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Modern Linguistic Research in Regional and Cross-Cultural Context: Analytical Review for the Linguistic Edition of the Journal of Siberian Federal University

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Abstract. Modern linguistic research is characterized by a quick reaction to the world events, a response to the challenges of our time in various spheres of public life, a tendency to find an explanation for new linguistic and social phenomena through the cultural and historical perspective. On the one hand, this trend stimulates interest in regional studies, whose topical issues are related to translation of values in constructing the image of the region, revealing of cultural information on the material of local toponyms, solving the problems of contextually determined bilingualism and language policy in the regions with indigenous population. On the other hand, interest in the study of other cultures does not decline and still has vast scientific potential due to the possibility of a more detailed immersion in the peculiarities of cross-cultural communication and the use of new methodological tools for its study. Modern technologies make it possible to use the resources of the Web networks for solving research problems, thereby expanding and enriching the spheres of discourse interaction.

Keywords: regional linguistics, cross-cultural context, discursive practices of global media.

Research area: linguistics.

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Современные лингвистические исследования в региональном и кросс-культурном контексте: аналитический обзор к лингвистическому выпуску «Журнала Сибирского федерального университета. Гуманитарные науки»

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Аннотация. Особенностью современных лингвистических исследований является быстрое реагирование на происходящие в мире события, отклик на вызовы современности в различных сферах общественной жизни, стремление найти объяснение новым языковым и социальным явлениям через призму культурной и исторической перспективы. С одной стороны, такая тенденция порождает особый интерес к региональным исследованиям, в которых на первое место выходят актуальные вопросы трансляции ценностных ориентиров при формировании образа региона, выявления лингвокультурной информации на материале местных топонимов, а также проблематика контекстуально опосредованного двуязычия и языковой политики в регионах с коренным населением. С другой стороны, не угасает интерес к изучению иных культур, что имеет обширный научный потенциал из-за возможности более детального погружения в особенности кросс-культурной коммуникации и применения нового методологического инструментария для ее исследования. Современные технологии позволяют задействовать ресурсы глобальных веб-сетей для решения исследовательских задач, тем самым расширяя и обогащая сферы дискурсивного взаимодействия.

Ключевые слова: региональная лингвистика, кросс-культурный контекст, дискурсивные практики глобальных медиа.

Научная специальность: 10.02.00 – языкознание.

The current issue of the *Journal of Siberian Federal University. Humanities and Social Sciences* addresses the specifics of ethnographic and cross-cultural phenomena with an attempt to look at languages and cultures from various angles: scientific communication, different aspects of political discourse, cultural and historical contexts, media coverage. The ethnocultural studies appealing to regional component as a source of ethnographic information help to reveal the culturally essential knowledge hidden in toponyms, ethnonyms, semantic and axiological meanings. In this respect it is interesting to look at the myths about the origin of some peoples and appearance of their names. The researchers whose works are presented

in this issue also dwell upon the problems of language policy in Siberian regions and heroic epic texts in the Yakut and Tyvan languages.

The vast studies of culture prove that “contemporary theories of culture emphasize the complexity, fluidity and multiplicity of cultures with national conceptions of culture forming just one of many cultural groupings individuals identify with” (Baker, 2015: 133). It affects people’s vision of the world, which becomes clearly noticeable when it comes to cross-cultural communication. Interacting with other cultures via foreign texts or media resources, people perceive a certain picture of the world different from their own due to distinctions of mentalities and national natures;

influence of cultural stereotypes; discrepancy of cultural and language regulations and other factors (Rtischeva, 2018: 129). It is obvious that one of the benefits of cross-cultural communication research is “its ability to capture the breadth of communicative styles that exist globally” (Ghanem, Speicher, 2017: 168). That is why the variety of studies embracing culture-related aspects is of great importance. The significance of studies is also determined by the innovative nature or methodology of the conducted research or appeal to topical issues. Thus, the authors dwell upon the new approach to Chinese cultural discourse, employ the method of semantic experiment to study modality of Chinese dialogical texts, introduce the idea of discourse-world of Brexit in the British media, examine the nominations in texts about coronavirus in the news media of Europe and Asia.

The issue opens with the block of regional research articles devoted to the languages of the people from Siberia, Khakassia, Altai, Yakutia and Tuva.

The first article “Image of Siberia and Siberians in English: Linguistic Interpretation of Axiological Meanings” by **Ekaterina S. Muchkina and Marina A. Bitner (Krasnoyarsk)** focuses on the representation of the regional culture of Siberia in the English language. Through the analysis of the axiological meanings conveyed by the word “Siberia” and its derivative “Siberian” the authors identify a few peculiar characteristics inherent to the stereotypical image of Siberia in English. The revealed stereotypes about the region and its residents provide a basis for developing a strategy of promoting this region with a rich cultural history and tradition.

The next article “Contextualized Bilingualism in the Republics of Southern Siberia” by **Tamara G. Borgoiakova and Aurika V. Guseinova (Abakan)** raises the issue of vertical bilingualism among the indigenous peoples of Khakassia, Tuva and Altai. The authors claim that the development of bilingualism in the Republics of Southern Siberia is influenced by the social context of languages functioning and language attitudes. Although bilingualism is considered a norm for these Siberian peo-

ples, their language behavior is determined by a strong instrumental and integrative motivation for using Russian as a language of social advancement. Finally, the authors mention the factors affecting the development of additive type of bilingualism in the current conditions.

The block of regional studies is continued by the “Review of Toponymic Studies of Altai and Siberia in the Anthropocentric Paradigm” by **Svetlana P. Vasil’eva (Krasnoyarsk) and Lidia M. Dmitrieva (Barnaul)**. The article focuses on the regional toponymy research basing on the anthropocentrism principles which make it possible to reveal the deeper structures of the knowledge encompassed in the toponymicon. The authors claim that toponymy is a valuable source of ethnocultural information that may be extracted within the anthropocentric paradigm through cognitive modelling and linguistic and cultural interpretation including the analysis of “toponymic contexts”, analysis of discourse, analysis of associations and other methods.

The heroic epic texts in the Yakut and Tyvan languages are studied in the article “On the Functional Features of Image-Forming Verbs in Yakut and Tyvan Epic Texts: Comparative Analysis” by **Liliya N. Gerasimova (Yakutsk)**. As the research material the author takes the Yakut olonkho “Dyyray Bogatyr, The Son of the Horse” by I.I. Burnashev and the Tyvan heroic epic “Khunan Khara” by Chanchy-Hoo Oorzhak and identifies the semantic equivalents and functional features of the image-forming verbs in the epic texts. The analysis of the verbs is performed in the aspects of their quantitative representativeness in both languages, storytelling peculiarities, structure of the image-forming verb stems.

The article “Ethnogenic Texts in the Indo-European Tradition” by **Sergei G. Proskurin and Anna V. Proskurina (Novosibirsk)** reveals the thematic contours of Indo-European texts containing ethnogenic myths about the origin of peoples. The authors examine the origin of the name of the Ingaevon tribe, basing on the segment of the Anglo-Saxon runic series that correlates with Tacitus’s description of this tribe origin and makes it possible to reconstruct the parameters

of the ethnically derived text thus explaining the choice of the sequence of the runes of the Anglo-Saxon futhork. The article also dwells upon the German influence on the choice of the ethnonym Rus and the origin of the name of Italy.

Deep knowledge of other cultures is an important condition of successful cross-cultural communication. Interaction with China is becoming a growing trend nowadays. That is why the modern view on Chinese cultural discourse and the peculiarities of functioning the final modal particle 啊 in Chinese dialogical text are of special interest in this issue.

The article "A New Approach to Chinese Discourse: Cultural Context" by **Irina G. Nagibina and Liudmila V. Kulikova (Krasnoyarsk)** attempts to present a version of Chinese cultural discourse studies with special reference to discursive practice in contemporary China. The Chinese cultural psychological constituents are presented in terms of cultural and communicative vectors and their implementation variants (moduses). The authors reveal culturally determined communicative and discursive conventions of the Chinese social interaction with special emphasis made on such phenomena as harmony, face, authority-oriented emotions, respect for authority, politeness and relations, meaning beyond language, dialectical thinking, the collective memory and self-concept related emotion, patriotism.

In the article "The Function of the Final Modal Particle 啊 in Chinese Dialogical Text: the Method of a Semantic Experiment" **Sofya A. Simatova and Vladimir A. Kurdyumov (Moscow)** use the procedure of the semantic experiment that involves the native speakers of Chinese and gives the tools for statistical data processing which makes the research more objective. In the experiment, the respondents were asked to evaluate the possibility of excluding the final modal particle 啊 from the declarative, imperative, usual interrogative sentences and rhetorical questions. As a result, the authors reveal three key functions of the studied particle and explain the cases when the respondents feel a certain difference between the sentences with and without the particle 啊 and when this difference is not noticeable.

This issue looks at diverse spheres of communicative interaction which can have a considerable influence on people's mutual understanding and effective collaboration. The following work addresses some aspects of scientific discourse. In the article "Categoricalness in Scientific Discourse" by **Nadezhda N. Panchenko (Volgograd) and Yana A. Volkova (Moscow)**, the authors explore the distribution and function of the communicative category of categoricalness in scientific discourse and identify possible ways of reducing or avoiding it. It is claimed that categoricalness as a category of communicative interaction is directly related to the categories of reliability, emotionality, persuasiveness and authoritativeness. Basing on the analysis of the texts of scientific reviews and oral scientific discussions and disputes the authors give the main features of Russian scientific communication and emphasize that communicative category of categoricalness should be studied in detail with subsequent development of practical recommendations for researchers on the ethics of working with scientific text or holding scientific debates.

Nowadays we clearly understand the role of media in our society. The modern world changes rapidly providing the researchers with new realia which need to be analyzed. Being interactive, the global network "contributes to communicative processes in the wider society" (Matheson, 2005: 167). We take advantage of the Web resources and have access to the updated information straight from the source. The final block of this issue is devoted to the study of media determined discursive practices in different spheres.

The article "Images of Slavs in Discourse-World of Brexit" by **Svetlana L. Kushneruk (Chelyabinsk)** aims at examining the dominant images of the Slavic national groups (Western, Eastern, Southern) in the British media in the context of Britain's withdrawal. The author implements cognitive-discursive analysis taking into account communicative, cognitive and social factors in analyzing media discourse and introduces the term "discourse-world of Brexit" to denote a complex discourse-related conceptual structure serving

as a background, against which national images stand out. It is claimed that images of the Slavs are organized by frames which are systematized in the article.

Considering the challenges of today, COVID-19 is becoming a more and more topical issue of studies, including linguistics. **Irina S. Karabulatova, Margarita D. Lagutkina (Moscow) and Stefania Amiridou (Komotini, Greece)** truly mention that today news stories about coronavirus are at the top of the list worldwide. In the article “The Mythologeme “Coronavirus” in the Modern Mass Media News in Europe and Asia” the authors analyze the impact of nominations in the media discourse on the coronavirus on the public consciousness of the people from different ethnolinguo-confessional environments. The authors consider the historical, sociological and psycholinguistic aspects of the use of names in texts about coronavirus, identify the features of the impact of such texts on the readers and determine the target orientation of such texts.

The article “Variability of News Interpretation in Political Discourse (A Case Study of the Internet Materials Covering the 2014 and 2018 Winter Olympic Games)” by **Nikolay D. Golev, Lidiya G. Kim and Irina V. Saveleva (Kemerovo)** focuses on the analysis of the discourse formed by the ordinary citizens discussing news on the Internet social networks. Such events as the 2014 and 2018 Olympic Games

being mediated, stimulate the interpretation activity of the addressees who tend to discuss political background of the sports events and to disclose major problems in society. The authors identify the main vectors of interpretation, including explicit meanings and implicit content of the original non-political text. The implicit intentions of the interpreter are associated with the mechanism of expectation which seems to act as the most important factor of the receptive-interpretative activity.

The aspects of culture include the reference to gender discourse. In the article “Gender Features in Female Political Discourse: The Construction of Hillary Clinton’s Political Image” **Natal’ia S. Baikalo (Krasnoyarsk)** finds out the gender markers that represent a woman-politician. The analysis is performed from two perspectives: the politician’s behavior and the media sources coverage of this behavior. Claiming that Hillary Clinton is mostly represented as a masculine politician the author identifies and describes the three images through which the woman-politician is shown in the media.

The articles included in this issue present a variety of modern trends in regional linguistics as well as cultural and cross-cultural studies. We believe that all of them answer the challenges of time and contribute to the field of communication research in its different directions and spheres.

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УДК 81.371

Image of Siberia and Siberians in English: Linguistic Interpretation of Axiological Meanings

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Abstract. Languages reveal different value systems represented in linguistic signs. Linguistic signs are full of hidden meanings and implications that need paying attention to in the process of translation into another culture. While interpreting intangible cultural heritage one should consider the differences in the value systems. The article deals with the representation of the regional culture of Siberia in the space of the English language. It is stated that values can be studied via interpreting axiological statements with metaphors and comparative constructions, similes and epithets referring to the toponyms and ethnonyms under study. Such contexts demonstrate the results of axiological interpretation of linguistic units and reveal attitudinal meanings and stereotypes. The authors identify a number of characteristics inherent to the stereotypical image of Siberia in English.

Keywords: Siberia, Siberian, ethnonym, toponym, xenonym, cultural heritage, axiological meaning.

Research area: linguistics.

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Образ Сибири и сибиряков в английском языке: опыт лингвистической интерпретации аксиологических значений

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Аннотация. В языках обнаруживаются различные системы ценностей, представленные в языковых знаках. Иными словами, лингвистические знаки полны скрытых значений, на которые следует обращать внимание в процессе трансляции в другую культуру. Признание культурной специфики ценностно-смыслового содержания языковых знаков привело к осознанию необходимости интерпретировать культурное наследие с учетом особенностей аксиологических систем различных языков. В статье рассматривается репрезентация региональной культуры Сибири в пространстве английского языка. Утверждается, что ценности можно изучать, интерпретируя аксиологические суждения, содержащие метафоры и сравнительные конструкции, сравнения и эпитеты с исследуемыми топонимами и этнонимами. Такие контексты демонстрируют результаты аксиологической интерпретации языковых единиц, помогают выявить аксиологические значения и содержательные характеристики стереотипного образа Сибири и сибиряков.

Ключевые слова: Сибирь, сибиряк, этноним, топоним, ксеноним, нематериальное культурное наследие, аксиологические системы.

Научная специальность: 10.02.00 – языкознание.

Introduction

Linguistics adheres to the idea that language is a product and reflection of culture, and linguistic units are carriers of cultural meanings developed by intersubjective and subjective processing of human experience. The result of such cognitive processing is objectified in the language which reflects not so much of the world itself or its properties and relationships, but rather its perception by the cognizing subject.

The interconnection of language and culture is studied from different perspectives: language is considered to be a symbol and a guarantee of keeping national culture (Ameen, Magirovskaya, 2020; Maslova, 2007; Ter-Minasova, 2007); language is researched as one of the main aspects determining cultural identity

(Beregovaya, Karlova, 2020; Lebedko, 2014); language is understood as a verbal representation of ethnic stereotypes (Bar-Tal, 1997; Bartminski, 2005; Bartminski, 2009; Fedor, 2014).

In the framework of the contemporary linguistic paradigm, interpretation of linguistic signs is carried out according to coordinates of the cultural space revealing the basic motives for functioning of words, forms and structures (Kazydub, 2019: 149). *This approach makes it possible to reconstruct the value system of cultures manifested in the form of interconnected value judgments* (Karasik, 2002). Value judgments are judgments about how good or important something is, based on personal opinions rather than facts (OLD). Such judgments do not describe the world; they prescribe certain attitudes to the world. From linguistic

point of view evaluative statements are descriptive contexts with modifying words which characterize objects, people, phenomena and relations.

The article is aimed at reconstructing the image of Siberia in the space of the English language on the basis of value judgments with the toponym *Siberia* and the ethnonym *Siberian*. It is not by chance that the study focuses on these lexical units as linguistic signs of different levels have varying degrees of cultural sensitivity (Kozlova, 2014).

The representation of the cultural heritage of a linguistic community in the space of another language occurs through culturally and ethnically marked linguistic units, i.e. toponyms (place names) ethnonyms that are relevant to constructing ethnic group identity (Sierra, 2019: 3), and xenonyms – words that describe external culture (Kabakchi, 2020). These units identify the artifacts and values of another culture and also have additional meanings that arise in the evolution of a linguistic sign. Collective linguistic creativity is expressed in metaphorical meanings, metonymy and evaluative statements. It is the background knowledge hidden in the semantics of such signs that becomes the key to understanding the image of a different culture, which has developed in the minds of native speakers.

The hypothesis of the research is based on the idea that culturally-marked vocabulary can actualize evaluative meanings and content characteristics of such a mental construct as an ethnic stereotype in discourse. Such stereotypes tend to be actualized by the units under study when used as descriptions or comparisons, metaphors and metonymies (Muchkina, Bitner, 2015) and/or in specific syntactic patterns, i.e. X is X (Kobozeva, 2007). The authors explore the image of Siberia in English-speaking cultures by analyzing the semantics of the words *Siberia* and *Siberian* used in non-specific redefined meanings in axiological contexts.

The relevance of our research is dictated by the need to integrate national culture into the global humanitarian space, popularize the achievements of Russian culture, its historical heritage and specific values. However, the existing prejudice and stereotypes can interfere

with the process and prevent Siberia from becoming an attractive investment target, scientific center, historic and cultural destination (Stepchenkova, Morrison, 2006). Revealing stereotypes about the area and its residents can provide a basis for developing a strategy of promoting the region with a rich history and unique tradition.

Methods and Data Collection

The reconstruction of the stereotypical image and its value-semantic interpretation is carried out through the analysis of axiological statements with the lexemes *Siberia* and *Siberian*. Formal markers of evaluative contexts that reveal background knowledge about an object or a phenomenon are word approximators (*so Siberian, very Siberian, too Siberian, how Siberian, in a Siberian manner/way*), the negation operator in pre-position of an ethnonym or toponym (*not Siberian, not Siberia*), the use of articles (*a Siberia, the Siberia*) comparisons (*like Siberia*). Things and characteristics recognized as *very Siberian* or *so Siberian* are inherent to the image of the region. However, the properties qualified as *too Siberian, non-Siberian* have been revealed to be alien to the concept.

