dominant features included in the lexical invariant.

The lexical invariant is derived from the internal "intuitive contemplation" using the corresponding innate and human-specific brain algorithms, conveying the essence and delineating the boundaries of the semantic structure of the word. At the linguistic level, we are dealing with

a bundle or cluster of semantic components, and at the psycholinguistic level, we have a model of the functioning of words in the lexicon. Moreover, such an invariant model presumably has an innate character, since it illustrates the basic ability of a person to generalize (along with the ability to associate, categorize and conceptualize).

## Conclusion

The presented above classifications of metaphors testify to the levels of understanding by a person of the world of conventions that he himself creates. It reflects the nuances of the interpretation of refracted reality and the ontological connection between the features of the subjective perception of the surrounding world and the world itself.

A person, in accordance with the anthropic worldview, adapts his habitat to himself, apparently using innate mechanisms of metaphorical categorization of reality. In this respect, metaphors serve as the leading links and the most frequent decoding mechanisms, being the richness of the polysemous structure and ensuring the integrity of its semantic context. Metaphor, as a powerful tool for personifying the surrounding world, minimizes the difference between subject and object. Without metaphor, there would be no vocabulary that characterizes abstract concepts. In metaphor, we see the refraction of the everyday world, revealing and grasping the very essence of an object or phenomenon.

This refracted world is reflected and embodied in the nuclear information formed behind the structure of the word about the semantics of this word, in what we call the lexical invariant. It functions at the background level, providing an effective quick access to the semantics of a metaphor, fastens the structure of the polysemous word, preventing it from disintegrating into homonyms. The lexical invariant involves referring directly to the dominant nuclear features of the word, which underlie the metaphors, are learned intuitively and are absolutely necessary for the successful decoding of hidden meanings.

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# "LEAVES OF GRASS" BY WALT WHITMAN: FREE VERSE PRINCIPLES AND THEIR ROLE IN RAISING ACCURACY OF RUSSIAN TRANSLATIONS

The paper explores major principles underpinning *verse libre* by Walt Whitman, the focus on which is expected to improve the quality of translation and assess the extent of accuracy achieved by some famous Russian translators belonging to different epochs unequally distanced from the times of Walt Whitman. The research rests on comparative literary studies as one of its pillars and examines the translations from Walt Whitman by Konstantin Balmont, Korney Chukovsky, Andrey Sergeev, and Vladimir Britanishsky. The study aims to show if the translators managed to preserve Whitman's parallelism ("the rhythm of thought"), including envelope composition, phonetic reiterations, as well as catalogues and imagery. The analysis undertaken herein proves that it is so far hardly possible to talk about the translation of "Leaves of Grass" that would take account of all the principles underpinning Whitman's free verse.

*Keywords*: Walt Whitman, free verse principles, translation accuracy, comparative analysis of translations.

И.В.Пивень (Никитина)

# ПРИНЦИПЫ ВЕРЛИБРА У. УИТМЕНА И ИХ ВЛИЯНИЕ НА ТОЧНОСТЬ ПЕРЕВОДОВ «ЛИСТЬЕВ ТРАВЫ» НА РУССКИЙ ЯЗЫК

В статье рассматриваются ключевые принципы, лежащие в основе верлибра У. Уитмена, который считается новатором свободного стиха и реформатором стихосложения. Цель настоящего исследования заключается в том, чтобы показать, что ориентация на эти принципы позволит, во-первых, судить об их практической пользе при переводе, а во-вторых, оценить границы точности, достигнутые некоторыми известными российскими переводчиками, по времени разноудаленными от эпохи У. Уитмена. Новизна исследования, которое предполагает опору на основы сравнительного литературоведения, определяется тем, что в нем рассматриваются переводы из У. Уитмена, выполненные К. Бальмонтом, К. Чуковским, А. Сергеевым и В. Британишским, на предмет сохранения в них уитменовского параллелизма ("ритма мысли»), в том числе конвертной композиции, фонетических повторов, а также приема каталогов и образной системы. Проведенный анализ показывает, что говорить о переводе «Листьев», учиты-

вающем все принципы, на которых основан верлибр Уитмена пока преждевременно.

*Ключевые слова*: Уолт Уитмен, основные принципы верлибра, точность перевода, сравнительный анализ переводов.

## Introduction

Among the main types of American free verse translated into Russian, the verse standing in contrast to or being the direct opposite of traditional forms comes first, according to Russian philologist Evgeniya Vetrova. She refers to this type of verse as Whitmanian [Vetrova, 1983, p. 169]. In addition to her own observations, she relies on descriptions by W. Sutton [Sutton, 1973], A. Zhovtis [Zhovtis, 2013], Yu. Orlitsky [Orlitsky, 1995] to identify typological convergence of American and Russian free verse based on Walt Whitman's verse variety and on the analysis of existing translations. Apart from the scholars mentioned above, we should also base ourselves on the works of Chukovsky [Chukovsky, 1966], Gachev [Gachev, 1998], Probstein [Probstein, 2019], and Demetskaya [Demetskaya, 2013].

Walt Whitman is an American poet who pioneered a unique type of free verse, an open form of poetry that has no consistent meter patterns, rhyme, or any musical pattern, but combines spontaneous, prosaic rhythms with incantatory repetitions resembling the Bible. Vetrova assumes that Whitman's kind of American free verse is mastered the best in Russian poetry [Vetrova, 1983, p. 170]. Still, this fact says nothing about the extent of accuracy achieved by translators of free verse of the first type. This extent is vague enough and any attempts to outline its boundaries require a significant amount of work, which is beyond the scope of this article. However, the analysis proposed herein of how accurate some Whitman's translations are will help to get a completely reliable idea about positive and negative results achieved by the translators as well as to assess how cunning this type of free verse is and how complicated the issues facing translators are.

# Research methods and principles

For the purposes of clarification, we need to point out that we will not deviate from the tenth testament of Russian poet and translator Vasily Trediakovsky: verse should be smooth with poetic license [in verse translation] being limited, if otherwise not possible [Trediakovsky, 1849, vol. 1, p. XIII–XIV]. Thus, the accuracy of translation will be assessed in terms of

faithfulness to the author and the source text (without taking into account socio-cultural aspects of the country of the target language). Since it is almost impossible to translate all the elements of a poem accurately, we need to opt for a translation method (according to Valery Bryusov [Cit. ex Gasparov, 1988, p. 203]) and decide what must be rendered into the target language, and what is allowed to be neglected.

Rhythm is highly relevant when translating Whitman's free verse. According to the poet himself, the poetic quality of his poems, the main principles of his poetics are determined by his rhythmical style [Demetskaya, 2013]. Of undoubted interest is a statement by American professor Bliss Perry¹, which is of high practical value for translators: "essential model [for Whitman] <...> was the rhythmical pattern of the English Bible <...> [in which he] found the charter for the book he wished to write" [Perry, 1906, p. 96].

The Old Testament avails us of such rhythm-formative principles that provide an opportunity to analyze and interpret Whitman's prosody and which we reckon shall determine the ultimate approach to translation of "Leaves of Grass" [Allen, 1935, p. 220–221].

# Analysis and discussion: Translations by Balmont, Chukovsky, Sergeev, and Britanishsky

Parallelism is the first and fundamental rhythm-formative principle. Whitman's line is a rhythmic unit: each line balances the previous one, completes or complements its meaning. According to American academic and writer Gay Wilson Allen, this type of parallelism is "the rhythm of thought" [Allen, 1935, p. 221]. After all, reiteration of thoughts following a certain pattern is indeed a rhythm, and it will be perceived as such if the mind is prepared for its perception [Allen, 1935, p. 229]. A translator's task in this case is not only to preserve the communicatively relevant semantic core of the source text, but also, if possible, to accurately reproduce all the "building blocks of meaning" [Lederer, 1981], without breaking their sequence and hierarchical relationships. Each line should be treated as a functional unit — a linguistic unit characterized by a communicative intent incorporated into the situation or text rather than as an integral unit of the arrangement [Allen, 1935, p. 221–222]. In this context, it is not only the text of a poem that we analyze, but also the text space of "Leaves

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> According to G. W. Allen, there is much evidence that Professor Bliss Perry was right [Allen, 1935, p. 220–221].

of Grass" as a whole. It should be pointed out that such foregrounding of the line requires thematic-rhematic structuring of its content.

Line-by-line parallelism plays a crucial role in "Leaves of Grass". However, internal parallelism is not an accidental phenomenon in Whitman's poetry: it contributes to a bigger final effect of creating some rhythmic pattern of a poem. Thus, Whitman's rhythm of thought is a complex rhythmic structure; from a broader perspective, it is line parallelism, the type of which is determined by the character of a link between lines; from a narrower one, it is internal parallelism determined by the way the content within the line develops [Allen, 1935, p. 224–225].

The character of a link between the lines in "Leaves of Grass" is indicative of an opulent similarity to the poetry of the Old Testament: Whitman's free verse is characterized by the same four types of parallelism: 1) synonymous, 2) antithetic, 3) synthetic or cumulative, 4) climactic or ascending rhythm. Let us analyze the complexity of Whitman's rhythmic pattern based on his short poem "Once I Pass'd Through a Populous City".

## Once I Pass'd Through a Populous City

<sup>1</sup>Once I pass'd through a populous city imprinting my brain for future use with its shows, architecture, customs, traditions,

<sup>2</sup>Yet now of all that city I remember only a woman I casually met there who detain'd me for love of me,

<sup>3</sup>Day by day and night by night we were together — all else has long been forgotten by me,

<sup>4</sup>I remember I say only that woman who passionately clung to me,

<sup>7</sup>I see her close beside me with silent lips sad and tremulous.

[Whitman, 2002, p. 94]

The first two lines illustrate line-by-line antithetic parallelism: the second line negates the first one (once — yet, populous — only, city — woman); lines 3 and 4 display synonymous parallelism: line 4 strengthens line 3 by reiterating the same thought; lines 5, 6, 7 are linked by climactic parallelism or ascending rhythm: the thought unfolds acquiring new details, becoming more and more visible from line to line. In line 3, Whitman makes effective use of internal antithetic parallelism. His persistent "I say" in line 4 acts as a special stress bearing the impress of some emotional emphasis. The way content moves and develops in line 5 suggests internal synthetic parallelism. So, the poem has all the four types of parallelism making up a complex rhythmic structure. A translator should con-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Again we wander, we love, we separate again,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Again she holds me by the hand, I must not go,

vey all the aspects of Whitman's rhythm of thought so that Russian readers (those that are prepared, of course) could hear this rhythm.

Let us analyze the translation by Russian poet Korney Chukovsky, one of Whitman's first and most prolific translators<sup>2</sup>:

## Однажды, когда я проходил городом

<sup>1</sup>Однажды, когда я проходил по большому, многолюдному городу, я пытался внедрить в свою память его улицы, зданья, обычаи, нравы, <sup>2</sup>Но теперь я забыл этот город, помню лишь некую женщину, которую я

случайно там встретил, и она удержала меня, потому что полюбила меня.  $^3$ День за днем, ночь за ночью мы были вдвоем, — все остальное я давно позабыл.

 $^4$ Помню только ее, эту женщину, которая страстно прилепилась ко мне,

[Whitman, 1982, p. 114-115]

Let us turn to line-by-line analysis, focusing on thematic-rhematic relations.

It is plain to see that by introducing a subordinate clause of time, the translator distorted topic-comment relations in the first line and, thereby, interfered with the way its content moves, with its rhythmic-melodic arrangement, its intonation.

The translator builds the rheme of the second line on the antithesis "забыл — помню" (remember — forgot), i.e. with the help of the predicate "забыл" (forgot), which has no equivalent in the source text, Chukovsky creates internal antithetic parallelism in the second line. As a result of such transformations in the first two lines, line-by-line antithetic parallelism in the target text no longer produces the same effect as the source text.

Line-by-line synonymous parallelism of lines 3 and 4 in the source text is conveyed by the translator, including internal antithetic parallelism of line 3. However, in line 4, the translator neglected Whitman's "I say" and introduced his own rhematic signal — demonstrative pronoun "eë" (her), thus distorting the inner rhythm of thought, the intonation of the line. As a result, Chukovsky diminishes the productivity of line 4, its role in line-by-line synonymous parallelism. Moreover, "I say" intensifies the rhematic predicate "remember" in the source text and spills over the next three lines, strengthening the memory of the persona, who is able to reproduce the events of the past in the present in full detail. Chukovsky fails to render this nuance.

<sup>5</sup>Опять мы блуждаем вдвоем, мы любим, мы расстаемся опять,

 $<sup>^6</sup>$ Опять она держит меня за руку и просит, чтобы я не уходил,  $^7$ Я вижу ее, она рядом со мною, ее грустные губы молчат и дрожат.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> No other translations of this poem have been found by the author of this research.

The translation conveys climactic parallelism of the source text (lines 5, 6, and 7), i.e. the semantic rhythm at the interlinear level is preserved. Internal synthetic parallelism of line 5 is conveyed as well (its second and third parts complete the first one). In line 6, the implicit message coming from the woman and perceived by the persona as "I must not go" was explicated by the translator: "и просит, чтобы я не уходил" [Allen, 1935, p. 226]. As a result, the rhythm of thought in this line turned out to be different from the original.

Line 7 of the target text starts with the main statement: "Я вижу её" (I see her), which is then supplemented with "она рядом со мною" (she is next to me) and "её грустные губы мочат и дрожат" (her sad lips are silent and trembling). This way the translator created synthetic parallelism inside line 7, which is absent in the source text [Allen, 1935, p. 226] and which changes the way its content develops.

The above analysis of the target text allows for the following conclusion: Chukovsky often changes the way the content in the original line moves. For example, subordinate clauses make the syntax heavier (lines 1, 4, 6), internal parallelism that is absent in the source text pops up in the target text (lines 2 and 7). Such transformations affect the quality of rendering line-by-line parallelism.

"Leaves of Grass" just like the Old Testament offers another means of parallelism — envelope (the term is widely applied by scholars of biblical poetry). The envelope composition of semantic parallelism looks like this: the first line is a statement or claim, the following lines express thoughts parallel to the first line, and the final line recaps the above (framed or circular composition). An introduction or a conclusion may take two or three lines instead of one. In most cases, "Leaves of Grass" has the so-called "incomplete envelope", which, unlike the complete one, omits either the introduction or the conclusion.

Here is the example of an ideal envelope.

# Weave in, My Hardy Life

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Weave in, weave in, my hardy life,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Weave yet a soldier strong and full for great campaigns to come,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Weave in red blood, weave sinews in like ropes, the senses, sight weave in,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Weave lasting sure, weave day and night the weft, the warp, incessant weave, tire not,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>(We know not what the use O life, nor know the aim, the end, nor really aught we know.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>But know the work, the need goes on and shall go on, the death-envelop'd march of peace as well as war goes on,)

<sup>7</sup>For great campaigns of peace the same the wiry threads to weave,

<sup>8</sup>We know not why or what, yet weave, forever weave.

[Whitman, 2002, p. 403]

Please note that lexical reiterations in an envelope composition may or may not occur, the main thing is the rhythm of thought.

We have the only translation of this poem into Russian made by Vladimir Britanishsky (apparently, neither Konstantin Balmont nor Korney Chukovsky translated it). Britanishsky (as a poet, translator, researcher) was mainly engaged in translating an intermediate type of modern American free verse, which includes elements of rhyme and cadence. However, he translated ten poems, including the above, for the first complete Russian edition of "Leaves of Grass".

## Тки, труженица жизнь

[Whitman, 1982, p. 407].

Without going deep into detail, we can state that the envelope composition of semantic parallelism in the target text resembles the original one, the way the content develops within the lines is also conveyed rather accurately. So Britanishsky managed to render the core underpinning Whitman's verse, something this verse needs in order to "live and breathe" (Mikhail Lozinsky): unlike his predecessors (Balmont, Chukovsky), Britanishsky, being a professional translator of a later time, focused a lot of rendering Whitman's "rhythmic style", his rhythm of thought.

The envelope composition in "Leaves of Grass" is often used to link the lines that Whitman picked up separately since he perceived this device as a means to form stanzas. For example:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Тки, труженица жизнь,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Тки кропотливо плоть и дух солдата для грядущих битв,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Тки в жилах кровь, тки мышцы, как канаты, сознанье, зренье тки,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Тки прочно и надежно, день и ночь, основу и уток, тки без конца, тки неустанно

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>(Мы не знаем ни смысла, о Жизнь, ни конца, ни цели не знаем, а быть может, и знать не должны,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Но мы знаем свой труд изо дня в день, ныне и впредь, в грозящую окруженьем смерть, марш мира, вечный, как марш войны),

 $<sup>^{7}</sup>$ Для великих мирных кампаний тки такие же крепкие нити,

 $<sup>^{8}{</sup>m M}$ ы не знаем, что и зачем, но тки, все время тки

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Ah more than any priest O soul we too believe in God,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>But with the mystery of God we dare not dally.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>O soul thou pleasest me, I thee,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Sailing these seas or on the hills, or waking in the night,

The circular composition of this stanza at the semantic level rests on the first two and the last two lines while uniting five lines in between that are separated from the first and the last ones in terms of meaning.

Parallel thoughts in "Leaves of Grass" tend to give rise to phonetic repetitions, i. e. Whitman's parallelism, like the parallelism of biblical texts, needs such a formal device as phonetic repetitions [Allen, 1935, p. 227], which, in fact, is the second main rhythm-formative principle of "Leaves of Grass". According to G. W. Allen, the combination of Whitman's rhythm of thought and phonetic rhythm (in his best poems) follows the principles as clear and precise as in "Paradise Lost" or "Samson Agonistes" by J. Milton [Allen, 1935, p. 230].

Whitman uses all kinds of repetitions and reiterations: initial, median, and final. There are cases when a repetition in a stanza takes several different positions at once, for example:

[Whitman, 2002, p. 186]

Among the reasons why phonetic repetitions were used in "Leaves of Grass", one can point out Whitman's strive to unite lines into a stanza to achieve a purely oratorical effect. Much more important to Whitman, however, is the fact that repetition creates a cadence, i. e. musical rhythm of a line. Joseph Brodsky, pondering over what made Whitman's verse possible and what it is based on, concludes: "On the biblical verse, on the Puritan Bible <...> the length of Whitman's verse, its cadence rests on the biblical intonation" [Volkov, 2002, p. 66].

Whitman is known to have made some attempts to explain his poetic technique. He gave a clue by saying that he was very attentive and accurate when determining the length of lines [Allen, 1935, p. 220]. The key lies in the rhythmic sound pattern of Whitman's verse created by phonetic repetitions. For example, the initial repetition creates some sort of a cadence that extends over the entire line, and its rhythmic-melodic arrangement will depend on the length of this line. Being careful and accurate when choosing the length of a line, Whitman basically

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Thoughts, silent thoughts, of Time and Space and Death, like waters flowing,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Bear me indeed as through the regions infinite,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Whose air I breathe, whose ripples hear, lave me all over,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Bathe me O God in thee, mounting to thee,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>I and my soul to range in range of thee [Whitman, 2002, p. 351–352].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Of the interminable sisters,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Of the ceaseless cotillons of sisters,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Of the centripetal and centrifugal sisters, the elder and younger sisters,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>The beautiful sister we know dances on with the rest.

recreates some biblical intonation. This is challenging for translators, especially bearing in mind that Whitman shows great talent in interweaving various cadences.

Apart from the rhythm of thought and the rhythm of sound, Whitman creates the so-called grammatical rhythm. These are repetitions of a part of speech or a grammatical structure that are generated, like phonetic repetitions, by the rhythm of thought; i. e. the rhythm of thought remains Whitman's main and fundamental principle.

Parallel grammatical structures are built on the basis of a common grammatical feature. It can be an infinitive with specific and vivid semantics, for example:

[Whitman, 2002 p. 117–120]

## Or a vivid and expressive imperative:

[Whitman, 2002, p. 139]

Using rhetorical exclamations in the last example, Whitman thereby increases the intensity of speech.

When working with "Leaves of Grass", we should be guided by Whitman's statement about how careful he was about selecting words: "I take a good deal of trouble with words: yes, a good deal: but what I am after is the content not the music of words. Perhaps the music happens — it does no harm: I do not go in search of it" [Traubel, 1906, p. 163]. However, it is hard to believe that part of his statement where he says that he does not care about the music of words. It is enough to compare first editions with later ones to see that many of the corrections he made were hardly aimed at changing the meaning.

Whitman's "An American Primer" should be of immediate interest to translators since it is a veritable treatise on artistic mastery for American orators and poets. In almost every passage of his primer, Whitman defines the meaning of words the way he understands them. The objects that he names are simple and concrete. Each of the names bears some emotional experience: "Names are magic. One word can pour such a flood through the soul," says Whitman [Allen, 1935, p.219]. Whitman seems to have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>To walk with erect carriage, a step springy and elastic,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>To look with calm gaze or with a flashing eye,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>To speak with a full and sonorous voice out of a broad chest,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>To confront with your personality all the other personalities of the earth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Sound out, voices of young men! loudly and musically call me by my nighest name!

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Live, old life! play the part that looks back on the actor or actress!

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Play the old role, the role that is great or small according as one makes it!

created his own context, at least this is what Russian poet Osip Mandelstam writes: "... and he [Whitman] like a new Adam, began to give names to things, provided a standard for a primitive, nomenclatural poetry to match that of Homer himself" [Mandelstam, 1977, p.73].

To convey his emotional experience, Whitman simply sings the names of objects associated with this experience. Hence Whitman's long catalogues.

Speaking of lexical imagery permeating "Leaves of Grass", first of all, we should point out the metaphor and figures of speech. Whitman's poems, according to G. W. Allen, "are all metaphor, all suggestion, are scarcely intelligible to many readers <...> What, after all, is Leaves of Grass but a composite parable to which the reader must supply his own interpretation and conclusion?" [Allen, 1935, p.238]. Thus, the analysis of Whitman's poetic technique again brings us to the Bible and translators will invariably face the issue of translating biblical intertexts [Piven, 2022].

Contemporary Russian poet Mikhail Fainerman notes that in the case of Whitman's verse, euphony generally recedes into the shadows while intonation comes to light [Fainerman, 2004, p. 292]. Vocabulary plays an important role in forming intonation patterns. This partly explains Whitman's careful choice of words.

Ukrainian scholar Vladislava Demetskaya offers an interesting approach to the translation of Whitman's lexis. According to her, a relic cliché of lyrical genres originating in romanticism, which are preserved in separate structural elements, makes up the framework of free verse in general and Whitman's free verse in particular [Demetskaya, 2013]. She discovers the legacy of romanticism, including the genre memory of an elegy, in Whitman's poems "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd" and "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking". By the way, G.W. Allen referred to the first poem as "great elegy" [Allen, 1970, p. 86] while the second received the following comment: "Long regarded as an elegy, it is now usually interpreted as a symbolical account of how the little boy listening to a mocking bird lament the loss of its mate became a man and poet, a "solitary singer" himself, the burden of whose songs would be "unsatisfied love" [Allen, 1970, p. 62]. Professor of English Literature at Yale University Charles N. Feidelson Jr., having in mind both the poems, points out deep symbolism of Whitman's poetic approach [Feidelson, 1962, p. 84-86].

The most illustrative poem in terms of assessing the accuracy reached by translators of "Leaves of Grass" is "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd". This poem was translated by Korney Chukovsky: about a sixth of more than 380 texts in the first complete Russian edition (including key poems) is published in his translation. Let us comment on the analysis made by

Demetskaya who compared Chapter 4 of the source text and the target text. It is of interest from the point of view of lexical-semantic transformations.

[Whitman, 2002, p. 277]

## Here is Korney Chukovsky's translation:

[Whitman, 1982 p. 285]

We can agree with Demetskaya: the imagery of the original is distorted in the translation. However, this hardly relates to the translator's inattention to some genre-specific vocabulary, to the genre canons of a romantic elegy. Most probably, the reason lies in poor attention to Whitman's ability to create images [Feidelson, 1962, p. 83]. There is deep symbolism about his poetic approach. Whitman is interested in studying the feelings much less than in studying the process during which the surrounding world is born. He finds an antonym to reason in symbolism rather than in feelings [Feidelson, 1962, p. 88]. Symbols, being elements of action, behave like characters in a drama. The significance of the bird symbol stems from its role: a poet and a bird, a poem and a song, life and death are just an absolute process of singing" [Feidelson, 1962, p. 86].

The symbolic status of the bird contravenes Chukovsky's choice of words ("притаилась" (lie low), "пугливая" (timid / fearful), "поетраспевает" (sing exuberantly / warble), "один-оденешенек" (all alone)), which, as expected, have nothing to do with the original. Moreover, the image of "притаившаяся пугливая птица" (a timid bird lying low) implies no possibility of renewal. In the original, a diffident bird hiding in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>In the swamp in secluded recesses,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>A shy and hidden bird is warbling a song.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Solitary the thrush,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>The hermit withdrawn to himself, avoiding the settlements,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Sings by himself a song.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Song of the bleeding throat!

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Death's outlet song of life — (for well, dear brother, I know

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>If thou wast not granted to sing, thou would'st surely die.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Вдали, на пустынном болоте,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Притаилась пугливая птица и поет-распевает песню.

 $<sup>^{3}</sup>$ Дрозд одинокий,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Отшельник, в стороне от людских поселений.

<sup>5</sup>Поет песню, один-одинешенек, -

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Песню кровоточащего горла,

 $<sup>^{7}</sup>$ Песню жизни, куда изливается смерть. (Ибо хорошо, милый брат, я знаю,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Что, если бы тебе не дано было петь, ты, наверное, умер бы.)

a secluded place starts singing softly by himself but after meeting the poet, the bird transforms, becomes confident ("And the singer so shy to the rest receiv'd me" [Whitman, 2002, p. 281]) while her songs are getting louder ("Loud and strong kept up the gray-brown bird" [Whitman, 2002, p. 282]).

Speaking about the last line in Chapter 4, according to Demetskaya, it contains obsolete vocabulary (one of the most important genre-forming features of an elegy). Its loss in translation leads to heaviness and rhythmic amorphism, loss of elegiac intonation [Demetskaya, 2013]. Indeed, "wast" is an obsolete form of the verb to be. However, rendering obsolete vocabulary into a different language while preserving its original function is undoubtedly challenging and sometimes even impossible (Demetskaya failed to offer her own translation). It may well be that Whitman used "wast" to enhance euphony: "If thou wast not granted to sing thou would'st surely die". If we take into account reiteration of "thou" (another outdated poetic form), *s* and *t* alliterations, we may see dramatic sound expressiveness of the line. In his translation, Chukovsky tries to compensate for Whitman's phonetic game.

Stanzaical inaccuracy of Chapter 4 in Chukovsky's translation comes into notice: two stanzas instead of three in the original, and one interlinear pause instead of two. Each stanza in the original is a complete sentence, consisting of clauses connected by commas. Whitman strives to make sure that verse boundaries coincide with strong syntactic pauses because this guarantees deep communication with the reader (indeed, in free verse, this effect is achieved through coincidence of verse intonation with syntactic intonation [Gasparov, Skulacheva, 2005]). Chukovsky apparently neglects this crucial feature of Whitman's verse.

The translation of the final line generally conveys the essence of the bird's role, but it would be better without "куда" (where), "что" (that), and instead of "наверное" (perhaps) Whitman gives a much more categorical "surely".

Jan Probstein, a New-York-based Russian professor of English and American literature criticized Chukovsky's translation of this line: "for well dear brother I know, // If thou wast not granted to sing thou would'st surely die" — this line was taken by Whitman from a Quaker psalm [hence obsolete vocabulary], therefore, there should be no "милый брат", while all the rest is literalism [Probstein, 2019]. Unlike Demetskaya, Probstein proposes his own translation of this line:

[Probstein, 2019]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Ибо мне ведомо, брат дорогой,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Когда бы не был дан тебе песенный дар, ты бы умер бесспорно.

Let us look at translations that in terms of the language resonate with present-day audiences better than those by Chukovsky and Balmont. For example, translations by Russian writer and translator Andrey Sergeev were recommended to Russians readers by Joseph Brodsky: "He [Sergeev] recreates rather than translates English-language literature with the help of our own language culture" [Volkov, 2002, p. 176]. Here is another, more specific remark by Brodsky: "All of his [Sergeev's] translations are somewhat dry... He works with restraint, not because he is lacking expressive means, but because he is unwilling to be juicy" [Volkov, 2002, p. 115].

All in all, there are 30 Whitman's poems translated by Sergeev. Let us consider a small nine-line poem "Had I the Choice":

## Had I the Choice

Below is the translation by Andrey Sergeev that was included in the first complete Russian edition of "Leaves of Grass":

## Если б я мог

Restraint is the general impression produced by the translation (according to Brodsky). Still, the rhythm of thought is preserved: envelope (lines 1–5) and cumulative parallelism (lines 6–9). Indeed, line 1 is a state-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Had I the choice to tally greatest bards,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>To limn their portraits, stately, beautiful, and emulate at will,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Homer with all his wars and warriors — Hector, Achilles, Ajax,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Or Shakespeare's woe-entangled Hamlet, Lear, Othello –Tennyson's fair ladies,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Meter or wit the best, or choice conceit to wield in perfect rhyme, delight of singers;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>These, these, O sea, all these I'd gladly barter,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Would you the undulation of one wave, its trick to me transfer,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Or breathe one breath of yours upon my verse,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>And leave its odor there [Whitman, 2002, p. 431].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Если б я мог приблизиться к величайшим бардам,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Живописать их лица, прекрасные, величавые, и состязаться с вами —

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Гомер и Гомеровы войны и воины, Гектор, Ахилл, Аякс,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Шекспировы горем объятые Гамлет, Отелло, Лир и прекрасные дамы Теннисона, —

<sup>5</sup>И в совершенстве стиха к восторгу певцов сплавил бы воедино

безошибочный ритм, остроумие и изысканность, — <sup>6</sup>Все это, все, о море, я бы с радостью отдал тебе,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Только бы ты шевельнулось во мне хоть одной прихотливой волной

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Или вдохнуло свое дыхание в мои песни

 $<sup>^9</sup>$ И оставило в них свою свежесть [Whitman, 1982, p. 433–434].

ment, lines 2, 3, 4 convey thoughts parallel to the first one, line 5 draws some sort of a bottom line; lines 7, 8, 9 complete line 6. The movement of the content inside the lines is rendered as well. The translator managed to do without any subordinate clauses that make the rhythm heavier. By the number of syllables, the lines in the target text are as long as those in the source text, intonation patterns in the translation do not differ much from the original. Thus, Sergeev's translation has no shortcomings typical of Chukovsky's translations. The professional translator displayed higher proficiency than his predecessor.

To ensure greater objectivity when comparing Sergeev's translation with those of his predecessors, let us consider the version by Balmont (Chukovsky did not translate this poem):

## Если бы выбор имел я

To start with, Balmont fails to observe the equilinearity principle: 12 lines in the target text against nine in the source text. He introduces three short lines (lines 3, 6, 10), resulting in a discrepancy with the intonation pattern of the original. Second, the translation has a tendency towards metric verse. Third, Balmont's euphonic talent manifests itself in almost every line, sometimes blocking the author's phonetic game.

However, in terms of rendering images, Balmont is at times more accurate than Sergeev. For example, Sergeev lost the ideas of choice and will. And in Balmont's translation, the persona, following the original, chooses the greatest bards for himself and competes with them at will, i. e. he is more active than in Sergeev's translation. And this is important. After all, Whitman's persona symbolizes the process of becoming a poet whose evolution and mode of existence reflect the author and his literary method.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Если бы выбор имел я сходствовать с лучшими бардами,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Нарисовать их портреты, красиво и стройно,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>И по воле моей состязаться

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>С Гомером, со всеми его бойцами и битвами, с Ахиллесом, Аяксом и Гектором,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Или с плененными скорбью Гамлетом, Лиром, Отелло Шекспира,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>С Тэннисоном, с прекрасными лэди его,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Напеть и измыслить лучшее, замысел избранный влить в совершенную рифму, усладу певцов, –

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Это, все это, о, море, все это охотно б я отдал,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Если бы дало мне ты колебанье единой волны,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Ухватку ее,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Или вдохнуло бы в стих мой дыханье свое, единое,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>И оставило в нем этот запах [Whitman, 1911, p. 203–204].

The way the symbol of sea is perceived relates to the evolution of a poet, Whitman's persona goads the sea to action (in fact, the sea is an element of action). That is why the word "ухватка" (grip) used by Balmont when describing the wave is more accurate than "прихотливая волна" (whimsical wave) in Sergeev's version, although Sergeev's translation corresponds closely to the original: instead of describing a reality, he represents the way it is put to life.

The poet thinks in terms of images. That is why even today Balmont's symbolic interpretation and rendition of Whitman is highly valuable, including at the lexical level. To make our point more convincing, let us turn to his poem "Quicksand Years".

## **Quicksand Years**

<sup>1</sup>Quicksand years that whirl me I know not whither,

<sup>2</sup>Your schemes, politics, fail — lines give way — substances mock and elude me;

<sup>3</sup>Only the theme I sing, the great and strong-possess'd Soul, eludes not;

<sup>4</sup>One's-self must never give way — that is the final substance — that out of all is sure;

<sup>5</sup>Out of politics, triumphs, battles, life — what at last finally remains? <sup>6</sup>When shows break up, what but One's-Self is sure? [Whitman, 2002, p. 376]

Here is the translation by Vladimir Britanishsky, which was included in the first complete Russian edition of "Leaves of Grass":

## Годы — зыбучий песок

<sup>1</sup>Годы — зыбучий песок, влекущий меня в неизвестность,

<sup>2</sup>Про валиваются планы, рушатся строки и фразы, идеи смеются и ускользают,

<sup>3</sup>Только главная моя тема, героическая и неистовая душа, не ускользает,

 $^4$ Наше Я не рухнет — ибо это есть истиннейшая идея — та, что всего надежней.

<sup>5</sup>От политики, от успехов, сражений, от жизни что в конце концов остается?

 $^6$ Если видимости исчезают, что надежно, кроме нашего Я?