Structural context also matters in revealing specific axiological implications of the word meaning. The evaluative nature of modifiers is fully manifested when the ethnonym functions as a modifier of the whole proposition, as a predicative or an attribute. Thus, the analysis of the semantics also included the analysis of the contextual distribution of the lexemes under study and their syntactic function in the sentence. The interpretation of the meaning started from the dictionary definition, to syntactical and lexical distribution and, finally, the actualizing context of the lexeme.

The data for the study were collected from the most reputable corpora of the English language: Corpus of Contemporary American (COCA) and British National Corpus (BNC). Several contexts were also found in travel diaries, memoirs and newspaper articles.

The logic of the research demanded that units in which the ethnonym *Siberian* is part of the proper name should be excluded from

the sample. These names usually include plant or animal species (*Siberian husky, tiger, elm, crane, ferret, lemming, iris, ginseng, bugloss, reindeer*, etc.) and place names (*South-central, Southeastern, Northwest, Arctic, region*, etc.).

Semantic Clusters of Stereotypical Image

Cultural meanings are experienced by a linguistic person in three formats: deontic, epistemic and axiological ones. Deontic meanings are revealed in the form prescriptions, epistemic meanings occur as knowledge, while axiological meanings are actualized as images (Kazydub, 2009: 84). As stereotypical images include pre-existing knowledge, beliefs, presuppositions and ideologies, the scope of their meaning is broader than deontic and epistemic ones. Thus, images include both knowledge and prescriptions but are not limited to them. Verbalized in discourse, images determine communicative behaviour and contribute to the creation of value systems. Studying the image of Siberia in English the authors focused on the contextualized use of culturally-meaningful linguistic units (xenonyms, ethnonyms, toponyms) which tend to evolve till they cease to perform the function of object or place nomination. The derived meaning of the word, however, is pre-determined by its original meaning. Thus, semantic analysis starts from dictionary definitions.

The toponym *Siberia* is defined by Oxford Learner's Dictionary as 'a vast region of Russia that extends from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific Ocean and from the Arctic coast to the northern borders of Kazakhstan, Mongolia, and China'. The definition further develops the stereotypical image of Siberia listing common facts about Siberian climate (the severity of its winters), history (a place of exile) and natural resources (a major source of minerals and hydroelectric power). These facts give grounds for the secondary meaning presented in the dictionary – 'an extremely cold, barren, or inhospitable place'. Even at the stage of definition analyses it is noted that the name tends to expand the scope of its meaning in the following directions: SIBERIA – COLD AND REMOTE PLACE, SIBERIA – EXILE, SIBE-

RIA – RICH RESOURCES. The dictionaries analysis allows highlighting the components of the word semantics: 'region', 'large', 'vast', 'barren', 'cold', 'remote', 'severe/inhospitable', 'isolated', 'cold'. These semes are further disclosed in discourse and form semantic clusters referring to the following themes: geography, nature and climate, history and politics, cultural heritage.

SIBERIA – COLD AND REMOTE PLACE

In terms of frequency contexts containing the ethnonym *Siberian* and designating the place of origin (residence) prevail: *Siberian fur, oil, gas, pipeline, peoples, town, village, settlements, city, railway*. Geographic remoteness and natural landscape of Siberia are described by the phrases *frigid wastelands, wilderness, remote, etc.* Natural-geographical component of the meaning is traced in the phrases *Siberian permafrost, winter, snow, forest, tundra, taiga, steppes, river, land, coast*. They highlight the dominant feature of Siberia's image – 'cold and remote'. This meaning is actualized in the context describing Siberian weather and climate ('severe environment', 'winds', 'snow', 'Siberian-like winters'). The seme 'remoteness' accounts for the further metaphorical transfer: 'Siberia = a distant, hard-to-reach place' like in (1), (2), (3).

(1) *The guy inside spotted Sonny Black at the wedding. SONNY: What kind of a f**king table is this? We're in f**king Siberia with this table. (COCA)*

(2) *Tell him to go to Siberia or somewhere where wolves have never encountered human. (COCA)*

(3) *He bigger chance we have of somebody giving us a one-way ticket to a Siberian hell hole! (BNC)*

The idea of remoteness is further developed as the idea of wildness, primitiveness, being uncivilized (4), (5).

(4) *'... is happy to have a family and a handful of friends and live in a Siberian city where I don't think even 1% of the population knows what Twitter is.' (BNC)*

(5) *Siberia is a place, metaphoric and literal: It's an inescapable, brutal state of mind. (COCA)*

SIBERIA – EXILE

The historical and political aspect of the interpretation of the image is expressed in the following units: ‘*Soviet Siberia, Stalin Siberia, Gorbachev Siberia, Yeltsin Siberia*’. The ethnonym can often be found in the combinations with the words *exile, Siberian prison, labor camp, GULAG, etc.*

Siberia has been a place of exile for centuries. In the context (6) the place of exile is described as ‘*little Siberia*’.

(6) *Brandfort, a tin shack in a tiny township 250 miles from Soweto. So Winnie turned this little Siberia into a place of pilgrimage. (COCA)*

The historically-determined image of Siberia as a place where one must survive, struggling with harsh conditions, overcoming isolation is part of the collective history of Siberia and inspires an independent concept of ‘*Surviving Siberia*’.

The structural context with the lexeme *Siberia* as a direct object indicates that the word is used metaphorically. *Siberia* ceases to denote ‘a place’ (cf. surviving in the desert, surviving in Siberia) but carries the meaning of ‘a disaster’ (cf. surviving an earthquake, surviving Siberia). (7) *Ever since the 17th century, when the frigid wastelands of the empire became a dumping ground for convicts and dissidents, ‘surviving Siberia’ has been part of Russia’s collective culture. The Decembrists symbolize the victory of the human spirit over oppression. They were brilliant men, willing to give up everything for an idea. (COCA)*

The Siberian survival scenario includes the components listed in the example below.

(8) *Just think, he says: she survived Siberia. Siberia! Survived all those things nearly all the others died of. four weeks in a boxcar, drinking water out of puddles, sleeping on top of corpses, raped thirteen times, the cold, the work and not enough to eat, two bouts of typhus, she’d had to bite into a rotten herring for the salt to save her life, and then the trip back to Germany under the name of a dead person, smuggled among the wounded on a medical transport... (COCA)*

SIBERIA – RICH RESOURCES

The history of Siberia, the reputation of a notorious exile is one of the dominant features

building the image of the region. However, another semantic cluster in the structure of the image is pre-determined by the fact that Siberia has been treasure of the country, contributing to its economy (9).

(9) *It was a Siberia of the Spanish empire. (COCA)*

Siberia is associated with land full of various deposits, mineral resources, oil and gas (‘the great natural gas reserves in Siberia’, ‘dark rich soil’, ‘mineral and energy resources in Siberia’).

SIBERIANS

The Siberian identity is verbalized by the substantivized adjective *Siberian*. *Siberian* identity (like any other) is a cultural or biographical phenomenon. It is based not only on comprehending the territory borders, but also on the way of ‘interaction’ with the region, feeling the connection with the history of the individual’s residence, its intangible cultural heritage.

The uniqueness of Siberian people living (or surviving) under difficult living conditions, weather conditions, has created another semantic field – ‘*Siberian character*’. The concept of *Siberian character* is presented in the contexts: (10) *Siberians have always been brave, freedom-loving and enterprising people. (COCA)* (11) *Russian Siberians have been hardened by the harsh climate and difficult living and working conditions. (BNC)*

The nomination *Siberians* is rather neutral as compared with the xenonym «*Siberian muzhik*». This linguistic unit actualizes the stereotypical image of a male inhabitant of Siberia.

(12) *Before setting out for Fyodorovich’s I had worried about encountering an eccentric, taciturn recluse. Instead, sitting in front of me was a quintessential «Siberian muzhik», or peasant, a gregarious figure who – in his striking, bearded appearance and unsullied way of life – seemed like a character from the pages of Tolstoy. (F. Montaigne)*

(13) *I like to imagine myself as a bonnie Highlander or sturdy Siberian muzhik surviving the rigours of winter by pluck and wit alone. (D. Kennedy)*

The stereotype of 'Siberian muzhik' seems to include the components of Siberia's image: the ideas of the bearded appearance, living a simple life and surviving Siberian cold.

Conclusion

In the study of the verbalized representation of Siberia and its inhabitants in the English language, the authors identified the main parametric characteristics of the meaning expressed by these lexemes. The structure of Siberia's stereotypic image includes the following semantic clusters centred around Siberia's geography, its resources, its history and its people: SIBERIA – COLD AND REMOTE PLACE, SIBERIA – EXILE, SIBERIA – RICH RESOURCES. The analysis of the contexts proved that the geographical component of the meaning has the greatest potential for a metaphorical shift. Siberia is associated with

remoteness, isolation and a severe climate. The historical and political component of the image is based on the fact that Siberia used to be an exile. This meaning is presented in the contexts about 'surviving Siberia' (Siberia used as a direct object) where the word *Siberia* functions not as a place name but as a common noun denoting a disaster. The analyzed contexts actualize the values of Siberia's tangible and intangible cultural heritage. The latter includes the recognition of Siberian identity and the value of Siberian character.

In conclusion, the study of linguistic semantics raises the awareness of stereotypical images existing in another culture. The interpretation of culturally-marked linguistic signs representing our culture in other languages can be adequately interpreted provided one takes into consideration axiological meanings conveyed by the word.

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Contextualized Bilingualism in the Republics of Southern Siberia

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Abstract. The article examines the development of bilingualism in the Republics of Southern Siberia. Its social context is formed under the influence of both extralinguistic factors and the language hierarchy in the form of vertical bilingualism. According to the latest sociolinguistic surveys, bilingualism is the norm for indigenous peoples – Altaians, Tuvans and Khakass – and their language behavior is determined by a strong instrumental and integrative motivation for using Russian as a language of social promotion. The increase of the subtractive type of bilingualism has resulted in the exclusive use of Russian not only in the external, but also in the internal circle of communication with the highest rates in the Republic of Khakassia (about 60 and 30%, respectively). A pragmatic attitude influences the language behavior: the more indigenous respondents declare their fluency in Russian, the fewer of them speak their native language. At the same time, the languages of the titular peoples retain a high symbolic status, expressed in recognition of native languages and in willingness to contribute to their support and promotion.

Keywords: bilingualism, indigenous languages, language policy, Khakassia, Tuva, Altai.

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Контекстуализированный билингвизм в республиках Южной Сибири

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Аннотация. В статье исследуется развитие билингвизма в республиках Южной Сибири. Его социальный контекст формируется под влиянием как экстралингвистических факторов, так и языковой иерархии в форме вертикального билингвизма. Согласно последним социолингвистическим опросам, билингвизм является нормой для коренных народов – алтайцев, тувинцев и хакасов – и их языковое поведение определяется сильной инструментальной и интегративной мотивацией использования русского языка в качестве языка социального продвижения. Усиление замещающего типа билингвизма привело к исключительному использованию русского языка не только во внешнем, но и во внутреннем кругу общения с самыми высокими показателями в Республике Хакасия (около 60 и 30 % соответственно). Прагматический подход влияет на языковое поведение: чем больше респондентов из числа коренных народов заявляют о своем владении русским языком, тем меньше из них говорят на родном языке. В то же время языки титульных народов сохраняют высокий символический статус в глазах их носителей, выражающийся в признании родных языков и в готовности содействовать их поддержке и продвижению.

Ключевые слова: билингвизм, языки коренных народов, языковая политика, Хакасия, Тыва, Алтай.

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Научная специальность: 10.00.00 – филологические науки.

Introduction

The problem of preserving linguistic diversity was actualized by the UN General Assembly through the declaration of 2019 the International Year of the indigenous languages in order to stimulate urgent measures to preserve, revive and promote them (About IYIL, 2019). The lessons of the International Year will influence the upcoming Decade of Indigenous Languages (2022–2032), prioritizing the empowerment of native speakers of indigenous languages. These actions are necessary, in part, because “existing laws and policies have proven inadequate to redress the legacy of state suppression of indigenous languages or ensure nondiscrimination in contemporary usage” (Carpenter, Tsykarev, 2020).

The language legislation of the Russian Federation, created in the early 1990s, became the normative and legal foundation of the language policy of democratic orientation. It led to a significant increase in the status-symbolic role of the titular indigenous languages of the republics of the Russian Federation. However, the results of expanding the social functions of the state languages of the republics of the Russian Federation were less successful (Zamyatin, 2019).

The purpose of this paper is the analysis of the bilingualism development in the changing social contexts of the neighboring Turkic-speaking republics of Southern Siberia (RSS) – Khakassia, Tuva and Altai. The relevance of the study is connected with the on-

going processes of language shift among the speakers of the titular languages of the RSS, despite their high status of state languages in the corresponding republics.

The focus is made on the peculiarities of the influence of the changing social context on language attitudes, language behavior, based on the data of sociolinguistic surveys, conducted in Khakassia (RKh), Tuva (RT) and Altai (RA) in 2020 with coverage of 3,000 respondents (1,000 in each republic).

The ratio of informants in terms of their ethnicity is roughly in line with the structure of the population of the republics with a predominance of Russians in the RKh and RA (Russians – 81.7% and 56.6% respectfully), and Tuvans in the RT (Tuvans – 82%) (Vserossiiskaia perepis naseleniia, 2010).

Statement of the Problem

The official discourse of the three neighboring republics in the context of federal language legislation has already been the subject of comparative analysis in (Borgoiakova, 2002; Borgoiakova, 2015; Borgoiakova, Guseynova, 2019b). It is noted there that the federal legal basis of the language policy is based on the unconditional dominant of the Russian language with a minimum level of requirements and recommendations for the republican and local languages functioning. In addition, the commonality of the “soft” version of the language legislation of the RSS and the gradation by the level and number of domains in which the studied languages function, in addition to the Russian language, were revealed. This allows us to characterize bilingualism in the RSS as vertical or asymmetric, as the superiority of the national Russian language and the peripheral significance of the republican languages are officially confirmed. This means, as V. Tishkov claims, that for the non-Russian population in Russia the most acceptable and desirable norm is “bilingualism or multilingualism in many of its variants with Russian used as the first or the second language” (Tishkov, Akbaev 2019: 25).

For the indigenous peoples of the RSS – Altaians, Tuvans and Khakass – bilingualism is a norm supported by instrumental motivation – wanting to learn Russian for utilitarian

reasons. Integrative motivation in respect of native languages correlates with the feeling of positive ethnic identity, which is strong but different among the representatives of titular nations of the RSS.

Different types or variants of bilingualism prevail in the republics, depending on the level of language assimilation of their indigenous languages, which co-function with the dominant Russian language. In the sociolinguistic classifications of the languages of the peoples of the Russian Federation, the assessment of the vitality and prospects of the state languages of the RSS varies greatly. Thus, the Tuvan language in different classifications is ranked both as “functionally developed” with a high level of vitality and as “vulnerable”. The assessment of the vitality of the Khakass and Altai languages also varies from “sufficiently high” to “causing concern” (Moseley, 2010; Iazyk i obshchestvo, 2016). This is due to the fact that in Russian sociolinguistics simple mono-factorial, one-line classifications of languages are common: by the number of native speakers, by the number of social functions performed by the language, by the presence/absence of writing tradition and the time of its adoption, by the presence/absence of legal and functional status (Mikhal’chenko, 2019: 8). In the sociolinguistic typology of the state languages of the RSS in (Borgoiakova, 2002) the following rating of their vitality is presented: the Tuvan language has the highest level, the Altai language is in the second place and the Khakass language – in the third.

Further study of the development of bilingualism and obtaining new knowledge about the real processes of language shift in the context of asymmetric bilingualism actualizes the need to attract new data to establish the types of bilingualism based on its contextualization using empirical methods.

Discussion

Language Attitudes

As D. Daoust underlines, it is hard to evaluate the time-related impact of “unguided sociolinguistic forces”, which dictate the course of action, and to assess if it is to be attributed to language policies. So evaluation of language –

planning policies can best be done through their symbolic impact – “in the long run, it is attitudes which lead to change” (Daoust, 1998: 451). To evaluate the beliefs and values expressed by people towards languages of RSS in terms of favorability and unfavorability, questions of the surveys were aimed at revealing the awareness of the status of languages, the acceptance of a native language, as well as the attitudes to the teaching of the RSS languages at school and the willingness to contribute to their preservation.

The answers to the question about a language or languages with an official state status in the RSS are presented in Fig. 1.

The presented data shows that the greater the percentage of the Russian population in the republic, the more of its respondents indicated that the only state language in the region is Russian. Perhaps the reason for this is that the smaller the share of the titular ethnic group in the republic, the less its population is aware of the language problems of the region and, accordingly, the legal status of the language of the titular people as the state language. On the other hand, the bigger the share of titular residents, the more of the respondents know about the high state status of both languages (Russian and titular) in their Republics. As seen from Fig. 1, respondents of the RT are the most informed of this.

Another aspect of the language attitude is the recognition of ethnic languages as native. The results of a sociolinguistic survey of Khakass, Tuvans and Altaians are presented in Fig. 2.

As Fig. 2 shows, the highest level of recognition of the ethnic language as their native one is demonstrated by the Tuvan respondents (about 90%). The indicators of the surveyed Altaians are ten percent lower, behind which, in turn, the Khakass respondents are nine percent behind. At the same time, it looks quite logical that the largest percentage of those who recognize as their native languages Russian (10%) and Russian and Khakass (18.4%) is among the Khakass, in second place – Altaians (5.6% and 13.9%, respectively), and the minimum percentage of those who recognize Russian as their native language is observed in the group of respondents of Tuvan origin (1.9% and 8.1%, respectively).

The overwhelming majority of Russian respondents (over 98% in the RKh, more than 90% in the RA, over 78% in the RT) recognize their ethnic language as their native. Among the Russian respondents in the RT, 13.5% indicated Tuvan as their native language, and 6.8% – Russian and Tuvan; in the RA, 3.3% of Russian respondents consider the Altai language as their native language, 5.4% – Russian and Altai. In the RKh, only 1.5% of Russian

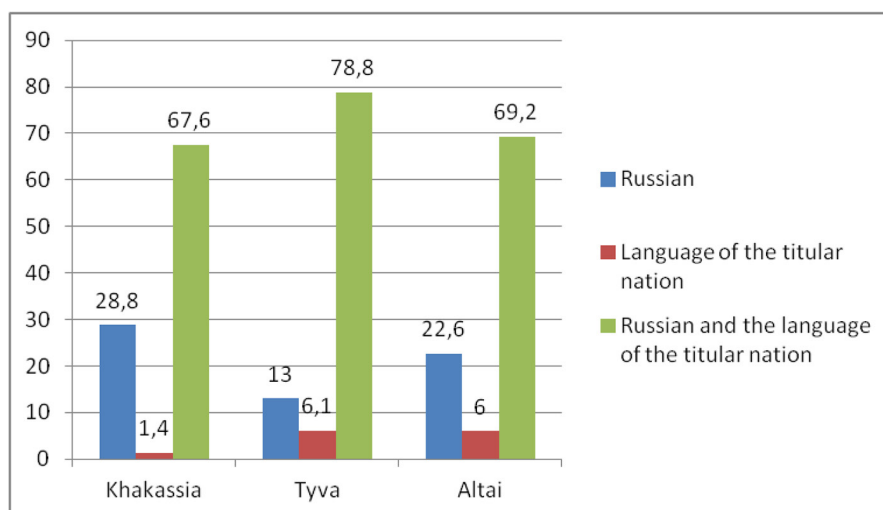


Fig. 1. State languages of the RSS (according to the sociolinguistic survey 2020), %

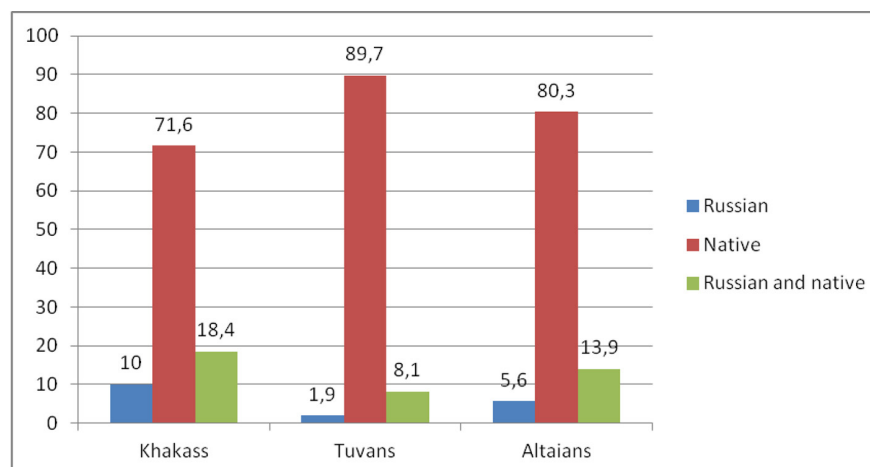


Fig. 2. Native Languages of Indigenous Peoples of the RSS (according to the sociolinguistic survey 2020), %

respondents consider Khakass as their native language or as one of the two native languages. The highest level of the competence in the languages of the titular peoples of RSS is demonstrated by Russian respondents in the RT – almost 19% of them reported that they speak Tuvan fluently, while among the Russian respondents in RA this indicator is 2.8%, and in the RKh – 2.3%. Perhaps this correlates with the level of need for the integration of the Russian population into the local community context. Thus, the influence of the ethno-demographic structure of the population in the autonomies of Southern Siberia on the language attitudes has been revealed again.

The next block of questions in the questionnaire was aimed at clarifying the language attitudes of the residents of the RSS through their opinion about teaching the RSS indigenous languages at school and their willingness to contribute to these languages support and preservation. Its results are presented in Table 1.

As it turned out, the overwhelming majority of the respondents of the RSS – both of Russian and titular origin – consider it necessary that Khakass, Tuvan and Altai children should have the opportunity to study their native languages at school. As Table 1 shows, the highest level of support for the study of the language of the titular people of the RSS at school was

demonstrated by the respondents of the Russian and Khakass origin, which indicates that the reason to worry about the future of the Khakass – the second state language of the RKh – is evident.

There were significantly fewer supporters of introducing the compulsory study of the republican titular languages, especially among the Russian respondents. Attention draws the significant difference in the opinions of Russian respondents: less than a quarter of Russian respondents in the RKh, where Russians make up more than 80%, and almost 40% of Russian respondents in RT, where more than 80% are Tuvans, answered positively to this question.

The respondents showed an ambiguous attitude towards the issue of their readiness to support the preservation and development of the republican languages. It turned out that the stronger its position, the more Russian respondents support it, and the weaker the position of the language, the greater its support on the side of native speakers. According to Table 1, the highest level of support for the Khakass language was expressed by the titular people (93.3%) and the lowest – on the part of the Russian-speaking majority of the RKh (38.7%). A different picture is observed in the RT: 78.1% of Tuvans and 46% of Russians are ready to contribute to the preservation and development of the Tuvan language. However,

Table 1. Language attitudes in the RSS

Statements	Khakassia		Tuva		Altai	
	RR*	KhR*	RR	TR*	RR	AR*
Children of indigenous peoples of the RSS should learn their mother tongue at school	82	98.4	70.3	94	79.3	94.6
Learning of the second official republican language should be obligatory for all pupils	23.4	73.9	39.2	71.8	36.6	78
Ready to contribute to the preservation of the second official republican language	38.7	93.3	46	78.1	39.5	88.9

RR* – Russian respondents; KhR* – Khakass respondents; TR* – Tuvan respondents; AR* – Altai respondents.

the gap between the level of support for the republican language from the Russian and the titular peoples in all three republics is large and amounts to more than 30% in Tuva, more than 40% in Altai, more than 50% in Khakassia.

At the same time, on average, 77% of Russian respondents of the RSS are convinced that Khakass, Tuvan and Altai children should be able to study their native language at school, but only 34% agree with the need to introduce compulsory learning of these languages. On average 41% are ready to support them. In our opinion, these data indicate the absence of hostility of the Russian population of the RSS towards the languages of the titular peoples, combined with a rather indifferent attitude towards them and their future.

The other aspect of the language attitude is the level of the ability to use the languages of the titular peoples on the part of Russian respondents. It is extremely low in the RA with only 2.8% of RR reporting that they can speak Altaic fluently, in the RKh – only 2.3 % Russians are fluent in the Khakass language. RT is the exception – almost 19% of Russian respondents declared to be fluent in Tuvan. Undoubtedly, the attitude of the Russian-speaking population makes an unfavorable social context, influencing the development of bilingualism in the RSS.

Language Behavior

As noted above, language attitudes and settings determine language behavior. Below is a summary of the respondents' responses to the questions about the level of their language

competence and the intensity of use in various communication contexts.

The data presented in Fig. 3, shows that respondents are better at passive types of speech activity (understanding and reading) than active ones (speaking and writing), but the gap is no more than 10%. In general, this data indicates a different level of additive bilingualism in the RSS, when the Russian component of bilingualism has not supplanted the native languages. According to the respondents' self-assessment, the level of fluency in all types of speech activity in the Khakass language is more than 50%, in Altai – more than 60%, and in Tuvan – about 80%.

As for the level of fluency in the Russian language on the part of the indigenous population of the RSS (see Fig. 4), the lowest percentage is characteristic of the RT (47.7%). In the RKh it is 86.6%, in the RA – 80.1%. Half of the respondents of Tuvan origin assessed their level of Russian language proficiency as average (45.7%) and elementary (4.5%). It should be noted that the revealed regularity (the more respondents of the indigenous origin declare their fluency in Russian, the less fluent they are in the second state language in this region) can be explained by the instrumental and integrative motivation to learn the language of social promotion.

As for the assessment of the language competence in Russian by the Russian population of the RSS, more than 90% of the respondents assessed its level as fluent. This percentage turned out to be the highest in the RT – 95.9%.

It is interesting to compare the results of our 2020 questionnaire with Fig. 5 (Baskakov,

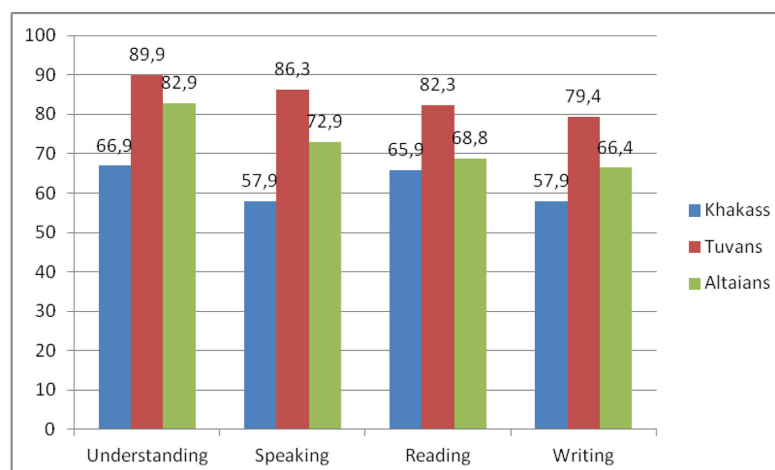


Fig. 3. Indigenous Peoples of the RSS language competence in the mother tongue

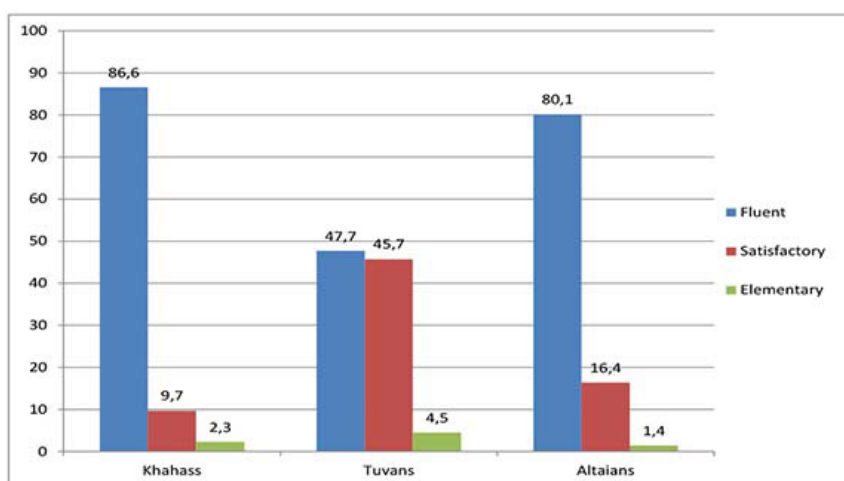


Fig. 4. Language competence of Indigenous Peoples of the RSS in Russian (according to the sociolinguistic survey 2020), %

Nasyrova, 2000), which presents the results of the population censuses from 1970 to 1994. Since 1994 the indices of the Khakass and Altaians fluency in Russian have increased by 10% and 7%, respectively, but among Tuvans they have more than 15% decreased. Perhaps this decline is due to changes in the ethno-demographic situation in Tuva, when a significant percentage of the Russian population left the Republic in the first post-Soviet years (see also (Kan, 2016)).

The next block of questions is devoted to the use of the state languages of the RSS in

various domains. The results are presented in Table 2.

As can be seen from Table 2, the most active respondents from among the indigenous peoples of the RSS use their native languages to communicate with the older generations: parents and grandparents. At the same time, the Khakass use both Khakass (36.1%) and Russian and Khakass (35%), with almost the same intensity when communicating with their parents, while Tuvans and Altaians have a much greater preponderance towards using exclusively their native language.

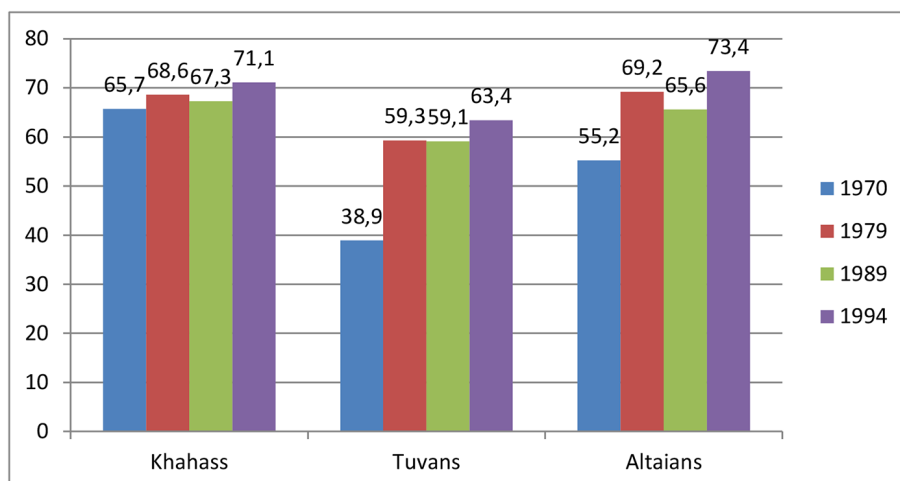


Fig. 5. Indigenous Peoples of the RSS fluent competence in Russian (according to the Soviet and Russian censuses), %

Table 2. Usage of Southern Siberian languages in different domains (according to the sociolinguistic survey 2020), %

Domains	KhR	TR	AR
Communication with parents:			
in the mother tongue	36.1	69.2	49.1
both in the mother tongue and in Russian	35.5	27	39.6
Communication with grandparents:			
in the mother tongue	47.8	85.4	65.0
both in the mother tongue and in Russian	31.8	11.4	27.1
Sociolizing with friends:			
in the mother tongue	6.7	36.8	13.2
both in the mother tongue and in Russian	52.8	57.1	72
Communication with colleagues:			
in the mother tongue	8	25.6	8.3
both in the mother tongue and in Russian	43.5	65	57.6
Contacting public institutions:			
in the mother tongue	1.4	11.8	6.3
both in the mother tongue and in Russian	15.7	53.8	26.9
Getting acquainted with media materials:			
in the mother tongue	0.7	3.2	2.5
both in the mother tongue and in Russian	53.2	60.8	47.0

The most active use of the state languages of the RSS within the family is revealed in the communication with grandparents: 85% of the polled Tuvans, 65% of the Altaians and almost half of the Khakass use their native language with them. It should be noted that more than a third of the Khakass and about a third of the

Altaians also use Russian in addition to their native language, while only 11.4% of Tuvans use both Russian and Tuvan for this purpose.

The respondents of the titular nations use their native languages to speak to their friends in comparatively active way, but only simultaneously with the Russian language (at least

50% of respondents in each region). At the same time, 36.8% of the polled Tuvans communicate with their friends only in the Tuvan language, while over 40% of the Khakass use only Russian for this purpose. The highest rate of communication with friends in two languages – Russian and native languages – is represented among the Altaians – more than 70%.

The next domains of communication make the so-called external circle (communication with colleagues, contacting governmental agencies, acquaintance with the media, etc.). As Table 2 shows, the majority of respondents communicate with colleagues in two languages: Russian and their native language (the only exception here are the Khakass, 48.5% of whom speak only Russian with colleagues, while 43.5% speak Russian and Khakass). The Tuvan respondents have the highest level for the exclusive use of their native language in communication with colleagues (25.6%) and the lowest indicator for the use of exclusively Russian (7.7%). It seems that this can be explained again by the ethno-demographic composition of the RSS, where the largest percentage of the Russian population lives in the RKh, the smallest – in the RT, and therefore the chance of working in a team, consisting exclusively of representatives of the titular ethnic group, is much higher in Tuva. As for Khakassia and Altai, in addition to the lower level of proficiency in the second state languages in these republics, they also have a larger percentage of the Russian population, which determines the wider use of the Russian language among staff members.

The language of appeal to state institutions and organizations in the RKh is mainly Russian. Only 15.7% of Khakass respondents reported that they use both Russian and Khakass languages in this field, while more often Russian or only Russian – more than 80% in total. A similar situation is observed in the RA, however, there more than a quarter of the Altaians surveyed apply to state institutions and organizations in Russian and Altai. In the RT, more than half of the Tuvans use both state languages in this area, which indicates a wider representation of the Tuvan language in the official domains.

The data of the sociolinguistic survey indicate that the respondents of the titular ethnic groups of the RSS prefer media products in two languages – Russian and their native languages. At the same time, about half of the Khakass and Altai respondents get acquainted with media content exclusively in Russian, while among Tuvans this figure is 35%.

The social determinism of the development of regional bilingualism becomes obvious when analyzing the intensity of the Russian language use in the above spheres, which can be combined into internal (family and friends) and external circles. The strengthening of the substitute type of bilingualism among the speakers of the titular languages of the RSS is primarily manifested in the external circle, as evidenced by the data on the use of only the Russian language in it, which is 59% among the KhR residents, 50% among the AR residents and 26.6% among the TR residents. This type of language behavior, dictated by the external linguistic context, leads to the displacement of the native languages into the internal circle of communication. However, even there, almost a third (29.7%) of the KhR residents use only Russian, while among the AR population this indicator is 11.2%, and among the TR population – 4.4%.

Evaluation of Language Policies in the RSS

Several questions of the survey were devoted to evaluation of the language policy effectiveness in the RSS. A large number of interviewed Khakass, Altaians and Tuvans assess it positively, answering “yes” and “rather yes” to the question “Do the authorities of the republic provide effective support to the Khakass / Tuvan / Altai language?”: 57.9%, 61.2% and 45.5% respectively, and “no” and “probably not” – 25.8% of Khakass, 31% of Tuvans and 22% of Altaians.

The republican language policy is considered effective by 55.4% of Russian respondents in the RKh, 51.7% in the RA, and 36.5% in the RT. It is interesting to note that Russian respondents answered positively to this question less often than respondents of titular nationalities. There were more of those dis-

satisfied with the republican language policy among the inhabitants of Tuva (both Tuvans and Russians) than among the respondents from Khakassia and Altai, although the position of the Tuvan language, as was mentioned above, is recognized as the strongest in the RSS. More than 30% of Russian respondents in all three regions did not answer this question, saying that it is difficult to define. This may indicate their indifference or ignorance about the measures taken by the authorities to support the second state languages.