[Whitman, 1982, p. 380]

We will not dive deep into the analysis of this translation but will focus on "One's-Self", one of the crucial concepts for Whitman. To our mind, Britanishsky's translation is not good enough: "Наше Я" (Our I) while Balmont's translation is strikingly accurate: "Самость" (Self):

Когда вся видимость ломается, тогда, что остается, как не эта Самость?

[Whitman, 1911, p. 181]

Russian philosopher and literary critic Georgy Gachev was obviously not familiar with this translation by Balmont. When analyzing Chukovsky's translation of Whitman's poetic manifesto "One's-Self I Sing", Gachev remarked: "I would disagree with K. Chukovsky's translation: "Одного я пою". No, the key word here is "Self", similar to German "Selbst", which means "Самость"... So it should be: "Самость каждого я пою" [Gachev, 1998, р. 197].

Balmont also translated Whitman's manifesto, but musical primacy in his translation distorted the semantic function of the word "One's-Self": "Одного воспеваю я, личность простую, отдельную" [Whitman, 1911, p. 3]. So, instead of "Самость" filled with special meaning, there is an indefinite pronoun "одного".

## Results and conclusions

Based on our own analysis and the conclusions drawn by Jan Probstein, we offer a list of reasons that reduced translation accuracy achieved by Chukovsky:

- 1. Whitman's rhythm of thought, a complex rhythmic pattern, is lost in the target text. The rhythm is often heavy (mainly because of too many subordinate clauses), the rhythmic-syntactic structure gravitates toward prose.
- 2. There are cases of redundancy in the target text. When translating the poem "Once I Pass'd Through a Populous City", the translator introduced some extra words that have no correspondence in the source text and which could be done without: "когда" (when), "большому" (large), "я пытался" (I tried), "забыл" (forgot), "некую" (some), "просит" (begs), "чтобы" (to) [Probstein, 2019].
  - 3. The translation is at times tautological:

Вечной, на всю жизнь, любовью товарищей<sup>3</sup> [Whitman, 1982, p. 120] Jan Probstein notes that eternal love obviously lasts for a lifetime [Probstein, 2019].

4. Some semantic errors are pointed out by Jan Probstein. For example, in Chapter 26 of "Songs of Myself" Chukovsky writes: "Колокола, что возвещают пожар, грохот быстро бегущих пожарных машин с бубенцами и цветными огнями" [Whitman, 1982, p.71]. One cannot but agree that apart from inappropriate bells that remind of a gypsy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> With the life-long love of comrades [Whitman, 2002, p. 100-101]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The ring of alarm-bells, the cry of fire, the whirr of swift-streaking engines and hose-carts with premonitory tinkles and color'd lights [Whitman, 2002, p. 49].

romance, heavy syntax with a that-clause, fire trucks simply did not exist in Whitman's time [Probstein, 2019].

The above evaluation of translations by translators close to Whitman's era (Balmont, Chukovsky) and those quite distant from it (Sergeev, Britanishsky) allows for the following conclusion: it is premature to talk about the translation of "Leaves of Grass" that would take account of all the principles underpinning Whitman's free verse. Although the works of Sergeev and Britanishsky (and other contemporary professional translators that remained outside the scope of this research) generally convey Whitman's "rhythmic style", most large poems were translated by their predecessors. Besides, Sergeev and Britanishsky failed to duly appreciate the language of Balmont and Chukovsky, which is more in line with Whitman's era and is of undisputable value even today.

It stands to mention that the conclusions drawn from the above are not intended to sound pessimistic, on the contrary, they are expected to contribute to further literary studies of Whitman's works and verse libre in general and may serve as a guide when translating free verse of other poets.

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# CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE REAL AND POSSIBLE WORLDS IN F. M. DOSTOEVSKY'S NOVEL "THE BROTHERS KARAMAZOV"

This article describes the ways of conceptualizing the real world and possible worlds in F. M. Dostoevsky's novel "The Brothers Karamazov". Analysis of the use of the keyword of the concept "world" shows F.M. Dostoevsky uses such expressions as the other world, God's world, the New World, the World of Satan. In F.M. Dostoevsky's novel "The Brothers Karamazov" several worlds are represented — the real world, full of suffering, evil, injustice; God's world, full of love, harmony and brotherhood, the world of Satan, where evil forces dominate; the other world, where a person falls after death, as well as a new world, in which empiricism and science rule and in which moral issues do not matter, and everything is built on practicality; as well as the world of dreams. In F. M. Dostoevsky's novel "The Brothers Karamazov" God's world is opposed to the real world. Only through the union of the real world and the world of God can universal happiness and unity be achieved. F.M. Dostoevsky warns his readers that the construction of a "new world" is coming where darkness and sorrow will rule. This world rejects God and puts science at the forefront. In this new world, every person will live by himself, without responsibility for another, where lies will reign instead of truth. True unity of people is possible only in the service to humanity.

*Keywords*: possible world, real world, other world, creativity of F.M. Dostoevsky, novel *The Brothers Karamazov*.

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# КОНЦЕПТУАЛИЗАЦИЯ ДЕЙСТВИТЕЛЬНО И МЫСЛИМЫХ МИРОВ В РОМАНЕ Ф. М. ДОСТОЕВСКОГО «БРАТЬЯ КАРАМАЗОВЫ»

В данной статье описываются способы концептуализации реального мира и возможных миров в романе Ф. М. Достоевского «Братья Карамазовы». Анализ употреблений ключевого слова концепта «мир» показывает, что Ф. М. Достоевский использует такие выражения, как потусторонний мир, Божий мир, Новый мир, Мир Сатаны. В романе Ф. М. Достоевского «Братья Карамазовы». представлено несколько миров — реальный мир, полный страданий, зла, несправедливости; Божественный мир, полный любви, гармонии и братства, мир Сатаны, где господствуют злые силы; потусторонний мир, куда человек попадает после смерти, а также новый мир, в котором правит эмпиризм и наука и в котором нравственные вопросы не имеют значения, а все построено

на практицизме; а также мир сновидений. В романе Ф. М. Достоевского «Братья Карамазовы». Божественный мир противопоставлен миру реальному. Только через соединение мира реального и мира Божьего можно достигнуть всемирное счастье и единство. Ф. М. Достоевский предупреждает своих читателей, что грядет построение «нового мира», где будут править тьма и печаль. Этот мир отвергает Бога и ставит науку во главу угла. В этом новом мире каждый человек будет жить сам по себе, без ответственности за другого, где вместо правды будет царить ложь. Истинное единство людей возможно только в служении человечеству.

Ключевые слова: возможный мир, действительный мир, иной мир, творчество Ф. М. Достоевского, роман *Братья Карамазовы*.

## Introduction

An important problem in the modern world is the problem of real and imaginable worlds due to the fact that modern life in general and especially intellectual and spiritual life of a person is becoming more and more multifaceted and multilevel. In the humanities, there is no clear definition and classification of possible worlds, and their characteristics are described very fragmentary. A. V. Novikova points out that methods of analyzing and describing the semantics of possible worlds are being built now: conceptual, ethnolinguistic, logical-semantic, psycholinguistic, cognitive-discursive and others [Novikova, 2010].

The characteristics of the real world and human representations about it are being studied [Marcinkovskaya, 2017, Neveleva, 2020, Glushenkov, 2007, Yablokova, 2019]. Especially often the authors turn to the consideration of the artistic world of individual authors [Vishnevetskaya, 2007, Novikova, 2013 Polekhina, 2003, Chernova, 2021]. I. A. Shirova, for example, addresses the research of fictional [artistic] text, considering the concepts of "possible world" and describes scientific trends in the understanding of this concept in various fields of scientific knowledge [Shirova 2011].

A modern trend has also become the consideration of possible worlds from the standpoint of spiritual values [Yushchuk, 2017; Rozhnova, 2014; Polishchuk, 2016; Tsygankova, 2011]. N. S. Shadrin notes that new possible worlds are formed taking into account new motives-values that are attached to already existing possible worlds [Shadrin, 2013]. N. B. Shulevsky, for example, explores another world based on truth, measure and justice [Shulevsky, 2021]. G. Legoshin returns to the problem of contrasting the centuries-old experience of the supernatural [God] and natural [science] worlds in theological terminology [Legoshin, 2016]. L. G. Vikulova also notes that currently the interest of researchers is attracted by the analysis of existing linguistic and cultural values as mental formations that

are based on historically established traditions and ideologies [Vikulova, 2018], since they help to form national identity in the space of language and culture in historical projection [Chuprina, 2017].

The purpose of this article is to describe the real world as it is presented in the work of F.M. Dostoevsky "The Brothers Karamazov". To achieve this goal, the contexts of the use of the keyword of the concept "world" were analyzed and the characteristics of the real world in the work under consideration were highlighted.

In the study, we rely on the analysis of the keyword of the concept "world", obtained by the method of continuous sampling from the work "The Brothers Karamazov". This method is very effective and convenient, as noted by some researchers. The successful use of big data in experimental linguocognitive studies has proved, for example, its value by analyzing the semantic structure of the verb to shudder [Suleymanova, Demchenko, 2018].

## Results and discussion

From the analysis of the work "The Brothers Karamazov" it is clear that F. M. Dostoevsky implies the existence of different worlds. F. M. Dostoevsky uses such expressions as the *other world*, *God's world*, *the New World*, *the World of Satan*. In F. M. Dostoevsky's novel "The brothers Karamazov" several worlds are represented — the real world, full of suffering, evil, injustice; the Divine world, full of love, harmony and brotherhood, the world of Satan, where evil forces dominate; the other world, where a person gets to after death, as well as a new world in which empiricism and science rule and in which moral issues do not matter, and everything is built on practicality, as well as the world of dreams.

For example, Brother Ivan says:

... everything around me, all these worlds, God and even Satan himself — all this is not proven for me, whether it exists by itself, or there is only one of my emanations, the consistent development of my self, existing prematurely and alone...

Also, F. M. Dostoevsky puts into Ivan's mouth the idea of another world, that is, God's world. Ivan talks about the suffering of innocent children.

If they also suffer terribly on earth, then certainly for their fathers, they are punished for their fathers who ate an apple — but this is reasoning from another world, and the human heart here on earth is incomprehensible. You can't suffer an innocent for another, and even such an innocent!

The work also presents the concept of the afterlife as "another world".

... old Kuzma, about to depart to another world, feels sincere remorse for his past with Grushenka...

## An imaginary Satan says to Ivan:

— Listen: in dreams, and especially in nightmares, well, there from an upset stomach or something, sometimes a person sees such artistic dreams, such a complex and real reality, such events or even a whole world of events connected with such intrigue with such unexpected details, starting from your highest manifestations to the last button on the manishka, that, I swear to you, Leo Tolstoy will not compose...

In F.M. Dostoevsky's novel "The brothers Karamazov", the Divine world is opposed to the real world.

In the real world, there are the following phenomena.

1. Confusion, darkness

Alyosha wondered why the elder Zosima sent him to live in the world, and not in a monastery, as the soul of the young man wanted.

"Why, why did he go out, why did he send him "into the world"? Here is silence, here is a shrine, and there is confusion, there is darkness, in which you will immediately get lost and get lost..."

## 2. Temptations

Father Paisii says to Alyosha:

Maybe, remembering this great day, you will not forget my words, for the sake of the heartfelt parting words given to you, because you are young, and the temptations in the world are heavy and not your strength to endure them. Now go, orphan.

# 3. Vain frivolity and worldly gaiety Father Paisii says to Alyosha:

But how did he determine that you should be in the world for the time being? So he foresees something in your fate! Understand, Alexey, that if you return to the world, it will be as if on the obedience entrusted to you by your elder, and not on vain frivolity and not on worldly joy...

From the above quotes from the work "The Brothers Karamazov" it is clear that the real world, unlike the Divine, is characterized by "vain frivolity", "fun", "confusion", darkness in which you will immediately get lost and get lost"

4. Mystery and longing Ivan expresses the idea:

That's what that first question in the desert meant, and that's what you rejected in the name of freedom, which you put above everything. And

yet in this question lay the great mystery of this world. Having accepted the "loaves", you would have answered the universal and eternal human longing of both an individual being and the whole of humanity together — this is: "before whom should I bow?"

## 5. Anger

Talking about Alyosha, F. M. Dostoevsky writes:

... he was just an early lover of humanity, and if he hit the monastery road, it was only because at that time she alone struck him and presented to him, so to speak, the ideal of the outcome of his soul, torn from the darkness of worldly malice to the light of love.

## 6. Sin, sorrow, injustice, untruth

... for the humble soul of the Russian commoner, exhausted by work and grief, and most importantly by the ever-present injustice and the everpresent sin, both his own and the world's, there is no stronger need and consolation than to find a shrine or a saint, to fall before him and worship him:

If we have sin, not truth and temptation, then there is still a holy and supreme one on earth somewhere; that one has the truth, but that one knows the truth...

God's world is characterized by the following phenomena.

# 1. Beauty and mystery

Elder Zosima says:

And we are not sleeping only both of us, I and this young man, and we talked about the beauty of this world of God and about his great mystery. Every weed, every bug, ant, golden bee, everyone knows their way to amazement, without having a mind, they witness the mystery of God, continuously commit it themselves...

### 2. Love

### Father Zosima teaches:

Before another thought, you will become perplexed, especially seeing the sin of people, and you will ask yourself: "should I take it by force, or by humble love?" Always decide: "I will take it by humble love." You decide so once and for all, and you will be able to conquer the whole world. Love humility is a terrible force, the strongest of all, the like of which there is nothing.

## 3. Joy

## Dmitry exclaims:

Even though I am cursed, even though I am low and mean, but even though I kiss the edge of the robe in which my God is clothed; even though I am following the devil at the same time, but I am still "your son, Lord, and I love you, and I feel joy, without which the world cannot stand and be.

## 4. The truth

Elder Zosima says:

The image of Christ is kept for the time being in their solitude beautifully and undistorted, in the purity of the truth of God, from the most ancient fathers, apostles and martyrs, once it will be necessary, they will reveal it to the shaken truth of the world. This is a great thought. This star will shine from the east.

## 5. Living force

Ivan Fyodorovich added at the same time in parentheses that this is the whole natural law, so destroy the faith in your immortality in humanity, not only love will immediately run out in it, but also every living force to continue world life.

### 6. Order

- On the contrary, I have nothing against God. Of course God is only a hypothesis... but... I admit that he is needed for order... for world order and so on... and if he didn't exist, then we would have to invent him," Kolya added, starting to blush. He suddenly imagined that Alyosha would now think that he wanted to expose his knowledge and show how "big" it was.
- F.M. Dostoevsky warns his readers that the construction of a "new world" is coming "Now the world has entered a new street." Darkness and sorrow will reign in this new world.

This is a world that rejects God and puts science at the forefront. Father Paisii says to Alyosha:

— Remember, young one, tirelessly (Father Paisii began so directly and without any preface) that worldly science, uniting in a great force, has, in the last century especially, dismantled everything that is bequeathed to us in the books of the saints of heaven, and after a cruel analysis, scientists of this world have absolutely nothing left of all the former sanctity.

Ivan Fedorovich is trying to break with the old world and goes away from his homeland, to Moscow, relieving himself of responsibility for everything that happens in his native home.

But instead of rapture, such darkness suddenly descended on his soul, and such sorrow ached in his heart, such as he had never felt before for the rest of my life.

In this new world, every person will live by himself, not being responsible for another, where lies will reign instead of truth.

Brother Dmitry says, "How can it be that I am to blame for everyone," everyone laughs in my eyes, "well, how can I be to blame for you, for exam-

ple?" — "Yes, where," I answer them, "do you know this, when the whole world has long since gone out on another road, and when we consider a real lie to be the truth, and we demand the same lie from others.

Dostoevsky warns us that in the New World the possibilities of communication will increase many times, "thoughts will be transmitted through the air," but such interaction of people cannot be called unity.:

They claim that the world is further, the more it unites, composes it-self into fraternal communication, thereby reducing distances, transmitting thoughts through the air. Alas, do not believe such a unity of people. Understanding freedom as an increase and quick satisfaction of needs, they distort their nature, because they generate in themselves many senseless and stupid desires, habits and the most absurd inventions. They live only for envy of each other, for carnivory and swagger. To have dinners, outings, carriages, ranks and servile slaves is already considered such a necessity, for which even life, honor and humanity are sacrificed in order to satisfy this need, and even kill themselves if they cannot satisfy it.

True unity of people is possible only in the service of humanity, which can bring true joy.

And therefore, the thought of serving humanity, of the brotherhood and integrity of people is fading more and more in the world, and indeed this thought is already met with ridicule, for how can one lag behind his habits, where will this slave go if he is so used to satisfying his innumerable needs, which he himself invented? He is in solitude, and what does he care about the whole. And we have reached the point that we have accumulated more things, and there is less joy.

They think of settling down justly, but, rejecting Christ, they will end up flooding the world with blood, for blood calls blood, and the one who draws the sword will perish with the sword.

Morality will fall, the concept of conscience will disappear, a person will imagine himself to be God.

... all the old worldview and, most importantly, all the old morality will fall, and everything new will come. People will copulate in order to take everything from life that it can give, but certainly for happiness and joy in the world here alone. Man will be magnified by the spirit of divine, titanic pride and man-god will appear.

Father Paisii expresses dissatisfaction with the fact that the church is separated from the real world.

Father Paisii exclaims that he was "surprised by the words of a clergy-man that 'the church is a kingdom not of this world'... Our Lord Jesus Christ came to establish the church on earth. The kingdom of heaven is certainly

not of this world, but in heaven, but it is entered only through the church, which is founded and established on earth".

In the mouth of Father Paisii, F. M. Dostoevsky puts his idea-dream, one might even say, a utopia about the union of the Kingdom of God and the real world, when universal love and prosperity will reign throughout the world, when every person, regardless of his position, will treat another person as a brother, when humanity will be deprived of any kind suffering and harmony will reign everywhere.

With the help of the image of Ivan's brother, F.M. Dostoevsky expresses the idea that it is impossible to connect these two worlds.

Well, imagine that in the final result I do not accept this world of God ... I don't accept God, understand this, I don't accept the world created by him, the world of God, and I can't agree to accept it.

Elder Zosima also expresses his desire for the union of the world of God and the real world.

Much on earth is hidden from us, but in return we are given a secret, intimate feeling of our living connection with the other world, with the world above and above, and the roots of our thoughts and feelings are not here, but in other worlds. That is why philosophers say that the essence of things cannot be comprehended on earth. God took seeds from other worlds and sowed them on this earth and nurtured his garden, and everything that could have sprung up, but what was nurtured lives and is alive only by the feeling of its contact with other mysterious worlds, if this feeling weakens or is destroyed in you, then what was nurtured in you also dies. Then you will become indifferent to life and even hate it. I think so.

Elder Zosima speaks about the importance of every deed we have done, about the responsibility of each person for the fate of other beings.

My young brother asked the birds for forgiveness: it seems to be meaningless, but it's true, because everything is like an ocean, everything flows and touches, you touch it in one place, it is given away at the other end of the world.

# When Alyosha felt unity with God, he felt:

It was as if the threads from all these countless worlds of God converged at once in his soul, and it trembled all over, "touching other worlds."

Only through the union of the real world and the world of God can universal happiness and unity be achieved.

In Ivan's poem "The Grand Inquisitor" it says:

It is still a long time to wait for its completion and the earth will suffer a lot more, but we will reach and be Caesars, and then we will already think about the universal happiness of people.

## Conclusion

F. M. Dostoevsky implies the existence of different worlds — the other world, God's world, the New World, the World of Satan. In the work of F. M. Dostoevsky "The brothers karamazov" the real world, the Divine world, the world of Satan, the other world, where a person gets to after death, as well as a new world in which empiricism and science rule and in which moral issues do not matter, and everything is built on practicality, as well as the world of dreams are represented.

The work also presents the concept of the afterlife as "another world". In the work of F. M. Dostoevsky, the Divine world is opposed to the real world. In the real world, there are 1. Confusion, darkness; 2. Temptations; 3. Vain frivolity and worldly gaiety; 4. Mystery and longing; 5. Anger; 6. Sin, sorrow, injustice, untruth.

God's world is characterized by 1. Beauty and mystery; 2. Love; 3. Joy; 4. The truth; 5. Living force; 6. Order.

F.M. Dostoevsky warns his readers that the construction of a "new world" is coming, in which here will be darkness and sorrow in this new world. This is a world that rejects God, every person will live by himself, not being responsible for another, where lies will reign instead of truth.

In the mouth of Father Paisii, F. M. Dostoevsky puts his idea-dream, one might even say, a utopia about the union of the Kingdom of God and the real world, when universal love and prosperity will reign throughout the world, when every person, regardless of his position, will treat another person as a brother, when humanity will be deprived of any kind suffering and harmony will reign everywhere. With the help of the image of Ivan's brother, F. M. Dostoevsky expresses the idea that it is impossible to connect these two worlds. Only through the union of the real world and the world of God can universal happiness and unity be achieved.

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# "STRONG" LITERATURE TEXT: CULTURAL PRESERVATION AND CULTURAL DYNAMICS

The article addresses the nature and peculiarities of relations between a "strong" literary text and its secondary versions, which appeared as a result of transcoding the verbal original text by means of various semiotic systems. The relations under consideration are presented in the intercultural and intermedia spaces and are analyzed from the standpoint of the categories of original inexhaustibility and translational multiplicity. The following hypothesis is proposed: the original and all its secondary texts form the center of translation attraction — multilingual, multimodal and multi-authored hypertext, which contributes to an increase in the translatability of the original text, ensures its steady popularity and prolongates its "life". The famous novel by L. N. Tolstoy "Anna Karenina" and its foreign-language and intersemiotic versions served as analysis material. Special attention is paid to the novel screen adaptations. Following J. Bluestone's thesis on the necessity to abandon the axiological aspect of the relationship between the text of literature and its film adaptation, the work defends the idea that each secondary text provides dynamics, preservation, as well as intercultural and intermedia interaction of literature and cinema phenomena as significant cultural objects.

*Keywords:* strong text of literature, literary translation, screen adaptation, intersemiotic translation, translation multiplicity, center of translation attraction, hypertext.

В. А. Разумовская

# «СИЛЬНЫЙ» ТЕКСТ ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ: КУЛЬТУРНОЕ СОХРАНЕНИЕ И КУЛЬТУРНАЯ ДИНАМИКА

Статья обращена к природе и особенностям отношений «сильного» художественного текста и его вторичных версий, появившихся как результат перекодирования вербального оригинала средствами различных семиотических систем. Рассматриваемые отношения представлены в межкультурном и межмедийном пространствах и анализируются с позиций категорий неисчерпаемости оригинала и переводной множественности. Предлагается следующая гипотеза: оригинал и все его вторичные тексты формируют центр переводной аттракции — полилингвальный, мультимодальный и полиавторский гипертекст, способствующий увеличению переводимости оригинала, обеспечивающий его устойчивую популярность и продление сроков «жизни». Материалом анализа стал известный роман Л. Н. Толстого «Анна Каренина» и его иноязычные и иносемиотические версии. Отдельное внимание уделено

киноадаптациям романа. Вслед за тезисом Дж. Блюстоуна о необходимости отказа от аксиологического аспекта отношений текста литературы и его киноадаптации в работе отстаивается идея о том, что каждый вторичный текст обеспечивает динамику, сохранение, а также межкультурное и межмедийное взаимодействие явлений литературы и кино как значимых объектов культуры.

*Ключевые слова*: сильный текст литературы, художественный перевод, киноадаптация, межсемиотический перевод, переводная множественность, центр переводной аттракции, гипертекст.

#### Introduction

One of the well-known and undoubtedly "strong" texts of Russian literature, actively functioning in the space of "our own" culture and far beyond it (in "foreign" cultures), is the novel "Anna Karenina" by Leo Tolstoy. Among the main evidences of the "strength" of the literary text are the following: its traditional inclusion in the educational programs of different levels; its confident retention of the top positions in national and world ratings of outstanding works recommended for reading; unabated interest and positive feedback from readers, philologists, critics and elocutionists about this text's cultural significance and artistic value. When asked about the three best novels of mankind. Nobel Prize winner in literature W. Faulkner replied, "Anna Karenina. Anna Karenina. Anna Karenina". Created in the XIX century, the novel, still retains the status of the unrivaled works of Russian classics in the XXI century. One may assume that it never gets old and will not lose relevance and timeliness for many generations of readers. Another testimony to the "power" of Tolstoy's novel is its traditionally high translatability into the languages of the peoples of Russia, neighboring CIS countries and far abroad states, as well as into the "languages" of various semiotic systems. According to many sources, the novel has so far been translated into over forty languages, and its author is on the 23<sup>rd</sup> position in the list of the world's fifty most translated authors (yielding to Vladimir Lenin on the 7th position and F.M. Dostoevsky on the 16th), compiled by the International Translation Database [Index Translationum].

### Results and discussion

# Tolstoy's novel in interlanguage translation versions

The history of translations of the Tolstoy's text, which dates back to 1877, started almost immediately after its creation, in the 1880s. Until 1917 alone (that is, in less than forty years since the original was pub-

lished), translations into the following languages were created: Czech (1881), French (1885), German (1885), Swedish (1885), Spanish (1886), Italian (1886), English (1886), Danish (1886–1887), Dutch (1887), Hungarian (1887), Bulgarian (1899), Polish (1898–1900), Slovenian (1907), Finnish (1910–1911), Norwegian (1911), Serbo-Croatian (1914–1915) and Japanese (1913–1914) [Grigoryev, 1970].

To understand the nature and history of the relationship between the original and its secondary versions, it is indisputably important that the first translations were often not the only ones in the target languages and that the novel was subsequently translated several times within the boundaries of the particular translating language and the hosting culture. Thus, the history of English versions of "Anna Karenina" begins with the 1886 translation by the American specialist N. Dole, and the last known translation is the 2015 version again by the American translator M. Schwartz. Alongside the abovementioned translations, separated by 130 years, Anglophone readers have the opportunity to get acquainted with the outstanding work of Russian literature through the translations of R. Townsend (1892), C. Garnett (1901), L. Wiener (1904), L. and A. Maude (1918), R. Edmonds (1954), J. Carmichael (1960), D. Magashack (1961), M. Wettlin (1978), R. Pevear and L. Volokhonsky (2000), K. Zinoviev and J. Hughes (2008), R. Bartlett (2014). In the UK and the USA, in bookstores, those wishing to enjoy the novel can choose from a number of available translations. Each of the English-language versions has its own special features and unique creation history. The differences between the English-language versions, as well as the versions in other languages of the world, relate primarily to their qualitative and quantitative characteristics, which principally depend on the skill and experience of the translators and chosen approaches to creating the secondary versions. Each of the existing versions of the novel has contributed to the success of the "dialogue" between languages and cultures arising in inter-lingual translation. Despite the regularly noted omissions and simplifications of the Tolstoy's original in translation and the incessant debates about the quality of the secondary text and the resulting ambiguous evaluations, the best-known version remains the one proposed by C. Garnett in 1901. The version (revised by L. J. Kent and N. Berberova in 1965) has been steadily reprinted in mass circulation in the 21st century and has also acquired new formats, becoming an e-book and audiobook. The text, translated by a British translator who provided the English-speaking world with access to the Russian classics, has retained its importance in introducing the novel to anglophone readers for over a century. For example, J. Galsworthy, the Nobel Prize-winning author of "The Forsyte Saga" (which has plot

similarities with Tolstoy's novel), read "Anna Karenina" in the Garnett's version. It is no coincidence that in 1928 it was J. Galsworthy who wrote the preface to one of the editions of the English translation of the novel. "Anna Karenina" was repeatedly referred to by other prominent writers. Thus, according to W. Faulkner, whose high estimate of "Anna Karenina" has already been cited above, the novel is an outstanding example of the Russian character and an amazing picture of Russian society [Trufanova, 2018]. Nevertheless, the high authority of Garnett's translation has not prevented appearing of other English translations of the novel. One cannot overlook the fact that the critical importance of Garnett's version also lies in the fact that it has often served as the basis (intermediary) for translating the novel into other world languages. For instance, the first translation of "Anna Karenina" into Chinese was made from Garnett's translation and was published in 1956 (the translator was Zhou Yang). It is noteworthy that there are currently fifteen versions of Chinese translations created between 1956 and 2006 [Wang, 2019].

The translation multiplicity of the novel is also evidenced by the history of its translations in Iran. First and foremost, researchers point to the existence of 12 full-text Persian translations created between 1954 (translator M. A. Shirazi) and 2020 (translator S. Mabasher). The scholars write: "Since the 1950s, 'Anna Karenina' has been published in complete translations, so that the notion of 'translation multiplicity' is appropriate in relation to this work: the number of Persian translations is not less than the number of translations into the main European languages taken separately (in Europe there has long been a tradition of multiple translations of world literature, since the language of the perceiver tends to become obsolete and the ideal projection for each new generation of readers should have its own special translation)" [Bekmetov & Sedigheh, 2021, p. 96].

For almost one hundred and fifty years, the original novel and its many foreign-language versions (and not just new translations) have continued to be actively reprinted. In 2021 alone, "Anna Karenina" was printed in significant runs by several Russian publishers ("Azbuka", "Andronum Publishing Union", "Eksmo", "SZKEO"). In 2021 a Latvian translation of the novel was published ("Zvaigzne ABC Publishers", translator J. Vanags), 2018 saw a Spanish translation ("Alianza Editorial", translator J. Lopez-Marilla), in 2017 came out an English translation ("Vintage Classics", translation by L. and A. Maude dated 1918). In 2017, the Russian Classics series publishes another edition of the 1901 translation by C. Garnett, already noted above. In 2016, the Italian translation of "Anna Karenina" by E. Carafa Capecelatro, first published in 1941, was reprinted.

The novel has been translated into German several times. In 2009, the renowned translator R. Tietze offered readers her version of the translation, which has now become an iconic German-language version. The author writes: "For a translator of Russian prose, there could hardly be a more attractive or more flattering offer than to re-translate 'Anna Karenina'. But, I confess, I hesitated for a long time. After all, Tolstoy's novel is such a huge thing, such an incredible burden, I mean, not so much volume as greatness, that one involuntarily begins to doubt whether the shoulders can bear this burden. And you have to cope not only with the original, but also with a long series of previous translations..." [Tietze, 2011].

Translations into the languages of the peoples of the USSR (later the Russian Federation) constitute a significant proportion of the array of foreign-language versions of "Anna Karenina". The state language policy had a weighty impact on the reception of the novel in a multinational and multicultural country, as well as on the history of its translations. Speakers of the languages of different ethnic groups were introduced to the novel both in their native language and in the language of the original text. Despite the traditionally high translatability and retranslatability of the novel, there is only one translation in some languages of the peoples of Russia, which wholly fulfils the cognitive and aesthetic requirements of a secondary foreign-language text. So, by 2017, only one translation into Tatar was known (by the translator M. Maksud). The Tatar translation was published in 1960 and it marked the fiftieth anniversary of Leo Tolstoy's death. Researchers of the translation admit its chief role in expanding Tolstoy's readership in the Tatar world [Kadyrov, 2005] and its definite merits, along with its shortcomings, which are becoming increasingly obvious in terms of modern Tatar literary language [Zakirov, 2017].

The creation of translations into the languages of the different peoples of Russia is closely linked to the issues of including "Anna Karenina" in educational programs. There are conflicting views on the necessity of including "Anna Karenina" in school curricula — from requiring compulsory study of the novel at school to defending the impossibility for school-children to comprehend Tolstoy's psychologically complex and mysterious work about the problems of family life and love. In this case we claim that there is a widespread belief that readers turn to the novel repeatedly at different periods of life and each time it is re-read anew. p. V. Basinsky, a researcher of Tolstoy's works, writes convincingly about the possibility and peculiarities of a new re-reading of the novel: "We perceive the same books differently with age. But this is not the case. There was a time when I re-read 'Anna Karenina' every year, spending the summer at the country house. And every year the feeling that I was reading a different novel never

left me. I hardly grew up much in one year. Apparently, it wasn't me — but the novel itself" [Basinsky, 2022, p. 3]. On the eve of the presentation of his book "The True Story of Anna Karenina", which has become a kind of "guide" for readers, Basinsky gave an interview in which he stated that the novel is equal to life and agrees with the possibility of its various readings: "I am not against modern interpretations of the novel — Freudian, existentialist, postmodernist and whatever. But I love it precisely for the fact that everything there is really simple, everything happens as it is in life, not in the head of philosophers and philologists" [Efremova, 2022].

# "Anna Karenina" in intersemiotic translation perspective: multiplicity and variety

New readings of the novel are also secondary texts, being the result of translating (in the broad sense of this type of communicative activity) the verbal text of the original into the "languages" of various semiotic systems. The observed growth of interest in intersemiotic translation strongly suggests that "strong" fiction texts are regularly interpreted by different (nonverbal or not only verbal) semiotic systems. The category of foreign semiotic interpretations of "Anna Karenina" includes theatrical and radio productions, ballets, operas, musicals, audiobooks, comic books, pictures in book publications, etc. A clear illustration of the unflagging interest in the original text and its secondary versions are the themes of the papers at the "Tolstoy Readings" conference in 2022: "The novel 'Anna Karenina' as a field for experiment: ballet works, design images and choreography in the format of drama", "Anna Karenina' in four themes-interpretations of the Parisian artist Alexander Alexeev", "Genesis of the novel 'Anna Karenina' in the space of contemporary art", etc. [Tolstoy readings, 2022]. One year earlier there was an international conference "Leo Tolstoy's novel 'Anna Karenina' in cinematography" [Tula museum, 2021].

Researchers unanimously recognize the novel as one of the most screened texts in fiction: "...over the past hundred years, the novel has been screened around the world several dozen times. It is perhaps the most screened novel in all of world literature. No other literary construction has withstood so many screenings, both television and cinematographic, full-length" [Gelasimov, 2020].