The rating of the importance of the subjects of the language policy in the RSS was compiled on the basis of the analysis of the respondents' answers to the question: "On whom / what, in your opinion, the future of the Khakass / Tuvan / Altai language depends in the first place?". It turned out that the previously revealed pattern was confirmed in part (Borgoiakova, Guseinova, 2019a), according to which the residents of the RSS consider native speakers and the republican authorities to be the most important subjects of language policy.

The results obtained made it clear that the weaker the position of a regional language, the more inclined are the inhabitants of the region to blame the responsibility for its future on its speakers. In the RKh and the RA, more than half of the respondents of both Russian and indigenous origin consider their speakers to be responsible for the future of the republican languages, while in RT this figure is 43.2% for

Russian respondents and 50.5% for Tuvans. RSS media discourse analyses in (Borgoiakova, Guseinova, 2021) also revealed this search for those guilty in the language shift to Russian as one of the leading toposes or argumentative lines. It should be noted that the respondents of the titular nations pointed to the responsibility of the native speakers for the future of their languages, on average, 10% more often than the Russian respondents. The highest rate of blaming native speakers was found among the KhR residents (76.6%).

The republican authorities are in the second place in the rating – their leading role in preserving the minority languages of the RSS was noted by about a third of respondents from the RKh and the RT and almost a quarter from the RA. As for the rest of the subjects of language policy, there are some regional differences. Thus, respondents from the RKh and RA assess the contribution of the federal authorities to the future of the languages of their republics significantly higher than those from the RT; the attitude of the Russian-speaking population also turned out to be more significant for them than for respondents from the RT. At the same time, the influence of school on the preservation of the native language seems to be less significant to respondents from the RKh and RT than from the RA. It is noteworthy that the respondents of the titular peoples assign the least role in the future of the RSS languages to the Russian-speaking majority of the RF.

Table 3. Rating of the role of subjects of language policy in the RSS

	Who / what, in your opinion, primarily determines the future of the language?					
	Federal government	Republican government	Russian-speaking majority	School	Native speakers	Don't know
Khahassia						
RR	11.2	31.5	10.9	9.4	65.9	9.9
KhR	23.4	33.8	6.4	12	76.6	4
Tuva						
RR	1.4	33.8	5.4	9.5	43.2	10.8
TR	7.7	22.2	1.5	15.6	50.5	9.7
Altai						
RR	13.9	19.6	9.4	13.9	51	15.7
AR	18.1	30.8	3.7	19.2	66.7	6.5

Conclusion

The development of bilingualism in the RSS is determined by the social context of languages functioning and language attitudes. The social context was formed under the influence of historical and demographic extra linguistic factors and the official language hierarchy in the form of vertical bilingualism. As current sociolinguistic surveys in the RSS have shown, the language behavior of bilinguals is determined by a strong instrumental and integrative motivation for using the Russian language as a language of social advancement. As a result, there is an increase of the subtractive type of bilingualism, when the indigenous population uses exclusively Russian not only in the external, but also in the internal circle of communication with the highest indicators in the RKh (about 60% and 30%, respectively). The influence of a pragmatic attitude on language behavior is obviously seen in the pattern: the more respondents among the indigenous peoples of the region declare their fluency in Russian, the less they speak their native language.

Positive evaluation of the republican language policy correlates with the tendency of shifting the responsibility for the future of the indigenous languages of RSS onto the native speakers. Hopes for the strengthening of not a subtractive, but additive type of bilingualism are associated with the persisting high symbolic status of the native languages for the indigenous population, which is expressed in their recognition of native languages and in willing to contribute to their support and promotion. Prospects are also related to the tasks of the forthcoming International Decade of Indigenous Languages (2022-2032) to improve the effectiveness of states in correcting the negative consequences of the displacement of indigenous languages from active life in the past.

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Review of Toponymic Studies of Altai and Siberia in the Anthropocentric Paradigm

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Abstract. At the turn of the 20th–21st centuries there appeared a trend of appeal to the anthropocentric paradigm for scientific knowledge in the toponymic studies.

In the previous period, the toponymic studies relied upon the properties of toponyms as language units at the semantic, structural, and grammatical levels. At the same time, the ethnocultural aspect of the geographic names manifesting the ethnocultural stereotypes for exploring the world, and, wider, for the worldview of both contemplating man and acting man remained outside the scope of linguistic studies.

Rooted in the integrative approach to analysis of linguistic phenomena, the anthropocentrism principles determined a qualitatively new stage of research based on activating the cognitive structures of mental knowledge.

Thus, the presented review shows that toponyms are an important source of ethnocultural information that can be extracted through cognitive modelling and linguistic and cultural interpretation within the framework of the anthropocentric paradigm.

In the future, the applied methods of toponymic research can be extrapolated to other sources of linguistic and cultural information.

Keywords: toponym, anthropocentric paradigm, ethnolinguistic and cultural aspect, space, concept, mental stereotype, mental image, toponymic associations, world outlook, toponymic personality, ethnocultural contacts.

Research area: philology.

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Обзор топонимических исследований Алтая и Сибири в антропоцентрической парадигме

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Аннотация. На рубеже XX–XXI веков в области топонимических исследований отмечается переход к антропоцентрической парадигме научного знания.

Предшествующий период в изучении топонимических систем основывался на исследовании системных признаков топонимов как языковых единиц на семантическом, структурном, грамматическом уровнях. При этом вне поля зрения языковедов оставался этнокультурный аспект географических названий, отражающих этнокультурные стереотипы освоения пространства, шире – картины мира человека не только созерцающего, но и действующего.

Принципы антропоцентризма, основанные на интегративном подходе к анализу языковых явлений, обусловили качественно новый этап в исследованиях, основанных на активизации когнитивных структур ментального знания.

Таким образом, представленные в обзоре исследования свидетельствуют о том, что топонимия являет собой важный источник этнокультурной информации, которая может быть извлечена путем когнитивного моделирования и лингвокультурологической интерпретации в рамках антропоцентрической парадигмы.

В перспективе применяемые методы топонимических исследований могут быть экстраполированы на другие источники лингвокультурной информации.

Ключевые слова: топоним, антропоцентрическая парадигма, этнолингвокультурный аспект, пространство, концепт, ментальный стереотип, ментальный образ, топонимические ассоциации, картина мира, топонимическая личность, этнокультурные контакты.

Научная специальность: 10.00.00 – филологические науки.

Introduction

In the modern linguistics of the last decades of the 20th – early 21st century, a trend of turning to the anthropocentric paradigm for the knowledge of the world based on the “man – language – worldview” triad began to appear.

This yielded an inevitable application of the cognitive methods for the studies of language units, linguocultural interpretation of meaning, the ethnocultural status of a word as a language unit within the scope of toponyms.

Focusing on regional toponyms was typical for the previous period of toponym-

ic studies, which created both qualitative and quantitative grounds for the paradigm switch.

In the 1960-80s, the system-centric approach was applied in the studies of toponyms of different regions of the country (R.A. Ageeva, V.D. Bondaletov, I.A. Vorob'eva, V.A. Zhuchkevich, A.I. Lebedeva, A.K. Matveev, O.T. Molchanova, V.A. Nikonov, Z.P. Nikulina, N.V. Podolskaia, S.A. Polkovnikova, E.N. Poliakova, E.M. Pospelov, A.I. Popov, G.Ia. Simina, G.P. Smolitskaia, A.V. Superanskaya, N.K. Frolov and others).

The linguistic studies of the Siberian toponyms in the first half of the 20th century are mostly associated with the names of V.B. Shostakovich, N.Ia. Marr. and, most of all, A.P. Dul'zon, who developed a method for the analysis of substrate toponyms of Siberia, proved the presence of such tiers of aborigine toponyms as Chulym-Turkic, Ket, and Indo-European, and also described the range of the Paleo-Asiatic toponyms and their stratigraphy. His students and successors came up with the systematic description of both substrate and Russian toponyms of West Siberia (I.A. Vorob'eva, N.L. Frolov, M.F. Rozen, E.G. Bekker, K.F. Gritsenko, O.T. Molchanova and others).

In the second half of the 20th century, the new information of the Russian Altai and Siberian toponyms that had never previously been an object of a special toponymic analysis was made known. As a rule, in that period the system-centric approach covered the entirety of the toponyms of the region that were grouped into multiple tiers by types of the geographic items, by the semantic types of the topographic bases and by structural models. The results made up a quantitatively general picture of structural and semantic types of Russian toponyms and their nomination principles. The regional differences were studied quantitatively, by the structural and semantic types found within a given territory.

This was a period when a great lexicographic work was being done. The Siberian toponyms were recorded in a number of dictionaries, including "Geographic names of the Tyumen North" by A.K. Matveev (Matveev, 1997); "Geographic names of the Yenisey Siberia" by M.N. Mel'kheev (Mel'kheev, 1986); "Toponymic dictionary of the Khakass-Minusinsk Territory" by V.Ia. Butanaev (Butanaev, 1995); "Geographic terms of West Siberia" by M.F. Rozen and A.M. Maloletko (Rozen, Maloletko, 1986); "Why are they named so?" by Iu.R. Kislovskii (Kislovskii, 1999); "Toponym and microtoponym dictionary of the Krasnoyarsk Territory" (edited by S.P. Vasil'eva) (Vasil'eva et al., 2000); in the dissertation studies "Toponyms of the Khakass-Minusinsk Hollow" by M.A. Zhevlov (Zhevlov, 1984); "Oronyms of Khakassia" by

R.D. Sunchugashev (Sunchugashev, 1999); "Russian oronyms of Altai in the nomination aspect" by T.V. Chernyshova (Chernyshova, 1988); "Russian Toponyms of the south of the Krasnoyarsk Territory" by V.N. Mal'tseva (Mal'tseva, 1995), "Evolution and variation of Russian oikonyms of the Sverdlovsk Oblast" by L.P. Matei (Matei, 1991), "Toponyms and geographic nomenclature of the Amur Region" by T.N. Chernoraeva (Chernoraeva, 2002). The listed works present a significant stage in the regional toponymic studies and in the search for the new aspects of studies, that made an important contribution to the common knowledge of the regional worldview.

The studies of the toponyms of the regions beyond the Urals appear unique because, due to the historical specificity, the Siberian and Altai toponymic corpus development is a natural laboratory of the toponymic system formation which had always remained understudied. In her works dedicated to the onomastic problems, I.A. Vorob'eva justified the need to approach the Altai toponyms as a continuously developing territorial toponymic system (Dmitrieva, 2002).

The studies of the Ural, Siberian, and Far Eastern toponyms made within the same concept, revealed a certain scope of problems and attempted to get beyond that. In particular, the paper titled "Russian hydronyms and oikonyms of the Obva River in the Western Urals" by O.V. Gordeeva (Gordeeva, 1998) presents the specificity of hydronyms functioning, describes the variability and reasons for their emergence: the influence of the local subdialects, adoption of foreign words, as well as typically toponymic trends (influence of the toponymic models, replacement of *-a* with *-o* in the oikonyms with the *-og-/-eg-/-uh* suffixes), notes the effect made by the scope of functioning (documents, maps, live speech), and designates folkloric texts as an additional scope of toponyms functioning with a conclusion that in toponymic legends, toponyms play the key plot-forming role.

In the dissertation study titled "Oronyms of Khakassia" by R.D. Sunchugashev where the ethnolinguistic trend is presented (Sunchugashev, 1999), the author attempts to identify a

direct or indirect connection of the orographic names with the practical activity of man. He analyzes the interesting facts of oronym nomination that display the specific Khakassian vision of the world, for example, the name of Morsygas mountain (Anzhul village, Tashtypsky District) is interpreted as *the Badger* (according to the locals, in autumn when birch trees turn yellow and the coniferous trees remain green, the mountain appears "striped"); the other example is the microtoponym of Sagay Khol (Sagay Ravine) that originates from the name of one Khakassian tribal group. The ritual-associated vocabulary also found its place in the Khakassian oronyms: for example, Yzykh Tag (*yzykh* "sacred, venerable") (Sunchugashev, 1999: 21). The author defines ethnolinguistic information as that associated with the ethnogenetic stratification, leaving the language- and culture-specific, cultural-historical stratigraphy outside.

Specific linguistic and culture problems are set in the monograph "Onomastics of the Baikal Region" written by L.V. Shulunova during her research work on the doctor thesis "Buryat Onomastics" (Shulunova, 1995); it focuses on the proper names used by the Buryats living in the ethnic Buryatia territory, i.e., the Republic of Buryatia, Irkutsk and Chita Oblasts. The paper appears valuable for ethnolinguistics for the selection of the object for the research and the way it explores the ethnic properties of onyms at the semantic, structural, and linguocultural levels. As a result of studying the regional onomastics at the linguocultural level, the author concludes that the onomastic concepts from different epochs, territories, and languages are universal.

The research of "Morphemics and semantics of the Russian toponyms of the Tyumen Ob Region" was a significant input to the traditional description of the regional toponymic systems not only due to the abundance of the Russian regional toponymic material presented but also thanks to the way of presentation, firstly, within the lexical-semantic group that accumulates a variety of the generic toponymic concepts; secondly, because of the semantic type representing the generic and specific toponymic concepts; thirdly, because of toposememes (or, in the broader sense, of the semantic-top-

onymic model) that "express the material status of a concept or a word as a unit of meaning that corresponds to a unit of sound (expression)" (Frolov, 1996: 42-43). The monograph by N.K. Frolov summarized the system-centric studies of the regional toponyms of that period and completed the transition to a new research paradigm.

There is no doubt that by the end of the 20th century, the structural, semantic, and functional properties of toponyms had been described in a quite successful way, but the researchers still admit that the spiritual and creative intentions of the nominators expressed in the toponyms and formed in the process of cognition of the reality were left behind.

To continue the toponymic studies in the 21st century, the students and successors of I.A. Vorob'eva, A.K. Matveev, N.K. Frolov, L.V. Shulunova are elaborating the idea of describing the toponymic system at a new linguistic and methodological level.

Theoretical framework

At the modern level, the onomastic research problems are determined by the multiple aspects of the form and content of the onyms. The onomastic studies of the 20th-21st centuries focus more on the cultural-historical aspect of the proper names (G.P. Smolitskaia, M.V. Gorbanevskii) interpreted also as country-specific (E.M. Vereshchagin, V.G. Kostomarov, V.D. Bondaletov), linguoculturological (V.P. Neroznak, M.V. Gorbanevskii et al.), ethnolinguistic (N.I. Tolstoi, V.N. Toporov, A.S. Gerd, N.K. Frolov, E.L. Berezovich et al.), cognitive (M.E. Rut, M.V. Golomidova, L.M. Dmitrieva etc.). The interest in the ethnocultural meaning of the language units is determined by the deficit of the explaining capacity of the system-centric paradigm that does not take the role of man, his/her cognitive and mental intention to develop the linguistic worldview into account.

The anthropological linguistics assumes the development of a unified theory of man and language based on the following principles: 1) cognition of man would not be complete or even possible without studying the language; 2) the nature of language can be comprehended

and explained only based on the comprehension of man and his worldview. The linguistic worldview is studied within the scope of ideas expressed by W. von Humboldt, L. Weisgerber, E. Sapir, B. Whorf, A. Zholkovsky, I.A. Melchuk, Iu.D. Apresian, N.D. Arutiunova, G.V. Kolshansky, N.I. Tolstoi, S.M. Tolstaia, V.Vs. Ivanov, V.N. Toporov, T.V. Tsiv'ian, T.V. Bulygina, A.D. Shmelev. Anthropological linguistics belongs to the fundamental branches of linguistics that express the specificity of man and human being, their relations with the world and the underlying conditions of their existence in the world.

Discussion

Summarizing the toponymic studies of the Trans-Ural Territory, it is impossible to ignore one of the most significant onomastic schools, which is the Ural School of Onomastics founded in 1961 by the Professor, Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences A.K. Matveev. Currently, the school is developing under the supervision of Professor M.E. Rut. The school members are researching the interregional lexical and onomastic relations between the Russian North, Russian Northwest, Upper Volga Territory, the Urals and West Siberia (USO).

The Ural School of Onomastics is still making a huge impact on the toponymic studies of Altai and Siberia. It is impossible to overestimate the importance of the first studies of the Russian North and Ural toponyms in the anthropocentric paradigm carried out by the representatives of this school: M.E. Rut with her "Figurative nomination in Russian language" (Rut, 1992), E.L. Berezovich – "Toponyms of the Russian North: ethnolinguistic studies" (Berezovich, 1998), M.V. Golomidova – "Artificial nomination in Russian onomastics" (Golomidova, 1998), that traditionally manifest the main principles of the school: "A linguistic study shall be based on the reconstruction of the history and culture of the ethnos" (Berezovich et al., 2006; Skuridina, 2015). The successors of A.K. Matveev study toponyms as a product of human consciousness, its experience and space-cognising activity. They attempt to classify the toponyms in the way that "in addition to

classifying the toponyms traditionally by their type and function, introduces a new aspect, the functioning of the name in the human consciousness, as it is the consciousness that carries the system-forming function" (Dmitrieva, 2002: 7).

The figurative nomination problems determined on the basis of Russian toponyms became the research object for M.E. Rut who, while formulating the research objectives, wrote: "Every new nominative unit is a piece of information that introduces the nominator. A figurative name is abundant in such knowledge. A figurative nomination system is a mirror of the proper and sensual ideas of a subject about the world. If the nomination subject is an ethnos, the systematization of the nomination images will reveal the basic properties of the ethnic worldview. Reconstruction of the ideas of the surrounding reality and the place the man occupies in it, of the ideas manifested in the figurative names, became another objective of the research" (Rut, 1992: 4).

The main achievement of E.L. Berezovich was the "justification of the ethnolinguistic toponymic study principles and the technology of explicating ethnocultural information out of the toponymic material" (Berezovich, 1999: 5).

Under the new paradigms, the methods and objectives of toponymic studies underwent a certain change. For example, in her paper entitled "Russian toponyms in the ethnolinguistic aspect", E.L. Berezovich wrote that defining the originality of toponyms means finding a linguistic source of information of the spiritual culture of the nation; the main methods of her studies were semantic reconstruction and conceptual analysis. In the research, "for the first time, there were studied the real geographic and unreal sacral space concepts represented in the toponymicon; the versions of the information about the space explicated based on the toponyms and folklore were compared" (Berezovich, 1999: 7).

The paper by E.L. Berezovich was such a major milestone for further studies that it was republished in 2009. In the introduction to the 2nd edition, the author remarked that during the transition to the new paradigm, the understanding of ethnolinguistics as a science became ambiguous, divided into the "broad" and "narrow"

ways of interpretation that, nevertheless, were different from the previous one: "in any case, any ethnolinguistic study is a multi-aspect research. It may be focused either on describing this or that fragment of the traditional worldview based on the data of different substantial codes of the culture, or the identification of the specificity of manifesting the spiritual culture in the language (against other substantial codes)" (Berezovich, 2009: 8).

"Artificial nomination in Russian onomastics" by M.V. Golomidova (Golomidova, 1998) elaborates on the specific processes that occur inside the nominator's consciousness, the results of which are the most vivid in the onymic nomination. The author intended to solve the following problems: "determine the action-information structures involved in the proper names' development; specify the notion of 'artificial nomination' and describe the dichotomy of 'natural vs artificial nomination'; identify the Russian onomastic space zones that are the priority for the artificial nomination, as well as the varieties of names that are made up along with that" (Golomidova, 1998: 9). The author studies the name creation process based on the main types of names, anthroponyms and toponyms, outlining the models, strategies, and tactics of artificial nomination, identifying the extralinguistic (historical, social, cultural), cognitive and linguistic conditions for the emergence of particular onymic units.

The works of the representatives of the Ural School of Onomastics laid the foundation for the development of anthropocentrism principles in toponomastics. In the early 21st century, regional toponymic systems of Altai and Siberia were carried out by L.M. Dmitrieva (2003) – Altai, I.S. Karabulatova (2002), N.V. Labunets (2007) – West Siberia, S.P. Vasil'eva (2006), T.I. Fedotova (2012) – East Siberia.

The methodological framework of the research "Ontological and mental being of a toponymic system (based on Russian toponyms of Altai)" by L.M. Dmitrieva (Dmitrieva, 2002), was the comprehensive linguistic approach including the elements of the cognitive and culturological analysis of the linguistic phenomena.

The toponymic microsystem is interpreted by the author as the integrity of age, gender and professional subensembles.

Following E.L. Berezovich, L.M. Dmitrieva presents the centre of the toponymic worldview as a spatial concept regarded from three points: 1) three-dimensional physical space as a whole; 2) mental space as the integrity of mental representations corresponding to different scopes of human knowledge; 3) linguistic space as a special type of space that encompasses some linguistic categories and the entire system of language, e.g. parts of speech, synonymic and antonymic chains. The concept of *space*, an essential concept for the linguistic consciousness of a toponymic personality, is understood as a "mental formation, a focus of spatial reflections, a cognitive structure, including operative consciousness units of different substrates" (Dmitrieva, 2002: 88).

The structure of *space* is presented in the research as a set of three models (types): of the route-related, radial, and being-related quasi-space.

The ways space differentiation may be presented are studied through the toponymic contexts. The linguistic-cognitive way of forming the mental stereotypes of space reflection implies analyzing the utterances of the dialect-speakers about the objects characterized by a regional, social, and cultural specificity.

"*The first river is the Bela*, as it comes from Belki, and the name was given for the water, and the water is clear and pure (model B, nuclear level). There is another river, *the Krokholikha*, as there are lots of ducks we call *krokh*. *The Kopalukha* flows into the *Bela* (model A, type 2). *Kopalukha* is an old word for a woodgrouse; there used to be lots of them *there* (model C, type 2, 3)" (Dmitrieva, 2002: 100).

The study by L.M. Dmitrieva vividly demonstrates the role of the nominating subject in the *space* image development. The author concludes that "*In the cognition process, the toponymic worldview replaces and presents the ontological form of existence of the landscape reality in the human consciousness*" (Dmitrieva, 2002: 120).

This way, the mental being of the common regional toponymic system appears as an open,

dynamic, continual network of interacting microsystems formed in the consciousness of a toponymic personality based on the cognitive and pragmatic context and the intercrossing peripheral zones (Dmitrieva, 2002: 231).

The further idea of studying the toponymic system based on the "toponymic personality" concept was brilliantly put into practice in the dissertation of E.V. Makarova "Regional toponymic personality (based on the Russian toponyms of Altai)" (Makarova, 2004) supervised by L.M. Dmitrieva.

E.V. Makarova developed a concept for the description of a "regional toponymic personality" as a basic linguocultural category. For the research, the author selected a discourse-based construction method. This piece of work is remarkable for encompassing the texts, spatial descriptions presenting the functioning of toponyms in the language and culture of the region, along with the corpus of verbal and associative reactions to the toponymic stimuli.

The author defines the regional toponymic personality as a component of the linguistic personality. The research evaluates an algorithm for the linguoculturological study of toponyms "in the aspect of functioning in the consciousness and speech of the language speakers" (Makarova, 2004).

The scholarly importance of the research by E.V. Makarova is the transformation of the discreet toponymic material in the model of the cognitive and mental structures of the language consciousness, manifesting the creative cognitive activity of the language speaker and culture carrier.

The regional toponymic personality is presented by the author in two capacities: *the acting man and the contemplating man*. The first presents the toponymic personality that produces the actual toponymic model with the semantic dominant of "relation of the object to man" (*Kuzmin wood*), "practical property of the object" (*Krivoi garden*), "spatial location of the object" (*Verkhniaia Arbaita*), "temporal status of the object" (*Novaia and Staraia vilage*). The contemplating man manifests himself in the aspect of "contemplation, reflection, high moral and ontological mindsets" (Makarova, 2004: 16).

The relevance of the research carried out by E.V. Makarova is in the development of the linguistic personality theory and the successful application of the principles for modelling the toponymic personality as its component.

The study entitled "Russian toponyms in the ethnopsycholinguistic aspect" (Karabulatova, 2002b) is based on the description of toponymic associations. The toponymic system is studied by the author from the point of view of the "ethno-linguocultural contacts" registered in the Russian toponyms in the polyethnic regions of West Siberia. The work provides a theoretic description and analysis of the verbal associations recorded in the dictionary of toponymic associations of the Tyumen Oblast. The researcher focuses on the phenomenon of interpretation and psychological perception of the foreign names by Russian language speakers.

To fulfil this objective, the author performed a psycholinguistic experiment and analysed the associations to the non-Russian toponym stimuli. The experiment involved both Russian speakers and Russian-Khanty, Russian-Tatar bilinguals.

The main concept of the toponymic associations' dictionary by I.S. Karabulatova is the idea that the psycholinguistic models of speech make it possible to comprehend the "mechanisms of verbal and cogitative activity and language itself" (Karabulatova, 2002a: 17). The author believes that the main value of the associative method of studying toponyms is its capacity for identifying various connections of the toponym with other words of the vocabulary.

The outcomes and specificity of interaction between the ethnoses of the West Siberia were the main objects of the integrative description of the folk geographic terminology by N.V. Labunets – "Russian geographic terminology in the language contact situation" (Labunets, 2007). The research appears especially relevant for raising the problem of "insiders" and "outsiders" in the linguistic space of the region. Focusing on the identification of the local specificity of the Tyumen geographic terminology used in the linguistic contact situation, the author develops integrative methods of dialect

studies including “ideographic commenting, historical and dialectological insights, etymological analysis, sociolinguistic aspects of approaching the studies of the language ‘border-zone’” (Labunets, 2007: 47).

As a result of the integrative description of the folk geographic terminology, a series of linguistic contact models functioning throughout the contact history were identified. In a certain period of historical development, the scope of foreign word adoption for Russian monolinguals could expand or contract depending on the process of integrating the adopted units into the linguistic system. The complex interaction between Russians and the indigenous people in different periods had different outcomes; according to the historical documents, Russians had some passive knowledge of the language spoken by the neighbouring ethnos. For the bilingual indigenous people, the contact resulted not only in the secondary language spoken by the bilinguals but also in the changes in the primary language affected by the secondary (Labunets, 2007: 21).

The author remarks that the Russian old-settlers remained monolingual almost throughout entire West Siberian history, while the indigenous people contacting them were mostly bilingual. Generally, the “Linguistic borderzone of Tyumen can be described as an antinomy, a bipolar space of opposing divergent-convergent tendencies. At the present moment, both Russian and Turkic gene pool develop as relatively isolated and endemic systems not exposed to a serious influence of the contiguous co-functioning languages on their ‘core’ systems regardless of the active process of convergence” (Labunets, 2007: 46).

The research proceedings were published in the “Tyumen Oblast folk geographic terminology dictionary” (Labunets, 2003).

In her dissertation entitled “Russian toponyms of the Yenisey Siberia: the worldview” (Vasil'eva, 2006), S.P. Vasil'eva strives to unveil the mental reception stereotypes and the reception and comprehension of the realities encompassed in the Yenisey Siberia toponyms through the reconstruction of the worldview based on structuring the mental images of Man, Space, and River.

Turning to the toponymic analysis, the author relies upon the ontological core of the toponym as a verbal sign that is determined by the nomination of the actual objects of reality based on apperception. The gnoseological (cognitive) aspect of the toponym is determined by the high level of its informativeness (sign + its denotation and meaning). The epistemological concept of the toponym (from the consciousness point of view) lies in the relationship between the subject matter and the image of the object (idea); at the same time, the image of the subject matter encompassed by the toponym is refined with the idea that underlies the geographic term, an integral element of the toponymic object idea (and sometimes, its component). The image of the human community (ethnos) expressed through the language (toponyms) makes up an objectified image of the subject matter (Vasil'eva, 2006: 42).

Turning to a mental image as a unit of the world knowledge representation is a result of a search for an adequate shape for the transition from the semantic level to the mental one. Presented by the author, a mental image is a way of representing knowledge, a voluminous interim structure between language and consciousness based on an ontological essence of the toponym as a linguistic sign that exists to denote the objects of reality, their gnoseological (toponym is a sign + denotation and meaning) and epistemological (expressing the relations between the subject matter and the perception of it) properties (Vasil'eva, 2006: 59).

To model the mental ideas of the Yenisey Siberians, the author used the following analysis algorithm: toponym → semantic field → ideographic field → mental image → world outlook. Modelling the toponymic world outlook through structuring the mental images, the author considers the linguistic (toponymic) and conceptual (mental) world models' junction points, taking the social nature of the toponym as a sign into consideration, respecting its connection with the 1) cultural and historical background knowledge, 2) irrational, sensual-empirical knowledge (Vasil'eva, 2006: 53).

As a result of the analysis, the specific factors that determined the manifestation of the regional character of the Yenisey Siberia

toponymic worldview were outlined, with the major one being the space-forming role of the river (the Yenisey) and the nature-transforming, economic and industrial activity of man.

Along with the systematic description, the cognitive approach is employed in the research "Russian toponymic system of the East Transbaikalian Territory" by T.V. Fedotova (2012). The author comes up with a set of approaches to describing a toponymic system: "1) cultural-historical approach that enables tracing the development stages of Russian toponyms in the period of the Transbaikalian exploration; 2) cognitive-semantic approach that demonstrates the outcomes of the sensual, empirical and mental experience of man manifested in the toponyms; 3) structural and word-building approach used for modelling the derivation types and processes that took place in the Russian toponymicon development; 4) method of reconstructing the initial motives and nomination sources of Russian toponyms" (Fedotova, 2012). The scope of material studied by T.V. Fedotova includes both originally Russian and "substrate and adopted toponyms from the point of view of adoption through inter-linguistic contacts". The researcher focuses on the representation in the toponymic units of the cognitive, mental, and economic experience of the Russian migrants acquired in the inter-linguistic contacts with the local population. The principles listed above enable the author to present the toponymic system of the East Transbaikalian territory as a specific system that reflects the factors of various levels: geographic, chronological and linguistic.

Conclusion

Therefore, the anthropocentric paradigm employed in the mentioned studies determined

the possibility of revealing the deeper structures of the knowledge encompassed in the toponymicon.

The ethnocultural studies carried out in Altai and Siberia make it possible to conclude that toponyms are a valuable source of linguocultural information that may be extracted within the anthropocentric paradigm with a variety of methods, including the analysis of "toponymic contexts" (L.M. Dmitrieva), analysis of discourse (texts, spatial descriptions presenting the functioning of the toponymic units in the language and the regional culture) (E.V. Makarova), analysis of associations (I.S. Karabulatova), based on the semantic analysis of a toponym as a linguistic sign that manifests its specificity with a given semantic domain (S.P. Vasil'eva), based on the integrative analysis of geographic terms in the ethno-linguistic contacts (N.V. Labunets), based on the comprehensive approach to a toponym as a world cognition fact (T.V. Fedotova).

Having selected the units for the analysis carried out for the description of the spiritual culture of man and worldview reflected in the toponymicon, the researchers study the mental stereotypes of cognizing the reality based on the cognitive ability of the consciousness to apply the following key cognitive skills: nomination of objects, translation of a "word" into an "image", subsumption classification, verbal association, and, as a result, translation of the ethnic world outlook (Dmitrieva, 2011: 5).

The collected results prove the efficiency of the studies for the further extrapolation on other sources of linguocultural information representing various substantial culture codes.

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On the Functional Features of Image-Forming Verbs in Yakut and Tyvan Epic Texts: Comparative Analysis

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Abstract. This work examines the image-forming verbs of the Yakut and Tyvan languages, selected from the Yakut olonkho Dyyray Bogatyr, The Son of the Horse by I.I. Burnashev and the Tyvan heroic epic Khunan Khara by Chanchy-Hoo Oorzhak in order to identify semantic equivalents and functional features of verbs in epic texts, which will contribute to the definition of genetic communities and differences between the Turkic languages and the epic tradition. In analyzing of material, the method of continuous sampling, component analysis method, method of context (distributive) analysis and comparative method were used. The Yakut storyteller pays more attention to detailed and figurative descriptions to create entertainment, colorful pictures and actions, and the Tyvan storyteller – to movements, the course of actions for liveliness and brightness of the course of events, the development of plots. Yakut verbs are used in their original forms and in the forms formed using affixes of specific forms. And Tyvan verbs are used in forms based on the affixes of word formation of verbs and auxiliary verbs. The result of the study allows us to conclude that the functional feature and commonality of the Yakut and Tyvan image-forming verbs lie in their direct participation in the creation of images, description of pictures, and characterization of actions and transmission of feelings.

Keywords: image-forming verbs, Turkic epics, functional feature, olonkho, Tyvan epic.

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О функциональных особенностях образных глаголов в якутском и тувинском эпических текстах: сравнительный анализ

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Аннотация. В данной работе рассмотрены образные глаголы якутского и тувинского языков, отобранные с героических эпосов якутского олонхо «Сын лошади Богатырь Дыырай» Бурнашева И.И.-Тонг Суорун и тувинского героического сказания «Хунан Хара» Чанчы-Хоо Ооржака с целью выявления семантических эквивалентов и особенностей функционирования глаголов в эпических текстах, что внесет свою лепту в определении генетических общностей и различий тюркских языков и эпической традиции. Распределение глаголов по семантическим значениям сделано по классификации Л.Н. Харитонова. Якутский сказитель больше внимания уделяет детальному и образному описанию для создания зрелищности, красочности картин и действий, а тувинский сказитель – движениям, ходу действий для живости и яркости течения событий, развития сюжетов. Результат исследования дает нам возможность сделать вывод о том, что функциональная особенность и общность якутских и тувинских образных глаголов заключается в их непосредственном участии в создании образов, описании картин, характеристике действий и передаче чувств.

Ключевые слова: тюркские языки, образные глаголы, олонхо, тувинский эпос, функциональная особенность, эпическая традиция.

Исследование выполнено в рамках научно-исследовательского проекта СВФУ «Эпический памятник нематериальной культуры якутов: текстологический, типологический, когнитивный и историко-сравнительные аспекты».

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Introduction

B.N. Putilov and his statement that “the epic text language research is the most genuine path to reaching an in-depth understanding of the monuments of epic culture” (Putilov, 1978: 8); E.I. Ubriatova states that “the uniqueness of the Yakut language has always required its comparison with other similar Turkic language materials in every detail” (Ubriatova, 1960: 1); these statements justify the reasoning for a comparative analysis of the similar Turkic language epics, in our case, it’s the Yakut and Tyvan languages.

A comparative study of the Yakut heroic epic and other Turkic-Mongolic epic was first

conducted by I.V. Pukhov (2003), who indicated the general, similar, and various features in the plot, images and styles of the epics. In recent years, the following scholars have conducted research on the Yakut and Tyvan epics – V.V. Oboiukova (Oboiukova, 2015), M.T. Gogoleva (Gogoleva, 2015), A.F. Koryakina (Koryakina, 2020); these scholars have singled out the typological and genetical links in terms of the plot and compositions structure, the motifs, and the incorporation of the expressive means and stylistics devices along with the artistic details in the epic plots under study.

The storyteller, who creates and unravels the text of the epic story-line, focuses largely

on the word and phrase choice in the plot as well as how the melody and tune is produced while telling the story; i.e., it is as if the storyteller intentionally focuses our attention to the language form of expression, adapting the listener to a conscious and active perception of the plot (Hertek, 2015: 188). In order to fully and vividly project the image, the expressions of feelings and emotions, the storytellers often incorporate descriptive vocabulary, including the abstract and image-imitating verbs.

The presented research overviews the *image-forming verbs* of the Yakut and Tyvan languages, which were selected from the texts of the heroic epics. The Yakut olonkho written by I.I. Burnashev *Dyrray Bogatyr, The Son of the Horse* (6687 lines) (Burnashev, 2013) and the Tyvan heroic epic by Chanchy-Hoo Oorzhak *Khunan Khara* (5442 lines) (THL, 1997).