The history of film adaptations of the novel dates back to the silent film era. Turning to the 20th-century versions of "Anna Karenina", I. Makoveeva begins her list with the version produced by Pathé Studios in 1911, which has since been lost, and finishes with the Anglo-American film directed by B. Rose, released in 1997 and starring S. Marceau as Anna. The

researcher classifies silent films (the last film without soundtrack is "Love", filmed in the United States in 1927 with G. Garbo in the title role and offering the audience two versions of the ending) and sound films, TV films and TV series, films-ballets (for example, the 1974 version with M. Plisetskaya), as well as theatrical productions [Makoveeva, 2001]. The context of understanding the nature and mechanisms of intersemiotic translation highlights researcher's reflections on the relationship found between the verbal work and its film versions, as well as on the degree of translatability of the "strong" original achieved by cinematographic means. The bond between cultural objects revealing relations of equivalence is based on the ideas of Yu. N. Tynyanov on the nature and degree of correspondence between the original and its film version ("a spoiled novel or an unfinished drama") and V. Woolf, expressed on the basis of an analysis of one of the first film adaptations of "Anna Karenina" ("a visual copy of a fiction text with limited possibilities"). Using the results of the comparative analysis of seven screen adaptations and the classification of literary works adaptation by means and methods of cinematography (lubok — Russian popular folk print, illustration, interpretation) proposed by N. Zorkaya, Makoveeva distinguishes several types of film adaptations of Tolstoy's text: cinematographic lubok, illustration, commentary interpretation and interpretation-analogy. Let us remark that the researcher's treatment of each new screen adaptation as an obvious progress in solving the complex problems of transferring Tolstoy's novel to the screen deserves special attention, as well as the use of the concepts of hypotext and, most importantly, hypertext to understand the nature of the relationship between the verbal original and its secondary cinematographic text.

The large number of film versions of the novel created in different periods of the cinema era provides valuable material not only for witnessing the specifics of the interpretation of "Anna Karenina" in each particular case (changes in the plot lines, structure and composition of the original, the actors, etc.), based on the unique reading of the original by the film-makers from the perspective of their theoretical attitudes and aesthetic tastes, but also for identifying changes in the understanding of the phenomenon of film screening in general in light of the development of the cinematographic means and its very formation. J. Brodsky believed that the translator of poetry should be congenial to its author. Applying Brodsky's idea to the field of cinema, we can say that, ideally, a film adaptation requires a director who should be congenial to the author of the original masterpiece.

The history of cinematographic interpretations of the novel goes back more than a century and the interest of film masters in the novel persists, as is amply demonstrated by the emergence of new film texts. In the 21st century, for example, more than ten adaptations of the novel have been made. Not all film versions bear the novel's original title: in 1927 the abovementioned American film "Love" was made; in 1936 "Manja Valewska", based on the novel, was made in Austria, retaining the original storyline with a high degree of accuracy (although the names of the characters were changed and the action moved to Poland); in 1975 the French film "La passion d'Anna Karénine" was released; in 2017, the Russian director K. Shakhnazarov made "The Story of Vronsky"; 2021 saw the release of "Anna K." (directed by V. Fedorovich and others) and "Seryozha" (the film version by D. Krymov).

Film adaptations of a "strong" literary text pose valuable material for examining the topical issue of intersemiotic translation. Each new adaptation of a verbal original increases its visualisation and, consequently, its translatability and degree of translation — translatedness. A reference to the history of film adaptations allows us to trace the evolution of the intermedial approach to the "strong" text of culture and literature [Aseeva, 2017]. Being a relatively new object of creative activity, the phenomenon of film adaptation belongs to the field of intermedial problems and is directly connected with medial transposition, as well as with the issues of perception of a film phenomenon and narrative differences between the verbal original text and the film version. It is irrefutable that literature and cinema are narrative art forms, but it is in the narrative that their main difference lies: in literature the narration is carried out with the help of graphic signs, while in cinema — with the help of visual images and soundtrack [Bochkareva & Zagorodneva, 2019, p. 8].

When perceiving a verbal original in the process of reading, the reader is the interpreter of the information received, relying in decoding on one's own background knowledge, aesthetic preferences and personal experience. In the situation of film adaptation of a fiction work, interpreters are both the entire film crew (directors, producers, actors, cameramen, etc.) and, later, the viewer who perceives the cinematographic text, which has already become a secondary text.

With the advent of sound in cinematography, a version of the translation, which the stage director refers to and which becomes the basis for the screenplay, becomes crucial in the creation of film adaptations of Russian literature abroad. It is commonly known that there are cases when the director or screenwriter became the author of the translation. Translation is important for two key aspects of film adaptation: (1) broadcasting the content of the original, already refracted through the perception of the author of the translation and reflected in the sec-

ondary foreign-language text created, which by means of cinematography is transformed into a tertiary cinematographic text; (2) speech of the characters, which creates their speech portraits and which meets the concept of "playability".

The author of the 1957 monograph "Novels into film", which became a classic work on the theory of film adaptation, G. Bluestone pointed out the need for a clear distinction between literature and film (as unique and independent fields of art) and attempted to identify the fundamental differences that exist between a literary text and its film version. The researcher based his approach to understanding the phenomenon of adaptation on the mandatory distinction between media environments of the considered art fields ("medium-specific approach"), referring, first of all, to the notion of visualization. It should be noted that visualization (it is more accurate to speak about audiovisualization — auhor's note) in the context of film adaptation reveals at least two aspects — the screen version of the script and the viewer's perception of the artwork; on the other hand, visualization can be regarded as a process and its material outcome. Visualisation can also take place when reading the original. The reader perceives images of the fiction text and creates his or her own images based on them, which may not (and often do not) coincide with the images of the original text. When perceiving a film adaptation, the viewer becomes familiar with the already existing version of the visualization of the original art, being the result of the work of the entire film crew, which also refracts the resulting visualized information through their consciousness and psyche. It should also be stated that depending on the semiotic nature of the visualised text, different perceptual techniques come to the foreground. Of indisputable importance in perceiving a film adaptation is also the viewer's possible prior familiarity with the original. Clarifying the nature of screen adaptation, E. I. Prostsevichene believes that the genre feature of the film version of the novel is that it provides a meeting of different viewer perceptions on the basis of reader's experience). [Prostsevichene, 2013, p. 49].

Advocating the independence and autonomy of a literary text and a film text, Bluestone proposes to forsake value judgments when comparing the film adaptation and the literary original, and notes that comparative analysis of the two art objects in most cases begins with a declaration of the need to establish similarities between them, but always ends up with a statement of the differences [Bluestone, 1957, p. ix]. The researcher discusses film versions of six works of world literature ("Anna Karenina" is not among them) and, what is particularly interesting for our analysis, uses a comparison of cinema shooting (camera movements) with the

narrative consciousness of Leo Tolstoy, figuratively defining literature as a precious ore for creating film scripts on its basis.

The "strong" original text of "Anna Karenina" and all its secondary versions of different semiotic nature are in relations of primary and secondary character, similarity and difference, equivalence and non-equivalence, which can be traced at all levels of the fiction text. The verbal original and all its foreign-language and foreign-semiotic versions form a vast center of translational attraction [Razumovskaya, 2019], which can be defined as a polylingual and multimodal hypertext with synchronic and diachronic dimensions, created by different authors-interpreters, which also makes it polyauthorial.

#### Conclusion

The "strong" literary text and its secondary foreign-language and foreign-semiotic versions form the center of translational attraction, within which the translatability and translatedness of the original, presented in various semiotic forms, are enhanced, and the number of information perception channels increase for the reader (viewer, listener). But at the same time, the status of the texts perceived by the reader in terms of the parameters of primacy or secundancy may change, which largely depends on the media environment of the embodiment of secondary texts. For example, potential readers of a novel often turn to the original or its translations only after becoming acquainted with film adaptations, among which "strong" ones may be presented. Film adaptations actualize the precedent verbal artistic originals, drawing the audience's attention to the literature and offering the role of readers. In this case, rather than the result of successful or unsuccessful medial transposition of a work of fiction by means of cinematography, film adaptation is but a manifestation of cultural dynamics, which contributes to the preservation of a "strong" fiction text in the space of national and global culture, maintaining its popularity for generations of readers and ensuring active intercultural and inter-medial collaboration of literature and cinema as significant cultural objects. The analysis of the ways of communicating the content of a literary work by cinematographic means implies the identification of strategies for adapting the narrative of a literary text by cinematographic means, the selection and application of effective visualization techniques and the identification of units, in relation to which the director ("translator") makes a crucial decision on inter-semiotic translation.

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# ADAPTIVE SYSTEMS AS MEANS FOR IMPLEMENTING ANTHROPOCENTRIC APPROACH TO TRANSITION BETWEEN FORMATS

The paper continues the research on the problems both educators and students experience while transferring between modes of instruction: traditional offline, online, mixed and hybrid formats. The factors are external and internal. The external factors, namely, pandemic period lockdown and later the geopolitical conflict involving more than two parties make it impossible for many overseas students to participate in face-to-face classes. Psychological adaptation and university's capacity to provide for a successful learning process in different formats are the internal factors. Research questions cover the following aspects: 1) students' expectations of different formats and problems they faced; 2) problems the educators faced; 3) research done previously; 4) solutions suggested; 5) feasibility of the proposed solutions. The findings based on thorough literature review, two surveys, and an expert interview1 show that adaptive educational systems, despite being promising, are not likely to be implemented widely in the observable future. We argue that an anthropocentric approach to educational technologies and adaptive systems are not the solutions to the problems per se. These systems are a powerful instrument to provide for inclusive, comfortable and effective personalised education. The revised principles and key features of the new curricula for social sciences and humanities alongside implementation of adaptive systems can be the best solution in transition between modes of education.

*Keywords*: anthropocentric approach, distance learning, hybrid learning, adaptive educational systems, motivation.

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# АДАПТИВНЫЕ СИСТЕМЫ КАК СРЕДСТВО РЕАЛИЗАЦИИ АНТРОПОЦЕНТРИЧЕСКОГО ПОДХОДА К ПЕРЕКЛЮЧЕНИЮ РЕЖИМОВ ОБУЧЕНИЯ

В данном исследовании авторы продолжают изучать проблемы, с которыми сталкиваются как преподаватели, так и студенты при переходе от

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  The meeting was held via Zoom on 22/11/2022 at 14.00 Moscow time.

одного способа обучения к другому: традиционному офлайн, онлайн, смешанному и гибридному форматам. Выявляются внешние и внутренние факторы. Внешние факторы — изоляция в период пандемии, а затем обострение геополитического конфликта — делают невозможным участие многих иностранных студентов в очных занятиях. Внутренними факторами являются психологическая адаптация студентов и способность университета обеспечить успешный процесс обучения в различных форматах. Вопросы исследования охватывают следующие аспекты: 1) ожидания студентов и проблемы, с которыми они столкнулись во время обучения различных форматах; 2) проблемы, с которыми столкнулись педагоги; 3) исследования, проведенные ранее; 4) предложенные решения; 5) осуществимость предложенных решений. Результаты, основанные на тщательном обзоре литературы, двух опросах и экспертном интервью, показывают, что адаптивные образовательные системы, несмотря на их перспективность, вряд ли будут широко внедряться в ближайшем будущем. Мы утверждаем, что антропоцентрический подход к образовательным технологиям и адаптивным системам сам по себе является средством, но не решением проблем. Эти системы являются мощным инструментом для обеспечения инклюзивного, комфортного и эффективного персонализированного образования. Пересмотренные принципы и ключевые особенности новых учебных программ по социальным и гуманитарным наукам наряду с внедрением адаптивных систем могут стать лучшим решением при переходе между различными форматами образования.

*Ключевые слова*: антропоцентрический подход, дистанционное обучение, гибридное обучение, адаптивные обучающие системы, мотивация.

# Introduction

The rapid progress in information technology, which might be overwhelming, paired with extreme changes in societal patterns on a global scale bring about serious challenges. These also affect tertiary education in terms of transferring the teaching and learning process, and most importantly assessment, from mode to mode: face-to-face, online, mixed (hybrid). Clearly, everyone involved has to adapt to a variety of timing patterns, communication patterns, test patterns, and changes in curricula and syllabi.

Previously we discussed the role of adaptive approaches to language instruction and evaluation of student progress [Golubeva & Rokhlina 2022]. We still keep the stance of supporting the value of humanistic (anthropocentric) approach and continue to investigate the role of adaptive educational systems.

The crucial point is to distinguish between LMS (learning management systems) and LXP (learning experience platforms) since only the

latter are adaptive systems per se. Such well known platforms as *Black-board*<sup>2</sup>, *ЯКласс*, *Эквио*, *Brightspace*, and *Moodle* are all examples of LMS, i. e. their role is to keep pre-loaded content, allow for grading simple tests (like multiple choice, or multiple matching) automatically. However, all the essays and other tasks involving students' creativity should be graded by hand. All the students of the class get the same level of difficulty at the same pace unless the teacher puts extra effort and assigns the tasks for more advanced learners to motivate them, for instance. *Moodle* is more flexible and allows to build in new modules compatible with the platform, which is why it can be adjusted to provide for adaptive courses.

The researchers of National Research University Higher School of Economics have published the evaluation of research on the effectiveness of adaptive systems. The empirical base was constituted by scholarly publications about the implementation and effectiveness of such systems in formal tertiary education. While generally the authors of this publication support the innovation, they point out that. Their criticism is grounded on the fact that analysed scholarly articles did not verify their claims with the results of statistical analysis, or randomised students grouping. Hence, it is not possible to draw conclusions about the effectiveness of adaptive systems education. Similarly, the correspondence between the amount of progress and adjustments of adaptive systems to learners' characteristics cannot be proven based upon the publications under study [Contemporary analytics, 2020]. The assessment criteria for student digital literacy should be established alongside the criteria to measure how adaptive systems paired with task-centred approach "motivate students towards selfdirected learning" [Fedorova & Nikiforova, 2022, p. 137]. The novelty of the reseach lies in the pursuit to verify the rationale for the use of adaptive systems in the framework of anthropocentric approach amid the variety of learning formats.

#### Methods & materials

In the course of the research, we implemented both quantitative and qualitative methods: two surveys based on convenience samples, an expert interview, observation, and interpretation. The materials include technical and content (demo versions) information of adaptive platforms *Geekie, Knewton, Wiley Plus, Plario*, and *Smart Sparrow*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> We disagree with Khramova & Aleksanrova who put *Blackboard* together with truly adaptive systems such as *Wiley Plus* [Khramova & Aleksanrova, 2020].

# Results and analysis

First of all, we have to clarify the basic terms we use in this paper. Particularly, we have to distinguish between mixed and hybrid formats since in the literature we evaluated there are some included confusions. In mixed format the professor and a part of the group work in traditional face-to-face format while another part of students participate via online connection in real time. Hybrid format means that the whole group participates in traditional format (mainly, practical classes and seminars) and partly works synchronously/asynchronously online (mainly, lectures and tests).

The observation and comparative analysis of LMS (learning management systems) and LXP (learning experience platforms) demonstrated the differences presented in Table 1.

core functions LMS	core functions of LXP		
to provide space for the content	to provide space for the content		
to keep the calendar of assignments	may be used as traditional LMS		
to assign tasks and tests*	to diagnose students' level and build a track		
to give statistics of each student's participation	modules can be integrated into the basic course		
to keep each student's grades**	to guide student from easiest (acquired) to more difficult		
the same level of difficulty for students in a group	level of difficulty is adjusted for individual student's needs		
fixed deadlines	self-paced learning		
to upload the content in the formats the system supports	to write content suitable for the course/module		

Table 1. Comparative analysis of LMS & LXP

The anthropocentric idea of personalised learning experience is the grounding principle of all LXPs under study. Not only the instructor's control is provided, but also the student's responsiveness is valued as the means for measuring the successful work of the system.

In the expert interview, D. Bubnov elucidated that initially adaptive systems, in our case *Plario*, were built to provide secondary schools in Eu-

<sup>\*</sup> Some types are graded by the system, some have to be graded by the teacher.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Technically both Blackboard & Moodle allow the dean's office to see students' results, however it depends on the institution whether this function is used.

rope (the Netherlands) with a tool for tutoring pupils with low grades, or to motivate advanced learners. That is to say, these systems were designed for independent students' work and extracurricular activities, the latter can be more effectively organised in online format [Zhabo et al., 2022].

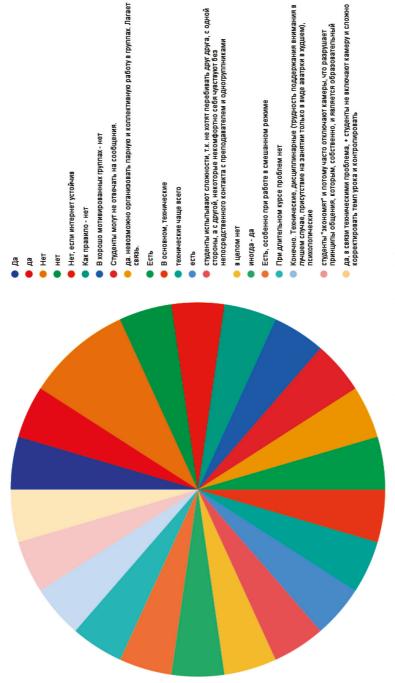
Table 2. Characteristics of LXP under study

Platform	Country	Language of interface	Key audience	Range of subjects
Plario	Russia	Russian	schools & universities	mathematics, chemistry, statistics
Geekie	Brazil	Portuguese	schools	
Smart sparrow	Australia	English	schools, universities, and corporate education	chemistry, anatomy, biology, mathematics
Wiley Plus	the USA	English	schools, universities, corporate education	accounting, economics, mathematics
Knewton Alta (a Wiley brand)	the USA	English	schools, universities, corporate education	biology, chemistry, physics, psychology, statistics

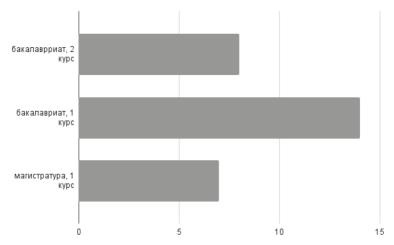
According to D. Bubnov, currently only five Russian universities use *Plario*, namely, National research Tomsk state university, Tomsk polytechnic university, Sechenov university, Higher school of economics, and Bryansk state technical university. The main advantage of *Plario*, as well as that of *Wiley Plus*, is that it provides for designing hybrid models integrated into university's LMS.

The results of the first survey elucidated that  $100\,\%$  of the teaching staff work in offline and online formats, and some of them work in mixed format. Apparently, teachers adopt methods and techniques to online format, yet some of them mentioned that methods they use hardly differ.

Interestingly, only five percent of the respondents claimed that they did not experience any problems with working in mixed format. The problems mentioned by the rest of the teachers can be distributed into three groups: technical, organisational and psychological. Technical problems include unstable internet connection, poor lighting, and the lack of equipment.



Picture 1. Problems in online (and mixed) formats



Picture 2. The respondents' general characteristics

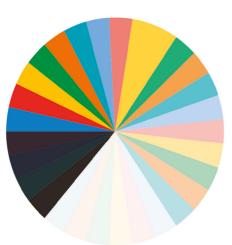
Another type of problems that should be considered is physiological type: one of the respondents reported cases of unsolved logopedic problems amongst students. In the course of the research, we have not received any data about difficulties which students with disabilities might encounter. The problems caused by technological issues are quite the same in online and mixed formats.

Quite expectedly, 63.4% of the surveyed said that they know nothing about adaptive systems. Among those who are familiar with the concept and know what is available only two respondents had practical experience with *Plario*.

The second survey revealed the expectations of the students and the problems they faced in transition between the modes of instruction.

The results demonstrated that personal psychological characteristics play an important role in the way students adjust to shifts in formats. For some of them online and mixed formats during the pandemic were uncomfortable, and they were looking forward to face-to-face classes. On the contrary, some students were quite satisfied with online format and felt uncomfortable in a big group of peers<sup>3</sup>. Among the responses two opposite views were expressed: 'the distance learning was better' vs 'having all classes face-to-face is a jackpot' (Pic. 3). However, most

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In 2020, the new English syllabus for Bachelor students was introduced at St. Petersburg University. Compared to the previous syllabus the number of students has increased dramatically: from max 14 to max 20. In reality, some groups account for up to 22 students. This has not been changed with the return to traditional face-to-face format. Master students continue to study in an online format.



- Лекционные занятия не поменялись, скорее стали более энергозатратными
- Ожидания и реальность по большей части совпали; аудиторный режим в некотором роде дисциплинирует, кроме того, мне более предпочтительно общение в реальности, лицом к лицу. Видеосвязь не может в полной мере воспроизвести такое общение
- формат настраивает на более продуктивную учёбу, бодрит и радует общением лицом к лицу не только с преподавателем, но и с товарищами по учёбе Ожидалась большая загруженность, а также то, что свободного времени станет гораздо меньше. В целом так и произошло, но также аудиторный
- Тяжело ходить на пары, лекционный материал сложнее слушать очно, но семинары нравятся при встреча
- Прошло только одно занятие пока, было всё хорошо
- Немного неуютно находится в местах большого скопления людей и тяжело выходить из дома, представляя бесцельно потраченный час на доропу.
- Ожидания оправдались, аудиторный режим намного лучше
- В аудитории обучение намного эффективнее
- реальность
- Ожидания: все пары в очном формате, живое общение с преподавателями и студентами. Реальность: очень жаль, что английский в онлайн формате!
- Больше контактов с преподавателем, лучшее погружение в занятие
- Ожидала, что в аудиторном режиме преподаватели будит давать больше полезной и интересной инфосмации. В реальности же некоторые все так же льют воду на лекциях, из-за чего хочется спать (даже, когда выспишься). На дистанционке действительно можно было бы отойти или уснуть, когда
- ожидание: интересные пары, проекты, работа в командах, необычные кейсы на парах, большая нагрузка, плодотворное обучение. Реальность: многие пары не информативны, командная работа присутствует
- Ожидала, что общение с одногруппниками и преподавателями в реальной жизни стимулируют меня больше учиться. Можно сказать, что так оно и
- Я хотела ходить в вуз, видеть вживую своих преподавателей и однокурсников. Ожидания совпали с реальностью. Да, это сложнее, но намного
- Очень рада, что у нашего курса 100% очное обучение, это джекпот))
- Дистант был лучше
- Удобно, что есть доступ к информации в визульном формате, например, презентаций. Как человек с приросшим к руке и голове телефоном ценю
- Ожидания совпали с реальностью (не по всем предметам)
- Ожидания были хуже, чем оказалась реальность. Всех преподавателей прекрасно слышно, материал воспринимается в любом формате хорошо,
- никаких ожиданий не строила, но было приятно встретиться с товарищами по учёбе
- никаких ожидании не строила, но овлио приятно встретиться с тов: очень хочется учиться оффлайн, в онлайн невозможно
- Все ожидания оправдались
- Ожидания о более эффективных занятиях в зудиторном режиме полностью оправдались
- меня радует аудиторный режим
- думал, что буду отвлекаться и что это будет сложнее чем занятия в очной форме.... так и произошло
- Bce xopomo
- Ожидания оправдались, я знала как будет

Picture 3. Expectations vs reality: transition to face-to-face format

of them appreciated personal contact with their group-mates and the faculty.

The students mentioned such problems as spending too much time commuting, and as a result feeling tired, and not being able to have a decent lunch.

## Discussion

More than 70 years ago A. Turing introduced the concept of a learning machine and stated that at the end of the XX<sup>th</sup> century "general educated opinion will have altered so much that one will be able to speak of machines thinking without expecting to be contradicted" [Turing A.M., 1950]. Then N. Wiener, R. Dawkins and some other scientists tried to include machines into the evolutionary chain guided by the idea of the similarity of information processing algorithms according to computer programs, with the thought processes that occur when humans receive similar information (computer metaphor). In 1981 G. Dejong introduced the concept of 'Explanation Based Learning', G. Hinton coined the term 'Deep learning' (2006). Though machine learning nowadays is considered to be "more appropriate to today's digital reality and tomorrow's digital prospects" [Saklofske et al., 2012, p. 312], the man, as a creative independent individual, is the centre of the technical process, and the machine is only the means.

Some recent publications [Khramova & Aleksandrova, 2020; Beriev & Alisultanova, 2021; Shershneva, Vainshtein, Kochetkova, 2018] have introduced the methodology of designing adaptive system modules. They mention building a learner profile as an essential element. Actually, this is in essence "needs assessment" (the term was coined by R. Kaufman for business organisations, and later on was adapted for educational institutions<sup>4</sup>). However, from the given explanation the "student profile" looks like a programme rather than a real human: the aforementioned authors did not give a clue about collecting student's characteristics.

The analysis of a number of publications on the topic revealed some confusion of the terms 'adaptive methods' and 'adaptive systems'. Adaptive methods have been used widely long before the pandemic and geopolitical restraints. Adaptive systems are LXP platforms operated with implementation of machine learning.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Guerra, I. and Rodriguez, G. (2005). Educational Planning and Social Responsibility: Eleven Years of Mega Planning at the Sonora Institute of Technology (ITSON). Performance Improvement Quarterly, 18(3): 56-64.

At present, in the market very few truly adaptive systems are available, amongst which only *Plario* is a Russian product. From the expert interview with the CEO Dmitrii Bubnov and the manager Evgeniya Krasnova of ENBISYS<sup>5</sup>, it became clear that adaptive systems are truly client-oriented, and the teachers' role in designing syllabi and content for the modules and courses is essential. The limitation of wide implementation D. Bubnov attributes to financial issues (one course costs about four million RUR) and time input required from the working group (about 3000 hours a year to build one course). According to him, there are two federal laws allowing universities to collaborate with ENBISYS in terms of designing courses in *Plario*. This means that legal regulations do not cause an obstacle.

In the context of Russian tertiary education, pioneers were teachers of mathematics at Tomsk University. Eventually, *Plario* has been probed by five universities on a limited number of disciplines, namely, mathematics, chemistry and programming.

Regardless of the type of LMS the universities use, the educators have to establish the criteria to evaluate the effectiveness of each type in terms of ROI. The workload of the working group designing and building modules, financial investment of the university authorities must be compatible with the outcomes: the quality of the course/module in terms of suitability, compatibility, prospects for demand on the market, and the level of satisfaction of the students and the teachers.

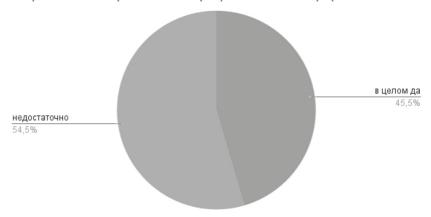
The variables to be measured are the following:

- the time spent on designing tasks and tests for each format;
- the time spent by students on accomplishing the tasks; the variety of tasks in each format;
- the proportion of time spent on independent work in adaptive system;
- proportional distribution of time dedicated to each mode of instruction;
- the growth of motivation (to be measured in collaboration with psychologists);
- the added value of students' progress.

Apparently, scaffolding as one of the instruments the humanistic approach uses to provide for individualised and comfortable learning has its limitations. It is more suitable for assigning corrective modules for weak-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> ENBISYS has 10 years of experience of developing courses built on the platforms based on machine learning, initially for European schools (the Netherlands), and later on for Russian universities.

Являются ли курсы обучения эффективными? Помогают ли в практической работе на официальных платформах ВУЗа?



Picture 4. Effectiveness and applicability of training courses

er students, or creative and more challenging tasks for stronger learners. Both cases suggest independent work of a student. Nevertheless, the other side of the medal should not be forgotten: emphasis on learner autonomy, comfort and individual needs might lead to loss of important interpersonal skills, and form a false impression of making progress.

Another issue which defers the smooth transition to hybrid and mixed modes of instruction is insufficient or unsuitable training the teachers are given by their institutions. The survey revealed that more than a half of respondents are not satisfied with the courses on ICT (Pic. 4).

# Conclusion

Distance learning is an essential part of modern education that introduces considerable opportunities. The most prominent of these opportunities is hybrid learning. However, in the context of Russian tertiary education there is no data representing the percentage of hybrid learning in the curriculum of universities. The evaluation of skills loss caused by transition from mode to mode, levels of stress the teaching staff and the students experience, the degree of adapting techniques and communication styles has not been executed on a large scale.

Apparently, adaptive educational systems provide for individualisation of a study map, allow for customisation of resources and learning activities, and meet the unique needs of each student. Unfortunately, adaptive to the contract of the

tive systems are not likely to be implemented widely. Despite the interest of enthusiastic educationalists, there is an obstacle called "institutional resistance" since "universities are by nature conservative entities" [Saklofske et al., p. 313]. Saklofske et al. said, "Sometimes putting a younger person in an office with decision-making power only means more energy is available to oppose meaningful change" [Saklofske et al, p. 314]. Moreover, legal and budgetary matters underlying formal tertiary education put strong restraint on incorporating adaptive platforms into a potential curriculum, which has to be re-designed particularly for social sciences and humanities [Fedorova & Nikiforova, 2022].

In our previous paper, we promoted the idea of implementing adaptive systems since they are flexible and client-oriented. This has a strong grounding supported in several publications [Sudeiskaya, 2022; Golubev et al., 2022;]. The interests and needs of all the parties involved (students, educationalists, university authorities, and system developers) should accord. The best "learning benefits these systems can provide when universities and companies collaborate" [Johanes & Lagerstrom, 2017, p. 7]. Nevertheless, the limitations must be taken into consideration. Johanes and Lagerstrom described the possible pitfalls of adaptive systems in terms of epistemology, costs, discrimination of certain learners via labeling, and excessive data flow [Johanes & Lagerstrom, 2017]. The technology per se is not the solution but only the instrument. The quotes from one of our respondents, who is familiar with Plario and Miro, supports this proposition. She noted that adjusting to different formats (for both students and educators), employing adaptation as an approach, and keeping up motivation depend not only on technologies but also on psychology.

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# PRAGMATIC FEATURES OF PRECEDENT UNITS WITH MYTHOLOGICAL ALLUSION IN MEDIA DISCOURSE

Precedent units with mythological allusions as special textual elements with wide pragmatic potential are considered in the article from the point of view of their functioning in modern British media discourse, the most wide-scale version of modern text representation. Precedent units of different origin are actively used in modern language because the "eternal" concepts they embody, symbolize, and actualise the recipient's background knowledge, which is essential for media discourse. The study describes and illustrates the main functions of precedent units in media language - nominative, expressivedecorative, persuasive, password (password-identifying), ludic (game, or the function of language game creation), euphemistic, affecting. The material for the study was a variety of sources, including UK periodicals. The illustrative material demonstrates the pragmatic features of the functioning of precedent units, their semantic derivation, and the increase of meanings in the process of linguistic perceptualisation. It is proved that the use of precedent units is extremely productive in the implementation of the author's intentions in media discourse. It is concluded that the pragmatics of the precedent units is addressed to the paradigm of cognitive, discursive and communicative characteristics, which allows to perceive the text as a unified system. The prospect of further research can extend to a comparative analysis of precedent units with mythological allusions in different languages in the context of mass media in order to identify the cognitive and pragmatic universal components, as well as to describe the algorithm of linguistic influence on the potential audience through the subjectification of internal content and individual author's interpretation of the main cultural and social references recorded in world literature.

Keywords: precedent unit, pragmatics, media discourse, mythological allusions, linguoculturology, cross-cultural communication.

С. Ю. Рубцова

# ПРАГМАТИЧЕСКИЕ ОСОБЕННОСТИ ПЕРЦЕДЕНТНЫХ ЕДИНИЦ С МИФОЛОГИЧЕСКИМИ АЛЛЮЗИЯМИ В МЕДИАДИСКУРСЕ

В статье рассмотрены прецедентные единицы с мифологическими аллюзиями как особые текстовые элементы, обладающие широким прагматическим потенциалом, с точки зрения их функционирования в современном британском медиадискурсе — наиболее масштабном варианте распространения современного текста. Прецедентные едини-

цы различного происхождения активно используются в современном языке поскольку «вечные» концепты, которые они воплощают и символизируют, актуализируют фоновые знания рецепиента, что имеет существенную значимость для медиадискурса. В рамках исследования описаны и проиллюстрированы основные функции прецедентных единиц в языке средств массовой информации — номинативная, экспрессивно-декоративная, персуазивная, парольная (парольно-идентифицирующая), людическая (игровая, или функция создания языковой игры), эвфемистическая, воздействующая. Материалом исследования послужили различные источники, включающие периодические издания Великобритании. На иллюстративном материале продемонстрированы прагматические особенности функционирования прецедентных единиц с мифологическими аллюзиями, их семантическая производность и приращение смыслов в процессе языковой концептуализации. Доказано, что использование таких структур в крайней степени продуктивно в рамках реализации авторских интенций в медиадискурсе. Сделан вывод о том, что прагматика прецедентных единиц обращена к парадигме когнитивных, дискурсивных и коммуникативных характеристик, что позволяет воспринимать текст как единую систему. Перспектива дальнейшего исследования видится в компаративном анализе прецедентных единиц с мифологическими аллюзиями в разных языках в медиадискурсе с целью выявления когнитивных и прагматических универсальных компонентов, а также описание алгоритма лингвистического воздействия на потенциальную аудиторию посредством субъективации внутреннего содержания и индивидуально-авторской интерпретации основных зафиксированных в мировой литературе культурных и социальных установок.

*Ключевые слова*: прецедентные единицы, прагматика, медиадискурс, мифологические аллюзии, лингвокультурология, кросс-культурная коммуникация.

#### Introduction

At this stage in the development of linguistics, cross-cultural communication has received significant attention. The fact is that for a successful act of communication, it is necessary to operate with concepts within the same conceptual domain, as well as to know the "conceptual neighbours" of this domain. The nature of a concept is characterized by duality: on the one hand, a concept is fixed semiotically, i. e., by means of a language sign, and on the other hand, it has a cognitive basis, i. e., it is represented by the content part. This theory in linguistics is based on the hypothesis of structuring knowledge about the world by means of specific cells with a certain set of stereotypical scripts, which can be quickly mentally "processed", since in addition to the main (explicit) information, they also record hidden (implicit) information. This explains the high accelera-

tion of human perception and cognition. Semantic representation occurs according to the following principle: information is perceived, processed, then a judgment is formed based on a set of standards, stereotypical concepts already existing in the mind, corresponding specifically to this area of cognition [Karasik, 2016].