The Tyvan language is a language of the Turkic group of language of the Sayan-Altai region. The Yakut language is frequently associated with the same group and region of languages. N.A. Baskakov classifies this the Tyvan language under the Uyghur-Tukuyuk subgroup of the Uyghur-Oguz group, while the Yakut language belongs to the the Yakut subgroup of the Uyghur-Oguz group (Baskakov, 1969: 313-349). V.I. Rassadin notes that “it would have been a productive thorough and in-depth research if the inner group of the Sayan-Altai Turkic languages areal was studied; the research would help to get a bigger and clearer picture on the features, which these language groups have in common and, therefore, they could possibly belong to the ancient Turkic language, which spread among the aboriginal population of the region under study” (Rassadin, 1981: 231).

Thus, the relevance of this research is based on the insignificant amount of existing research on the incorporation of the image-forming vocabulary in the epic texts as well as the necessity to overview and analyze the use of the image-forming verbs of the Yakut language compared to the Tyvan image-forming verbs with the aim of distinguishing the semantic equivalents and special features governing the functioning of these verbs in the epic texts; this would contribute to defining the common and

differentiating genetic features of the Turkic languages and the epic story-telling tradition.

The descriptive and image-forming verbs present a special lexical and semantic group of verbs, the meaning of which conveys “the emotional perception and movement and these play the key role; meanwhile, the visual images are incorporated most frequently” (Kharitonov, 1960: 203). Monographs written by L.N. Kharitonov (1947; 1954; 1960) are the original sources devoted to the study of the Yakut language image-forming verbs. It is worth mentioning that in the previous years, the Yakut linguistics have studied separate groups of image-forming verbs; thus, N.N. Efremov (Efremov, 2017) studied the verbs of movement; E.E. Zhirkova (Zhirkova, 2017) overviewed the verbs depicting the human manner of walking. A range of articles was published on the comparative and contrastive study of the image-forming verbs of the Mongol (Monastyrev, Efremov, 2019; Shamaeva, Prokop'eva, 2019) and Kyrgyz languages (Argunova, Sorova, 2019).

In the “*Grammar of the Tyvan language. Phonetics and morphology*”, the image-forming words, perceived as being a part of imitative vocabulary, are included into the group of interjections; word-formation of the image-imitative verbs is included in the section devoted to the verbs word-formation (Iskhakov, Palmakh, 1961: 256-274, 459-461). The phonetic and structural features of the imitative words of the Tyvan language have been studied by C.M. Dorzhu (Dorzhu, 1980), while N.C. Sereedar (Sereedar, 2011) analyzed the onomatopoeic verbs in basic simple sentences with a sound-forming meaning. N.M. Ondar (Ondar, 2004) carried out an analysis of the repetitive structures' features conveyed in the sound- and image-imitating words. Therefore, presently there has not been a special study conducted devoted to the lexical and grammatical group of image-forming verbs in the Tyvan language. For this reason, the main source in classifying the verbs of the Yakut and Tyvan languages is the monograph by L.N. Kharitonov titled *Types of verbal stems in the Yakut language* (Kharitonov, 1954), in which the scholar outlines the general theoretical statements in the respect to the image-forming verbs as such being a sepa-

rate type of verbal stems of the Yakut language; the author of the monograph also provides a semantic classification, and, in addition, the typological forms as well as the phonetic features of the image-forming verbs.

In the course of analysis, the continuous sample method was used in selecting the verbs from the epic texts; the component analysis method, which overviews the meaning of the word as such consisting of elementary meanings (features, components, and semes); the method of contextual (distributive) analysis, which allows singling out various meanings and shades of meanings of the verbs under study in terms of their functions performed in the text; the comparative method which was used in comparing the Yakut verbs to the Tyvan verbs.

Classification of Image-Forming Verbs

The Yakut olonkho text revealed 84 image-forming verbs, while the Tyvan epic tales revealed 13 of such verbs. The verbs were classified in terms of their semantic meaning using the classification proposed by L.N. Kharitonov: the verbs of motion and visual image; verbs of sense perception were not detected in the analyzed texts as “they did not receive any morphological development in the Yakut language” (Kharitonov, 1954: 212):

Verbs of movement in the Yakut language:

– verbs expressing movement in a general meaning (total 16):

a. *dzhigihiy* ‘to come into a rocking movement, to shiver, to shutter’ (BEDYL, V. 3: 333);

b. *unaariy* ‘to lay flat, to stretch out; to move, or to act too slowly’ (Kharitonov, 1954: 300);

– verbs characterizing human manner of walking, movement of the body and parts of the body (total 13):

a. *maadzay* ‘to obtain a bent leg’ (BEDYL, V. 6: 176);

b. *maray* ‘stick out one’s chest when walking or running’ (BEDYL, V. 6: 231);

– verbs expressing movement associated with the external shape and structure of an object or body (total 5):

a. *hodzhoy* ‘1. to move with a jump; walk with a bouncing gait, being tall and slender; 2. to move, run with a jump, stretching in length’ (BEDYL, V. 13: 503);

b. *kuybangnaa* ‘wriggle, wag, smoothly bend’ (BEDYL, V.4: 440).

Verbs expressing visual images in the Yakut language:

– verbs characterizing the appearance, form and structure of the object (total 24):

a. *dallai* ‘1. spread arms or wings sideways; 2. to be excessively large, wide, protruding; 3. become visible, gradually expanding, increasing in volume’ (BEDYL, V. 3: 101);

b. *kultey* ‘to be swollen, inflated; stand out pout, increased in volume in a rounded shape; be convex, bulging’ (BEDYL, V. 4: 609);

– verbs characterizing the physique and figure of a person (total 14):

a. *darai* ‘have, broad shoulders; seem broad shouldered’ (BEDYL, V. 3: 108);

b. *motoy* ‘stick out one’s chest’ (BEDYL, V. 6: 326).

– verbs characterizing facial expressions and a person’s face (total 2):

a. *appangnaa* ‘from verb *appai*: 1. to open slightly, not close completely; 2. carelessly wide-open mouth’ (BEDYL, V. 1: 505);

b. *nielbey* ‘to have a swollen, inflated appearance as a consequence of stress’ (BEDYL, V. 7: 182).

– verbs characterizing light perception (total 11):

a. *kundeier* ‘shine dazzlingly, shine with a bright light’ (Kharitonov, 1954: 290);

b. *tunaliy* ‘be, seem dazzling white, stand out in bright white color’ (BEDYL, V. 9: 115).

Verbs of movement in the Tyvan language:

– verbs expressing movement in a general sense (total 2):

a. *elengne* ‘1. walk (go) staggering; 2. swing, sway’ (TRD, 1968: 612);

b. *tendingeier* ‘stagger, swing (in case of loss of balance)’ (TRD, 1968: 410);

– verbs characterizing the manner of walking, movement of the body and body parts (total 3):

a. *chivesh daa* ‘blink; glisten, flicker’ (TRD, 1968: 531);

b. *davy* ‘bounce with joy’ (TRD, 1968: 140);

– verbs expressing movement associated with the external form and structure of an object or body (total 2):

a. *kiybyngna* ‘to fidget, spin; move’ (TRD, 1968: 275);

b. *saglangaiyin* ‘to move, sway, tremble’ (TRD, 1968: 360).

Verbs of the visual image in the Tyvan language:

– verbs characterizing the appearance, form and structure of the object (total 1):

khalangna ‘hang out (about smth.)’ (TRD, 1968: 464);

– verbs characterizing facial expressions and a person’s face (total 2):

a. *dyrysh* ‘1. to frown; 2. to scorch’ (TRD, 1968: 195);

b. *kylchangna* ‘to look from underneath (viciously)’ (TRD, 1968: 276);

– verbs that characterize light perception (total 2):

a. *chyrytkyla* ‘shine, glimmer, flicker’ (TRD, 1968: 559);

b. *herelden* ‘to radiate, to give off light, emit rays; to spread (rays)’ (TRD, 1968: 276).

Structure of Image-Forming Verbs Stems

The Yakut language image-forming verbs structure indicated in the *olonkho*, contains verbs which are used in both – the original and the transformed form (total of 8 verbs):

a. *arbay* ‘to gradually and widely spread oneself, or to tremble’ (Kharitonov, 1954: 285) – *arbay*, *arbangnaa*;

b. *kylay* ‘to shine giving off a bright spot of light at a far distance or to shine through smth, to glisten, to barely be seen, to be seen faintly (used when talking about small objects)’ (BEDYL, V. 5: 215) – *kylay*, *kylalyn*;

c. *kylbay* ‘1. to shine brightly; be or seem to be bright or shiny, to glimmer; 2. to shine with a white light, to whiten, 3. to be or appear to be bright or light-colored; to shine with novelty or freshness’ (BEDYL, V. 5: 225) – *kylbay*, *kylbahiy*;

d. *kyntay* ‘to be slim, with one’s head held high, proudly’ (BEDYL, V. 5: 272);

e. *suoday* ‘be, or appear to be giant-sized, large, be of a considerable height’ (BEDYL, V. 9: 134) – *suoday*, *suodaghys gyn*;

f. *tomtoy* ‘be or appear to be distinct, rounded, to stand out’ (BEDYL, V. 10: 444) – *tomtoy*, *tomtoldzhuy*;

g. *unaariy* ‘to lay flat, to stretch out; to move, or to act too slowly’ (Kharitonov, 1954: 300);

h. *chikkey* ‘1. to be tightly strained, not to dangle; 2. to straighten up, to stretch out like a stick, to stand up and straighten up quickly’ (BEDYL, V. 14: 132) – *chikkey*, *chikkeldzhii*, *chikkes gyn*.

Examples of transformed forms include the following verbs:

– in the form of a split multiplicity of an action using the *-ldzhii* affix [total of 9 verbs]:

a. *laglay* ‘to have a low-positioned, wide, and spreading crown; to be short, stout, and equally wide (when referring to the form of smth, someone’s complexion)’ (BEDYL, V. 6: 72) – *laglaldzhii*;

b. *halbay* ‘to fall off the track, to lose one’s initial place, to decline (from smth)’ (Kharitonov, 1954: 301) – *halbaldzhii*;

– in the form of unfolded multiplicity of an action using the *-ngnaa* affix (total of 4 verbs):

a. *appai* ‘1. to open slightly, not close completely; 2. carelessly wide-open mouth’ (BEDYL, V. 1: 505) – *appangnaa*;

b. *horoy* ‘1. to be or to seem sticking out; 2. colloquial form of: to become taller, to grow’ (BEDYL, V. 13: 602) – *horongnoo*;

– in the form of a shifting multiplicity using the following affixes: *-liy*, *-hiy*, *-riy* (total of 6 verbs):

a. *duoday* ‘to be or to seem excessively tall, lean (when referring to a person, or an an-

imal with long and thin legs)' (BEDYL, V. 3: 188) – *duodaliy*;

b. *kylbay* '1. to shine brightly; be or seem to be bright or shiny, to glimmer; 2. to shine with a white light, to whiten, 3. to be or appear to be bright or light-colored; to shine with novelty or freshness' (BEDYL, V. 5: 225) – *kylba-hiy*;

c. *nyokoy* 'to duck down, to bend, to lean forward' (BEDYL, V. 7: 136) – *nyokoryus*;

– in the form of immediate action using the *-s* affix:

a. *toytot* '1. to be or to seem very small and plump (referring to a person's complexion); 2. to be or to seem very short and stumpy' (BEDYL, V. 10: 424);

b. *kyntay* 'to be slim, with one's head held high, proudly' (BEDYL, V. 5: 272).

In separate cases, the variation of the vowel and consonant sounds in the stems of the Yakut verbs is quite evident, while the lexical meaning remains the same, for example, *myoskoy* – *byeskey*, *chomchorus gyn* – *chyomchorus gyn*, *achchai* – *ahchai*.

Among the image-forming verbs selected from the Tyvan legends, there are verbs which are formed using the affixes of the word-forming verbs –*ngayiyn* / –*ngeyin*: *saglay* – *saglangaiyn*; as well as from affixes –*ngna* / –*ngne*: *doytuy* – *doytungna*, *halay* – *halangna*. In addition, verbs formed with the help of the affix –*sh* and the auxiliary verb *di*– / *de*– are used: *chyrytkyla* – *chyrytkylash de*–.

The Tyvan image-imitating verbs can be used solely, doubled or in pairs (Iskhakov, Pal'mbakh, 1961: 460). Among the verbs which were included in the analysis, there are several examples of double and paired use. For example, the verb *kyubyngna* is paired with the verb *imilee* 'to swarm' (TRD, 1968: 206):

'Хаан кижиниң ара-албатызы / Кара бозбаны / Мойнунга уш ораай каккаш, / Өлүг доңнук-биле доңнап-баглап каан, / Адырар дээш, / Чежип чадап каан, / Имилээн-кыймыннаан турар бооп-тур эвесне аан' (THL, 1997: 166).

«The Khan's servants, / To let the iron horse graze, / Clutching and pushing, it turns

out, / They tried to untie it / [The reason] why the black shear, / Three times around the neck [iron horse] was wrapped / And tied with a dead knot» (THL, 1997: 167).

The verbs *doytuy* and *dyrysh* are used twice:

'Куу бутту куду / Куу даяңгыыш даянып алгаиштың, / Куу даиштыг / Кыр тон кедип алгапгың, / Куу шоодай / Чүктеп алгаиштың, / Дойтуңайнып-дойтуңайнып кылаштап, / Кире-ле бергей мен / Хаанның өөндүө / Дырыжааш-дырыжааш, / Чолдаш-талдаш кире-ле дүже бергей мен' (THL, 1997: 74).

«Dressed in an old-fashioned manner / With a gray top, / With a thrown behind the back / Gray bag, / Leaning on a gray stick / And limping slightly, / I'm down the gray spur descending [going down], / I will come to them [into the aal] / Angry and furious / Trembling and shaking, / I will enter the Khan's yurt» (THL, 1997: 75).

The verb *elengnye* is used once and in terms of paired use, there are examples with the verb *tendingier*:

'Көвей амытан көрүп турда, / Ус далайның кыдыында, / Узун-Сарыг хаан катымның аалынга / Элеңнедип-тендиңнедип / Чеде берген үеңде барып, / Изиг өкпөңни / Өрттендир-хуюкталдыр / Хаарып, быжырып тургаишгың, / Өлүрер мен...' (THL, 1997: 134).

«Arzylan-Kara / Turned / Into a lousy black shear, / Who is about to die. / Having become miserable, insignificant, / [Hunan-Kara] rode / With a small bowl, / Swinging-swaying / In stirrups made of wood / On a badger made of badger skin» (THL, 1997: 135).

and the verb *khalangna*:

'Халаңнады-элеңнеди / Көрүп чортундаа олурган иргин ийин' (THL, 1997: 260).

«Swinging, swaying, / Riding, watching [Hunan-Kara] makes his way» (THL, 1997: 261).

Due to the lexical and semantic analysis of image-forming verbs, the exact equivalent

in terms of the stem structure and semantics among the revealed image-forming verbs was found only in the Yakut language verbs *kuibangnaa* 'wriggle, wag, smoothly bend' (BEDYL, V. 4: 440) and the Tyvan verb *kiybyn-gna* 'to fidget, spin; move' (TRD, 1968: 275).

Functions of Image-Forming Verbs in Epic Texts

1. Image-Forming Verbs in *Olonkho*

In the course it was revealed that the image-forming verbs of the Yakut language in the epic text are involved in the description of nature. In most cases, image-forming verbs are incorporated when expressing ideas about the nature of the Middle World; they are often given in the introductory part of the epic text, where an initial depiction of life on Earth is presented. For example, the verb *meteldzhiy* 'bend forward, exposing the stomach' (Kharitonov, 1954: 293) participates in the description of pines:

Мэссээн нууча кыргыттары / Биэлэй күөх солкоттон тутуһан / Биэрэк сиргэ киһирэннэр үгкүүлээн / Мэтэлдьиһэн эрэллэрин курдук / Бэрдьигэс мастаах эбит (Burnashev, 2013: 16).

«Just like smart / Russian girls, gathered / On the shore, holding on / For white and blue shawls, / Moving their hips side to side, / Having a round dance, / Grow magnificent pines».

The verb *laglaldzhiy* 'from verb *laglay*: to have a low-positioned, wide, and spreading crown; to be short, stout, and equally wide (when referring to the form of smth, someone's complexion)' (BEDYL, V. 6: 72) is mentioned in an example that colorfully depicts a picture of a birch grove:

Бу ойуур угуоргу өттө – / Хаҕалас улууһун дьахталлара / Дьааһыктаах хампа солколорун / Хаалларбакка таннан, / Урууга, ыһаахха бардыбыт диэн / Бааралаан хаамсан, Лагдадьдьиһан иһэллэрин курдук / Арыынан ала турар / Арыы чаллах чараннардаах эбит (Burnashev, 2013: 18).

«Behind this dense forest – / Not Kanga-las women / Did leave in crates / Treasured silk outfits, / Dressed up for Ysyakh, / For a rich wedding, / Go slowly, flaunting – / That's filled

with the oily smell and grace / The birch grove smells so sweetly».

During the struggle of the warriors with the help of image-forming verbs the changes taking place in nature are depicted, especially in the seas and rivers, which create a feeling of excitement, experience and transmit the power of the struggle. For example, in the extract with the verb *dolguldzuy* '1. slightly worry, ruffle; 2. slightly, measuredly flutter; 3. jolt, jerk to swing, stagger, shake; 4. smoothly walk, move, swim; 5. smoothly transition from one state to another; move smoothly' (BEDYL, V. 3: 154):

Таас Таалыяа хонууну наймылдьыттылар, / Кыһыл кыппыайка быһыттан түстэ. / Улуу муора уута долгулдьуйа турда, / Далай муора уута дьалкыйан табыста (Burnashev, 2013: 128).

«Rocky field of Taalyiya / Was plowed with heavy legs, / Red sands spread; / The great sea was excited, / Deep ocean water / Rises above the coast».

– the size and crushing nature of the battle can be felt.