The process of linguistic conceptualisation creates conditions for intensification of fixation of certain concepts in the consciousness of the collective linguistic personality, which is especially evident in cross-cultural communication, where reinterpretation and actualisation of semantic components are formed through the reference points of meaning [Ivanova, E. A. (2012) p. 169].

In this article, we consider the precedent units of different origin and their modifications with mythological allusions, consider the pragmatic potential of their semantic derivation and establish the peculiarities of their functioning in modern English media discourse.

World literature has been a rich source of precedent statements, influencing the formation of cultural and mental values for millions of people around the world for many centuries [Rubtsova, 2015 b]. The text as a precedent phenomenon undoubtedly has all the attributes of cross-cultural versatility. Despite significant distortions and additions in the structure of the cognitive matrix of the precedent text compared to fiction texts written at different times in different languages, both the preservation of the conceptual connection with the original text and the universal cross-lingual character of key concepts and cognitive lines can be observed [Orlova, 2010].

For the conventional collective individual, as well as for the whole linguistic and cultural community, precedent phenomena are of value because they appeal to the experience and perception of the linguistic picture of the world by previous generations, and many common language concepts were formed under the influence of the precedent. This explains the wide use of precedent units in modern media discourse.

The main feature of precedent units is considered to be referentiality, i.e., "an ability to give a reference to a past event" [Nazarova, 2017]. Being one of the dominant models of speech-making [Golubeva, 2007], precedent units contribute to the formation of additional meanings of statements and perform the following functions in media discourse: nominative, expressive-decorative, persuasive, password (password-identifying), ludic (game, or function of language game creation), euphemistic, affecting [Slyshkin, 2004, p. 86; Slyshkin, 2000, p. 123-124; Guseynova, 2013, p. 30]. Let us consider the implementation of these functions on the material of modern British media texts of different thematic orientation.

#### Methods and Materials

The major linguistic processes are currently recorded and fixed in the digital version of the language precisely because of the media. Therefore, we believe that the study of the use of precedent units in modern English-language media discourse and the analysis of their functioning is an urgent task for linguists engaged in the problems of text interpretation, conceptualisation of notions, and semantic categories. The diversity of perspectives in describing precedent units comprises syntagmatic and paradigmatic features. That is confirmed by the subjective styles of contemporary scientific reasoning, forcing one to see it as a communicative act and an aesthetic event simultaneously, at the same time allowing one to perform additional functions in media discourse.

The choice of the object of research predetermined the use of a number of methods to consider the functions of precedent units, in particular: descriptive-comparative method, the method of continuous sampling, the method of contextual analysis, the method of interpretation. The material of the study was the English originals of precedent units, translations into Russian, identified contexts of use of terms from the corpus of British modern media space of the Internet.

# Discussion and Results

The key function that precedent units with mythological allusions perform in the discourse is a nominative function. N. A. Golubeva notes that the nominative function of precedent units lies in their reflection of the result of human intellectual activity, in the naming of "information objects" [Golubeva, 2007]. According to G. G. Slyshkin, the nominative function of precedent units is associated with the economy of speech means enabling a speaker to convey a significant amount of information concisely [Slyshkin, 2004, p. 86]. This is conditioned by the ability of the precedent unit to actualise particular slots of the frame, in the form of which they are presented in the minds of the native speakers. T. S. Guseinova [Guseynova, 1997; Guseynova, 2013; Guseynova, 2014; Guseynova, 2015] also draws attention to the ability of a phraseological unit to mark the phenomena of reality that are similar in situation and act as a frame, which determines the abstract nature and schematic nature of the phraseological unit [Nazarova, 2017, p. 70].

The use of an expansive concept '*Pandora's box*' [Rubtsova, 2015] implies the individual-author's addition of pragmatic meaning about a risky situation, which can bring a number of adverse consequences:

The US ambassador to Baghdad conceded yesterday that the Iraq invasion had opened a **Pandora's box** of sectarian conflicts which could lead to a regional war and the rise of religious extremists who "would make Taliban Afghanistan look like child's play".

The expressive pragmatic component as the main evocative means is fundamental to media discourse, as it allows to draw attention to the topic under discussion and trigger an emotional outburst in the recipient. Therefore, the use of precedent statements is more common in newspaper headlines and editorials: 'Pandora's box': experts say Queensland's windfall from coal royalties could set a precedent.

In media discourse, intentional modifications (transformations, quasi-citations) of precedent units are the author's intention, aimed at realising nominative and expressive-decorative functions: "The bland leading the blind. The president intervenes. Or does he?" is an intentional modification of the scripture text: "The Blind Leading the Blind Every plant that my heavenly father has not planted will be pulled up by the roots. Leave them, they are blind guides. If the blind lead the blind, both will fall into a pit. (Matthew 15:13–14)."

The expressive-decorative function is most often realised in specific contexts and is motivated by the nature of media discourse, namely the attraction of readers' attention to the published material:

... the British government using them as a political pawn in their games with the EU. **The writing on the wall** is clear, even more so after the Stormont elections [16 16. The Times. London. 17, May, 2022].

... and the additional boost to inflation and supply chain problems it has brought. These "four horsemen of the apocalypse" have damaged growth and continue to do so. [The Times. London. 27, July, 2022]

Institutional enhancement isn't achieved by **scapegoat**ing nor purging the top levels. Nadhim Zahawi and Edward Argar, the new ministers responsible. [The Times. London. 19, September, 2022]

The persuasive function is implemented in media discourse in the context of political discourse, as this communicative process is aimed at the implementation of manipulative strategies and the real impact on the recipient's mentality inherent in political discourse [Makarov, 2012, p. 52]. Linguistic markers create the preconditions for the formation of special cognitive attitudes, which allow identifying vaguely structured conceptual categories in the recipient's thinking and subsequently filling these blanks based on the author's goals and objectives. Manipulation as a special form of programming the reaction to a certain event covered by the media is also carried out through the use of precedent units:

«Nato's 'achilles heel': alliance conducts war games in nervous Lithuania» [The Times. London. 19, September, 2022];

Horsemen of the Apocalypse are on their way, Dmitry Medvedev warns

... he had warned that Moscow would attack western cities, if missiles provided to Ukraine by the US were used to hit targets in Russia. "The horsemen of the Apocalypse are ... [The Sunday Times. UK, 19, December, 2021]

A professional and independent media representative is expected to cover a political event in an unbiased manner, without adding his or her own personal evaluation or commentary, but in practice, media texts receive an authorial pragmatic component, which acquires an individual authorial subjectivity, including through the use of mythical allusions by the author:

... It's what they do. This may persuade both party leaders not to bother reading the writing on the wall — writing that seems, to me, pretty clear. [The Guardian. London. 20, April, 2022];

Sit vac: cleaner required for Augean stables

Changes at the exchange

Two members of the key World Cup-awarding executive committee were banned in the wake of a Sunday Times investigation into corruption; another four officials were also booted out. If not quite an **Augean stables moment**, it was justice delivered swiftly, and openly. [The Guardian. London. 12, March, 2014]

The password function of the precedent units is widely practiced in media discourse by means of reference points of semantic meaning identified by the author, who seems to include the reader into the community of the privileged and shares with him the conditional information, which is not available to everyone. Ultimately, the reader becomes an equal participant in cross-cultural media communication, which connects their consciousness with the position of the author, who objectifies the media text in accordance with his or her intentions:

And in the house he has clad all of the traditional marble and mosaic sculpture plinths in magenta. The changes are most noticeable in the house's sculpture gallery where 20 stunning 19th century sculptures, including **Sleeping Endymion** by Canova, now have bright magenta bases. "You can see how it clarifies the sculptures," Craig-Martin said. "You can see them so much more easily than normal." [The Times. London. 20, June, 2022]

In this context, the mythical allusion of Sleeping Endymion is a kind of cultural sense-mimicking code that makes the recipient feel 'at home' in the companionship of the author and his associates.

E. g.: Boris Johnson is neither good chap nor great man ... description of him as the "Alexander the Great of our times ... a great cutter of Gordian knots". This is how the prime minister's acolytes see him, and perhaps how ... [The Guardian. London. 18, May, 2022]

The ironic use of the expression 'Gordian knot' [Oxford Dictionary of English] contributes to the mental unity of the author and the reader, indicating a definitive realisation of the semantic component of the mythical allusion.

The game (ludic) function of precedent units in media discourse is implemented in order to enliven the narration. It is often possible to observe a symbiosis of the ludic and affecting functions via the semantic superimposition of different precedent utterances. In English media discourse, language game serves as an effective expressive tool to attract the attention of the recipient. The modification of the precedent unit '*Procrustean bed*' refers the reader to a situation where there are strict requirements or norms that the object seeks to comply with:

Constructing WN puzzles is a prolonged process. The grid should ideally contain equal numbers of words of different lengths, and I try to select words which seem to offer a reasonable range of different one-word definitions. This may create unforeseen problems at the cluing stage, and as this proceeds to the last few, the **Procrustean demands** of the format become ever more challenging. So you may have to wait a while before the next WN turns up, whether or not it's a competition puzzle! [The Guardian. London. 06, February, 2014];

You are having trouble getting through a newspaper book review. What is the problem? Is it because the argument is of labyrinthine complexity? Or is it because the author's Procrustean tendency to shoehorn classical metaphors and similes into every sentence is becoming irksome? For three years I suffered a Proustian and Procrustean fate as I sought my Lolita in a boyish woman. I even wrote poems. Oh my Lolita / I long to meet yer. And then I got a letter from a Mrs Schiller. "Dear Dad, I am married and having a baby. Please send money." [The Guardian. London. 21, February, 2009]

The euphemistic function of a precedent unit is reduced to "softening" the statement, presenting information in a softer, more politically correct form, without offending the reader's feelings as a result of the author's individual reinterpretation. In media discourse, this function is

realised in a quantitatively reduced manner, covering and softening some sacred notions:

Trump calls Covid diagnosis 'blessing from God' amid false treatment claims

President returns to Oval Office despite concerns he should be self-isolating as virus spreads in White House [The Guardian. London. 07, October, 2020];

as well as the concept of 'death': to sleep in the Arms of God / eternal rest

The gentrification of death: in New York eternal rest will soon be a luxury [The Guardian. London. 12, July, 2018];

Earlier this morning, pallbearers had laid the cypress coffin onto the stone steps in front of the basilica. A choir sang "Grant him eternal rest, O Lord" to mark the start of the funeral Mass. [The Guardian. London. 08, April, 2005]

#### Conclusion

Productive pragmatic potential of the precedent units in the modern media discourse contributes to the implementation of the processes of semantic derivation, the accretion of meanings and the formation of occasional connotations. The versatile nature of intertextuality in the case of precedent insertions refers the recipient's attention to the eternal themes and motifs, which organically integrates into the modern paradigm of reality perception, blurs the cognitive structure and the framework of human information and allows to fully implement the author's intentions. The use of precedent units in a media text helps the author to eliminate information redundancy by sublimating a huge layer of background knowledge into a relatively truncated precedent structure, stimulating the emergence of additional background connotations and attracting attention to them. The desired perception of certain information in the media discourse is achieved as quickly as possible by matching the sent and received signals. The broad functionality of the precedent units is fully realised in the texts of the media. On the material of modern British media, it is shown that the pragmatics of precedent units is addressed to the paradigm of cognitive, discursive and communicative characteristics, which allows the text to be perceived as a single system, implementing nominative, expressive-decorative, perceptive, password (password-identifying), ludic (game, or language gamemaking function), euphemistic, affecting functions.

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# EVALUATIVE SEMANTICS OF GENDER-MARKED PAREMIAS THAT EXPLICATE STEREOTYPES (BASED ON ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN PROVERBS)

The purpose of the study is to identify ways to represent ethno-cultural concepts of value, stereotypical assessments in relation to representatives of a particular sex by conducting a comparative analysis of gender-marked English and Russian proverbs. The following research methods are used in the article: the method of scientific observation, the comparative method, the descriptive method, the method of quantitative counting. The scientific novelty of the study lies in a comprehensive comparative analysis of the evaluative semantics of English and Russian proverbs representing gender stereotypes. As a result, the following aspects are highlighted and characterized: semantic groups of proverbs containing a gender nomination that most clearly represent the evaluative gender stereotypes of the societies under study; general and specific characteristics of evaluative semantics of paremias; evaluative ideas of ethnic groups about members of the sexes, broadcasted through proverbs with a gender component.

*Keywords*: proverbs with a gender component, paremias, gender stereotypes, value representation, precedent units.

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# ОЦЕНОЧНАЯ СЕМАНТИКА ГЕНДЕРНО-МАРКИРОВАННЫХ ПАРЕМИЙ, ЭКСПЛИЦИРУЮЩИХ СТЕРЕОТИПЫ (НА МАТЕРИАЛЕ АНГЛИЙСКИХ И РУССКИХ ПОСЛОВИЦ)

Целью исследования является выявление способов представления этнокультурных концептов ценности, стереотипных оценок по отношению к представителям того или иного пола путем проведения сравнительного анализа английских и русских пословиц, маркированных по гендерному признаку. В статье используются следующие методы исследования: метод научного наблюдения, сравнительный метод, описательный метод, метод количественного подсчета. Научная новизна исследования заключается в комплексном сравнительном анализе оценочной семантики английских и русских пословиц, представляющих гендерные стереотипы. В результате выделяются и характеризуются следующие аспекты: семантические группы пословиц, содержащие гендерную номинацию, которые наиболее четко отражают оценочные гендерные стереотипы исследуемых обществ; общие и специфические характеристики оценочной семантики паремий; оценочные представления этнических групп о членах полов, транслируемые через пословицы с гендерным компонентом.

*Ключевые слова*: пословицы с гендерным компонентом, паремии, гендерные стереотипы, ценностное представление, прецедентные единицы.

#### Introduction

The value representation of the national picture of the world is vividly represented by the paremiological fund of a language, in which proverbs occupy a dominant place among the diversity of genres. Due to the fact that the paremiological fund of a language has the function of cultural and reflective stereotyping [Semenenko, 2011, p. 29], which is the most important cognitive and pragmatic function and makes paremias universal precedent units, we can declare the significance of proverbs in terms of value and semantic space. This fact determines the relevance of the topic of this study. To achieve the goal of the study, it is necessary to solve the following problems: — to identify and classify proverbs containing the nomination of both sexes in the paremiological funds of the English and the Russian languages; — to conduct a systematic analysis of the semantics of paremias in terms of their reflection of the value representation of gender stereotypes in both languages under consideration; — to distinguish common and unique value ideas about the sexes in the societies under consideration through gender-marked paremias.

#### **Methods and Materials**

The following research methods are used in the article: the method of scientific observation, the comparative method, the descriptive method, the method of quantitative counting.

The study material was compiled by English and Russian proverbs, obtained by special sampling from the following paremiological collections: G. B. Bryan & W. Mieder "A Dictionary of Anglo American Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases", A. Bertram "NTC's Dictionary of Proverbs and Cliches", W. Mieder "English Proverbs", B. Stevenson "The Home Book of Proverbs, Maxims and Familiar Phrases", Anikin V. P. "Russian proverbs and sayings," Yu. V. Murray "Russian proverbs, sayings and phraseologisms and their English analogues", I. M. Snegirev "Russian folk proverbs and parables", M. V. Bukovskaya and others "Dictionary of Common English Proverbs," V. I. Dal "Proverbs of the Russian People," etc.

### Literature Review

The paremiological units considered represent in language and culture a certain set of pragmatic attitudes aimed at preserving and translating the ideological foundations of national culture. Using a cognitivepragmatic approach, N. N. Semenenko [Semenenko, 2017, p. 3] considers proverbs as a special group of precedent units of language, since paremias are a means of expressing the worldview of an ethnic group existing and forming in a culture, influenced by many factors and internal contradictions. The scientist understands value representation as the verbalization of cognitive units: concepts, categories, notions, frames, etc., meaningfully correlated with the values of culture, the existence of society and man [Semenenko, 2017, p. 26]. Due to anthropocentric orientation of modern linguistics, the study of the semantics of paremiological units corresponds to the tendency of linguistic science to investigate the correlation of language and culture when analyzing secondary nominative units of the language representing certain cultural meanings.

The semantics of proverbs has a certain set of specific characteristics, the most important of which is the assessment, which is the main criterion for the formation of a pragmatic culture. According to O.B. Abakumova [Abakumova, 2013], there are the following types of assessment: "the first type reflects the values of this culture, presented in the semantics of the proverb implicitly, and is encoded by different linguistic means, the other is associated with the communicative strategy of the speaker" [Abakumova, 2013, p. 118]. During the process of a linguistic personality socializing, there is a simultaneous procedure of forming a hierarchy of values interconnected with it. The formation of a national linguistic personality closely correlates with the awareness of the cognitive base of a certain linguocultural society containing precedent phenomena and stereotypes [Gudkov, 1999, 13], vividly represented in the paremic fund of a particular ethnic group. Stereotyping of judgments and estimates finds its vivid expression in paremiological texts, being their dominant function, because with the help of this function the didactic potential of folk sayings is represented. N. F. Alefirenko [Aliferenko, 2009] defines language stereotypes of an ethnocultural nature as "objectified in language profiled concepts, notions, signs of reality surrounding a person, which make up the linguocognitive configuration of the language picture of the world. Since language stereotypes are generated by ethnically conditioned ideas formed by folkloremythological consciousness and existing in the system of traditional

linguoculture, their content is based not only on estimated images recorded in the language (nominative models, phrases and paremias). The cognitive substrate of each language stereotype is one of the ethnocultural concepts that makes fundamental the basic topics of the language picture of the world" [Aliferenko, 2009, p. 67]. According to A. A. Konstantinova [Konstantinova, 2007], "stereotypes — firmly established ideas, certain cliches of consciousness specific to a particular people, native speaker — are elements of its cognitive base. Any stereotype is a precedent phenomenon. On this basis, paremias can be studied as a variety of them — precedent statements "[Konstantinova, 2007, p. 8]. N. N. Semenenko defines the proverb as "a paremic genre, which is a means of forming stereotypical assessments and recommendations in relation to typical life situations. The main semantic characteristics of proverbs are: (a) the generalized nature of meaning; (b) a "transparent" metaphorically organized internal form; (c) polyconneptuality of the semantic structure" [Semenenko, 2017, p. 3]. G. S. Hakimova emphasizes that paremics, being an extremely informative material for analyzing a particular concept, expresses a frozen awareness that has formed over a long period, "it gives an "average", stereotypical picture of the world and expresses an assessment in an explicit form" [Hakimova, 2003, p. 88]. A. V. Kirilina sees paremics as a marker of cultural stereotypes formed in the language [Kirilina, 1999, p. 85]. The importance of studying the main stereotypes of ethno-linguistic consciousness in the formation of semantic and pragmatic content of proverbs is explained by the ability of these paremiological units to represent the main thought characteristics of ethno-linguistic consciousness, to implement the inculturation of an individual in the course of mastering compromise morality, including a comprehensive assessment of the situation. Proverbs, known for their dogmatism, still show ambiguity in assessment, and are also polyphonic in relation to cultural values. N. N. Semenenko presents the speech formula of paremia as "folk morality against the" background "of stereotypical understanding of many typical situations under the" sight "of certain value dominants of folk consciousness" [Semenenko, 2017, p. 4].

This comparative study is intended to identify general and specific characteristics of the value semantics of paremias; as a consequence, to detect and compare gender-valued stereotypes of the ethnic groups studied. The distinctive characteristics of the semantic structure of paremias with a gender component are a generalized body of knowledge regarding relationships between different sexes, relationships between relatives, as well as stereotypical gender behavior during repeated communication situations. The ideological content of proverbs with a gender component

is comprehended by our mind fully and collectively sets forth the accepted standards of behavior of representatives of different genders in certain life circumstances in the family and in society. Gender-marked paremias are one of the subjects of research of gender linguistics. A. V. Kirilina states that "the purpose of gender research in language can be to study the speech behavior of the sexes, to distinguish and describe male and female speech patterns" [Kirilina, 1999, p. 36]. E. V. Grishchenko considers the goal of linguistic genderologics as "the study of gender signs of the language picture of the world, the speech behavior of men and women, taking into account the cultural tradition of this society, gender stereotypes and historically variable concepts of masculinity and femininity, a female and male vision of the world, the manifestation of female and male methods of speech self-realization" [Grishenko, 2010, p. 10]. Speaking about the object of study of linguistic genderologics, L.S. Polyakova declares that it "becomes the relationship between language and gender, that is, the question of how gender manifests itself in the language — in the nominative system, vocabulary, syntax, gender category, etc." [Polyakova, 2007, p. 49]. The main goal, according to the scientist, is to describe and explain "how gender presents itself in language, what assessments are attributed in language to men and women, and in which semantic areas they are most common" [Polyakova, 2007, p. 49]. Paremias play a significant role in gender research. Being an important layer of language, the paremiological fund allows you to identify gender stereotypes of a particular people, which contributes to the formation of an assessment judgment in relation to the sexes.

# Results

This work is devoted to the analysis of English and Russian gendermarked proverbs expressing value stereotypes in relation to behavior and the inner world of the sexes of the studied ethnic groups. To conduct the study, we selected English and Russian proverbs with a gender component, containing the following keywords, which are a gender nomination: женщина, баба, жена, woman, wife; мужчина, муж, мужик, man, gentleman, husband, he. The analysis of the factual material provided an opportunity to classify the investigated paremias into two semantic groups, which, in our opinion, most clearly reflect stereotypical estimates in relation to genders:

- 1. behavior;
- 2. inner world.

Tables 1–2 show the results of the analysis. These tables show the percentage of proverbs with positive and negative estimated semantics from the total number of considered paremias included in a particular semantic group.

Table 1. Frequency of <u>English</u> paremias with positive and negative estimated semantics

Semantic Group	Male			Female		
	Total	Positive	Negative	Total	Positive	Negative
Behavior	12/8,5 %	9/6,4%	3/2,1%	34/23 %	8/5,5%	26/17,5 %
Inner World	19/14%	3/2,5 %	16/11,5%	47/32 %	8/5,5%	39/26,5 %

Table 2. Frequency of <u>Russian</u> paremias with positive and negative estimated semantics

Semantic Group	Male			Female		
	Total	Positive	Negative	Total	Positive	Negative
Behavior	22/22,5 %	3/3 %	19/19,5 %	63/21 %	13/4%	50/17 %
Inner World	17/17,5%	10/10,2 %	7/7,3%	106/35%	13/4%	93/31 %

As can be seen from the tables, female representatives are most susceptible to assessment by society through paremiological units, since both the English and Russian paremiological world pictures (PWP) contain a larger number of paremias representing estimated semantics in relation to women. Moreover, the data presented in the tables show a predominance of negative attitudes towards women in both ethnic groups in question.

When considering gender-marked proverbs containing a male nomination, a more loyal assessment of men by the societies studied is found. For example, in the English PWP, the behavior of men is assessed more positively (6.4%) than negatively (2.1%). A similar picture is observed in Russian paremics: proverbs describing the inner world of a Russian man number more paremias with positive evaluative semantics (positive estimation — 10, negative estimation — 7).

The semantic group "inner world" in both English and Russian PWP is the most frequent and, in our opinion, represents the brightest marker of the value representation of the national picture of the world in relation to the sexes. The inner world of English and Russian women in paremi-

ology is generally similar. As noted earlier, the image of women of both ethnic groups in question is negatively connotated. The following qualities express a negative assessment of the inner world of a woman in both pare-miological pictures of the world under consideration: *stupidity, cunning, anger, stubbornness, impermanence, hypocrisy, laziness:* 

Women have long hair and short brains [Fergusson, 1995, p. 89]; Баба дура [Snegirev, 2010, p. 46]; У бабы волос долог, да ум короток [Zukov, 1991, p. 328]; The greatest water power known to man is a woman's tears [Kotyi, 2012, p. 21]; Баба и черта перехитрит [Anikin, 1988, p. 15]; Women are like wasps in their anger [Stevenson, 1956, p. 2104]; Всех элее элых элая жена [Dal, 1993, p. 121]; Woman will have both her word and her way [Stevenson, 1956, p. 2100]; Бабе хоть кол на голове теши [Dal, 1993, p. 64]; A woman's mind and winter wind change oft [Murrey, 2008, p. 7]; У бабы семь пятниц на неделе [Dal, 1993, p. 64]; God save us from all wives who are angels in the street, saints in the church and devils at home [Stevenson, 1956, p. 1900]; В людях — ангел, не жена: дома с мужем — сатана [Murrey, 2008, p. 27]; The more women look in their glass, the less they look at their house [Murrey, 2008, p. 46]; Где бабы гладки, там нет воды в кадке [Murrey, 2008, p. 46].

In addition, a woman in English paremics is characterized by *having callous nature*: Women have no souls [Murrey, 2008, p. 107]; *greed*: Women, priests and poultry, have never enough [Murrey, 2008, p. 127]; *narcissism*: A vain woman is like an empty egg-shell [Bryan, Mieder, 2005, p. 855].

The Russian PWP endows a woman with *deceitfulness* in addition to the above mentioned negative characteristics: Баба бредит, кто ей верит [Snegirev, 2010, p. 46]; Бабьи враки — девичьи присухи; Бабы врут, девкам присуху дают [Dal, 1993, p. 195].

In contrast to the negatively colored image of a woman, which is clearly represented in the paremics of both languages studied, the positive image is shown very sparingly in the both PWP and consists of the following few characteristics: *diligence*, *kindness*, *wit* 

One hair of a woman draws more than a team of horses [Bryan, Mieder, 2005, p. 345]; Жена хороша не телом, а делом [Snegirev, 2010, p. 165]; In the husband wisdom, in the wife gentleness [Murrey, 2008, p. 128]; С доброй женой горе — полгоря, а радость вдвойне [Dal, 1993, p. 109]; A wise woman is one who has a great deal to say, and remains silent [Kotyi, 2012, p. 20]; A woman's counsel is sometimes good [Stevenson, 1956, p. 2100]; Умная жена, как нищему сума [Dal, 1993, p. 109].

The negatively connotated image of a woman in both PWP is supplemented by paremias included in the semantic group **behavior**. The data

from these tables reflect the gender stereotype of the negative assessment of female behavior in the languages studied. The negative assessment of female behavior, represented in the paremias of the considered ethnic groups, is expressed by the following characteristics: chattiness, tearfulness, fussiness, lasciviousness, quarrelsomeness, coquetry (panache): A woman's tongue wags like a lamb's tail [Stevenson, 1956, p. 2100]; Бабий кадык не заткнешь ни пирогом, ни рукавицей [Dal, 1993, p. 65]; There is nothing sooner dry than a woman's tears [Kotyi, 2012, p. 22]; Без плачу у бабы дело не спорится [Dal, 1993, p. 66]; Three women make a market [Murrey, 2008, р. 223]; Где две бабы, там суем, а где три, там содом [Dal, 1993, p.64]; Three things to stay away from: a snake, a man with an oily tongue, and a loose woman [Bryan, Mieder, 2005, p. 769]; Баба блудит, а деду грех [Dal, 1993, p. 548]; Happy is the deaf man that has a scolding wife [Stevenson, 1956, p. 1915]; Жена бранчлива — мужу позор [Anikin,1988, р. 96]; Баба вертится задом, передом, а дело идет чередом [Snegirev, 2010, p. 46].

In addition to this, proverbs characterizing a woman as a *fragile, morally weak being* are present in English (A woman and a ship ever want mending [Bertram, 1993, p. 137]; A woman and a glass are over in danger [Mieder, 2008, p. 128]; Frailty, thy name is woman [Stevenson, 1956, p. 537]), which, in our opinion, also tends to be viewed negatively by society. However, the Russian Paremiological Fund, on the contrary, demonstrates the *strength of the woman's spirit* (which refers to a positive assessment): Баба — не квашня: встала, да и пошла [Dal, 1993, p. 64].

The selection of gender-marked proverbs of both ethnic groups studied expressing a positive assessment of female behavior revealed the only positive characteristic of the semantic group "behavior" — *thrift:* Men get wealth, and women kept it [Stevenson, 1956, p. 843]; Men make houses, women make homes [Bertram, 1993, p. 148]; Баба с кашкой, а дед с ложкой [Anikin,1988, p. 15]; Баба с кромою, а дед с сумою [Dal, 1993, p. 65], Баба, что мешок: что положишь, то и несет [Dal, 1993, p. 67]; Пусти бабу в рай: она и корову за собой приведет [Dal, 1993, p. 66].

When examining stereotypical gender estimations in relation to men in paremiological paintings of the world of the languages in question, a much lower number of proverbs (compared to gender estimations of women) were found, giving value ideas of these ethnic groups. In both societies studied, the most pronounced negative characteristic of the **inner world** of a man is *cowardice*: He that feareth every bush must never go a-birding [Bukovskaya et al., 1988, p. 304]; He that fears death lives not [Bukovskaya et al., 1988, p. 202].

A study of the positive assessment of the inner world of men of both societies under consideration revealed such a positive characteristic as *wisdom*: In the husband wisdom, in the wife gentleness [Murrey, 2008, p. 128]; У умного мужа и глупая жена досужа [Dal, 1993, p. 104]; Мужик-то сер, а ум-то у него не волк (не черт) съел [Anikin,1988, p. 188].

The semantic group **behavior** is more clearly represented in the paremics of the studied ethnic groups. Paremias with positive semantics demonstrate the following qualities common to the languages in question: *thrift, honesty*: Men make houses, women make homes [Bertram, 1993, p. 148]; Мужик добрый не проказник, работает и в праздник [Zukov, 1991, p. 179]; An honest man's word is as good as his bond [Murrey, 2008, p. 226]; Правдивому мужу лукавство не под нужду [Dal, 1993, p. 17].

Investigating paremias with negative evaluative semantics, we encountered the phenomenon of dissimilarity of gender evaluative stereotypes of the paremiological funds studied. English paremics characterizes a man's behavior as *stupid* (*monkey-like*): A man is an ape in velvet [Bryan, Mieder, 2005, p.493]: A quarrelsome man has no good neighbours [Mieder, 2008, p.79].

Тhe behavior of a man in Russian paremics is attributed to many negative characteristics: *sloppiness, jealousy, deceitfulness (secretiveness), alcoholism, lasciviousness:* Жена прядет, а муж пляшет [Dal, 1993, р. 104]; За ревнивым мужем быть — не в корысти свою молодость износить [Snegirev, 2010, р. 544]; Не всякую правду муж жене сказывает, а и сказывает, так обманывает [Dal, 1993, р. 108]; Мужик год не пьет, и два не пьет, а как черт прорвет, так и все пропьет [Zukov, 1991, р. 177]; У кого на уме молитва да пост, а у него бабий хвост [Dal, 1993, р. 208].

# **Discussions**

This study demonstrated the uniqueness of the proverb, which consists in the ability of paremia not only to reflect the concepts and generally accepted stereotypes formed by society, but also to broadcast the attitude of the people to these aspects of the picture of the world, their value meanings

### **Conclusions**

The analysis allows us to formulate the following conclusions: — gender-marked proverbs, being an indicator of estimated gender stereotypes,

represent decades-old judgments and assessments of society in relation to the sexes; — in both paremiological funds considered, greater attention is paid to assessing the representatives of the female sex; — portrait of a woman both in the English, and in the Russian PWP is assessed rather negatively by the studied ethnic groups; — in both studied PWP, there is a predominance of positive assessment for males, despite the fact that the paremics of English and Russian represent the portrait of a man in different ways.

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# POST-COLONIAL LITERATURE, INTERACTION OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Establishing basic laws of narrative formation and tracing certain trends in its development is always an interesting and fruitful subject of study. The purpose of this article is a detailed review of the main theoretical works related to the emergence and development of the theory of postcolonial literature. The problems related to the term "postcolonial" are highlighted, the vectors of interaction of English-speaking postcolonial literature are considered. In connection with the analysis of the political traditions of the functioning of colonies, the main trends in the development of Western postcolonial theories of literature are traced, in particular, the views and psychological theories of Franz Fanon. Apart from "three-level" theory by Fenon, the concept of nationalism and the views of the postcolonial literature theorist E. Said are covered in detail. Said introduces the concept of "orientalism" and reveals the mechanisms of false positioning of the hero — the original inhabitant of the colony. The works of G. Spivak and her feminist works are also considered, as well as the works of Homi Bhabha, who follows Lacan's psycholinguistic theory. The result of the study is the identification of those common patterns that are formed in English-language post-colonial prose, including works by J. Rhys, Zadie Smith and S. Rushdie. This sort of literature largely breaks the rules of the English language tradition. A tendency is to develop a new kind of narrative regarding historical novel.

*Keywords*: post-colonial literature, post-colonial theory, orientalism.

Н.Ф. Щербак

# ПОСТ-КОЛОНИАЛЬНАЯ ЛИТЕРАТУРА, ВЗАИМОДЕЙСТВИЕ ЯЗЫКА И КУЛЬТУРЫ

Установить основные законы формирования постколониального нарратива и проследить определенные тенденции в его развитии является интересным и плодотворным предметом изучения. Целью данного исследования является подробный, критический и аналитический обзор основных теоретических работ, связанных с возникновением и развитием теории постколониальной литературы. Освещаются проблемы, связанные с термином «постколониальный», рассматриваются векторы взаимодействия англоязычной постколониальной литературы. В связи с анализом политических традиций функционирования колоний прослеживаются основные тенденции развития западных постколониальных теорий литературы, в частности, взглядов и психологических теорий Франца Фэнона. Помимо "трехуровневой" теории Фенона, подроб-

но освещается концепция национализма и ориентализма, взгляды теоретика постколониальной литературы Э. Саида. Саид вводит понятие «ориентализм» и раскрывает механизмы ложного позиционирования героя — исконного обитателя колонии. Критически рассматриваются в исследовании и работы Г.Спивак, ее феминистические исследования, а также труды Хоми Баба, который следует традиции психолингвистической теории классика психоанализа Ж.Лакана. Результатом исследования является выявление тех общих паттернов, которые формируются в англоязычной постколониальной прозе, включая произведения Дж. Риса, Зди Смит и С. Рушди. Такого рода литература в значительной степени нарушает правила английского языка и традиционного нарратива нарратива. Тенденция заключается в разработке нового вида повествования, музыкального, гетерогенного, включающего различные мотивы и сюжетные линии. Это касается как современной прозы, так и исторического романа. Проза такого рода может характеризоваться как неоромантизм или неореализм (характерен, в частности, для прозы Зади Смит).