Special focus is given to the creation of an image of the sacred tree Aal Luuk Mas, as part of nature. The beauty and greatness of the Aal Luuk Mas also affects the beginning of *olonkho*. The author uses various methods of transmitting the expressivity and imagery, including image-forming verbs. In the example:

Тойон киһи кымыс иһэр / Оһуор ойуулаах, / Бочугурас ойбоһостоох, / Томторболоох айахтаах / Чороон ымыйаларын / Таннарыта туппунт курдук / Лохуор көмүс туораахтаах эбит. / Бу абыс салаата / Абыс ааттаах үрэх баһыгар тиийэннэр / Таннарыта намылыһан түспүттэр эбит (Burnashev, 2013: 20).

«As if hung overturned, / Festive chorons, / With carved edges, / With patterned sides, / Out of which koumyss is drunk / Famous gentlemen, / With large acorns. / These eight branches, / Having reached the distant sources / of the Eight Great Rivers, / Bent down»,

the verb *namyliy* 'mix, go down, creep' (Kharitonov, 1954: 293) conveys the meaning

that the branches of the sacred tree have grown so much that they have become heavy and long, but at the same time the tree retains its sophistication.

Incorporating image-forming verbs also extends itself to the descriptions of natural phenomena and the seasons: the verb *unaarys gyn* ‘from verb *unaariy*: to lay flat, to stretch out; to move, or to act too slowly’ (Kharitonov, 1954: 300) helps to reveal the emergence of smoke from a cloud:

‘Бу турдабына бу былыт / Оттотунан дьөлө ыстанан хаалла, / Төбөтүнэн хайы баран хаалла. / Халлаан түөт өттүн диэки / Түөт хамса буруота буолан / Унаарыс гына түспүтэ’ (Burnashev, 2013: 41).

«A black cloud / Splits in the middle / Into four horizons, / Like from a clay pipe, / From a cloud pulled / Fast smoke».

The verb *sandaarys gyn* ‘emit, radiate, spread bright light; stand out in explicit bright color’ (BEDYL, V. 8: 226) is present in the passage where lightning appears and its emergence is being described:

‘Халлаан алын уорбатын диэкиттэн / Сүрдээх сүүнэ улахан / Сааллар чабылган уота / Таннары сандаарыс гына түстэ’ (Burnashev, 2013: 75).

«Along the edges of the sky / Lightning has struck».

In addition, image-forming verbs are involved in the description of the characters and their actions. Thus, the verbs *uokey* ‘to be slim and slender’ (BEDYL, V. 12: 469); *biekey* ‘to be very thin at the waist, slim’ (BEDYL, V. 2: 348) and *daray* ‘have, broad shoulders; seem to be broad-shouldered’ (BEDYL, V. 3: 108) are used to create a portrait of the main olonkho character – the aiyy bogatyr Dyrray, the Son of the Horse:

‘Баар эбит, добоор, / Үрдүгэ үс бэчээтинэй үтүө киһи, / Алын тилэбэ быһыйга быһыылаах, / Оттоку уңуоба бодьуйга боруобалаах, / Үрүт уңуоба модьуга мөссүүннээх, / Үс түһэ кэбиһэ былас / Үңкэйэр өттүктээх эбит, / Биэс былас биэкэйэр биилээх, / Алта былас дарайар сарыннаах, / Суллаабыт тиит курдук

сотолоох, / Уолах мас курдук улуктаах, / Хастаабыт мас курдук харылаах, / Бысталаабыт тиит курдук былчыннаах, / Сыарбалаах от курдук / Сырыылаах сырайдаах’ (Burnashev, 2013: 32).

«It turns out there are friends: / Above are three printed / Good fellow, / Judge by the heels – / The runner is excellent, / Middle bones are thick, / See, strong man, / On three swing fathoms / High hips, / On five swing fathoms / Thin waist, / On six swing fathoms / Broad shoulders turned around, / Shins are like bare stumps/ a strong larch, / Wrist bones are like decks, / It’s like a chopped-off trunk / Mighty tree – muscles, / As if they put ten skins / Fire-foxes, cheeks burn».

The verb *kilbey* ‘to illuminate, shine; radiate, sparkle’ (BEDYL, V. 4: 93) is used to create a vivid image of the aiyy hero Toyon Joburuontai:

‘Киис тириитэ килбэйэр / Дайдаралаах сабыньнабын нэлбэгэйдии кэппит, / Үүс тириитэ үлүк саба / Бэргэхэтин кырыыбалыы ууруммут / Айыы киһитэ ааттааба быһыылаах, / Атын илиитигэр сиэтэн баран / Аргыый абай айгыстан иһэр’ (Burnashev, 2013: 122).

«From the east / There is a person of unprecedented beauty, / With a beautiful appearance, / With a special purpose, to see, / The best of aiyy people, / an excellent son of the sunny ulus, / Silver reins of a horse / Threw on his right elbow, / Holds in his left hand / A silver cane, / A fur coat with expensive folds/ Made of lynx skin / Put on an open door, / A tall sable hat / Put on leaning to one side slightly, / Leading a horse with the reins/ Walking in an important manner».

The verbs *kultey* ‘to be swollen, inflated; stand out pout, increased in volume in a rounded shape; be convex, bulging’ (BEDYL, V. 4: 609) and *sallay* ‘thicken to the top or have a thickened front end; to have a disproportionately large head, to be big-headed; to be huge in size, such that the head seems disproportionately large’ (BEDYL, V. 8: 198) are used to create an unpleasant appearance of the abaasy (evil) hero:

‘Барыта марба киһи быһыылаах, / Төгүрүччү өттө түөс баҕады киһи, / Тула өттө эргиччи ис быһыылаах, / Курдат-ноҕуо куттах быһыылаах, / Чаан-олгуй саҕа саллайбыт бастаах, / Чааскы саҕа күлтэйбит харахтардаах киһи эбит’ (Burnashev, 2013: 81).

«Naked man of disgusting appearance: Around the body his chest winds, / And the stomach surrounds the entire body, / the stomach is seen through. / The head is like a big tub, / Like big cups, / Are the protruding bulging eyes».

The verbs *horongnoo* ‘from verb *horoy*: 1. to be or to seem sticking out; 2. colloquial form of: to become taller, to grow’ (BEDYL, V. 13: 602) and *tomtoldzhuu* ‘from verb *tomtoy*: be or appear to be distinct, rounded, to stand out’ (BEDYL, V. 10: 444) are presented in a detailed description of the hero’s movements when he is about to speak:

‘Итиниэхэ Сылгы уола Дыырай тыл кэпси / Өрөөбүт уохун өһүллэ, / Хоммут уохун хомуйда, / Алтан дьаакыр айабын аппаннатта, / Үрүҥ көмүс сүөлэгэй күөмэйин көбүлэттэ. / Уоһа хоронноото, / Уолуга томтолдьуйда, / Үгүү батас курдук / Үтүрү-батыры көрөн кэбистэ, / Быһах хатат курдук / Быһа-таһа көрөн кэбистэ’ (Burnashev, 2013: 53).

«To this creature ugly as sin/ Dyurray, the strong man, the Son of the Horse / Speaking, / He opened his mouth frozen, / Copper like an anchor, his mouth / Opens, with a silver larynx / He moved and then stuck out his lips, / His throat rises, / Glanced sharply with his eyes, / As if with a sword blade, / As if going to immediately / Cut and shred the enemy into pieces».

The verb *maadzay* ‘to obtain a bent leg’ (BEDYL, V. 6: 176) in the comparison is used in characterizing the actions of the warrior Dyurray during the battle against the abaasy warrior:

‘Биһиги киһибит буолабына / Икки сотото / Тардыылаах оҕус буулаҕатын курдук / Таннары маадыйан түһэн барда, / Иэнин иҥиирэ киһл мас курдук / Кэдэри тардан барда, / Хатан мас курдук / Ханаччы

тардан барда, / Чанчыгын баттаҕа / Чоноччу тардан барда’ (Burnashev, 2013: 57).

«Our person’s / Two legs the size of two shins, / As the yoke of the ox carrying / The heavy cart is bent, / The veins of the back are shortened, / The body bends upwards, / Like a bent and curved tree, / Hair on the temples / Stand upright».

The verb *aybaldzhiy* ‘smoothly and widely scatter, sway’ (Kharitonov, 1954: 285) is used to describe the appearance and body movements of the beautiful Aytaly Kuo:

‘Эт бүтэй унуоҕа көстөр, / Унуох бүтэй силиитэ дьаккыйар, / Үчүгэй дьахтар, / Көссүө-көссүөтүк көрөн барда, / Нарын-нарыннык санара сырытта, / Астаан-үөллэн айбалдьыйан барда, / Күөстээн-астаан күөгэлдьийэ сырытта’ (Burnashev, 2013: 116).

«Bones turn white through the body, / Through the bones it is clear that she is worried/ The bone marrow – this is how charming she is, / Looking wither tender gaze, / Says something in a quiet voice, / And starts cooking, / Moving so gracefully».

There are several examples in the text of riding a horse with the verb *dzhigihiy* ‘to come into a rocking movement, to shiver, to shutter’ (BEDYL, V. 3: 333), for example:

‘Атын үрдүк мындаатыгар / Үрүҥ тулук курдук / Олорон чөмчөөрүс гына түстэ, / Собуруу диэки барбытын курдук / Баран истэ. / Сиэллэрэн дьигиһитэн истэ, / Хаамтаран халыһытан истэ, / Уурдаран оҕустаран истэ’ (Burnashev, 2013: 88).

«... and on a horse / As easily as a white bird, / He jumped up, directed as before / To the south. He rides fast with a trot, / Moving quickly, / And galloping».

The verb *appangnaa* ‘from verb *appa*: 1. to open slightly, not close completely; 2. carelessly wide-open mouth’ (BEDYL, V. 1: 505), which is used mainly in determining the actions of a person, in this case, is used in the description of the horse’s actions:

‘Бу сылгы / Үөһэ диэки өрө көрдө, / Алтан чааньнык айабын аппаннатта,

/ Үрүҥ көмүс үөлэгэйдэн көбүөхтэттэ, /
Kuһи-сүөһү үөскүү илигинэ, / Айыы-буруй
таарыйа илигинэ, / Сылгы сүөһү тыллаах
эбит, / Тыл бөбө сиикэйдээх, / Олонхотун
олонхо омоннаах, / Ити сылгы сангара-
ингэрэ турда (Burnashev, 2013: 84).

«The horse looks up to the sky, / I opened
 my mouth like / Copper teapot, / I pushed it
 with a silver larynx. / Before the great breed-
 ing / Of the people and cattle, / Until sins took
 over the world, / Horses could speak / (There
 is no tale not to lie. / Olonkho makes a wide
 use of exaggeration. / The horse began to
 speak».

The actions which are specific to the im-
 age of the cow-woman – the Old Woman Sime-
 hsin are expressed using the image-forming
 verbs *eppeṅgneie* ‘barely breathe, breathe’
 (BEDYL, V. 15: 267), *appangnaa* ‘from verb
appa: 1. to open slightly, not close completely;
 2. carelessly wide-open mouth’ (BEDYL, V. 1:
 505) and *toytoṣ gyn* ‘from verb *toytoṣ*: 1. to be
 or to seem very small and plump (referring to a
 person’s complexion); 2. to be or to seem very
 short and stumpy’ (BEDYL, V. 10: 424):

Дьалаана суох сангаран барда, /
Ылсыыта суох ылаан барда, / Этиэн
булума эппэнни сырытта, / Сангарыан
булума аппанньы турда... / Уган тиэрэ
баран тойтос гына түстэ (Burnashev,
 2013: 101).

«Jumping excitedly, / Speaking in a hurry,
 screaming, / Barely catching her breath, / She
 stomped, jumping in one place... She screamed
 and fainted».

In addition to the example above, many
 examples are recorded in the description of
 the home, the hero’s weapons and serge. In the
 description of the outside image of the hero’s
 dwelling, the verb *segeldzhit* ‘slightly lift up,
 sway’ (BEDYL, V. 9: 540) is used to create a
 heavy, strong-looking door:

Биир өттүгэр биэс уон / Сиэркилэ
таас түннүктээх, / Аҥаар өттүгэр абыс
уон / Айдаан таас түннүктээх, / Сөбөтөх
өттүгэр тобус уон / Сөлүүдэ таас
түннүктээх. / Сиилинэй бухатыыр тэбинэн
сэгэлдьитэн киирэр / Сэттэ уон тилэх эһэ /

Тириитинэн тигэн дьаптайан оҥоһуллубут
/ Лип-хаан халҕаннаах эбит (Burnashev,
 2013: 31).

«On one side / Fifty mirrored windows, /
 On the other half / Noisy glass windows, / On
 the only side / Ninety mica windows, / And the
 door is heavy / Sewn in skins / Of seventy large
 bears, / So firmly made, / That the strongest
 hero / Can only open it slightly».

In describing the ritual tethering post
 called serge, the verb *bachygyraa* ‘to be, to
 seem very close together, forming a row’
 (BEDYL, V. 2: 280) is used in the part, which
 explains the location of the tethering posts:

Тобус тойон куһи / Утарыта хаамсан
киирэн / Дорообо бэрсэн эрэллэрин курдук
/ Тойон баабыр сэргэтэ / Бачыгырайан
көһүннэ (Burnashev, 2013: 29).

«On the contrary, there are nine / Big teth-
 ering posts, / As if nine noble gentlemen / Go
 towards, greeting / Each other’s gracefully».

The verb *kylbay* ‘1. to shine brightly; be
 or seem to be bright or shiny, to glimmer; 2.
 to shine with a white light, to whiten, 3. to be
 or appear to be bright or light-colored; to shine
 with novelty or freshness’ (BEDYL, V. 5: 225)
 is used in the image-forming description of the
 spear:

Кытыл уңуортан / Кылбайбытынан
кэлэр / Кыыс-дьахтар имнээх хааныгар /
Хатарыллан оҥоһуллубут кылааннаах /
Хараарар хара дьиэрэнкэй / Үгүүлэрдээх
эбит (Burnashev, 2013: 34).

«Spears, hardened / Covered in blood
 from the face of a young woman, / Playing with
 black lightning, overtaking the enemy / From
 the nearby coast, / It turns out he has it».

The verb *oloduy* ‘to look around in all di-
 rections, holding his head high; seem energetic,
 decisive and adventurous’ (BEDYL, V. 7: 258)
 is used in the passage devoted to the fateful
 sword:

Уңуоргу тыаттан олодуйан кэлэр
/ Уолан куһи уостаах тиһин хааныгар /
Уһааран-кэхтэрэн оҥорбут / Уорааннаах
уһун тайба батастаах эбит (Burnashev,
 2013: 34).

Blasting from a distant forest / The fatal sword with him / Hardened in blood / From lips and teeth / Young men, dashing / He also has it.

2. The Image-Forming Verbs in Tyvan Epic

The image-forming verbs of the Tyvan language are mainly used to describe *the characters and their actions*. Thus, the verb *davy* 'bounce with joy' (TRD, 1968: 140) in the extracts found, is used in combination with the verb *devi* 'to dance' (TRD, 1968: 150); the paired verbs *devip-davyr* / *devigip-davyzhip* show masculinity and self-confidence of the main character:

a. 'Узун-Сарыг хаандыва / Хунан-Кара девип-давып, / Маңнап келген туруп-тур эвесне аан' (THL, 1997: 232).

«Hunan-Kara and, jumping, [hands] waving / To [the yurt] of Uzun-Saryg-Khan / He ran up, it turns out»;

b. 'Девигип-давыжып чоруп оргаи, / Дээрниң делгеминге, / Черниң ортузунда / Ужуражып келгештерниң' (THL, 1997: 216).

«Jumping, [they] went / Under the expanse of heaven, / On flat ground».

To create a realistic image of an old woman, the image-forming verbs *doytuy* 'walk, limp' (TRD, 1968: 168) and *dyrysh* '1. to frown; 2. to scorch' (TRD, 1968: 195) are used:

'Куу бутту куду / Куу даяңгыиш даянып алгаиштың, / Куу даиштыг / Кыр тон кедип алгапгың, / Куу шоодай / Чүктөп алгаиштың, / Дойтуңайнып-дойтуңайнып кылаштап, / Кире-ле бергей мен / Хаанның өөндүвө / Дырыжаиш-дырыжаиш, / Чолдаиш-талдаиш кире-ле дүжө бергей мен' (THL, 1997: 74).

«Dressed in an old-fashioned manner / With a gray top, / With a thrown behind the back / Gray bag, / Leaning on a gray stick / And limping slightly, / I'm down the gray spur descending [going down], / I will come to them [into the aal] / Angry and furious/ Trembling and shaking, / I will enter the Khan's yurt».

The verb *kiybyngna* 'to fidget, spin; move' (TRD, 1968: 275) is used in combination with

the verb *imileie* 'to swarm' (TRD, 1968: 206) and when describing the horse, this verb emphasizes the horse's playfulness, and a strong desire to be set free:

'Хаан кижиниң ара-албатызы / Кара богбаны / Мойнунга уш ораай каккаш, / Өлүг доңнук-биле доңнап-баглап каан, / Адырар дээш, / Чежип чадап каан, / Имилээн-кыймыңнаан турар бооп-тур эвесне аан' (THL, 1997: 166).

«The Khan's servants, / To let the iron horse graze, / Clutching and pushing, it turns out, / They tried to untie it / [The reason] why the black shear, / Three times around the neck [iron horse] was wrapped / And tied with a dead knot».

We see the might and strength of the main character in the following example:

'Сарыг кидис хевенектиг / Багай оолдуң / Баскан буду / Кыймыш-даа дивес, / Көргөн кара / Чивеш-даа дивес...' (THL, 1997: 172).

«And for a poor young man / In a yellow felt *hevenek* / And walking legs / Did not flinch, / And the looking eyes / Did not blink ...»,

where the verb *chivesh-daa* means 'to blink; flicker, flicker' (TRD, 1968: 531).

The verb *kylchangna* 'to look from underneath (viciously)' (TRD, 1968: 276) shows the discontent and anger of the Khan in the passage:

'Быттаваас, кылчаңайнып көрүп келгештиң' (THL, 1997: 152).