*Ключевые слова*: постколониальная литература, постколониальная теория, ориентализм.

# Introduction

Establishing basic laws of narrative formation and to trace certain trends in its development is always an interesting and fruitful subject of study.

The prefix "post" in the term "postcolonial" has caused a lot of discussion regarding the historical prerequisites, the fundamental principles that define postcolonial literature. Should this term be taken literally or does it mean a specific historical period? This means, for example, the famous and very important date — 1947, when India became independent and the state of Pakistan was created.

Such an explanation of the term suggests that "postcolonial literature" always means literature, the reason for the creation of which was the colonization policy of Great Britain. Many researchers, in particular, Neil Lazarus [Lazarus, 2011, pp. 2–20], E. Boehmer [Boehmer, 1989, pp. 340–361], believe that the term "postcolonial" implies a discussion of the influence (often violent) of the British Empire (or other colonizing countries such as France, Spain, i. e. English-speaking, French-speaking, Portuguese-language literature [Boehmer, 1994, p. 214]) on former colonies and suggests a certain positioning of colonial policy as more perfect, justifying abuse, inequality, etc.

Laura Krisman clarifies the term, paying attention not to the concept of postcolonial literature, but to the definition of postcolonial discourse and postcolonial theory, terms that often include "studies of diasporas, studies of black residents of the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, transnational studies, studies of the features of globalization, comparative studies of the functioning of the empire" [Williams, Chris, p. 1]. At the same time, Krisman highlights other equally important and later dates, for example, the years of publication of theoretical works on the history and theory of postcolonial studies: 1989 — publication of the book *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literature* [Ashcroft, Griffiths, Tiffin, 1989], Timothy Brenan's study of the work of Salman Rusdi and Third World countries [Brennan, 1989], and 1990 — the publication of Robert Young's anti-Marxist book White Mythologies.

Taking into account post-colonial literary theory we attempted to analyses works by Jean Rhys, Zadie Smith and Salman Rushie to identity common motives and patterns of the narrative characteristic of contemporary post-colonial writing.

# **Purpose**

The purpose of this research is a detailed review of the main theoretical works related to the emergence and development of the theory of postcolonial literature. The problems related to the term "postcolonial" are highlighted, the vectors of interaction of Anglophone postcolonial literature are considered. In connection with the analysis of the political traditions of the functioning of colonies, the main trends in the development of Western postcolonial theories of literature are traced, in particular, the views and psychological theories of Franz Fanon, his definition of a "three-level panorama", including the stages of the formation of the identity of a resident of a colony or postcolony, and, accordingly, the image of the hero of a literary work.

#### Methods and Materials

The concept of nationalism and the views of the postcolonial literature theorist E. Said are covered in detail, who introduces the concept of "orientalism" and reveals the mechanisms of false positioning of the hero — the original inhabitant of the colony. The works of G. Spivak and her feminist works are considered in detail, as well as the works of Homi Bhabha, who follows Lacan's psycholinguistic theory and uses it to analyze post-colonial texts. The works of authors, representatives of postcolonial literature are analyzed, development trends and new directions are traced, including post-modern, metamodern literature, feminism in the postcolonial tradition.

Postcolonial literature studies are characterized by both the introduction of new terms and the use of traditional hermeneutical methods. A number of authors borrow hermeneutical terms and methodological apparatus of Gustav Jung and analyze the "postcolonial unconscious", i.e. create a new theory of postcolonial research, discussing critical concepts that form this postcolonial literature [Lazarus, 2011, pp. 5–15]. Other literary critics or literary theorists focus their research on the principles of modernism or postmodernism, which are characteristic of postcolonial literature [ibid, pp. 21–88]. Many authors say that in the 90s more and more attention is paid to feminist postcolonial literature and indigenous literature (ingenious writing) [Elliott, 1952, pp. 215, 221].

#### Franz Fanon and his model

It seems to us that the most important thing is the obvious emergence of new concepts, the positioning of authors and heroes from their own personal, psychological, cultural positions, and not from the positions of representatives of the colonizing country. In line with this scheme, Franz Fanon acts, he considers a three-level scheme of anti-colonial struggle: 1) the so-called colonial assimilation; 2) the "violation" phase — among other things, includes "restoration of the author's identity by restoring cultural traditions"; 3) "struggle" — "a thinking author, a native resident of the colony", who is an object of postcolonial criticism research and previously tried to get lost among people, begins an active the struggle for the restoration of freedom, the assertion of its political role, the opposition to colonial aggression [Fanon, 1952, p. 345]. In the work Black Skin, White Masks (Peau Noire, Masques Blancs, 1952), written about the situation in Algeria, Fanon shares his experience of presenting historical criticism. He analyzes in detail the feelings of dependence and inadequacy experienced by black residents of the conquered territories. We are talking about the self-identification of the so-called black subject, who lost the sense of belonging to the indigenous culture of his people, felt himself part of the culture of the conquering country, and as a result he developed an inferiority complex, due to attempts to imitate the culture of the country that conquered his land. Such behavior, as Fanon writes, is especially noticeable in the behavior practices of young, educated people "yuppy" (young upward mobile professionals or educated Black people), who acquire the opportunity to earn money and get a good education by learning the language of the colonizer, having received education "abroad", thus wearing a "white mask" (the white mask) [Fanon, 1965, p. 56].

In the sixth chapter of this book (Negroes and psychopathology) the author writes about the impossibility of the black population to conform to the social, cultural, racial norms that are determined by the "white" society, concluding that a Negro brought up in a "black" family will be "abnormal" in a "white" society or in contact with a "colonizing society" and this state of affairs is largely due to the films, caricatures, positioning of "black culture" as "wrong" [Anderson, 1983]. In the book *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), Franz Fanon conducts a radical psychological analysis of the consequences of colonization, its impact on the consciousness of man and nation. Fanon presents the reader with a critique of personal and social health, paying attention to how, through the choice of specific linguistic means, the establishment and formation of imperialist images, such as colonization, and colonizer take place.

# Said and his notion of "Orientalism"

"Post-colony" is the term of the Ghanaian political leader Kwame Nkrumah, which denotes not political, but any other, in particular, economic, dependence of the former colony; it can denote a state or several states that arose after the colonizing country left the territory of the colony, as it was, for example, in India, when, after the mass departure of the British and the formation of a new state of Pakistan, about a million people died in clashes and internecine strife. The development of the nationalist movement in the colonial countries, as well as the active activity of postcolonial intellectual theorists, have been equally important for determining the shape and outlines of the postcolonial world since 1945. A new stage in the development of the colonial world is associated with the writing and publication of the work of American professor of literature, Palestinian activist Edward Said, which is called "Orientalism".

One of the main reasons for the popularity of this book was the poststructuralist and postmodernist methodology used by the author, namely, reliance on the fundamental works of Michel Foucault, which was the reason for a thorough, detailed analysis of the social, political, cultural, material aspects of colonization. E. Said's main work Orientalism examines the role of Western science in creating a stereotype of the colonial East. He argues that orientalism was an instrument of the colonial policy of the West.

According to L. Losev, "the fascination with orientalism is basically a thing of the past. The West now knows about the East from the books of the Hindu Naipaul, the Pakistani Rushdie, the Japanese Kawabata, the Chinese Gao Xinjiang — writers who are not at all inclined to indulge the fantasies of Western exotic lovers" [Losev, 2003]. Said's "orientalism" is

a discourse about the East (Palestine), which (according to M. Foucault's tradition and methodology) functions as a "corporate institution" and acts for the purpose of control and management. According to Said, orientalism is a "Western style of domination, restructuring and management of the East," while the term "East" can be applied to African countries, as well as to the countries of the Caribbean, Latin America.

At the same time, Said notes that "to talk about Orientalism means to talk for the most part about British and French rule, about British and French cultural introduction, which covers colossal expanses, like the imagination itself." The ideas of "orientalism" gave rise to the development of related disciplines that developed and complemented Said's research, among them are the works of A. Nandy, who writes about the development of femininity as one of the characteristics of the image or identity of colonized inhabitants, and hence literary characters [Nandy, 1995, p. 351], the study of the impossibility of India's existence outside of religious practices [Nandy, 1995, pp. 35-64] or the works of Gauri Viswanathan, devoted to the educational system of India and the ways in which colonizers influence the creation and formation of identity among the indigenous population of India.

Among the most significant works devoted to the theory of post-colonial literature, which recreate a new image of the original inhabitants of the colonies, should be called the book "The Empire Writes Back" (The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literature) [Ashcroft, Griffeiths, Tiffin, 1989], written by B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths, H. Tiffin and released in 1989.

The book is dedicated to postcolonialism and is the first truly serious theoretical work covering a large number of postcolonial texts devoted to the study of postcolonial culture. The authors aim to consider how the Eurocentric understanding of language and literature places pronounced accents that falsify the described situations. The catchy title of this book refers to the article *The Empire Strikes Back*, written by Salman Rushdie in 1982, the title, in turn, refers to the famous episode of "Star Wars". Thus, it becomes important for the authors to construct an oppositional, anticolonial identity by adapting and changing the Western (previously colonial) configurations of this very identity.

# Gayatri Spivak's feminism and Bhabha's post-Lacanian views

Said's works are on a par with other studies, including the works of Gayatri Spivak. G. Spivak's mature theoretical works of the 80s reflect her connection with postcolonial studies at the University of Sussex (the so-

called "studies of the oppressed": Subaltern Studies), which include the works of R. Guha and Dipesh Chakrabarty. The term "subaltern" has a military etymology and was borrowed from the work of the Italian Marxist Gramsci (Antonio Gramsci), used to refer to "non-elite" social classes such as the proletariat. Here are the explanations given by Gayatri Spivak herself regarding her essay Can the Oppressed Speak (1988) [Spivak, 1990]:

"It refers to those who do not give orders, but only receive them... "Oppressed" also means those who do not have access to citizenship structures. I am talking about today's India, where the largest sector of the electorate consists of landless and illiterate rural residents. They can vote, but they don't have access to citizenship structures. So these are the oppressed" [Cit. by Gerter, 2016, pp. 2].

Equally important is another work by Spivak, the essay *French Feminism in an International Frame* (1987), in which the researcher discusses the fact that Western women sometimes create their own discourse of oppression, as if responsible for the interests of colonized women, thereby carrying out a certain kind of linguistic and actual substitutions. According to the researcher, the image of the "oppressed woman" is created by the "elite discourse", which, in turn, is created by the patriarchal or colonization system

In his work Location of Culture (1995) and *Remembering Fanon* (1986), Homi Bhabha, relying, in particular, on Lacan's idea of "gaining identity through denial", writes that the mutual identification of the colonizer and the original inhabitant is ambivalent, since the original a resident of a colony never becomes a colonizer or a white man, but in an attempt to acquire his properties, he also loses his original identity. In the article *Of mimicry and Man* (1985)) he notes that in the attempt and desire of the native inhabitant to imitate the colonizer, there is a certain and sad outcome: the inability to conform to this ideal and the secondary nature of the acquired image, as well as the inability to return to the original image or identity, which becomes the root cause of the mental instability of the indigenous inhabitant and his self-perception: The effect of imitation and its influence on the power of colonial discourse is enormous. By normalizing a colonial State or its inhabitant, it deprives its own language of freedom and produces another form of knowledge about the norm.

Bhabha examines the features of prose, applying Lacan's psycho-hermeneutic theory, discusses the mechanism of tension between the dominant force (its participants), i.e. forces that "require the formation of a certain identity" and — "difference", which is embodied as the ability to

imitate, ambivalent in nature. Bhabha notes that colonial imitation is a kind of sample of the castration complex, the desire of the subject to find Another (the subject of difference), which is "very similar to the original (the subject of imitation), but not quite." To further illustrate his position, Bhabha turns to Freud's works and cites his observations of a mulatto, i.e. a person belonging to several races at the same time: such a mulatto is somewhat similar to a white man, but at the same time "betrays" his "colored" ancestors with his appearance, and thus is excluded from society, does not receive privileges from any of the ethnic groups.

Bhabha continues Lacan's ideas, using his definition of "imitation as camouflage", which "does not harmonize or repress the difference", but "forms a similarity that distinguishes or reveals presence through some part, that is, metonymically" [Bhabha, 2001, pp. 380-386]. In this case, Bhabha considers the deep psychological factors that influence the formation of the identity of the colonized subject, who, even with a natural desire to imitate the colonizer or be opposed to him, as a result turns out to be only his weak, unformed shadow. Homi Bhabha actively uses the poststructuralist apparatus, relying on Derrida's ideas regarding "repetition". The transfer of Derrida's ideas to postcolonial studies allows Homi Bhabha to conclude that European attempts to recreate social and cultural structures and stereotypes in colonial countries can never ultimately be successful precisely because of their variability. The choice of such proofs is witty and puts the research on a deeper philosophical level.

# Results, Discussion, Conclusion

# Tradition and Innovation: Konrad's Heart of Darkness and Wide Sargasso Sea by Jean Rhys

In his later work *Culture and Imperialism* [Said, 1993] Said discusses the main cultural concepts and the process of their formation, in particular, when writing about opera and literature. The study, therefore, aims to show the invisible ideological foundations, ways of education and support of imperial ideology, which is manifested, for example, in the European novel, while postcolonial authors (like Salman Rushdie) protest against such ideology, creating other images that challenge the doctrine formulated in the works of Kipling and Joseph Conrad.

Konrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1899) is a work about a journey along the Congo River. Yet the story is told on behalf of Charles Marlowe and is full of biased details of the life of the aborigines and the orders imposed in a distant colony. The book is also notable for the fact that Said analyzed it

in detail in a separate work devoted to Conrad and the biographical narrative. Said notes that the main character of Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, Charles Marlowe, not only travels to Africa and talks about it. Conrad creates a dramatic image of Marlowe himself, a former traveler in the colonial regions, who tells the story of his adventures to fellow those British citizens that belong to the business elite.

Said makes a remark about biographical details from Conrad's life, mentioning the fact that this is an author of Polish origin who sincerely accepted imperial views, and that at the time of writing the article he could possibly have attended a lecture on imperialism at the London Institute of Banking, which was read by geographer and researcher Halford Mackinder, thus demonstrating that that Conrad's narrative is aimed at a specific audience and assumes a "built-in" reader of a certain social position. Said notices that Marlowe is narrating not somewhere, but on board a ship moored on the River Thames, once again signaling the coordinate system of the main character and the author [Said, 1993, pp. 369–380].

A striking example of a different type of the narrative is Jean Rhys and her *Wide Sargasso Sea*, a famous remake of Jane Eyre. In her landmark and vivid work *Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism* (1986), Spivak, among other things, analyzes the famous English novel Jane Eyre by Charlotte Bronte and writes that it is based not is on directly expressed racist ideas. In a brilliant analysis, Spivak shows how Charlotte Bronte paints the image of Bertha Mason, the first wife of Mr. Rochester, a native of Jamaica, coming from a wealthy family. Spivak recreates the picture of Jane Eyre's absolute positioning. Therefore, all the readers (who inevitably take the author's position, since they sympathize with the character), are placed in the position of colonizers. Charlotte Bronte talks about abuse at a private English school, about the death of Jane's friend, but the death of the first wife of Mr Rochester is beyond her interest.

Spivak's almost Derridian ability to see hidden meanings and "suppressed identity" in the novel remains significant. In continuation of the topic about Mr. Rochester's first wife, it should be noted: it is very interesting that in 1966 Jean Rhys writes the novel *Wide Sargasso Sea*, in which Mason recreates the story (in the novel she is called Antoinette Conway), writes this story from a completely different perspective. She is telling the story not about the crazy woman, Mr. Rochester's ex-wife, but invents it anew.

In her essay, Spivak mentions Joan Rhys and how the writer was so touched by the image of Mr. Rochester's first wife as a child that she promised to rewrite her biography. Spivak rightly notes that even the wellknown feminist theorists Gibert and Gubar [Gilbert, Gubar, 1979] call Jane Eyre just "the story of Jane's life path", sees in her only "a simple substitute for a male narrator" who turned into a female narrator, not noticing "the colossal difference between sexual reproduction and spiritual pursuits, actualized by categorical idioms of imperialist presuppositions, evident in the finale of Jane Eyre" [Spivak, 1990, pp. 246–249]. Homi Bhabha, who introduces such concepts as "hybridity", "imitation", "difference", "ambivalence" into the field of postcolonial literature research, allows to explain how *Wide Sargasso Sea* manages to combine and oppose the tradition of the colonial background, introducing a completely different view of the character, which takes its roots in the famous English novel.

#### Zadie Smith and her novels

A good example of hybridity is the novel by Zadie Smith *White Teeth*. The author famously combines post-modern and realistic tradition introducing characters who have a wide range of backgrounds. Allowing her characters to have completely different grandfathers and grandmothers whose social and ethnic positions are very contradictory (one character could have a Nazi relative, whereas another one was taking part in the Sepoy Mutiny event) shows the Zenon paradox at its work, as the characters can't deny their past and memory which make them human and give hope. The metaphor of teeth allows to trace those roots that are there for each character. It shows the difficult mechanism of the identity constructions, its indirect connection to most cultures, isomorphic way of construction and self-realization.

The end of the novel is a choice of the camera that is placed in one of the cafes. The choice is either to film the murder, or to concentrate on the mouse, which makes the multi-narrative projections so relevant for the 20–21<sup>st</sup> century narrative, at work. The author as if gives the freedom to the interpreter, allowing us to view reality the way we want, concentrating on the bad and good, the global and the local. Zadie Smith does not deny herself the luxury of appealing to the classical literature examples who used the theme of post-colonial writing well before it was established. The reference to the *Tempest* by Shakespeare is in the prologue (*«What's past is prologue»*, II, I), thus allowing us to view the problem on a wider scale. In one of the episodes we could also see the reference to Conrad's novel (mentioned explicitly and implicitly in *«to bring into the light the great darkness of the creator's unexplainable universe»*), which allows to place Zadie's Smith's novel on a different level, making it genuine and less colonial. This is well seen in the appeal to religious topics (*«It's for my sins,* 

*Jones, for my sins and yet I am more sinned against than sinning*»), which makes it even more genuine and concrete.

It is worth mentioning that in this novel (as well as in the one *On Beauty*) Zadie Smith shows the development of neo-realistic tendencies, which are called sometimes the "meanwhile" phenomenon. Most events are described simultaneously giving the effect of the real, created anew, as if "repeating" itself (the effect of "repetition" was explained by Said and follows the tradition of French post-structuralists Deleuze and Derrida.

# S. Rushdie's novels and their genuine post-colonial characteristics

The Satanic Verses by S. Rushdie is a good attempt to show patterns of post-colonial narrative. Theoretically, threshold thinking makes it possible to critically evaluate a city as a phenomenon at the same time spatiotemporal, geographical and historical. The city is understood here as a set of heterogeneous, changeable and open configurations that often intersect and articulate each other again. The term "urban configurations" is used to denote the formation of urban movements or routes that can shuffle dominant/hegemonic cultural/political orders or hierarchies, as well as outlines — temporary, uneven, intermittent and multidirectional — achieved. such arrangements. Urban configurations are both discursive and material, whereas discursive or abstract ideas of the city have material consequences, and vice versa.

In postcolonial theory, as in feminist theory and criticism, the mirror appears most prominently in the conceptualization of the Other/other, otherness and mimicry, as evidenced by Lacanian psychoanalysis. These concepts relate to those aspects of the mirror as a cultural phenomenon that relate to the formation of subjectivity, in particular, colonial subjectivity and the relationship between the original and the mirror image — here the ambivalent relationship between the colonizer and the colonized — where the mirror image is "almost the same, but not quite", "both similarity and threat". Mirrors play a central role in the representation of the city in the works of Salman Rushdie, where they encourage inter-urban reflection and determine the dynamics of travel, physical and metaphorical, within and between cities.

While Rushdie's hometown, Bombay, has been radically transformed (and even renamed Mumbai) as a result of the rise of Hindu fundamentalism, to which he responds in his novel "Sigh of Mood", the other two main cities in his east — the Western Axis — London and New York — have now both become targets of terrorist attacks. It is the metropolis — New York, Madrid, London — that is interpreted as the place of the highest

manifestation and the densest concentration of Western values and, consequently, as an opponent in the rhetoric of terrorism. In response to this notion of a megacity, Rushdie suggests that the strikes on New York, imagined as the "bright capital of the visible," were the responsibility of the "invisible forces."

Conceptualizing postcolonial migration and return as journeys similar to Alice's mirror adventure in Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking Glass* asserts the understanding of Bombay and London as negative twins of each other in the metaphor of inverted urban temporality discussed in the previous chapter. Chapter. However, as we will see, the catoptic boundaries that divide cities, divide cartography and imprison the self are designed to reflect through their inconsistencies, duality and shadow selves their own transparency, illusory and absurdity. The two-part model of the original and reflected image, the same and the other, which forms the colonial discourse, is replaced in the novel by paradigms of an inverted mirror and a mirror reflected in another mirror, which compromise the concepts of origin, teleological orientation and cultural purity.

Thus, the "Satanic Verses" articulate a number of mirror routes that inform about the political significance of urban spatialities and temporalities. By virtue of their mirroring, these ramifications acquire meaning in juxtaposition, so that a ghostly presence runs through the entire narrative.

#### A View Ahead

As could be well seen the formation of the cultural mix, hybridity, diversity, repetition is what characterizes contemporary post-colonial writing. It is well seen that these tools allow to develop neo-realistic style, characterized by unusual juxtapositions and repetition of motives. It is important to see that gender aspect is always taking into account in post-colonial writing, which does not necessary deny the traditional culture and customs, yet establish them anew. An important aspect of post-colonial writing is to adhere to Fanon's three — stage model of post-colony adaptation which allows to see the mix of struggle, opposition, rejection and development of completely new patterns. It is equally important to take into account post-Lacanian view and see how psychology of the character form the narrative, how the acceptance and rejection of the colonizer's traditions allow to build up a new face, which hides weaknesses and is formed by them.

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# THE FUNCTIONING OF RELATIVE PRONOUNS QUI AND QUE IN FRENCH SENTENCES

The article describes the study of the main characteristics of relative pronouns qui/que and considers the actualization of their functions in the French sentence. The aim of this study is to analyze the peculiarities of qui/que pronouns functioning both as independent units and as a part of the antecedent complexes ce qui/ce que. The examples of interrogative constructions demonstrate how pronouns qui and que actualize the difference in their informativeness, which influences the degree of explicitness or inexplicitness of the subject in simple and compound sentences. The authors conclude that the relative pronoun qui, being the most informative, marks the presence of the inexplicit, least informative subject; que, being the least informative, marks the presence of the explicit, most informative subject. A comparison of the properties of qui/que units within the framework of different sentence types establishes the difference in their function. The use of qui/que in the declarative provides the possibility to use both an animate and an inanimate antecedent, while the actualization of the independent nominative function in the interrogative sentence limits the use of qui to an animate antecedent, que — to an inanimate one. This comparison proves that the opposition to the function relative pronouns perform is considered to be the most important at the present stage of the development of the French language and enables them to be either the subject (qui) or the complement (que) within a sentence. The usage of qui/que pronouns with some intensional verbs is also considered. It has been revealed that the use of the pronoun qui provides more options for the characterization of the subject due to the possibility of using both the indicative and subjunctive moods while the use of que in this context entails changes in the sentence structure and the type of the subordinate relation: the desired characteristics can be expressed only by the usage of the subjunctive mood.

Keywords: grammar, relative pronoun, Old and Middle French, diachronic changes, explicitness and non-explicitness of the subject, antecedent, intensional verb, de re et de dicto.

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# ФУНКЦИОНИРОВАНИЕ ОТНОСИТЕЛЬНЫХ МЕСТОИМЕНИЙ QUI И QUE ВО ФРАНЦУЗСКОМ ПРЕДЛОЖЕНИИ

Статья посвящена исследованию основных характеристик относительных местоимений qui/que, а также рассмотрению актуализации их функций во французском предложении. Цель данного исследования — анализ особенностей функционирования местоимений qui/que как в качестве

самостоятельных единиц, так и в составе антецедентных комплексов се qui/ce que. На примере вопросительных конструкций показано, как местоимения qui и que актуализируют разницу в своей информативности, что в свою очередь влияет на степень эксплицитности или инэксплицитности подлежащего в простых и сложных предложениях. Делается вывод, что относительное местоимение qui, будучи наиболее информативным, маркирует наличие инэксплицитного, наименее информативного подлежащего; que, будучи наименее информативным, маркирует наличие эксплицитного, наиболее информативного подлежащего. Сопоставление свойств единиц qui/que в рамках различных типов предложения позволило установить различие в их функции. Употребление qui/que в повествовании предоставляет возможность использования как одушевлённого, так и неодушевлённого антецедента, в то время как актуализация самостоятельной номинативной функции в вопросительном предложении ограничивает использование qui одушевлённым антецедентом, que — неодушевлённым. Данное сопоставление доказывает, что на современном этапе развития французского языка для относительных местоимений важнейшей является оппозиция по функции, которую они выполняют, являясь в предложении либо подлежащим (qui), либо дополнением (que). Также рассматривается употребление местоимений qui/que совместно с некоторыми интенсиональными глаголами. Выявлено, что использование местоимения qui предоставляет больше вариантов для характеристики подлежащего благодаря возможности использования как изъявительного, так и сослагательного наклонения, в то время как использование que в данном контексте влечёт изменения в структуре предложения и виде подчинительной связи, вследствие которых возможна передача характеристик, выраженных только сослагательным наклонением.

Ключевые слова: грамматика, относительное местоимение, старофранцузский и среднефранцузский языки, диахроническиие изменения, эксплицитность и инэксплицитность подлежащего, антецедент, интенсиональный глагол, de re et de dicto.

#### Introduction

Most of traditional grammars regard relative pronouns as elements used to introduce a relative clause [Grevisse, Goosse, 1993] while others consider them in terms of less commonly used term "conjunctive" [Bidois, Bidois, 1971]. These elements are usually placed after the nominal antecedent and at the beginning of the relative clause itself. The Russian linguist Yu. S. Stepanov refers pronouns to the grammatical category described at a specific level, that is, taking into account the nearest context in order to develop a speech chain [Stepanov, 1965].

The variability in the use of relative pronouns in modern French is a consequence of the historical changes that have taken place in the gram-

matical system [Gadet, 2003]. Although nowadays the rules for the use of relative pronouns are clearly defined and established, their choice often causes difficulties [Chartrand et al., 1999]. These difficulties are related to the structure of the relative clause, the context in which the relative pronoun is used and, therefore, the functions it fulfils.

In order to interpret the functions of the relative pronouns at the present stage of the development of the French language, we should refer to the formation of their system, which falls in the period of the Old and Middle French language. It is known that for a long period of time the rules for the use of pronouns *qui* and *que* were not clearly established, there was an inferential ambiguity in their use, and the pronoun *que* could be used freely instead of *qui*, serving as a substitute for an indefinite person or a subject. At the turn of the XVII<sup>th</sup> and XVIII<sup>th</sup> centuries, the pronoun *que* had no a special place in the pronoun system, being a substitute for such pronouns like où and dont. As for the pronoun *qui*, it was used, as we will see later, instead of relative pronouns such as dont and lequel. Consequently, in Classical French, the norm of relative pronouns usage was more flexible than it is today.

Thus, a historical background precedes the study which aims at identifying the functions and meanings of the pronouns *qui* and *que* both as independent words and as part of antecedent complexes *ce qui* and *ce que*, in which *ce* can make up for the absence of the antecedent and the complex itself is used to introduce indirect questions when the antecedent is searched in a direct question. The study also hypothesizes the actualization of the different informativity of *qui* and *que* pronouns, which directly affects the degree of explicitness or inexplicitness of the subject. This hypothesis was subsequently proven through the use of various examples provided by the French sentence structure itself.

It should be pointed out that interrogative and relative pronouns have much in common in their form and function and are used in three meanings: in the indefinite sense, in questions and as relative pronouns. These meanings demonstrate that the referent is subject to determination, which in indefinite use derives from the context, in interrogative constructions — from the answer to the question, and in the last case is established by connection with the antecedent.

This commonality of meanings and forms prompts some linguists to include interrogative and relative pronouns into one group [Moignet, 1974]. However, some Russian linguists believe that in modern French a distinction has been made between the forms according to the three functions indicated. For this reason, relative pronouns are regarded separately from question pronouns. The basic oppositions (autonomy of

usage, animate, syntactic function) appear differently in the interrogative and relative forms [Gak, 2000]. This point of view is also shared by Yu. S. Stepanov [Stepanov, 1965]. However, in order to examine the peculiarities of relative pronouns in more detail, the work compares them with some interrogative constructions. It is revealed that interrogative pronouns are used independently while relative pronouns are dependent on the antecedent.

Thus, a comparison of the functioning of the elements *qui* and *que* in the narrative and interrogative sentences proves that for relative pronouns, due to the impossibility of actualizing an independent nominative function, the opposition according to the syntactic function is indeed fundamental. Consequently, we will find out that despite the fact that the syntactic function of the pronouns has not been established for a long period of time, in modern French *qui* serves as a substitute for the subject and *que* — for the complement of the verb.

#### Methods and materials

The diachronic analysis method as well as the contextual method were applied to identify the actual functions of the pronouns within a given sentence as well as to consider the changes that have taken place in the relative pronoun system. These identified changes enabled to trace some differences in the forms and functions of relative pronouns *qui* and *que*, which were acquired or, on the contrary, lost with the development of the linguistic system, a purposive sampling of relevant examples was used to illustrate them. The interpretation and presentation of facts concerning the evolution of relative pronouns at different stages of the formation of the French language involved extensive use of the descriptive method. For demonstrating the deep structures of sentence parts, the formal logical method was used, within the frameworks of the binomiality idea [Shumkov, 2017].

The material for research is mainly represented by theoretical sources, which allow to trace the development and formation of *qui* and *que* units in the system of relative pronouns. Thus, the data of the dictionary of the French Academy (Académie Française) as well as works on the syntax and grammar of the French language were used. The structure of the French sentence at the current stage of the development of the language system serves as the material for revealing the informativeness of the *qui* and *que* elements.

### Results and discussion

# Overview of the historical stages of the formation of relative pronouns «qui» and« que» Relative pronoun «qui»

In Old French, the form qui had neither a gender nor a number distinction. As in case with demonstrative pronouns, qui was characterized by three case forms: cui expressed the dative case, que — the accusative and qui — the nominative. The conversion of the descending diphthong ui into the ascending ui led to the coincidence in the sounding of ui and ui — ui began to sound like ui [Vasilieva, 1963].

Over the centuries, the relative pronoun *qui* has had various uses, some of which we can observe in modern French. In Old French, the pronoun *qui* is often used without an antecedent. Later on, *qui* assumes the function of a substitute for an indefinite person (1) as in modern French:

Ki dunc oïst Munjoie demander,
 De vasselage li poüst remembrer.
 (Qui les aurait alors entendu crier « Monjoie! » pourrait se souvenir d'une belle bravoure.) [Thomasset, Ueltschi, 1993, 69].

This usage became firmly established in the XVIIth century (2):

2) J'en sais qui ne peuvent comprendre que, qui de zéro ôte quatre, reste zéro [Dubois, Lagan, Lerond, 1992, 408].

In the XVII<sup>th</sup> century *qui* could also have an implied antecedent (3) or, conversely, be equivalent to celui or ceux (4):

- 3) Voilà qui va bien;
- 4) J'en croiray qui vous voudrez, je m'en rapporte à qui vous voudrez [Académie française, 1694].

Qui also had the function of summarizing the sentence preceding it, without including the pronoun ce (5). In modern French, this use is equivalent to ce qui:

5) *Il a quitté sa patrie, et l'a trahie, qui est une chose abominable* [Académie française, 1694].

In the XVI<sup>th</sup> century *qui* often takes on the function of the subject, in which it competes with the pronoun *que* [Brunot, 1967]. In the following century the system solidified, and *qui* retains the subject (6) in addition to the function of the indirect complement of the verb (7). Both of these functions will be retained thereafter:

- 6) C'est une opportunité brillante pour une personne qui veut se faire remarquer;
- 7) Dîtes lui à qui il parle [Spillebout, 1985, 156].

We should note that in the XVIth century the pronoun *lequel* and all its forms were widespread and it was used in cases where in modern language only the pronoun *qui* is acceptable [Vasilieva, 1963].

In Old French, the pronoun *qui*, preceded by a preposition, had both an animate and an inanimate referent (7–8):

8) le lierre de qui le lieu fut couvert [Fragonard, Kotler, 1994, 99].

From the first half of the XVII<sup>th</sup> century onwards, grammarians were not satisfied with this referential ambiguity and began to distinguish between pronouns that would refer to people, animals or things. Nevertheless, their usage is not subject to these rules, and *qui* before a preposition referring to an inanimate object continues to be widely used in the XVII<sup>th</sup> century, in contexts where *dont* (9) and *lequel* (10) are used in modern French [Haase, 1969, Spillebout, 1985]:

- 9) Il faut dire l'esprit de qui la promptitude est plus diligente que celle des autres [Haase, 1969, 64];
- 10) Les evenements historiques à qui je suis attaché [Spillebout, 1985, 157].

From a historical point of view, the use of the pronoun *qui* was sometimes problematic: there was a confusion between *qui* and *que* (11) as well as with qu'y (12) [Greimas, Keane, 1992], which caused false relative or additional subordinations:

- 11) Rendre a chascun ce qu'il luy appartient [Brunot, 1966a, 418];
- 12) Et qui a il? Et qu'y a-t-il? [Greimas, Keane, 1992, 519].

Among the other reasons, this confusion was caused by the possibility of eliminating e or i before vowels which subsequently makes pronouns indistinguishable [Greimas, Keane, 1992].

This problem was commonly spread from the XVI<sup>th</sup> to the XVIII<sup>th</sup> century: the graphic fluctuation between the two forms persisted into the XVIII<sup>th</sup> century, and the two homophone forms "were confused in the oral code at least until the turn of the century" [Seguin, 1972, 80–81].

In the New French period it was typical to use *qui* with a preposition, replacing an abstract noun: *Ce sont les nouvelles pour qui*... (G. Balzac) [Vasilieva, 1963, 390].

In the XVII<sup>th</sup> century, these constructions are condemned by theorists as obsolete, but the fluctuating usage persists into the XVIII<sup>th</sup> century.

To sum up, the rules concerning pronouns that begin to take hold in the XVII<sup>th</sup> and XVIIIth centuries undergo some changes, but the evidence shows that they are not fully observed, especially those involving references to animate persons or things. In modern French, the conditions for the use of the pronoun *qui* are clearly established, as we will see later.

## Relative pronoun «que»

In Old French the pronoun *que* already fulfilled all the functions that exist in modern French. Until the XVI<sup>th</sup> century it also performed the function of the subject of the verb (13) [Haase, 1969]. This use has become archaic since the early XVII<sup>th</sup> century [Spillebout, 1985], but is preserved in lexicalised combinations (14):

- 13) Car en icelle bien aultre goust trouverez et doctrine plus absconce que vous revelera de tresaultz sacremens et mysteres horrificques tant en ce que concerne nostre religion que aussi l'estat politicq et oeconomicque;
- 14) a. advienne que pourra b. vaille que vaille [Fragonard, Kotler, 1994, 98-99].

Let us note that in the Old French period relative pronouns differed according to their case form. However, the functions of the dative and accusative cases were mixed. Thus, *cui* is often used instead of *que*: *ou est mes sires, cui je doi tant amer* [Sergievsky, 2019].

Since the beginning of the XVII<sup>th</sup> century, *que* has only had the functions of a subject attribute (15) or a direct complement (16), which have existed until the modern French period:

- 15) *Il ne peut me lasser, indifférent qu'il est* [Dubois, Lagan, Lerond, 1992, 407];
- 16) Je le plains d'avoir écouté de belles choses qu'il n'a point faites [Spillebout, 1985, 158].

In Old French the pronoun *que* may precede a sentence or part of a sentence without using the demonstrative pronoun *ce*, as in the case with the pronoun *qui*. In the XVII<sup>th</sup> century, this construction occurs less frequently and is only used "in the syntagmas *que je crois, que je pense*", etc. [Haase, 1969, 67–68; Spillebout, 1985, 159]. By the end of the century the present construction *que* preceded by *ce* was generally accepted.

In the XVII<sup>th</sup> century it is also possible that *que* has an implied antecedent when used in an indirect question (17) or in constructions with *que c'est* (18) [Vaugelas, 1934].

- 17) *Vous savez assez que je desire* [Maupas, 1973 [1618], 74];
- 18) Il n'y a point de loy qui nous apprenne que c'est que l'ingratitude pour qui nous apprenne ce que c'est que [Vaugelas, 1934, 173].

As in modern French, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, *que* could be used with animate and inanimate antecedents [Académie française, 1762].

From a historical point of view, the French norm allows more variation in the contexts in which the pronoun *que* is used than in modern French. Since the Middle French period, the pronoun *que* has been used and accepted in contexts where modern French requires other relative pronouns [Brunot, 1967]. The relative and interrogative forms *qui* and *que* begin to mix with each other, although *qui* in the XV<sup>th</sup> century is more commonly used instead of *que*: *je vous diray qui bon me semble*. In turn, *que* becomes a more generalised form, replacing the former forms *qui* and *cui*, serving to express the relation itself without distinction of number or case [Sergievsky, 2019].

In the XVII<sup>th</sup> century *que* already fulfilled the function of 'passe-partout' and 'had complete referential freedom' [Fournier, 1998, 7]. The pronoun is used, for example, to denote place with temporal (19) and spatial (20) meanings [Spillebout, 1985]. In this respect, already in Old French "que is often associated with an antecedent such as tens (time), jor, hore" (21) [Thomasset, Ueltschi, 1993, 69]. This temporal usage was spread in the XVI-I<sup>th</sup> [Brunot, 1966b] and XVIII<sup>th</sup> centuries [Académie française, 1762]:

- 19) L'hiver qu'il fit si froid [Académie française, 1694];
- 20) C'est là qu'il demeure [Académie française, 1762];
- 21) Cels tens que [Thomasset, Ueltschi, 1993, 69].

The pronoun *que* is also used instead of *dont* (22) [Brunot, 1967], in pair with *avec lequel* (23) and *auquel*. In this context it even competes with où *dont* in the first half of the XVII<sup>th</sup> century. Despite this, *que* retained its status as the most common pronoun in the XVII<sup>th</sup> and XVII<sup>th</sup> centuries:

- 22) Me voyoit-il de l'œil qu'il me voit aujourd'hui [Brunot, 1966b, 1653];
- 23) L'encre qu'on escrit [Greimas, Keane, 1992, 517].

The Russian philologist M. V. Sergievsky also notes the substitution of *que* instead of *dont*: *la femme que son mari est mort hier* [Sergievsky, 2019, 242].

In the XVIII<sup>th</sup> century *que* continued to be widely used to replace *où* and *dont* and was even attested for *lequel*, which was preceded by a prepo-

sition, even though constructions with  $o\dot{u}$  and dont became more common by the end of the century [Brunot, 1966b]. Although the pronoun que usually replaced other relative pronouns, it in turn also lends itself to be replaced. In fact, dont,  $o\dot{u}$  or other relative pronouns preceded by a preposition are often used instead of que, especially in sentences beginning with  $c\dot{e}st$  (24) — amplification [Haase, 1969]:

24) C'est à la cour où l'on en use le moins [Haase, 1969, 72].

In the XVII<sup>th</sup> century, only the pleonastic form (25), which is still present in modern French, was condemned:

25) C'est À Toi, mon Esprit, À Qui je veux parler [Grevisse, Goosse, 2008, 576].

Thus, we can conclude that some of the functions of the relative pronoun *que* have been preserved in modern French, but the norm of their use was more flexible than today.

# «Qui» and «que» and their informative expression in a sentence

In modern grammars relative pronouns *qui* and *que* are regarded as independent words or as part of the antecedent complexes *ce qui* and *ce que*. Essentially, *ce* in these complexes makes up for the absence of the antecedent:

Ce qui me plaît, c'est sa voix.

Montre-moi tout ce que tu as apporté!

Tu fais chaque fois ce qu'elle veut!

Nous n'avons pas vu ce qui se trouvait dans la boite.

Il te plaira ce que je vais te dire.

In addition, antecedent complexes are used while introducing indirect questions when the antecedent is searched in a direct question:

Que fait-tu là ? — Il me demande ce que je fais ici. Qu'est-ce que ta mère cuisine ? — Elle lui demande ce que sa mère cuisine. Qu'est-ce qui est sur la table ? — Il veut savoir ce qui est sur la table.

Generally speaking, in dependent sentences, when there is an antecedent in the independent sentence, it is quite common to use the socalled inexplicit subject, effectively reserving a syntactic position for the antecedent:

C'est un livre qui m'intéresse particulièrement. Il veut savoir ce qui est sur la table.

It is characteristic of modern French that in this case the sentences are linked by means of the element *qui*. There are probably some special properties that allow the element *qui* to mark the presence of an inexplicit reserved subject in the dependent sentence. However, in an independent sentence with an inexplicit searched subject, the element *qui* serves as the same marker:

### Qui voit Pierre?

This sentence has a single meaning, "Who sees Pierre?" but not "Who does Pierre see?"; such a meaning can only be expressed by a compound inversion:

Qui voit-il, Pierre? or Pierre, qui voit-il? or Qui Pierre voit-il?

Note that the element *que*, on the other hand, marks the presence of an explicit subject, and the sentence "Que voit Pierre?" has the singular meaning "What does Pierre see?" but not "What sees Pierre?"; this meaning can only be expressed with the element *qu'est ce qui*:

## Qu'est ce qui voit Pierre?

Generally speaking, the presence of the compound inversion in independent interrogative sentences in modern French may make us suggest that this inversion is absolutely mandatory. It is possible that all subjects in a direct question undergo a split stage, changing from simple to compound (compound pronoun subjects can then become simple again).

Let us focus on the fact, that the element *qui* marks the presence of an inexplicit subject. In the direct question, the searched subject is split by the implicit pronoun  $\phi$ :

Qui voit 'ø' ø Pierre? (Who sees Pierre?) Quels livres sont 'ø' ø perdus? (Which books are lost?)

However, a very specific construction Quels livres sont-t-'ils' ø perdus? (Which books are lost?) emerges very rarely, in which the subject cannot be called completely inexplicit because it is split by the explicit pronoun *ils*.

Note that in the case of an interrogative element that includes a noun, the subject can only be split by implicit or explicit personal pronouns in the third person singular and plural. Already at this stage, an interesting phenomenon can be traced in relation to the degree of informativeness of the interrogative element. So, the interrogative element *qui* does not restrict the searched main substantive unit in persons and numbers, and an interrogative element like *quels livres* does not restrict it in numbers, but does

restrict it to the third person. In this tendency, we should expect the interrogative element *que* restricts the searched main substantive unit not only to the third person, but also to the singular, and that the subject will be twice explicit. Thus, we can assume the existence of the construction "Que est 'ce' ce perdu?", belonging, purely formally, to another subtype, where the searched main substantive unit is known. The twice explicit subject breaks up, and this construction is transformed into the construction "Que est 'ce' ce perdu?" and, further, into the construction "Que est 'ce' perdu?", requiring clarification by a dependent sentence, what forms the construction "Que est ce qui 'ø' est perdu?", where the conjunctive element *qui* predisposes the presence of an inexplicit subject in the dependent sentence. The dependent sentence can also split the subject, but only when the subject is explicit and only with the implicit pronoun  $\phi$ ; in this case the subject does not break up.

Let us note, that the implicit pronoun 'ø' has no relation to the Melčiuk's «zeros», which normally mark implicit subjects in impersonal sentences [Mel'čuk, 1979].

Thus, through a purely formal approach, we can explain how the interrogative element *que est ce qui* was formed in French. Indeed, due to the a priori different informativity, *qui* marks the presence of an inexplicit subject and *que* marks the presence of an explicit subject (sometimes excessively explicit and requiring the above-mentioned transformation of a simple sentence into a compound one).

The following constructions are observed in dependent sentences:

- a. Je veux savoir qui 'ø' voit Pierre. (I want to know who sees Pierre.)
- b. Je veux savoir quels livres 'ø' sont perdus. (I want to know which books are lost.)
- c. Je veux savoir ce qui 'ø' est perdu. (I want to know what is lost.)
- d. Je veux savoir ce qui 'ø' voit Pierre. (I want to know what sees Pierre.)

In the last two cases we assume that the conjunctive element *qui*, derived from the interrogative element *que*, replenishes the explicitness by means of the antecedent *ce*. The same antecedent allows the conjunctive element *que* to double the explicitness of the subject:

Je veux savoir ce que Pierre voit. (I want to know what Pierre sees.)

As noted above, in dependent sentences the explicit subject can be split by the implicit pronoun  $\phi$  without further breakdown:

Je veux savoir ce que 'ø' voit Pierre. (I want to know what Pierre sees.)

It is easy to see that *qui* and *que*, alone or as part of antecedent complexes, actualize the difference in their informativeness, which in turn af-

fects the degree of explicitness (or inexplicitness) of the subject in simple and compound sentences. *Qui*, being the most informative, marks the presence of an inexplicit, least informative subject; *que*, being the least informative, marks the presence of an explicit, most informative subject.

## The actualization of qui/que elements in different types of sentences and the limitations of their use

To identify the opposition in terms of the syntactic function, which is considered the main one for relative pronouns, it seems appropriate to make a comparison in the actualization of the qui/que units within the framework of the declarative and interrogative sentences.

At first sight, one might draw a comparison between the interrogative *que* in *Que mange-tu*? and the relative *que*. Since the interrogative *que* replaces a nominal group, isn't the same true for the relative *que*? In fact, a closer look at the facts reveals an important difference between these two *que* [Tellier, Valois, 2006].

The interrogative *que* can only replace noun phrases denoting inanimate objects or concepts: it can never be used to denote animate beings. Thus, the sentence below is agrammatical:

### Que comptes-tu épouser?

The subject is searched in the question, and *que* cannot serve to express the given function of the subject, which is implied by the verb *épouser*.

The relative *que* does not possess these properties. It can be used independently of the animate or inanimate character of the antecedent:

Le meuble que Julien a dessiné s'est bien vendu. L'homme que Katia a épousé s'appelle Victor.

We can observe the opposite situation with the relative pronoun *qui*. The relative pronoun *qui* does not have the same characteristics as the interrogative one. The interrogative *qui* has the [+animate] feature. However, *qui* in relative clauses can take either a [+animate] or an [-animate] as antecedent:

La femme qui a écrit ce livre. Le problème qui se pose.

As we can notice, in any case the subject is replaced, whether animate or not, while the interrogative construction can only express an animate antecedent.

Let us also pay attention to the fact that nowadays, when learning French as a foreign language, the syntactic role and function played by pronouns in a sentence are also the main peculiarities highlighted by the authors of textbooks who note that the pronouns *qui* and *que* are used as the subject and direct object of a subordinate sentence, replacing nouns denoting both persons and objects [Dergunova, Perepelitsa, 2001, 245–243].

*Qui* with a preposition can be an indirect complement in a sentence, but then it can only replace nouns denoting persons:

L'homme à qui je suis adressé est notre professeur. L'homme de qui nous avons parlé est ici.

It's interesting to notice that in Old French, as it has been found out earlier, *qui* with an indirect complement could replace nouns denoting inanimate objects. In Russian grammars of the French language, there is also an emphasis on interrogative constructions, which create certain restrictions on the use of the elements *que* and *que*:

Qui interrogative refers only to persons and can be:

subject:

Qui m'a demandé?

direct complement:

Qui vois-tu?

indirect complement:

À qui pensez-vous ? [Gak, 2000, 132].

Que interrogative refers only to objects and is a direct object in the sentence:

Que dessinez-vous ? [Dergunova, Perepelitsa, 2001, 245-246].

Therefore, we can conclude that relatives have no independent nominative function and only sustain the antecedent: independent use is an exception in this group. Interrogatives point to the object about which information is searched: they can be characterised by the independent use. Hence another important distinction follows: for the relative (in conjunctive use), the opposition of function (subject/complement) is the most important, for the interrogative — the opposition of animate/inanimate.

## De dicto et de re: the role of qui and que in expression of desirable and real characteristics

Let us turn to the notion of the philosophy of language, which describes the two ways of interpreting the properties of a thing — de re et

de dicto. De re refers to the real properties of a thing, while de dicto conveys its desirable characteristics at the moment of a speech. Remarkably, the relative pronoun qui, in pair with an intensional verb (i.e. implying a subsequent description of properties or characteristics) can serve as an element that expresses both versions of the interpretation, depending on the mood that follows it. We observe this ambiguity when the nominal antecedent of the relative is the complement of an intensional verb [Tellier, Valois, 2006]. Consider the following examples:

- a) Je veux un chat qui a le poil gris;
- b) Je veux un chat qui ait le poil gris.

The use of the indicative in example (a) implies the existence of the thing being described, it is presented as real. The subjunctive (b), on the other hand, conveys an expression of desirable properties. In this case, we can conclude that each interpretation corresponds to a specific mode: the indicative for the interpretation of *re* and the subjunctive for the interpretation of *dicto*. However, if the verb *vouloir* is followed by *que* before the subject, the use of the two moods is agrammatical, only the subjunctive one is possible (c):

## c) Je veux qu'un chat ait le poil gris.

As we can see, we have to change the structure to create a sentence with *que* in the subjunctive mood, while with *qui* the mood and, therefore, the verb form itself changes.

So, the relative pronoun *qui*, in fact, gives more variations in expression without any change in the sentence itself, but only by changing the mood and the speaker's intention to describe either real, or desirable and imaginary characteristics. After verbs with an intensional element, followed by *qui*, any mood can be used, whereas *que*, preceded by the subject, limits these possibilities by the structure of the sentence.

This idea is also confirmed in Russian linguistics and can be described by V. G. Gak who affirms that subjunctive does not have the independence of use that the indicative has. The subjunctive form is supported by the *que* element, which is constantly used with it [Gak, 2000].

From a grammatical point of view, it is also worth paying attention to the antecedent, which in the use of the subjunctive has only an indefinite article, since the rendering *de dicto* does not describe the thing itself, but only expresses its desirable characteristics. Thus, the presence of a definite article would indicate the existence of the thing, then there would be a transition to the category *de re* (about the thing itself, which already has real characteristics), followed by the indicative.

#### Conclusion

The formation of the relative pronouns qui/que covers several periods of the French language development: from the Old French to the New French period. Due to diachronic approach, we were able to establish the peculiarities of the use of pronouns at each stage of the development of the French language system. Although nowadays the rules for the use of qui/que are clearly established, there has been a confusion in their usage for a long period of time: the relative pronoun *que* could be freely used instead of *qui*. So, we can see that there was no clearly defined syntactic function. On the contrary, thanks to comparing the functions of the elements *qui* and *que* within the different types of sentences, the study has revealed that at the present stage of the development of the French language system the main characteristic of the relative pronouns implies the opposition according to the syntactic function they fulfil [Gak, 2000].

The principal novelty lies in the application of the formal logical method, within the frameworks of the binomiality idea [Shumkov, 2017], which allowed to prove the hypothesis that the relative pronoun *qui* is the most informative, marking the presence of an inexplicit, less informative subject. The relative pronoun *que*, on the other hand, being the least informative, marks the presence of an explicit, most informative subject.

The study also demonstrated that *qui* (used in pair with intensional verbs), which comes after the subject and fulfils its function in the sentence, enables to express both real and desirable characteristics. The presence of *que* in such contexts, where its usage is possible, on the contrary, limits the mood to the subjunctive as *que* acquires a different function and acts as a subordinate conjunction which causes some changes in the structure of the sentence and the type of the subordinate clause.

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## HOW LEXICAL MEANS OF GRADUATION CONTRIBUTE TO EVALUATION IN RUSSIAN AN GERMAN SCIENTIFIC TEACHING PRACTICE

The present article examines evaluation strategies in scientific teaching practice and focuses on graduation as an evaluative tool. Graduation is thought of as an additional qualificative meaning which is superimposed on the main evaluation component and aims at intensifying or down-toning the degree of author's intent. The textual analysis is carried out within the framework of the theory of communication practices. It allows to distinguish the text type of university textbook which is a basis for the empirical material of the study. The linguistic methodology of the theory of evaluation is chosen to examine the manifestation of evaluative strategies in university textbooks. The analysis of German- and Russian-language textbooks on sociology shows that the use of graduation in the evaluative function is a common evaluation strategy (20% of all evaluative acts in German-language textbooks and 19 % in Russian-language textbooks). Three groups of graduators are emphasizers, intensifiers, and hedgers. Intensifiers have similar use frequency both in German and Russian scientific teaching practice whereas emphasizers are spread more widely in Russian textbooks. Russian and German authors in scientific teaching practice tend to graduate knowledge according to its relevance emphasizing most important information and intensifying their evaluative judgements. The use of mitigation markers is rather uncommon here since the goal of scientific teaching practice is to provide students with most relevant information.

*Keywords:* scientific discourse, scientific teaching practice, language of evaluation, lexical graduation, university textbook as text type.

Е. С. Степанов

# ЛЕКСИЧЕСКИЕ СРЕДСТВА ГРАДУАЛЬНОСТИ В НАУЧНО-ОБУЧАЮЩЕЙ ПРАКТИКЕ РОССИИ И ГЕРМАНИИ И ИХ РОЛЬ В ВЫРАЖЕНИИ ОЦЕНКИ

В настоящей статье исследуются стратегии оценивания в научно-обучающей практике, в центре внимания находится градуальность как оценочное средство. Градуальность рассматривается как дополнительное квалификативное значение, накладывающееся на основной оценочный компонент и направленное на усиление или смягчение авторской интенции. Методика анализа строится на теории коммуникативных практик. Она позволяет обособить тип текста «вузовский учебник», который является основой эмпирического материала исследования. Для изучения оценочных стратегий в университетских учебниках выбрана лингвисти-

ческая методология анализа оценки. Анализ немецко- и русскоязычных учебников по социологии показал, что использование градуальности в оценочной функции является распространенной оценочной стратегией (20% всех оценочных актов в немецкоязычных учебниках и 19% в русскоязычных учебниках). Три основных группы средств градуальности включают в себя лексику с семантикой выделения, интенсификаторы и хедж-маркеры. Интенсификаторы приблизительно с одинаковой частотой употребляются в научно-обучающей практике как России, так и Германии, в то время как лексика с семантикой выделения более широко распространена в русскоязычных учебниках. Российские и немецкие авторы в научно-обучающей практике активно используют градуальность знания по шкале его актуальности, выделяя наиболее важную информацию и усиливая категоричность своих оценочных актов. Использование хедж-маркеров довольно ограничено, поскольку конечной целью научно-обучающей практики является межпоколенческий трансфер верифицированной научным сообществом и наиболее релевантной информации.

*Ключевые слова*: научный дискурс, научно-обучающая практика, язык оценок, лексическая градуальность, вузовский учебник как тип текста.

#### Introduction

The study of the process of acquiring, verifying, and transmitting new knowledge is the focus of several scientific disciplines — pedagogy, linguistics, sociology, epistemology, and gnoseology. From the sociolinguistic point of view, this process is considered within the framework of the so-called scientific communicative practice. To characterise it, let us first refer to the general notion of communicative practice.

Communicative practice implies a stable configuration of regularly reproduced socio-communicative actions carried out by their actors in order to implement certain tasks [Chernyavskaya, 2021, p. 12]. Communicative practices are the subject of modern sociolinguistic research, as the introduction of this concept allows establishing clear boundaries of the studied field of communication with orientation on its subject matter and functions [Hausendorf, Kesselheim, Kato, Breitholz, 2017, p. 137]. It analyses both written and oral communication channels as well as a range of extra-linguistic parameters: the characteristics of the sender and the recipient, the purpose, and conditions of the communicative act.

Scientific communicative practices can be conventionally divided into research, scientific-expert and scientific teaching practices; the last one is the main object of the present study. The main purpose of scientific teaching practice is the intergenerational transfer of normative knowledge and competencies accumulated by the scientific community at a particu-

lar stage of its development. Communicative practices are manifested in real speech activities in the form of certain types of texts and speech genres serving their purposes [Stein, 2011, pp. 14–15]. The types of texts implemented in scientific learning practices — lectures, seminars, or tutorials — are used to transfer normative, reliable knowledge set out in an adapted form. Knowledge in the process of transfer is subjected to a certain systematization, reduction, and simplification in order to adapt it to the specific level of the student [Nefedov, 2021, p. 17]. In order to successfully implement scientific learning practice, it is necessary to establish contact between the teacher and the learner, as well as to encourage the learner to take the teacher's point of view, to form a certain position on the issues at hand. One of the main means to achieve these goals is linguistic assessment, which is

## Methods and materials: Evaluation as an assessment tool in high school textbooks

This article uses the linguistic methodology of the theory of evaluation by J. Martin and p. White [Martin, White, 2005] as a tool for analysis. According to this approach, evaluation is understood as a system located at the level of discourse semantics and implemented by a wide range of lexical-grammatical means. The subject of evaluation is seen as a socially constructed model: evaluation as a phenomenon and its manifestation in language depend on the type of practice in which it is used.

In the case of scientific teaching practices, it can be argued that evaluation is implemented as a persuasive strategy, as it aims at persuading students to learn or to study the information presented in the textbook. Persuasive communication refers to "any conscious attempt to influence the behaviour of the interlocutor by means of semiotic systems". [Schönbach, 2019, p. 18]. This definition emphasises three main aspects of persuasiveness. Thus, the influence must be consciously exerted by the sender and expressed in the form of attempts, i.e., it is not the result but the fact of exerting influence on the recipient that is important here, the ultimate goal being to persuade him to adopt the sender's position. Through persuasive evaluation, the teacher thus structures and systematizes the taught knowledge, identifies the most significant fragments, and sets the accents in the book text, managing the learner's attention.

The study of persuasive evaluation was carried out using university textbooks on sociology in German and Russian. The university textbook as text type serves the purpose of teaching students the knowledge they need for successful professional activity. Textbooks are typologized accord-

ing to their form of presentation (traditional and electronic) [Nikitina, Gavrilova, 2021, p. 64], by the level of education (for bachelor and master studies) [Batkolina, 2010, p. 6], and further classification allows us to distinguish manuals, workbooks, tutorials, etc., apart from the very textbook. The process of composing a university textbook implies the principle of consistency and introducing a common narrative motif [Davydova, 2013, p. 171], and the result of this process is a multimedia "book text" consisting of textual, visual, and graphic elements in their unity and integrity [Wildfeuer, Bateman, Hiippala, 2020, p. 7].

The predication was chosen as the unit of analysis of the expression of evaluation in scientific teaching practice. Evaluative predication is a two-component structure containing evaluation with an assertive intent, the distinguishing feature of which is the attribution of a specific predicate to the subject [Weinrich, 2007, p. 183].

Let us now turn to the discussion of the results obtained in the analysis of persuasive evaluation in high school textbooks.

## Graduation in scientific teaching practice: results and discussion

In order to analyze evaluative strategies in scientific teaching practices, we compiled a corpus of ten university textbooks on sociology in Russian and ten textbooks in German, from which approximately 107 and 81 thousand evaluative predications, respectively, were further selected. Using Martin and White's classification of three levels of evaluation in language, the following groups of evaluative strategies in German and Russian sociology textbooks were identified:

*Attitude, appreciation*: Evaluation is based on criteria of importance and centrality of information.

*Engagement*: Assessment implies the author's involvement of the reader in the conversation between the teacher and the learner, in the process of learning the subject.

*Graduation*: Assessment is accomplished by structuring the information in the textbook based on highlighting the most relevant aspects of the subject.

This article focuses on graduation as a tool of evaluation in scientific teaching practice. As Martin and White elaborate further in "The Language of Evaluation, Appraisal in English", "graduation is concerned with gradability. For attitude, since the resources are inherently gradable, graduation has to do with adjusting the degree of an evaluation — how strong or weak the feeling is. This kind of graduation is called 'force'; realisations

## Graduation in scientific teaching practice

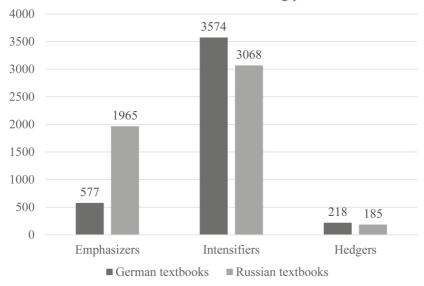


Fig. 1. Graduation in scientific teaching practice

include intensification, comparative and superlative morphology, repetition, and various graphological and phonological features (alongside the use of intensified lexis — loathe for really dislike, and so on) [Martin, White, 2005, p. 37]."

Based on the text corpus we have compiled we distinguish three groups of graduation resources. They all are used to adjust the degree of evaluation: emphasizers, intensifiers, and hedgers. By emphasizers we refer to lexemes with the semantics of emphasizing specific information from the general book text. The groups of intensifiers and hedgers are represented by lexical markers that overlap the main evaluative meaning and strengthen or soften the degree of categoricalness of the statement. Figure 1 shows the statistics of the prevalence of the different graduation groups in academic practice.

According to these statistics the most frequent group of graduation evaluation tools in both German and Russian textbooks are intensifiers (3,574 predications in German and 3,068 predications in Russian textbooks). We suggest that this is related to the specificity of general persuasive evaluation in scientific teaching practice: with intensifiers, the teacher draws students' attention to the high degree of relevance of the information presented in the textbook.

Depending on the degree of expression of the evaluative meaning, intensifiers can be further divided into intensifiers expressing an excessive, high, and sufficient degree of feature intensity. Excessive intensifiers are expressed lexically with the markers zu and cnuukom, ouehb in German and Russian respectively:

**Zu** verschieden sind die Milieus und Teilkulturen, die sozialen Lagen und Lebensläufe, die Tendenzen in Politik und Wirtschaft, um heute noch über Norm und Sanktion regieren zu können [The milieus and subcultures, the social situations and life courses, the tendencies in politics and economics are **too** different to be able to govern today by norm and sanction] [Willems, 2008, p. 21].

Итогом развития философии истории в эпоху Просвещения стало вызревание целого комплекса идей, которые воспринимались как ведущие в верном направлении интеллектуального и социального прогресса, но слишком умозрительные и потому способные входить в противоречие с объективной реальностью общественного устройства и развития [The result of the development of philosophy of history during the Enlightenment was the maturation of a whole set of ideas that were perceived as leading in the right direction of intellectual and social progress, but too speculative and therefore capable of contradicting the objective reality of social structure and development] [Ivanov, 2018, p. 238].

In the above examples, markers of over-intensity are superimposed on the textbook authors' rational assessments of the sociological theories under discussion and usually carry a negatively charged evaluation.

High-intensity evaluative meaning is lexically expressed by means such as *sehr*, *durchaus*, *durchweg* in German and *ouehb* in Russian. Such intensifiers stress the importance and significance of certain aspects of sociological research and tend to be strongly positive:

Einige dieser Teildisziplinen verfügen bereits über einen **sehr** großen Fundus an empirischen Untersuchungen und theoretischen Konstrukten [Some of these sub-disciplines already have a **very** large body of empirical research and theoretical constructs] [Henecka, 2000, p. 32].

Таким образом, прикладная социология составляет относительно самостоятельную и очень важную часть социологического знания, тесно связанную с общей социологической теорией [Thus, applied sociology constitutes a relatively independent and a very important part of sociological knowledge, closely related to general sociological theory] [Baturin, 2012, p. 105].

A sufficient degree of intensity of a feature allows knowledge to be placed on the scale of its relevance at the middle mark; the information thereby satisfies, in the view of the learner, the selection criteria for inclusion in the textbook. The markers *gewiss*, *genug*, *genügend* in German and *достаточно*, *довольно* in Russian are used to express this meaning, superimposed on the main evaluative meaning:

Obwohl persönliche Stile weitgehend durch kulturelles Lernen erworben werden, gibt es deutliche Hinweise darauf, dass die zugrundeliegenden Vorlieben bis zu einem gewissen Grad auch biologisch vorgeprägt sind [Although personal styles are largely acquired through cultural learning, there is strong evidence that the underlying preferences are also biologically pre-formed to some extent] [Willems, 2008, p. 300].

В меньшей степени это коснулось прикладных социологических исследований, которые в это время развивались достаточно активню [To a lesser extent this was true of applied sociological research, which at this time was developing quite vigorously] [Baturin, 2012, p. 194].

Emphasizers form a relatively independent group of evaluation, since they themselves carry the meaning of the importance and relevance of knowledge to be emphasised. This group of graduation means is the second most common among the analysed means, but it is much more widely represented in Russian-language textbooks (577 in German textbooks vs. 1965 in Russian textbooks). Thus, in the Russian corpus emphasizers are found almost 4 times more often than in German, which clearly shows the linguocultural specificity of scientific teaching practice. It is assumed that this is due to the general peculiarities of the linguistic style of textbooks: while the German tradition adopts a compact presentation of material with an expression of evaluative meaning integrated into the main text, the Russian-speaking authors often prefer a more abundant and colourful presentation of facts with the use of introductory sentences.

These include the verbs betonen, hervorheben, auf etwas hinweisen, unterstreichen in German and подчеркивать, указывать, выделять in Russian:

Lockwood **betont**, dass sowohl die Sozialintegration wie die Systemintegration geordnet oder konfliktgeladen sein können [Lockwood **emphasises** that both social integration and system integration can be ordered or conflictual] [Treibel, 2006, p. 54].

Aus den obigen Aussagen Cooleys lassen sich folgende Definitionsmerkmale der Primärgruppe hervorheben... [From Cooley's statements above, the following defining characteristics of the primary group can be highlighted...] [Schöneck, Wenzelburger, Wolf, 2012, p. 471]

Полемизируя с Н. И. Лапиным, он **указывает** на то, что организация не может рассматриваться только как коллектив

(совокупность индивидов и групп), поскольку включает также и формальную структуру, состоящую из обезличенных связей и норм [In a polemic with N. I. Lapin, he **points out** that an organisation cannot be seen only as a collective (a set of individuals and groups), since it also includes a formal structure consisting of impersonal ties and norms] [Yadov, 1998, p. 251].

Именно в этой связи он **подчеркивает** необходимость выделения этой области в специальную ветвь науки, поскольку ни одна из существующих изучением массовых движений как таковых не занимается [It is in this connection that he **stresses** the need for the separation of this field into a special branch of science, since none of the existing ones studies mass movements as such] [Osipov, Moskvichev, 2003, p. 379].

Finally, the group of hedgers performs the opposite function to the previous two groups: hedgers are meant to soften the degree of categoricity of an utterance, to reduce the intensity of the relevance of information. At the lexical level, hedging is expressed by the lexemes einigermaßen, relativ, mehr oder minder in German and относительно, более или менее, в некоторой степени in Russian:

Trägt man die wenigen (einigermaßen) zuverlässigen Zahlen über das deutsche Promotionssystem zusammen, dann steht die Bundesrepublik im Vergleich mit anderen westlichen Industriestaaten bei vielen Kriterien relativ gut da [If one compiles the few (to some extent) reliable figures on the German doctoral system, the Federal Republic compares relatively well with other western industrialised countries on many criteria] [Schöneck, Wenzelburger, Wolf, 2012, p. 29].

Die 7. Auflage des Standardlehrbuchs bietet einen relativ ausführlichen, verständlich geschriebenen und aktuellen Überblick über soziale Schichtung und Ungleichheit in Deutschland [The 7<sup>th</sup> edition of the standard textbook offers a relatively detailed, comprehensibly written and upto-date overview of social stratification and inequality in Germany] [Korte, Schäfers, 2000, p. 210].

Описательное исследование — более сложный вид социологического анализа, который позволяет составить **относительно** целостное представление об изучаемом явлении, его структурных элементах [Descriptive research is a more complex type of sociological analysis, which allows for a **relatively** holistic view of the phenomenon under study, its structural elements] [Gorshkov, Sheregi, 2003, p. 17].

Все перечисленные научные представления, понятия, взгляды и теории о различных социальных явлениях и процессах связаны между собой и образуют единую и достаточно сложную структуру

социологического знания, которая более или менее адекватно отражает все стороны общественной жизни в их связи и взаимодействии [All these scientific ideas, concepts, views and theories about various social phenomena and processes are interconnected and form a single and quite complex structure of sociological knowledge, which more or less adequately reflects all aspects of social life in their connection and interaction] [Lavrinenko, Nartov, Shabanova, Lukashova, 2002, p. 16].

It can be stated that the use of hedgers is rather unusual in German and Russian academic practice (218 vs. 185 predications in German and Russian respectively), since the main emphasis in the textbooks is on including the most important and useful information for the student.

#### Limitations and outlook

This study has shown that, as part of a persuasive evaluation strategy, authors of sociology textbooks in both Germany and Russia actively use the category of graduation to enhance the intensity of evaluative meaning and to highlight the most relevant information in the textbook. The use of information mitigation markers is rather atypical for scientific teaching practice.

However, it should be noted that the methodology of persuasive appraisal analysis used in this article allows us to identify specificities that are only peculiar to scientific teaching practice. Other types of scientific practice — research and scientific expertise — may engage to a greater extent with other types of evaluative meanings. The study of evaluation strategies within such practices is a promising area of sociolinguistic research that we plan to undertake in order to compare with the specificities of evaluation in scientific teaching practice and to identify commonalities and differences between the types of texts realised within them.

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## HETEROGENEITY OF BILINGUAL LINGUISTIC CONSCIOUSNESS: NATURE AND CRITERIA

The research reveals the features of linguistic consciousness in the context of ideas about the semioticization of the facts of reality by bilinguals. The article emphasizes that under the influence of extralinguistic reality and the consciousness of a native speaker, the noospheric continuum is formed, which is characterized by interlingual mutual influences. The relationship between the processes of linguistic and cultural adaptation of a bilingual and the violation of the homogeneity of his linguistic consciousness is indicated. The phenomenon of heterogeneity of bilingual linguistic consciousness is associated with the formation of a metaconceptual and metalinguistic picture of the world. It is concluded that the semiotic sphere of a bilingual is a result of convergence, both conceptual and linguistic. The paper proposes the principles determining the linguistic noosphere of the bilingual, with its particular property of heterogeneity. The authors emphasize the complexity of bilingual language as a dynamic system, which is synergetic and non-linear.

*Keywords*: language interaction, bilingual, consciousness, linguistic noosphere, metalinguistic picture of the world, noosphere consciousness speech production, speech perception, language functions, interference.

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### ГЕТЕРОГЕННОСТЬ ЯЗЫКОВОГО СОЗНАНИЯ БИЛИНГВА: СУЩНОСТЬ И ПРИНЦИПЫ

В статье описываются особенности языкового сознания билингва, которые раскрывают сущность внутрисубъектного существования языков. Исследование подчеркивает взаимосвязь языковой, культурной адаптации билингва и ноосферного континуума, который формируется под воздействием внеязыковой действительности в сознании носителя языков. Совмещение субъектом в своей речевой деятельности разных языковых систем сопровождается интерференцией, которая может быть классифицирована как индикатор нарушения гомогенности языковой структуры. Предложены и описаны термины метаконцептуальной и метаязыковой картины мира, которые необходимы для понимания процесса понятийной и языковой конвергенции в сознании билингва. В работе предложены принципы, определяющие языковую ноосферу билингва, ее специфическую характеристику — гетерогенность. Авторами подчеркнута сложность языка билингва как динамической системы, синергетический и нелинейный характер.

*Ключевые слова*: межъязыковое взаимодействие, билингв, сознание, языковая ноосфера, метаязыковая картина мира, ноосферное сознание, речепорождение, речевосприятие, функции языка, интерференция.

#### Introduction

"A human being as a carrier of linguistic thinking" [Baudouin de Courtenay, 1963, p. 182] as applied to a person capable of speaking different languages interchangeably, becomes the source of the linguistics problem of the essence of the bilingual linguistic consciousness. Given that bilingualism is "the coexistence of two languages within the same language community, using these languages in appropriate communicative spheres, depending on the social context and other parameters of the speech act" [Schweitzer, 1977 p. 115], we define a bilingual as a social entity capable of using two or more languages interchangeably. A distinctive feature of bilingualism, in the context of speech production and speech perception, is the issue regarding the interaction of two languages in bilingual consciousness (the source language, hereinafter referred to as L1; the language in contact with L1, the 'other' language — L2). The L1/L2 interaction is the subject of the present study.

#### Methods and Materials

The methodology of bilingual consciousness analysis is being developed. The paper is based on analyzing different ways of describing consciousness, using **due to theoretical constraints** the data from semiotics, psycholinguistics, cognitology, and biocognitive sciences.

Descriptions of individual mental properties, with regard to the connection between language and thinking, and language as a mode of encoding, have provided the basis for the study of bilingual speech behavior.

The specific interconnectedness of the cognitive, cultural, and social space of the bilingual allowed us to determine the principles of his or her consciousness, reflecting the depth and complexity of the cognitive structures.

#### Results and discussion

Consciousness, "as a holistic, integrative form of psychic reflection" [Bekhterev, 1888, p. 26], contains accumulated perceptions of self and the surrounding world. A wide variety of experience and knowledge have to do with a person's interiority; a bilingual, performing all his or her "new"

intentions, implements his or her communicative tasks with regard to a new to him / different external environment, relying on an already developed system or picture of concepts, which is nationally specific.

A certain symbolic continuum — defined by M. Bakhtin [Bakhtin, 1975] as "ethno-cultural chronotope" — is the space where a personality is immersed. This space is mastered through the appropriation of values and communication, where language is an instrument of the complex interaction between the social medium and an individual. If «consciousness as such is a picture of the world revealed to an individual, including himself and his actions and states» [Leontiev 1975, p. 167], then bilingual consciousness in the space of new linguistic and cultural meanings might be of particular research interest. *The object* of our study is the linguistic consciousness of bilinguals, which is specific due to the fact that the language of a speaking and perceiving individual reflects more than one picture of the world.

The specificity of language consciousness is determined by the peculiarities of the sign character of language and its functions. Language as a conventional linguistic system is actualized in the speaker's consciousness according to his or her perception: natural language meanings reflect aspects of his or her activity. In other words, a person represents in language what belongs to his or her picture of the world. Communicative intentions of a monolingual subject are limited to the semantic paradigm of one language and are realised in corresponding speech constructions. Cases when external reality "violates" established canons — such as being in a different cultural, linguistic environment or having to use a different language to reach interpersonal contact — mark a renewal (change and adjusting) of established conventions, which is reflected in individual picture of concepts.

A bilingual's picture of the world differs from that of a monolingual confined to one culture, due to the interiorization of new value meanings. In the bilingual consciousness, forming a conceptual picture of the world, the process of interiorization is not done by simply putting elements together. Changes in the real world entering a speaker's consciousness form additional components in his/her picture of the world that are subject to conceptualization. They are embedded in the picture of the world, thus forming its meta-version: the *meta-conceptual picture of the world* (hereafter: Meta-CPW) (*Fig. 1*).

External reality, as a source of external referents, 'fills' a person's meta-picture of the world and stimulates him/her to improve linguistic competence should new meanings need to be verbalized. Social and individual practices of a bilingual reveal a meta-linguistic picture of the world —

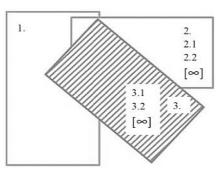


Fig. 1. The correlation of extra-linguistic reality, conceptual picture of the world, and meta-conceptual picture of the world

1. ExtR — external reality; 2. CPW — conceptual picture of the world (where [2.1; ...] — set of CPW concepts); 3. Meta-CPW — meta-conceptual picture of the world (where [3.1; ...] — set of Meta-CPW concepts)

a renewed picture of the world developed in the mind of a bilingual, incorporating units which are concepts reflected in the language (*Fig. 2*).

Language is a universal instrument for registering and reflecting reality. Language as a "transitional world" between thinking and reality (following W. von Humboldt's definition) is where the process of interiorization of new meanings is completed and reflected in the speaker's speech. The specific experience of an ethnophore — "an individual bearer of a certain ethnic culture and national mentality". [Krysko, 1999, p. 297] forms his language picture of the world. Bilinguals, meanwhile, demonstrate a different, renewed reality cognition experience. Each act of cognition adds new shades and connotations to the ethnophore's picture of the world, distorting its previous homogeneity. Cognition, "the continuous creation of the world through the process of life itself" [Maturana, 2001], opens up the possibility of modelling the relationship between action and experience in the coordinates of the renewed environment, where action is the product of speech activity, since human language has an "energy" character, transferring in the speaker's mind from extra lingual contents to speech via the system of language signs.

Cognitive processes (perception, attention, memory, thinking and other mental functions) will result in effective speech behavior. Basically, this behavior of a bilingual might be considered a marker of the emergence of a noosphere consciousness, which is not the sum of conflicting sensations, impressions, and judgements, but rather a kind of substrate

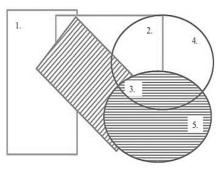


Fig. 2. The correlation of extra-linguistic reality, conceptual picture of the world, metaconceptual picture of the world, linguistic picture of the world, meta-linguistic picture of the world

1. ExtR — external reality; 2. CPW — conceptual picture of the world; 3. Meta-CPW — meta-conceptual picture of the world; 4. LPW — linguistic picture of the world; 5. Meta-LPW — meta-linguistic picture of the world

saturated by the energy of human thought and reason. In this case, bilingual noosphere consciousness is not a "global planetary consciousness" that unites people [Smirnov, 1998, p. 115]. Rather it is closer to Teilhard de Chardin's understanding of the noosphere, meaning a kind of superlevel of human existence that is a new stage of hominization. The renewal of consciousness due to the acquisition of the ability to 'think' in a nonnative language can be compared to the 'rise of consciousness' (according to [Teilhard, 1955]), the fruit of which will be new actions.

The linguistic processing in the bilingual mind is a noosphere continuum organized through the impact of extra-linguistic reality and the individual consciousness. The previous cognitive experience contained in the source language system interacts with the cognitive experience to be acquired. The source language system on the way from extra-linguistic content to linguistic form is transformed into a kind of noosphere continuum due to the effects of extra-linguistic reality and the specificity of contacting L2 in the speaker's mind. The previous cognitive experience interacts with the "alien" cognitive experience organized as a different mechanism. In a variant of a language implemented by the speaker in a certain communication situation, we observe interlanguage inter-influences which are described in the terms of interference and code-switching (in the case of explicit and implicit use of some elements of one of the languages). The

description of mutual influences of this nature indicates the possibility of intentional and unintentional code-switching that occurs deliberately on the part of the speaker. The study of the above phenomena of bilingualism presents a problem in contemporary linguistics in general [Karasik, 2021] and a problem in speechology in particular, since "the new integrative domain of knowledge" [Potapova, 2006, p. 67] is designed, apart from answering the "who", "what", and "how" questions, to cover aspects of the purpose statement and the communication.

Code-switching (hereinafter CSw) in W. Weinreich's understanding — "...languages A and B may be used interchangeably, depending on the requirements of the situation" [Novoe v lingvistike, 1972, p. 28] — suggests the juxtaposition of differing linguistic systems and their use as a projection of human speech activity that is not homogeneous but heterogeneous. The CSw "changes all aspects of the utterance, including phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary" [Haugen, 1972, p. 69] (this is what distinguishes code-switching (CSw) from code-mixing — author's note).

Research in contact linguistics provides a wide range of speech material that is worth categorizing in terms of the status of the linguistic personality (bilingual/monolingual) and his/her speech and thought activity. As an example, P. Auer's classification which resulted in the typology based on the distinction between language alternation and the insertion / transfer of particular lexical elements from one language to another [Auer, 1999], can be seen as follows (see *Table 1*).

Table 1. P. Auer's typology as applied to types of human speech and thought ctivities

Type of language according to P. Auer's classification	Features	Type of speech and thought activity
alternational codeswitching	Switching from one language to another	heterogeneous
alternational mixing	The use of particular language elements of one language within another language	homogeneous
insertional codeswitching	Switching from one language to another	heterogeneous
insertional mixing	The use of particular language elements of one language within another language	homogeneous

Obviously, homogeneous human speech activity is characterized by insertion, whereas heterogeneous speech activity is marked by alternation. That is, in the case of "insertion" we observe the use of elements of another language (L2) within the speaker's language (L1), while in the case of "alternation" there is a switch from one language to another alternately within one communication event.

The bilingual world of a bilingual indicates the complexity of the multicomponent structure of his/her linguistic consciousness. Semiotization of the "other", "alien" reality is performed in the course of convergence, both conceptual and linguistic. [Sverdlova, 2017; 2019]. The level and degree of conceptual convergence modulates the semiotic sphere of the bilingual linguistic personality. This phenomenon, given the social and mental nature of bilingualism, is a natural adaptive process of individual development and should therefore be described in terms of human bio-evolution.

Viewing nature, language, and other biological processes from the perspective of the theory of complex dynamic systems, such as Evans' [Evans, 2018] theory (a modern systemic approach used in the exact sciences — author's note) makes it possible to emphasize not the isolated nature of language, but its open, non-linear nature. The synergistic interaction of the contacting language systems results in the emergence of new fragments of reality in the bilingual's mind, other than the pre-existing perceptions of facts and phenomena. These fragments are formatted by means of the chosen language code and may not correspond to the expression plane of the source language system. With linguistic means, a construction carries two or more meanings within the same context. Thus, as a result of synergetic interaction the meanings of one and the same word form a more complex meaning, which is encoded by the speaker depending on the context of communication and is decoded by the listener in accordance with the specifics of his/her (the listener's) language personality and social status ("no one takes words absolutely in the same sense". [Humboldt, 2019, p. 62]) The study of bilingual consciousness and the mechanisms of interlingual interaction, with an understanding of the dynamism of the interrelated components and synergy between them, highlights the complexity of the noospheric linguosemiotic formation in the consciousness of a bilingual.

#### Conclusion

The volume of interlingual interaction directly depends on the individual's cognitive processes, the ways and conditions of the cognition of a new reality and the new picture of the world, enclosed in the acquired

language L2. The pattern of interlingual interaction and its peculiarities depend on the individual'scognitive processes. The results of these cognitive processes manifest themselves in the language as quickly as the bilingual interiorizes the new value meanings. This is precisely the situation identified by V. N. Yartseva in the middle of the 20th century as an issue to be described: "when a given language no longer creates itself, but produces something new" [in *Language contacts*, 1979, p. 14]. Mastering the new system of signs and symbols of the new reality results in renewed thinking. This is how the process becomes accessible within a semasiological approach, described as "from speech through linguistic forms and linguistic system to the formation of extra-linguistic content.

The connection between mental/psychological processes and linguistic means of expressing an idea is of particular significance for the problem of bilingual linguistic consciousness. The theoretical generalized schemes presenting the complexity of the cognitive sphere (Figure 1, Figure 2) emphasize the specific correlation between external (in relation to an individual) reality and conceptual and language pictures of the world, including for the bilingual.

The description of particular speech material exemplifying codeswitching and inter-lingual interference illustrates a cognitive-communicative approach to studying heterogeneity of bilingual linguistic consciousness based on the principles of nonlinearity and the openness of the language system, and language as a complex dynamic system.

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## REFLECTION OF THE NATIONAL MENTALITY IN THE CORE OF THE SAKHA AND RUSSIAN LINGUISTIC CONSCIOUSNESS

At present, the study of the features of the linguistic consciousness of the speakers of the Sakha and Russian languages, who are in such a long close linguistic and cultural contact, is of particular interest. The paper attempts to study the reflection of the national mentality in the core of the linguistic consciousness of the Sakha and Russian language speakers. The core of the linguistic consciousness of the Sakha people was first identified by the author as a result of the analysis of materials from the Sakha associative dictionary (L. S. Zamorshchikova and A. A. Romanenko, 2012), created on the basis of mass associative experiments. The features of the perception of images of world by the Sakha and Russian consciousness are considered in the review of reactions and stimulus words — direct correspondences in the Sakha and Russian core. As a result of identifying and comparing quasi-equivalent words in the core of the linguistic consciousness, author presents the example of an analysis of the associative field of stimulus words kihi — man using to the method of "semantic gestalt" by Yu.N. Karaulov. Preliminary results suggest the trends in the reflection in the core of the linguistic consciousness of Sakha and Russian speakers of similar features that were created during a long time of cohabitation of peoples under the influence of the historical past on culture and language. However, the core of the linguistic consciousness of an individual people reflects the specificity of the "ethno-mental space of the people" created by the national mentality and spiritual culture, which can be traced in the associative-verbal network.

*Keywords*: linguistic consciousness, core of linguistic consciousness, national mentality, image of world, ethno-cultural specificity, associative dictionary, associative-verbal network.

А. П. Васильева

### ОТРАЖЕНИЕ НАЦИОНАЛЬНОГО МЕНТАЛИТЕТА В ЯДРЕ ЯЗЫКОВОГО СОЗНАНИЯ ЯКУТОВ И РУССКИХ

В настоящее время изучение особенностей языкового сознания носителей якутского и русского языков, находящихся в столь длительном тесном языковом и культурном контакте, представляет особый интерес. В статье предпринята попытка изучения отражения национального менталитета в ядре языкового сознания якутов и русских. Ядро языкового сознания якутов впервые выявлено автором в результате анали-

за материалов Якутского ассоциативного словаря (L. S. Zamorshchikova and A. A. Romanenko, 2012), созданного на основе массовых ассоциативных экспериментов. Рассмотрены особенности восприятия образов мира якутским и русским языковым сознанием в обзоре реакций и слов-стимулов — прямых соответствий в якутском и русском ядре. В результате выявления и сравнения квази-эквивалентных слов в ядре языкового сознания якутов и русских автор приводит пример анализа ассоциативного поля слова-стимула кини — человек с применением метода «семантического гештальта» Ю. Н. Караулова. Предварительные результаты свидетельствуют о тенденциях отражения в ядре языкового сознания носителей двух языков схожих черт, которые создавались в течение длительного времени совместного проживания народов под влиянием исторического прошлого на культуру и язык. Однако анализ ядра языкового сознания позволяет выявить особенности образа мира, присущие тем или иным носителям языка и культуры, также специфику «этноментального пространства народа», созданного национальным менталитетом и духовной культурой, что прослеживается в исследуемых ассоциативно-вербальных сетях носителей языков.

*Ключевые слова*: языковое сознание, ядро языкового сознания, национальный менталитет, образ мира, этнокультурная специфика, ассоциативный словарь, ассоциативно-вербальная сеть.

### Introduction

Linguistic consciousness and mentality are closely related, as with the help of language a person learns not only certain cognitive meanings and linguistic meanings, but also mental stereotypes and attitudes. The mentality is reflected in the linguistic consciousness as part of the mental activity of a person, his language and culture, and is the deep foundation of linguistic consciousness [Abildinova, 2018, p. 33].

The concept of "mentality" finds its manifestation in "the feeling, mind and will of each individual member of society on the basis of a common language and upbringing and is part of the folk spiritual culture that creates the ethno-mental space of the people in the given territory of its existence" [Kolesov, 2014, p. 11]. S. V. Lurie defines this concept as "a worldview system based on an ethnic picture of the world, transmitted in the process of socialization and including ideas about priorities, norms and behaviors in specific circumstances. Through the descriptions of these ideas, in turn, the cultural tradition inherent in the ethnic group or any part of it in a given period of time can be described" [Lurie, 1997, p. 228]. Within the framework of cognitive linguistics, Z. D. Popova and I. A. Sternin consider mentality as "a specific way of perceiving and understanding reality, determined by the totality

of cognitive stereotypes of consciousness characteristic of a particular individual, social or ethnic group of people" [Popova & Sternin, 2002, p. 8].

At present, the study of the features of the linguistic consciousness of the speakers of the Sakha and Russian languages, who are in such a long close linguistic and cultural contact, is of special interest, in particular, the identification in the core of the linguistic consciousness of the specifics of the worldview system based on the ethnic picture of the world. The purpose of this article is an attempt to study the reflection of the national mentality in the core of the linguistic consciousness of the Sakha and Russians.

According to the researchers, in the mentality of the people, as the basis of the concept of linguistic consciousness, the mental exclusivity of the ethnos is manifested, which is determined by the forms of interconnection with nature, cultural and psychological characteristics and norms of communication reflected in the language. "Mentality is the basis of the concept of linguistic consciousness and usually implies the views of the life and cultural characteristics of the people in the language. Fixation, interpretation and generalization of all human life takes place in the category of linguistic consciousness, that are meaningful in the category of mentality" [Noskova & Akhidzhakova, 2016, p. 85]. Mentality is "a set of mental processes, including the construction of a special picture of the world" [Maslova, 2008, p. 41]. These processes are followed by the concept lexicon, considered by Ch. Osgood as "one of the most important mechanisms for cognitive processing of information", which stores "a very large set of relationships between signs (percepts) and codes of semantic features" [Zalevskaya, 2007, p. 241], researchers also define this concept as "representation of words in a person's longterm memory" [Caroll, 1994, p. 102] or "the storage of words in human memory" [ibid., p. 245]. Mental lexicon is like a World Wide Web, the main structural processes in the cognition are the input process, storage, and retrieval. That means mental lexicon receives a new word and then according to the type of connection with other words stored in the mental lexicon allocate it into the appropriate category [Pranoto & Afrilita, 2018, p. 26]. If the connection between the new word and the pre-existing words is close enough, the new word will be stored in the long-term memory. So, mental lexicon is an organization of words stored in our permanent memory [Carroll, 2008, p. 103]. Thus, this is a kind of "dictionary in the head" of an individual, which functions in accordance with the laws of mental development of language and culture bearer [Zolotova, 2005, p. 3].

#### Methods and Materials

According to N. S. Sergieva, "isolating the core in the structure of linguistic consciousness and operating with its units provides great opportunities for studying the ethnocultural specifics of linguistic consciousness, both in intercultural and intracultural aspects" [Sergieva, 2010, p. 24].

The basic material of research is the Sakha Associative Dictionary, which was created on the basis of mass associative experiments [Zamorshchikova & Romanenko, 2012]. The Sakha Associative Dictionary is a regional associative database containing information about the verbal associations of the Sakha respondents living in the Far Eastern region of the Russian Federation. Data were collected during a massive free associative experiment, conducted from 2005 to 2010 at North-Eastern Federal University in Yakutsk, and at its branches in the industrial cities of Mirny and Nervungri. About 2,000 students, native speakers of the Sakha language, approximately the same number of men and women, took part in the experiment as respondents. Respondents were given 15 minutes to answer the questionnaire. The list of stimuli consists of 139 words in the Sakha language, to which the participants of the experiment must give spontaneous reactions — the words that come to mind first. As a result of the experiment, the Sakha Associative Dictionary was created, which includes 139 stimuli and answers from 1220 respondents. The structure of the thesaurus consists of Direct (stimulus-reaction) and Reverse (reaction-stimulus) dictionaries.

The dictionary entry of the Reverse Dictionary ("from reaction to stimulus") contains information about the reactions-answers that were given by the respondents to the given stimulus words, and next to them are groups of stimuli or individual stimuli with the amount of frequency to which this or that word was given-association. Word-reactions (word forms) in the Reverse Dictionary, which have the largest number of associative links — associative dominants, make it possible to build the core of the linguistic consciousness of native speakers.

The identification of the core of Sakha linguistic consciousness is carried out as a result of the analysis of the units of the semantic network of the Reverse Dictionary. Consider the structure of the Reverse Dictionary using the dictionary entry of the reaction *ajylga* (nature) as an example.

The data in parentheses at the end of the dictionary entry are an important component for sampling and systemic isolation of the core: the first digit (260) indicates the absolute frequency of occurrence of the word-reaction *ajylğa* as a reaction to all words of the stimulus list, i. e. this is the total number of its occurrences in the dictionary, and the second

Table 1. Reaction word ajylğa (nature) in the Reverse Dictionary

Reaction	Stimuli
ajylğa (nature)	ojuur (forest) 42; alaas (alaas — grassland area), kere (beauty) 32; deriebine (village) 23; törööbüt dojdu (homeland) 22; ot küöğe (green) 21; khaja (mountain) 19; sir (land), tuundara (tundra) 13; tyal (wind) 10; kihi (man)5; suor (raven) 3; buor (ground), kutsür (soul), küüs (strength), taba (deer), khaar (snow) 2; balağan (balagan — traditional dwelling), duuha (soul), ije (mother), kiehe (evening), könül (freedom), kyrd'yk (truth), kyys (girl), örüs (river), sakha (Yakut), sylgy (horse), syrdyk (light), taŋara (God), üüt (milk), khaamp (to walk), yraas (clean, pure)1; (260, 32)

digit (32) indicates the number of different stimulus words to which the given word is a reaction, i.e. this is the number of dictionary entries with this reaction. So, in this dictionary entry there are only 32 different stimulus words, to which the reactions of *ajylğa* were given. Next to each stimulus word there is a number indicating the number of stimulus-response connections, for example, 42 *ajylğa* reactions were given to the *ojuur* (forest) stimulus, for the *kere* (beauty) stimulus it is an association 32 times; for the stimulus *deriebine* (village) — 23 times; etc., therefore, the sum of the number of connections is the total sum of the frequency of occurrence of the word-reaction. Thus, this *ajylğa* reaction appears in 32 dictionary entries 260 times.

We agree with the statement of N. V. Ufimtseva that kevealing the core of linguistic consciousness based on the materials of a mass associative experiment is "one of the ways to study the systemic nature of the image of the world", this is the identification of "those units of the semantic (associative-verbal) network that have the largest number of connections with other units of this associative network, represented as a Reverse Associative dictionary" [Ufimtseva et al., 2004, p. 6].

To isolate the the core, we selected reactions with the largest number of incoming connections with different stimulus words using the continuous sampling method in the Reverse Associative Dictionary, i. e. those units of the associative-verbal network (AVNet) that have the greatest number of connections with other units in this AVNet. As A. A. Zalevskaya notes, "the maximum number of connections have words that are of particular importance for the subject as a person and reflect the most capacious concepts, the connection with which has the maximum probability of reproduction" [Zalevskaya, 2005, p. 112]. The sampling also takes into account the frequency of occurrence of the word as a response to all stimulus words.

Thus, according to the results of the analysis of the Reverse Dictionary of the Sakha language, the first 50 words were identified that structure the "center" of the core of the language consciousness of modern speakers of the Sakha language.

According to A. P. Borgoyakova, "the core of linguistic consciousness should reflect both permanent, unchanging elements that make up the "central zone" of culture, and new elements of a new picture of the world that is being formed in new conditions, a unique image of the world of a given ethnic group" [Borgoyakova, 2002, p. 69].

The core of Russian linguistic consciousness was identified by N.V. Ufimtseva during the preparation of the Russian Associative Dictionary (RAS) on the results of the first two stages of a mass associative experiment, where 75 words were selected with the largest number of connections with others units of the associative-verbal network. After the creation of the RAS, similar associative dictionaries appeared based on various languages, one of which is the Slavic Associative Dictionary based on the material of Russian, Belarusian, Bulgarian, Ukrainian languages [Ufimtseva et al., 2004]. The Associative dictionary of the Sakha language is compiled on the basis of the Slavic associative dictionary. Based on this, in our work, for comparison, we chose the variant of the core of the Russian language consciousness, which was first identified by N. V. Ufimtseva according to the Slavic Associative Dictionary due to similar stimulus content and quantitative indicators for incoming links for relevant comparison.

Table 2 presents the data of the first 50 words of the core of the linguistic consciousness of the Sakha and Russian people. Data are given on the rank (significance) of associates and on the number of different stimulus words to which the given word is a reaction.

According to the results of a comparison of 50 words in the Sakha and Russian core, 34 words coincide (27 words in the Sakha) (68%), of which in the Sakha core three words that have the same close meaning in form, in the Russian core are represented by different words of the same root (words *khorosho/khoroshij* can be correlated with the same form of the word "üchügej" (good); bol'shoj/bol'shaja — "ulakhan" (big); krasivyj/krasota — "kere" (beautiful/beauty). Next, we give examples of words in the Sakha core, which, due to polysemy, as a separate specificity of the Sakha language, have several correspondences in the Russian core. The word kün is translated as "sun; day; time", so we took into account the translation option in comparison with the word «den'» (day) in the Russian core. The word kuhağan means "bad; evil"; the word üchügej is also close to the meaning of "dobro" (good; kindness); the word min means

Table 2. The core of the linguistic consciousness of the Sakha and Russians

	Rank	Sakha core associate/ translation	Number of different connections		Russian core associate/ translation	Number of different connections
1	1	kihi (man)	110	1	zhizn' (life)	54
2	2,5	d'ol (happiness)	86	2	chelovek (man)	53
3	2,5	kyys (girl)	86	3	lyubov' (love)	52
4	4	olokh (life)	84	4	radosť (joy)	49
5	5	üchügej (good)	80	5	dom (house)	48
6	6	kuhağan (bad)	67	6	khorosho (good)	47
7	7	üle (work, occupation, activity)	65	7	drug (friend)	46
8	8	suokh (no)	64	8	net (no)	44
9	10	syrdyk (light)	61	9	schast'e (happiness)	40
10	10	ulakhan (big)	61	10,5	est' (there is)	37
11	10	baar (there is)	61	10,5	svet (light)	37
12	13	sanaa (to think, remember; thought)	60	12,5	plokho (bad)	36
13	13	üörüü (joy)	60	12,5	ya (i)	36
14	13	d'on (people; parents, family)	60	14,5	den'gi (money)	34
15	15,5	oğo (child)	59	14,5	boľshoj (big)	34
16	15,5	taptal (love)	59	16,5	rebenok (child)	33
17	18,5	d'ie (house)	58	16,5	mir (world)	33
18	18,5	yraas (clean; cleanliness, neatness)	58	19	dobro (good; kindness)	29
19	18,5	kün (sun; day; time)	58	19	zhit' (to live)	29
20	18,5	elbekh (numerous; many)	58	19	krasivyj (beautiful)	29

	Rank	Sakha core associate/ translation	Number of different connections		Russian core associate/ translation	Number of different connections
21	21	küüs (strength; power)	55	21,5	smert' (death)	28
22	22	ije (mother)	54	21,5	sila (strength)	28
23	24	sir (ground; world)	53	23,5	sil'nyj (strong)	27
24	24	kere (beautiful, beauty)	53	23,5	vsegda (always)	27
25	24	saŋa (speech, voice; new)	53	25,5	mnogo (many)	26
26	26	uol (boy, young man, son)	49	25,5	vsyo (everything)	26
27	27	khara (black)	48	27	lyubit' (to love)	25
28	28	as (food; to open)	46	28	vremya (time)	24
29	29	tyl (language; speech; word)	44	30,5	zlo (evil)	23
30	30,5	kharchy (money)	43	30,5	umnyj (clever)	23
31	30,5	kyra (small; younger; few; weak)	43	30,5	les (wood)	23
32	32,5	sylaas (warm)	42	30,5	on (he)	23
33	32,5	sajyn (summer; to grow, to develop)	42	34,5	den' (day)	22
34	35,5	dojdu (homeland; country; region)	41	34,5	muzhchina (man)	22
35	35,5	üörekh (teaching; studies; education)	41	34,5	khoroshij (good)	22
36	35,5	küüsteekh (strong)	41	34,5	rabota (work)	22
37	35,5	doğor (friend)	41	41	bol'shja (big)	21
38	39	kharaŋa (dark; darkness)	40	41	moj (my)	21
39	39	kharakh (eye)	40	41	muzh (husband)	21
40	39	sakha (yakut)	40	41	delo (case)	21

	Rank	Sakha core associate/ translation	Number of different connections		Russian core associate/ translation	Number of different connections
41	41	kömö (help, assistance)	39	41	dumat' (to think)	21
42	42,5	ajmakh (relatives)	38	41	lyudi (people)	21
43	42,5	mas (wood)	38	41	krasota (beauty)	21
44	46,5	tymnyy (cold, frosty; frost)	37	41	brat (brother)	21
45	46,5	maŋan (white)	37	41	ogon' (fire)	21
46	46,5	khallaan (sky; weather)	37	47,5	moya (my)	20
47	46,5	uot (fire, flame; light)	37	47,5	mama (mother)	20
48	46,5	suol (road, way; track)	37	47,5	dusha (soul)	20
49	46,5	erel' (hope)	37	47,5	nadezhda (hope)	20
50	50	min (I; my)	36	50	durak (fool)	19

"Ya" (I), it is also translated in the meaning of the forms "moj/moya" (my/mine).

We give in the table below the data of words with direct correspondences.

The following words are missing in the Sakha core (17): *mir* (peace), *dobro* (good), *zhit*' (to live), *smert*' (death), *vsegda* (always), *vse* (everything, all), *lyubit*' (to love), *vremya* (time), *umnyj* (clever, smart), *les* (forest), *on* (he), *muzhchina* (man), *muzh* (husband), *delo* (case), *brat* (brother), *dusha* (soul), *durak* (fool).

The following words are missing in the Russian core (23): kyys (girl; daughter), yraas (clean; cleanliness), sir (earth), saŋa (speech, voice; new), uol (boy, youth, guy; son), khara (black; blackness), as (food; to open; to push away), tyl (language; speech; word), kyra (small; younger; few; weak), sylaas (warm; warmth), sajyn (summer; grow, develop), dojdu (homeland; country, region), üörekh (teaching; study; education), kharaŋa (dark; darkness), kharakh (eye), sakha (Yakut), kömö (help,

*Table 3.* Comparison of the core of the linguistic consciousness of the Sakha and Russians

	Rank	Sakha core associate/ translation	Number of different connections	Rank	Russian core/ translation	Number of different connections
1	1	kihi (man)	110	2	chelovek (man)	53
2	2,5	d'ol (happiness)	86	9	schast'e (happiness)	40
3	4	olokh (life)	84	1	zhizn' (life)	54
4	5	üchügej (good)	80	6	khorosho (good)	47
				34,5	khoroshij (good)	22
				19	dobro (good; kindness)	29
5	6	kuhağan (bad)	67	12,5	plokho (bad)	36
				30,5	zlo (evil)	23
6	7	ule (work, occupation, activity)	65	34,5	rabota (work)	22
7	8	suokh (no)		8	net (no)	44
8	10	syrdyk (light)	61	10,5	svet (light)	37
	10	ulakhan (big)	61		boľshoj (big)	34
9					bol'shja (big)	21
10	10	baar (there is)	61	10,5	est' (there is)	37
11	13	sanaa (to think, remember; thought)	60	41	dumat' (to think)	21
12	13	üörüü (joy)	60	4	radosť (joy)	49
13	13	d'on (people; parents, family)	60	41	lyudi (people)	21
14	15,5	oğo (child)	59	16,5	rebenok (child)	33
15	15,5	taptal (love)	59	3	lyubov' (love)	52
16	18,5	d'ie (house)	58	5	dom (house)	48
17	18,5	kün (sun; day; time)	58	34,5	den' (day)	22
18	18,5	elbekh (numerous; many)	58	25,5	mnogo (many)	26

	Rank	Sakha core associate/ translation	Number of different connections	Rank	Russian core/ translation	Number of different connections
19	21	küüs (strength; power)	55	21,5	sila (strength)	28
	22	ije (mother)	54	47,5	mama (mother)	20
20	24	kere (beautiful, beauty)	53	19	krasivyj (beautiful)	29
21				41	krasota (beauty)	21
22	30,5	kharchy (money)	43	14,5	den'gi (money)	34
23	35,5	küüsteekh (strong)	41	23,5	sil'nyj (strong)	27
24	35,5	doğor (friend)	41	7	drug (friend)	46
25	46,5	uot (fire, flame; light)	37	41	ogon' (fire)	21
26	46,5	erel' (hope)	37	47,5	nadezhda (hope)	20
27	50	min (I; my)	36	12,5	ya (i)	36
				41	moj (my)	21
				47,5	moya (my)	20

assistance), *ajmakh* (relatives), *mas* (wood, wooden), *tymnyy* (cold, frosty; frost), *maŋan* (white), *khallaan* (sky; weather), *suol* (road, way; track).

## Results and discussion

As a result of the review of words in the core of the language consciousness of the Sakha people, it can be assumed that the presence in the Sakha core of the concepts of family ties *ajmakh* (relatives), *kömö* (help, assistance) emphasizes the importance of a strong clan, relatives, family. Reaction "Sakha (Yakut)" is also singled out as an indicator of the predominance of national identification in the core of the consciousness of a native speaker. Word-concepts as (food), *tyl* (language; speech; word), *dojdu* (homeland; country, region), *üörekh* (teaching; study; education) can be grouped and attributed to the cultural and material-valuable components of human life. The words *tymnyy* (cold, frosty; frost), *kharaṇa* (dark; darkness), *khallaan* (sky; weather), *yraas* (clean; cleanliness), *maṇan* (white) are typical for the Sakha picture of the world and draw the image of a long

cold winter in Yakutia with unique natural conditions; these words are the first typical association about the North for people of a different national culture. In turn, the concepts of *sylaas* (warm; warmth), *sajyn* (summer; to grow, to develop) characterize the most favorable period for the Sakha people after a long winter, the onset of summer, the time of the celebration of Ysyakh — the national holiday of the revival of nature in honor of the deities of Ajyy (the benevolent spirits and inhabitants of the Upper World in Sakha traditional religion), which is considered Sakha New Year.

Next, we consider the analysis of the content of the core of the linguistic consciousness of the Sakha and Russians. As Yu.N. Karaulov notes, "observations on the composition and correlation of fragments of associative-verbal networks of different languages can also bring us closer to understanding the peculiarities of the vision of the world and its assessment by the national linguistic consciousness. In this case, the objects of comparison are fragments of the picture of the world, features of the mentality and national character of native speakers, imprinted in associative-verbal networks that reflect the pre-speech readiness of the speaker, his textual potential" [Karaulov, 2000]. The comparison of associative-verbal networks can be measured from different angles and in different networks are characterized by measurements of varying degrees of depth and complexity, and their comparison can be carried out across all measurements. "The object of the most general, one might say superficial, assessment of two AVNets is a continuous comparison of the associative fields of stimuli of the same name in terms of the composition and frequency of the first two reactions" [ibid.]. Consider the features of the perception of the images of the world by the Sakha consciousness and the consciousness of a native speaker of the Russian language in the review of some stimulus words from the above direct correspondences in Direct Associative Dictionaries.

Analysis of the associative fields of linguistic consciousness of Sakha speakers allows us to highlight the specifics of the use of a large number of paired words as part of a stimulus-response (*d'ol-sorgu* — happiness; *üle-khamnas* — work; *olokh-d'ahakh* — life; *üörüü-kötüü* — joy; *d'ie-uot* — house, family, household; *küüs-uokh* — strength, *küüs-kömö* — support), which act as "a kind of tool for describing objects of the outside world", and which contributes to the transfer of a richer picture of emotions, evaluation and meaning transmitted by the subjects to stimulus words, and figurative meanings are formed on the basis of figurative perception of the world [Zamorshchikova, 2010, p. 433–434].

In the Russian material, a significantly frequent use of the antonymic pair in reactions can be traced: *zhizn'* (life) — *smert'* (death), *bol'shoj* 

Table 4. The associative fields of stimuli of the same name in terms of the composition and frequency of the first two reactions

	Sakha linguistic consciousness	Russian linguistic consciousness
1	Kihi — d'on 89; ajmakh 65; (man — people; relatives)	Chelovek — zhivotnoje 25; umnyj 22; (man — animal; smart)
2	D'ol — üerüü 311; sorgu 92; (happiness — joy; happiness)	Schast'e — est' 74; lyubov' 59; (happiness — there is; love)
3	Olokh — d'ol 128; d'ahakh 92; (live — happiness; life)	Zhizn' — smert' 99; prekrasna 25; (life — death; beautiful)
4	<i>Üchügej</i> — kuhağan 185; kere 139; (good — bad; beauty)	Khorosho — plokho 181; zhit' 64; (good — bad; to live)
5	Kuhağan — üchügej 118; kihi 85; (bad — good; man)	Plokho — khorosho 152; zhit' 22; (bad — good; to live)
6	Ule — khamnas 338; d'ol 191; (work — wages; happiness)	Rabota — den'gi 38; trud 37; (work — money; work)
7	<i>Ulakhan</i> — kyra 194; kihi 101; (big — small; man)	Bol'shoj — dom 85; malen'kij 77; (big — house; small)
8	<i>Üerüü</i> — kötüü 396; d'ol 91; (joy — joy; happiness)	Radost' — schast'e 79; gore 44; (joy — happiness; grief)
9	Oğo — kyra 218; d'ol 170; (child — small; happiness)	Rebyonok — malen'kij 93; plachet 23; (child — small; crying)
10	Taptal — d'ol 206; sürekh 122; (love — happiness; heart)	Lyubov' — schast'e 63; zla 23 (love — happiness; 'is blind')
11	D'ie — kergen 182; uot 73; (house — family; household)	Dom — rodnoj 57; semja 47; (house — native; family)
12	Küüs — uokh 148; kömö 107; (strength — strength; support)	Sila — voli 40; slabost' 32; (strength — of will; weakness)
13	<i>Ije</i> — ağa 164; taptal 99; (mother — father; love)	Mat' — otets 111; rodnaja 44; (mother — father; own)
14	Kere — kyys 326; üchügej 101; (beauty — girl; good)	Krasivyj — chelovek 57; dom 36; (beautiful — man; house)
15	Kharchy — baaj 256; elbekh 69; (money — wealth, rich; many)	Dengi — mnogo 45; bogatstvo 30; (money — many; wealth)
16	Uot — itii 123; ohokh 121; (fire — heat; fireplace)	Ogon' — voda 106; plamya 54; (fire — water; flame)

(big) — malen'kij (small), radost' (joy) — gore (grief), sila (strength) — slabost' (weakness), ogon' (fire) — voda (water).

If *fire* for the Russian consciousness is contrasted with water or simply like a flame, then the reactions of the Sakha to the stimulus *uot* (fire) — *itii* 123; *ohokh* 121 (heat; stove) are interesting;. There is an expression

"sakha ohoğun inniger olordoğuna aan dojdunu anaarar" (a Sakha loves to philosophize in front of the fireplace (stove)) and is interpreted as follows: the hearth of the stove "aal uot, kholumtan" acts as the beginning of the exploration of space — a concentric circle of hearth with the fire, which, during the thoughts of an old man, gives birth one after another, expanding outlines of an imaginary world — a dwelling where he lives with his family, his native alas, his native land, the abode of his people [Utkin, 1998, p.77]. "Firstly, fire (bonfire) is an important and integral part of national rites and rituals (for example, feeding the Spirit of Fire, algys is a rite of blessing); secondly, without fire, it is impossible to imagine the traditional activities of the Sakha, such as hunting and haymaking, where fire provides warmth and food" [Savitskaya, 2017, p.213].

Concept *work* for the Sakha and Russians is associated primarily with wages and money. In the Sakha language consciousness, a no less frequent reaction to the stimulus word *work* is *d'ol* (happiness), in the Russian language consciousness — the reaction *trud* (work), which is obviously formed by the image of the rooted historical slogans "*Üle* — *üörüü*, *üle* — *djol*, *üle* — *ürdük örögöj*" (Work is joy, work is happiness, work is a high victory), «Mir! Trud! Maj!» (Peace! Work! May!).

The Sakha respondents give reaction *d'ol* (happiness) from the emotional-sensual sphere to the stimulus words *olokh* (life), *üörüü* (joy), *oğo* (child), *taptal* (love). For Russians, happiness also brings joy and love, and for the Russian linguistic consciousness, love tends to blind, as in the well-known proverb "love is evil, you will love a goat" (love is blind, as well as hatred).

As a result of comparing the core of the linguistic consciousness of the Sakha and Russians, quasi-equivalent words were revealed. An analysis was made of these words as stimulus words in the Direct Sakha Associative Dictionary. The data for the analysis of the associative fields of stimulus words in the Russian language consciousness are taken from the Slavic Associative Dictionary (Direct), edited by N. V. Ufimtseva et al. [Ufimtseva et al., 2004].

Futher we consider the analysis of the associative field on the example of stimulus words kihi - man. At this stage of the study, we applied the method of "semantic gestalt" by Yu.N. Karaulov, where "to name the zones, use pronominal designations that are capable of conveying the most general meanings": Who, What, What, This, To Do, Where [Karaulov, 2000]. Interestingly, in the Russian associative field, a man is associated primarily with an animal, in the Sakha linguistic consciousness with people, for Russians he is primarily smart, for Sakha people he is alive. In the Russian linguistic consciousness a man is interpreted

as a social unit, a socio-biological being and an associative field draws external factors — "monkey, animal, amphibian, universe, law, organism, perfection, civilization". According to N. V. Ufimtseva, a characteristic feature of the Russian mentality is "a kind of planetary thinking", this is expressed in the relationship of man with space and the universe [Ufimtseva, 1996]. In the Sakha linguistic consciousness associations that are inherent in the inner world of a person, his spiritual beginning prevail — d'ol (happiness), ajylğa (nature), d'ylğa (fate), kut (soul), siermajgy (decency), taabyryn (mystery), etc. Among the Sakha associates in the semantic zone "This" we find reeactions ajylğa oğoto (child of nature), tyynar tyynnaakh (living being), ajylǧa d'iktite (miracle of nature), in Russian answers man is the king of nature, it sounds proudly, the highest link in evolution, a social animal, homo sapiens. It is also interesting to note similar single reactions of olokh oonnyuura (toy of life) in the Sakha associative field and a toy in the hands of fate in the Russian associative field. So, the answers of the respondents — native speakers of the Sakha language represent the image of a person who is close to nature; in the minds of native speakers of the Russian language, a man appears as a part of the universe.

## **Conclusions**

Preliminary results allow us to draw conclusions about the trends in the reflection in the core of the linguistic consciousness of the speakers of the two languages of similar features that were created for a long time of cohabitation of peoples under the influence of the historical past on culture and language, and the commonality of the images of the world of the Sakha and Russian language speakers is explained by the complementarity of Russian and Sakha cultures [Zamorshchikova, 2010, p. 432]. However, the core of the linguistic consciousness of an individual people reflects the specificity of the "ethno-mental space of the people" created by the national mentality and spiritual culture, which can be traced in the associative-verbal network of the native speaker under study.

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# CATHARSIS THERAPY IN THE 17<sup>th</sup> CENTURY ENGLISH DRAMA: A CASE STUDY OF R. BROME'S COMEDY "THE ANTIPODES"

The paper regards catharsis therapeutic application as a theme of the 17<sup>th</sup> century English drama: a case study of Brome's play "The Antipodes" (1637-1638), never being in focus of Russian literary criticism. Catharsis is a central concept of drama especially in its scenic presentation. The resemblance of personal experiences to those in a play can provoke strong cathartic emotions, causing spectator's purification and mental balance. The 20<sup>th</sup> century psychology used this effect as a "psychodrama" method for treating patients with mental disorders. Its essence is in transforming patients into actors of a dramatic piece reminding them their traumas, the emotions resulted proceed with cathartic cleansing of the painful symptoms. The paper discusses in detail the first use of the "psychodrama" method in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century English comedy "The Antipodes". The play's theme is the characters' mental disorder featured with despondency and insanity healed by doctor Huball's method of making the unsuspecting patients act in a performance ("inner play") of an artificially created "antipodean" world of disorder similar to their overturned consciousness. The patients' rejection of the "antipodean" world brings in strong cathartic emotions causing the characters' mental health. The play's analysis shows that the author exceeds the limits of the avant-garde catharsis therapy theme. The play passes his concern about the disease of the English society facing serious upheavals. It aims at bringing all his spectators in catharsis in order to heal the English world's disease and let common sense triumph over the existing disorder and madness.

Keywords: catharsis, psychodrama,  $17^{th}$  century English drama, comedy, antipodes, Richard Brome, inner play.

Н. В. Зонина

# КАТАРСИЧЕСКАЯ ТЕРАПИЯ В АНГЛИЙСКОЙ ДРАМЕ: КОМЕДИЯ Р. БРУМА «АНТИПОДЫ»

Статья посвящена теме целебного воздействия катарсиса в английской драме XVII в. Материалом служит комедия Р. Брума «Антиподы» (1637–1638). Тема, как и творчество драматурга, практически не затронута в отечественном литературоведении. Катарсис — значимый элемент драмы, особенно в ее сценическом исполнении. Сходство личных переживаний зрителя с треволнениями, представленными в драме, способно вызвать у зрителя сильные эмоции, оказывающие катарсическое

действие и восстановление душевного покоя. Это свойство катарсиса в начале XX в. психологи стали использовать при лечении психических расстройств. Данный метод получил название «психодрама». Суть его состоит в вовлечении несведущего пациента актером в драматическое действо, изображающее события, близкие к тем, что нанесли ему душевные травмы. Воспоминание о них порождает эмоциональный взрыв, вызывающий катарсис, способствующий исцелению пациента. В статье рассматривается метод «психодрамы», впервые использованный английским драматургом Р. Брумом в качестве темы комедии «Антиподы». Все ее персонажи страдают душевным расстройством, симптомы которого — «уныние и безумие», вызванные их перевернутым мироощущением. Приглашенный врач применяет необычный метод лечения. Он погружает «больных» в искусственно созданную обстановку перевернутого «антиподного» мира, сценически представленного во "внутренней пьесе" «Антиподы». Пациенты принимают пьесу за реальную действительность, и через осознание и отрицание пороков и абсурда антиподного общества — катарсиса, все персонажи излечиваются от своих недугов. Детальный анализ комедии показывает, что драматург переходит границы авангардной темы катарсической терапии. Пьеса являет собой послание автора зрителю, выражающее глубокую озабоченность душевной болезнью всего английского общества, требовавшего срочного лечения, которое он предлагает своей пьесой — «психодрамой». Комедия завершается «маской», в которой звучит надежда на катарсис всего общества и его исцеление от безумия и хаоса.

*Ключевые слова*: катарсис, *психодрама*, английская драма XVII века, комедия, антиподы, Ричард Брум, *внутренняя пьеса*.

## Introduction

Translated from Greek, «catharsis" (katharsis) means purification, cleansing, clarification in various fields of human nature. The concept of "catharsis" plays an important role in the sphere of art, especially in the theater. It was from the theater of ancient Greece that the concept of catharsis came to dramatic art meaning the moral, spiritual and mental purification of a hero, his positive rebirth due to suffering and misfortune he experienced. Moreover, largely not only the main character of the drama gets through catharsis, but also the theatrical spectators, who together with the main character feel his dramatic misfortunes. Aristotle [Aristotle, 1983, p. 651] saw the purpose of tragedy in the process of catharsis and its influence on the viewers sincerely and deeply feeling fear for the tragic hero, sympathize with him, thereby, ultimately, experience catharsis themselves — moral purification and cleansing of their souls from past sin or moral injury. The similarity of personal experience with the experience presented in a dramatic work can lead the viewers into a strong emotional

state, causing a cathartic effect: spiritual renewal of his soul, restoration of internal balance and mental state. However, Aristotle mentions that catharsis is peculiar not only to tragedy: in the 8th book of "Politics", devoted to the education of youth, discussing music and chanting, draws attention to the impact of the spectacle on the human soul, bringing the effect "like healing (iatreria) and purification (catharsis). [Aristotle, 1983, p. 642]. This principle applies to all types of dramatic art including comedy, which in the 17th century had a pronounced moralistic meaning, the purpose of which was to cleanse and purify a person from dirt and vices. The leading playwright of English comedy at that period was Ben Johnson. Like all Elizabethans, he following the principle of imitating nature used to hold a mirror in front of her, though in his mirror he concentrated on reflecting the "ugliness of the century": the negatives and vices of the real world [Jonson, 2013, p. 4]. The aim of comedy was at exposing them to ridicule and debunk so that the contemporaries would be horrified and turn away from them, that is, to get through catharsis purifying and renewing themselves, awakening their best personal qualities thus helping free the world from evils standing in the way of harmony.

The scope of catharsis is extensive. Despite its different forms and fields of application, the essentials of catharsis remain the same: purification, liberation and healing from a certain burden and trauma, tragic self-perception, feelings of sin and guilt, contributing to healing those symptoms through emotional experience. In the 19th century, this nature of catharsis attracted attention of psychologists. Catharsis found wide therapeutic application in psychotherapy for treating patients with mental disorders. The founders of the cathartic treatment method in psychotherapy were Austrian psychologists Joseph Breuer and Sigmund Freud. The core of their method was in making the patient remember and talk about the events after which the symptoms of the disease appeared. Catharsis as psychotherapy started with hypnosis and psychoanalysis becoming a breakthrough in the field, though not so effective as they expected. Jacob Levi Moreno, psychiatrist, psychologist and sociologist at the beginning of the 20th century considered hypnosis and psychoanalysis to have two serious weak points: full passivity of the patients and their isolation from the reality, which caused poor results. Doctor Moreno saw his task in creating "antitheses to psychoanalysis" and developing a more vital and more realistic therapeutic theory and practice [Leutz, 2007, p. 12].

On April 1, 1921 J. Moreno presented an experimental production "on the topic of the day" to the public in Vienna theatre. While performing the actors improvised and involved the audience in the action — it is considered a birth of the "psychodrama" method, the world's first method of group psy-

chotherapy [Leutz, 2007, p. 4]. Psychologists accepted it as a very productive method of cathartic treatment. The essence of the method is in its form of a small theatrical performance or a scene in which the actors are the patients themselves. Being under the emotional influence of the events taking place in a scene related to their mental problems and the reaction of their performance partners, the patients involuntarily recall their forgotten traumatic experience thus allowing them to get rid of the painful symptoms: "Repetition in the illusion makes patient free from his disease" [Leutz, 2007, p. 204]. This method revolutionized the world of psychotherapy.

The paper touches on a unique example of treating the cathartic method of "psychodrama" in the  $17^{\rm th}$  century English drama, in particular, comedy.

## Methods & Material

The impact of catharsis played an important role in the 17<sup>th</sup> century comedy, which had a pronounced moralistic meaning, the purpose of which was to cleanse and purify humans from dirt and vices and to restore mental and soul harmony. The material used for the analysis is a comedy "The Antipodes" (1637–1638) by Richard Brome, a devoted Ben Johnson's disciple and successor becoming one of the most popular playwright in the reign of Charles 1. Brome followed the basic principle of Ben Jonson's comedy presenting severe moral contrasts in "The Antipodes", pitting vice against virtue, making the evil life parody and reverse the good life. The play was written and staged in the extremely difficult and disturbing period for England — the late 30s of the 17<sup>th</sup> century when the country was on the verge of revolution and civil war having one part of the society " live like Antipodes to others in the same city" [Jonson, 2014, l.42]. The whole nation was critically ill and needed proper cure, which Brome offered through his comedy. In "The Antipodes" Brome exposes, the folly and wickedness of the world his characters dream to live in. They are all ill suffering mental problems and need serious medical help that the playwright together with the play's doctor offers them through a catharsis therapeutic method of "psychodrama".

The basic research method applied is a descriptive one including component and contextual analyses of the comedy text.

## Discussion

The situation in England at that time was aggravated by the fact that the country had experienced one of the most terrible plague epidemics in 1636–1637, which took away the lives of 10,000 people. The English were

slowly recovering after the plague. The epidemic prompted Brome the main theme of the play — some serious disease to be successfully healed. The playwright had no doubt about the positive effect of his comedy on the public: "as for your sorrows, you came to lose 'em" [Brome, 1966, p. 9] and the disease will recede after the plague. The course of the comedian's treatment is based on the healing property of laughter — "comic catharsis" [Chernyavsky, 1956, p. 81–107]. Laughter, showing the meaninglessness and absurdity of existing conventions and relations in modern society, ridiculing them, creates a "world of anti-society with anti-culture", contrary to the established traditional world order and destroying it [Likhachev D. S., Panchenko A. M., Ponyrko N. V., 1984, p. 3].

The theme of the play is mental disorder that all its characters suffer from with the main symptoms of: "despondency and madness" caused by inverted consciousness, morality and attitude, which generated chaos, disharmony in all spheres of their lives. The comedy action takes place in London of the late 30s of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, just freed from one ailment, but suffering from another, no less dangerous disease: as the contemporaries mention: "Now the world has turned upside down and everyone behaves like antipodes" [Backervill., 2012, c. 24]. p. 78]. The main character of the play is Peregrine ("the wanderer"). He is 25 years old and his life looks quite good and successful: he grew up in a prosperous family, received a decent education, but his inner condition causes great concern to his dear ones. He suffers from a mental disorder. According to his relatives, this is the result of his passion for travel books: "In tender years he always lov'd to read / Reports of travels and of voyages; / When young boys like him would tire themselves / With sports and pastimes, restore their spirits / Again by meat and sleep, he would whole days /And nights (sometimes by stealth) be on such books/ As might convey his fancy round the world" [Brome, 1966, p. 14].

His childhood passed away, but adult Peregrine unsatisfied with dull reality keeps on dreaming about traveling and distant countries. Together with his beloved author of travel books, Mandeville, he mentally wanders through unknown countries: "this wilderness,/and seen the trees of the sun and moon, that speak/ And told King Alexander of his death.../ That now is kept and guarded by wild beasts .../ And monsters more, as numberless as nameless" [Brome, 1966, p. 27]. Even marriage could not bring him back from the world of fantasy and fiction to real life. Peregrine's family members, concerned about his mental health, decide to invite a doctor to him — the last hope to return Peregrine to the real world. Thus, the doctor Huball appears in the play. After getting to know the whole family and their immediate environment, he concludes that all of them

suffer from mental disorder to one degree or another. It turns out that Peregrine's wife Martha also has a serious mental problem: their marriage not only did not heal the young man, but also led to a violation of his young wife's psyche: for three years of marriage, she did not get to know the happiness of love, marriage, or motherhood. She suffers from loneliness, unspent feelings and a passionate desire to have children — the theme of "children" becomes obsessive for her and leads to insane tantrums: "Sometimes in extreme weeping, and anon / In vehement laughter; now in sullen silence, / And presently in loudest exclamations" [Brome, 1966, p. 15]. Peregrine's father, Joyless, is also mentally ill: he suspects his young wife Diana of infidelity and jealousy drives him crazy. As for Diana, she is not healthy as well: her unrestrained speech and wandering gaze Brome, 1966, p. 18.) testify to her overwhelmed passions. A friend of the Peregrine family, the artist Blaze, suffers from the same disease, tormenting his wife Barbara with jealousy. Blaze's friend, Lord Letoy looks rather healthy being not consumed by either jealousy or longing for unknown countries. However, he is also not very normal as well: he is a noble aristocrat, whose French ancestors came to England together with Wilhelm the Conqueror [Brome, 1966, p. 21], despises the life of nobility, whose interests are limited by "their horse tricks, and their jockies that / Can outtalk them [Brome, 1966, p. 24]. The Lord with his unusual behavior, preferences, contrary to the norms accepted in secular society, gained a reputation as "a strange lord, more like a petty merchant with the manners of an emperor" [Brome, 1966, p. 22]. Thus, all the comedy characters become patients of doctor Huball.

From the replicas of the characters, we learn that the doctor has an extensive practice in London: his numerous patients from various circles of society suffer from varying degrees of mental or mental disorders, among them: "a country gentleman that fell mad / For spending of his land before he sold it: / ...a lady mad... with Tedious and painful study ... / Officers and men of place/ Whose senses were so numb'd they understood not/ Bribes from due fees and fell on praemunires / ... T'other day /He set the brains of an attorney right, /That were quite topsy-turvy overturn'd/" [Brome, 1966, p. 10–11]. Thus, the author significantly increases the number of those in need of treatment: these are not only comedy characters, but also residents of London, and indeed of all of England. In addition, the spectators who came to the performance are the patients of "doctor Brome" as the characters of the comedy are the patients of doctor Huball. Therefore, the diagnosis of the main patient Peregrine and his entourage was made — "madness", the symptoms of which are an inverted "upside down" consciousness and worldview. Doctor Huball's method

of treatment, at the prompt of the playwright, is "the wedge is driven by the wedge": the doctor decides to immerse "the sick" in the upside-down world in which they mentally existed. Doctor's method determined the main dramatic technique of the comedy — inner play, that is "a play within a play" [Zonina, 2022, p. 32–33]. The playwright creates an inner play in his play, the action of which takes place in an inverted world, in a world of anti-laws and anti-culture, of antipodes.

Despite the indisputable originality of the plot, the very idea of antipodes excited the minds and caused heated discussions in English society, and not only in English. The existence of continents, such as Australia and America, located in the other hemisphere of the Earth and inhabited by people, was accepted by the  $17^{th}$  century as an indisputable fact. However, their geographic polarity contributed to the spread of ideas about the complete opposite, physical and moral-spiritual, of their inhabitants to the inhabitants of the Old World that received the name of antipodes. Their "turnaround" existence doomed them to life "upside down": "they have the opposite, because when the Sun gives us Summer, they have Winter there in the midst; and when we have day, a long night descends on them ..." [Eden, 1885, p. 10]. Everything that is white in the northern hemisphere is black in the southern hemisphere, and vice versa: "And their swans are black, and the crows are white" [Brome, 1966, p. 25].

The idea of the "antipodes" gave rich material to the author for a comic and satirical interpretation of reality, in order to show the world his true face as in a distorting mirror. Broom places his characters in an antipodal "world upside down", the absurdity and chaos of which should lead them to deny such a world, to reject it, thereby contributing to their healing.

So, for the treatment of Peregrine and the other patients doctor Huball proposes to create for the young man the world of his dreams the world of a distant and outlandish country — the country of "antipodes". To do this, he needs a stage, a play and actors. Lord Letoy is ready to help with the stage and the play as he loves the theater, patronizes a famous company of comedians and even tries to write plays himself: "anyone can sing a song, or play a passage on the viol, And also play a role in a comedy" [Brome, 1966, p. 15]. As for the actors, the doctor's patients were supposed to play roles.

Therefore, Lord Letoy builds up a huge stage on his estate, on which the action of the "inner" play "The Antipodes", written by him especially for this occasion, takes place. The doctor, promising Peregrine a fascinating journey to an amazing country, puts him to sleep. Waking up an hour later, he learns from the doctor that he has slept for six months and within that time all their company managed to arrive at the country on the other side of the Earth, located exactly under England, i.e. at Anti-England —

moreover, they stopped in its capital Anti-London. The doctor takes them round the city. They are curious about the life of the antipodes. They find that the people there in appearance, language, religion, resemble those whom they oppose, that is — the English. However, this similarity proved to be true only to external features, while their customs, manners, and style of life are absolutely the opposite — antipodean. Even "the geographical image — "live like Antipodes …precisely suggests the strong moral polarity of Jonson's thought" [Donaldson, 1970, p. 78] — this is what they eventually discovered in the antipodean country.

In Anti-England, common people govern the magistrate, wives command husbands, parents and masters obey children and servants. As for men, they are only busy with gossiping and chattering, while women are fond of hunting at this time and indulge in pleasures. Cats are kept in a cage there in order to save them from mice and merchants' wives trade overseas while the husbands cuckold them at home, old men marry maidens while old women chose boys as their husbands. Their lawyers are the most dishonest people and all their poets and actors were Puritans [Brome, 1966, p. 76–77]. Brome focuses on the aspect of moral contrariness referring to the absolute evil of witchcraft activities as only dark forces could only create such chaos, lawlessness and the life upside down in violation of all traditional ties and relationships [Brome, 1979, p. 138–217].

The playwright vividly depicts that country, touching upon all aspects of its life: socio-economic, spiritual and moral ones that undoubtedly evoked vivid associations with English reality among his contemporaries. In the country of antipodes, everything is turned upside down: lawyers, called upon to guard the law and protect the interests of citizens, rob them taking the last pennies from the poor [Brome, 1966, p. 73]; the church ministers do not disdain usury; courtiers, rude in manners and language, did not differ from London carters and were engaged in projecting [Brome, 1966, p. 95]; the monopolists that led the country's economy to collapse are under the reliable protection of the king, and the king, neglecting his duties to the country and the people, dissolves the parliament and establishes despotism in the country [Brome, 1966, p. 98]. Thus, the author's satire in the play is aimed not only at the individual vices of the antipodes' society, but also at country's entire structure: from the legislative system to the supreme power.

Peregrine takes the theatrical performance for reality, which caused his active protest. Observing the anomalies, depravity and absurdity of the relations existing in that country, he wills to change this "reality". Mistaking the theatrical dressing room for an "enchanted castle", he rushes into battle with theatrical props, crushing the monsters inhabiting it in

the tradition of Don Quixote. After defeating imaginary enemies, he discovers royal robes and a crown among the costumes. Without doubting the authenticity of the royal power's regalia, Peregrine proclaims himself the king of the "antipodes". He is determined to transform this imperfect country. Thus, the "psychodrama" method succeeded in returning him from the world of illusions and fantasy to reality, even if the reality is artificially created, which he does not suspect. The positive result of the cathartic therapy through "psychodrama" was obvious: for the first time he looked up at the world around him and got interested in it feeling eager to be its active participant. His awakened concern about real life, the correct assessment of the relations developed in the world in which he found himself, the rejection of absurdity and chaos testify to the process of his healing. Doctor Huball's method of "psychodrama" has also a healing psychotherapeutic effect on the other characters of the comedy imperceptibly involved in the play. Peregrine's return to real life contributes to the establishment of harmony in his family and Martha finds peace and mental balance. Joyless and Diana get rid of their ailments: jealousy and excessive amorousness as well. The method proved to be very efficient.

The course of "psychodrama" treatment in the play was carried out so professionally and effectively that American literary critic R. Kaufman called doctor Huball "the first practicing psychiatrist on the English stage" [Kaufmann, 1961, p. 65].

## Conclusion

The analysis of "The Antipodes" shows the playwright's mastery in the comedy genre with its elaborate plot and complicated play's design directed into the most significant psychic aspect of the play. His belief in healing ability of the drama catharsis is strong and indisputable which is proved by his unique cathartic therapy method of "psychodrama" presented by "the play within the play". Moreover, the author exceeds the limits of the avant-garde "psychodrama" method of the catharsis therapy theme. With his play, Brome appeals to all his spectators expressing his serious worry about a crucial disease effecting all the English society with almost the same symptoms the comedy's characters suffered from — the ones of despondency and mental disorder. The playwright hopes that watching and rejecting the madly inverted reality the people are surrounded with they having got through catharsis will be able to restore fair reality in the country. Thus "The Antipodes" becomes "a title which describes both inner and outer plays" [Cope J. I., 1973, p. 147] and "The Antipodes" comedy on the whole appears to serve as a catharsis therapeutic "psychodrama"

aiming through his theatre spectators at all the nation which needs to be purified, cleansed and healed in order to save their country from crucial disaster . Thus, Brome in his comedy to a certain extent took over the function of a healer — "the doctor of the age" [Brome A., 1968, p. 135]. The playwright does believe that the nation's disease like the one of the comedy's characters is curable and common sense will overcome discord, chaos and madness — this is what the final scene proclaims: "But soon they vanish and the mansion quit

Unto the gods of Health, Love, Wine and Wit..." [Brome, 1966, p. 126]

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