«[The Khan] silently looked from underneath».

The verb *saglangayin* 'to move, sway, tremble' (TRD, 1968: 360) describes the hero's appearance, conveys all the hero's anxiety and the anxiety for his father, but at the same time the determination and courage of the young hero:

'Улуг өөнгө / Бажының коңгураазы саглаңайнып, / Балдырының эди ырбаңайнып кирип кээрге...' (THL, 1997: 86).

«And he entered the large yurt / With some ruffled hair on his head, / With his leg muscles trembling».

In one example which was used only once in the text, the verb *elengne* '1. walk (go) staggering; 2. swing, sway' (TRD, 1968: 612) helps to reveal the image of an old man and an old woman and to understand that they are very old:

‘Хүнүн манап, / Хүүрэн даянган / Ийи ирей, кадай / Элеңейдир кылыштажы бергештиң, / Хаанның дүжүлгезинге баргааштың’ (THL, 1997: 110).

«Waiting for their last day to come, / Leaning on a shovel. / And, staggering, they went, / They entered the [yurt with] the Khan's throne».

In another example, the verb *elengne* is used to depict a picture of a horse-riding:

‘Хунан-Кара ол чорта бергештиң, / Илби-ишдизи-биле / Ийи сыраны тура соккулааштың, / Ийи чеңинге чеңнеп алгааштың, / Элеңнедип олуруп-тур эвесне аан’ (THL, 1997: 148).

«Then he went, Hunan-Kara / Using sorcery and witchcraft / He pulled out two poles, / He hid himself in the sleeves / And he rode his horse, swaying, it turns out».

In the text, the verb *elengne* is indicated in combination with the verb *tendingeier* ‘stagger, swing (in case of loss of balance)’ (TRD, 1968: 410). Basically, they convey the picture of a hero riding his horse:

‘Арзылаң-Кара-даа / Өлүр чеде берген / Өктөк кара бөгбө бооп / Дүжүп турган иргин ийин, / Моң ыяш эзеңилиг, / Морзук кежи төрөпчилиг, / Кызытта чалыг, / Кыпсынчыг-чаржынчыг амытан бооп алгааш, / Элеңнедип-тендиңнедип, / Чоруп олуруп-тур эвесне аан’ (THL, 1997: 142).

«Arzylan-Kara / Turned / Into a lousy black shear, / Who is about to die. / Having become miserable, insignificant, / [Hunan-Kara] rode / With a small bow, / Swinging-swaying / In stirrups made of wood / On a badger made of badger skin».

In paired use with the verb *khalangna* ‘hang out (about smth.)’ (TRD, 1968: 464), the verb *elengne* also represents riding a horse:

‘Халаңнады-элеңнеди / Көрүп чортун-даа олурган иргин ийин’ (THL, 1997: 260).

«Swinging, swaying, / Riding, watching [Hunan-Kara] makes his way».

There is an example of a *dwelling description*: the verb *herelden* ‘to radiate, to give off light, emit rays; to spread (rays)’ (TRD, 1968: 276) is found in the image of the Khan's house, it emphasizes the beauty and grandeur of the house:

‘Даң бажы шара-хере, / Даиш бажы кара-шокар хиреде, / Кода-хурээ ортузунда / Херелденип турар алдын бажың / Косту берген туруп-тур’ (THL, 1997: 156).

«When the dawn came/ And the tops of the mountains became crimson-warm, / In the middle of the palace headquarters / the Golden House / Shining appeared».

The last example refers to the *description of a natural phenomenon*: the verb *chyrytkylash de-* ‘shine, glimmer, flicker’ (TRD, 1968: 559) is used to show the speed of time and action – for a moment it becomes light and the interlocutors disappear:

‘Депкен дег болза, / Демир аьдын мунган дег болза, / Ямбы-дип чырыткылаш / Дээн дег болза, / Дээрдиве үнгени-даа көзүлбес, / Чердиве киргени-даа көзүлбес, / Бар чыткан барааны-даа чок, / Ямбы-дип кара чаңгыс / Чырыткылаш дээн дег болза, / Барган уг-иши көзүлбейн / Барган туруп-тур эвесне аан’ (THL, 1997: 134).

«He said / And his legs [in stirrups] seemed to be wedged, / I would have sat down on an iron horse, / Yamby-dip seems to be / Lit up for a moment, / But even the appearance of the departing one did not flicker: / It could not be clearly visible whether it ascended into the sky, / It was not visible whether it went underground. / Only for a brief moment / Yamby-dip was illuminated: / He left – and it was nowhere to be seen, it turns out / In which direction [he] went».

It should be added that some verbs, depending on the context, can be used to perform different functions. In the Yakut language, from the verbs found in *olonkho*, 5 verbs perform several functions: the verb *aybaldzhiy* is used to describe nature and the

actions of a character; the verb *kylbay* is used to describe the weapons of a hero, nature and a character; the verb *chikkey* participates in the description of the hero's weapon, the character's actions and the character himself. In the Tyvan language, the verb *elengne*, as had been mentioned earlier, is used many times and is found in descriptions of the character's actions and in the description of horse-riding.

Conclusion

Thus, we have made a classification of image-forming verbs of the Yakut and Tyvan languages based on the work of L. Kharitonov. Among the indicated verbs in the Yakut language, the verbs of the visual image exceed in number; namely the verbs characterizing the appearance, form and structure of the object; in the Tyvan language, verbs of movement characterizing the manner of walking, movement of the body and parts of the body predominate. This gives us the opportunity to conclude that the Yakut *olonkho* teller pays more attention to a detailed and

figurative description for creating an entertaining plot, colorful images and actions; while the Tyvan epic tale storyteller focuses on movements, the course of actions for creating a lively and bright course of events, and developing the plots. The structure of the image-forming verb stems is analyzed and it is noted that the Yakut verbs are used in their original forms and in the forms created using affixes of specific forms. Tyvan verbs are used in forms based on the use of affixes of word formation derived from verbs and auxiliary verbs. In addition, the Tyvan image-forming verbs both of double and paired use are common. According to the stem structure and the word semantics, only one equivalent was found among the image-forming verbs found in the course of analysis. As a result of the analysis of the functional features of the Yakut and Tyvan image-forming verbs in epic texts, we can note that their peculiarity and general features are manifested in their direct participation in creating images, describing the scenery, characterizing actions and transmitting feelings.

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Ethnogenic Texts in the Indo-European Tradition

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Abstract. This article examines the texts of the Indo-European tradition, which narrate about the myths of the origin of different peoples. Thus, a segment of the Anglo-Saxon runic series correlates with Tacitus's description of the origin of the Ingaevon tribe. As a result, the parameters of the ethnically derived text are reconstructed. The parameters explain the choice of the sequence of the runes of the Anglo-Saxon futhorc. The restored text testifies that the Ingaevons, who had the totem deity Ing, lived on the shores of the Ocean, and this was their homeland. Ethnogenic texts also tell about the correlation of totem and ethnonym in past eras. The German influence on the choice of the ethnonym "Rus", determined by the alliterative connection of the name of the country with the name of Rurik's tribe, has been explained. The "Rurikids" ethnonym itself came from the name of the Rhos tribe. Many ethnogenic texts are associated with sacrificial rituals. In this context, of interest is the name "Italia", which takes its origin in the sacred texts of the high sacred style. The most ancient Indo-European inscription in the Lusitanian language, written in a high style and telling about the origin of the Veaminikori tribe, is analyzed. The names of sacred animals are opposed to the profane names in the Latin prayer to the god Mars. The souuitorilia prayer bears witness to the repertoire of sacrificial texts about dairy animals. As a result, it becomes clear that the name "Italy" is derived from the name "uitulus" in a high sacred style. Thus, the thematic contours of Indo-European texts containing ethnogenic myths about the origin of peoples are revealed. The boundaries between cultures are erased, and the Indo-European prototext comes to the fore, giving impetus to the genesis of ethnonyms, the naming of totems, as well as the names of their own tribal leaders. In the end, we can conclude that the sacred names of young dairy animals are represented in the Lusitanian language. In the rite of sacrifice, the scale of high style is attested. The name "Italia" refers precisely to the solemn sacred layer of vocabulary, but already acts as the implicit name of a Latin prayer to the god Mars. The practice of giving names incorporated rules, which vary from tradition to tradition. Attention is drawn to the special nature of ethnogenic texts that shed light on the origin of peoples. Cultural boundaries can be the indicator that generates recognizable patterns that migrate from culture to culture.

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Этногонические тексты в индоевропейской традиции

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Аннотация. В настоящей статье рассмотрены тексты индоевропейской традиции, в которых повествуется о мифах происхождения народов. Так, сегмент англосаксонского рунического ряда коррелирует с описанием Тацита о происхождении племени ингевонов. В результате реконструируются параметры этнически производного текста, который объясняет выбор очередности рун англосаксонского футорка. Восстанавливаемый текст свидетельствует о том, что ингевоны, имевшие божество-тотем Инга, проживали на берегу Океана, и это была их Родина. Этногонические тексты также рассказывают о корреляции тотема и этнонима в минувших эпохах. Объясняется германское влияние на выбор этнонима Русь, определяемого аллитерационной связью названия страны с именем Рюриковичей. Сами Рюриковичи происходили от имени племени Rhos.

Многие этногонические тексты связаны с ритуалом жертвоприношения. В этом контексте интерес представляет имя Италия, берущее свое происхождение в текстах жертвоприношений высокого сакрального стиля. Проанализирована древнейшая индоевропейская надпись на лузитанском языке, написанная в высоком стиле и повествующая о происхождении племени Веаминикори. Выбор имен сакральных животных противопоставляется профанным именам латинской молитвы богу Марсу. Молитва *souuitaurilia* свидетельствует о репертуаре жертвенных текстов, повествующих о молочных животных. В результате становится понятным, что имя Италия является производным от имени *uitulus* в высоком сакральном стиле.

Таким образом, раскрываются тематические контуры индоевропейских текстов, содержащих этногонические мифы о происхождении народов. Границы между культурами стираются, и на передний план выходит индоевропейский прототекст, давший толчок генезису этнонимов, наименованию тотемов, а также имен собственных племенных вождей.

Ключевые слова: этногонический текст, миф о происхождении, контекст, культура, этноним.

Научная специальность: 10.00.00 – филологические науки.

1. Introduction

In the process of the genesis of ethnic groups in the traditions of the Indo-European past, there have been recorded various ethnogenic texts that shed light on the origin of the Germanic peoples. So, we are able to fix a segment of the Anglo-Saxon runic series, which testifies to the origin of the Ingaevones. In addition, based on the text of Tacitus *The Germania*, it is possible to reconstruct the probable Germanic chants, which take the form of *thula*.

According to our main hypothesis, the Anglo-Saxon series of runes is based on the principle of ethnic derivation, since the series itself was developed on the basis of the Older Futhark. Graphically, the innovations resemble the elements of the older runic series. For example, the rune *aesk* 𐌺 was used to denote an ash tree, while in the Elder Futhark it meant “*Odin*”. The key position of the Anglo-Saxon series seems to be the exchange of 23 and 24 signs for the runes, since, according to the creator of the Anglo-Saxon futhorc, it was the sequence of 20, 21, 22, 23 and 24 runes that seemed to him more reasonable. In runic notation, this sequence looked like this: 𐌺 + 𐌺 + 𐌺 + 𐌺. The indicated segment is consistent in meaning with the deep themes of the ethnogenic myth of the ancient Germanic peoples.

2. The Old Germanic Thulas

2.1. The Origin of the Name of the Ingaevones Tribe

The text of Tacitus makes it possible to restore the segment about the origin of the Germanic peoples: Ancient chants (the Germans know only this kind of story about the past and only such annals) glorify the god Tuisto, born of the earth. His son Mannus is the progenitor and forefather of their people; they ascribe to Mannus three sons, by whose names those who live near the Ocean are called Ingaevones, in the middle lands – Herminones, all the others – Istvaeones (Tacitus, 2010).

We originally reconstructed the *thula*’s segment: **Ingui* – **Ermin Teuz* – **Istwas*. This segment takes into account the ancient Germanic principle of versification and the peculiarities of *thula*. It lists the totem deities of the three Germanic tribes. Three Germanic

tribes formed an important sequence within the cultural theme of *thula*’s chants.

Cultural transfer of information is embodied in the oldest Germanic poetic tradition, in the genre of *thula*, which is an alliterative enumeration of names. The *thula*’s composition is based on a cyclical principle determined by the duration of human life. A cycle is equal to the epoch, or Old Norse *veröld* / OE *weorold* “*world*”. *Veröld* / *weorold* “*human + time*” encompasses two interconnected plans: generation (age) and a large cosmic cycle (epoch). The content of the *thula* is presented in the form of a genealogical listing of names. This chronological sequence was created in ascending order (A + B + C + ...). The story began from the time of the creation of *thula* and was traced back to the ancient German deity Odin (Wöden):

Cynric Cerdecing, Cerdic Elesing,
Elesa Esling, Elsa Gewising,
Gewis Wiging, Wig Freawing,
Freawine Fridugaring, Fridugar Bronding,
Brond Baeldaeging, Baeldaeg Wödening

Information about the life of society was stored in such lists and passed on from generation to generation. As will be shown below, such *thula* correlated not only with the name of the ancient German supreme deity, but also correlated along the line “totem – ethnonym”. There were certain laws of information transfer in the syntagmatics and paradigmatics of *thula*.

Let us return to the ethnogenic myth about the origin of Ingaevones:

The role of the mythological progenitor **Mannaz* is reflected in some legends of Scandinavian mythology, for example, in the myth of the first human that is the giant *Ymir*. It is of particular interest for us to reconcile the main fragments of the myth about the progenitor with the segments 20 – 21 – 22 – 23 from the Anglo-Saxon series of runes.

The text of the myth, which is reconstructed in its most important aspect of proper names, reflects the specifics of settlement, and hence the set of elements in the sequence of the third family of runes: 20 – *Man* “the first man”; 21 – *lagu* “water”; 22 – *Ing* “Ing” (one of Mannus’s sons); *Eðel* “Homeland” (the place of birth). So,

the main elements of the myth are fully consistent with the sequence of runes adopted by the Anglo-Saxons. The elements of the series are different from the general Germanic principle of the arrangement of runes in syntagmatics. The principle of the cycle is replaced in the Anglo-Saxon series of runes by the principle of the ethnocultural code, which plays a prominent role in the explication of the sequence of runes. Suppose that this segment reflects some of the historical and cultural features of the origin of the Ingaevones tribe settled closer to the sea and water.

In the rune poem, the verse about “man” says (hereinafter the contexts are given according to: (The Anglo-Saxon Rune Poem), *our translation* – S.P. and A.P.):

Man byþ on myrgþe his magan leof:
seal þeah anra gehwylc oðrum swican,
forðum drihten wyle dome sine
þæt earme flæsc eorþan betæcan.

“A person is loved in joy by his fellow tribesmen. However, they must leave each other, because by God’s will his poor body was commanded to be buried” (cf. the motive “man is the earth” and the Tacitus’s myth).

The 21st rune of the Anglo-Saxon series – 𐌚 “water”, according to our hypothesis, is located in a place that is conditioned by the segment “water” – “Ing”, and the very semantics of this rune is reflected in the myth of the tribe of Ingaevones that is the ocean coast. Scandinavian texts convey clear correspondences of this rune in form *lōgr* and semantics “water flow”.


In the Gothic etymological dictionary of V. Lehmann, Goth. *laas* is interpreted by analogy with the runic name from the futhark *daaz*, i.e. *daaz* – *dags*, hence *laas* – **lagas* (Lehmann, 1986: 224). It is important to mention other opinions, which, in general, come from the renaming of this rune. According to W. Krause’s hypothesis, the name of this rune goes back to the common German **laukaz* (Old Norse *laukr*). The runologist proceeds from the analysis based on the philological method (*runica manuscripta*), in which, along with the secondary, in his opinion, the form

lōgr, there are several cases of writing *laukr* “onion”, which he interpreted as primary and common Germanic. This possibility cannot be ruled out. However, for our analysis, it is just that the rune is ethnically derived, that is, its semantic context is based on local, deeply specific Anglo-Saxon ideas.

W. Krause relies on the mythological context of the *Edda*, where the onion is named among the first plants to appear on earth. In the mythology of the Indo-European people, the onion was an attribute of the phallic cult. W. Krause’s hypothesis points to yet another very convincing argument: among the three most famous “sacred words” in the runes, there is also the lexeme *laukar* “onion”. This lexeme has an indisputable etymology (cf. OE *leac*, Middle-Dutch *look*, Old-High German *louh*) and reveals a strong connection with the extra-runic ritual (Smirnitskaya, 1989: 47). In general, W. Krause’s hypothesis about a different concept of 21st rune in the all-Germanic series does not contradict our assumption about the semantic connection between the myth and segment. As suggested by R. Page, Old English and Scandinavian forms are Christian replacements caused by strong pagan connotations of **laukaz* (Page, 1973: 83). Our view of the problem (close to W. Krause) allows us to refrain from emphasizing any role of systemic world-view factors in this replacement and to explain variations in the name of the rune by their ethnically derived character.

The segments 20-23 of the Anglo-Saxon series of runes are aimed at explicating the main points of the ethnogenic myth of the Ingaevones. Hence, a series of the futhark, which apparently originally included Indo-European patterns (“movable” – “immovable property”), fluctuates in the direction of ideas about the Ingaevones. According to the studied Old English sources at least there is no evidence of the use of any other runic names other than *lagu* “water” in the Anglo-Saxon tradition.


Lagu byþ leodum langsum geþuht,
gif hi sculun neþan on nacan tealtum
and hi sæyþa swyþe bregaþ
and se brimhengest bridles ne gym[eð].



The Anglo-Saxon rune poem runs: “the water seems endless to people if they are brought in a boat to sway and cut the sea waves, and do not remember the bridle of the sea horse”. Rune  *Ing* – hero Ing (son of Mannus, the first of the Ingaevones tribe). We do not find a parallel to the unique representation of the Ingaevones tribe like is the hero Ing in Scandinavian texts. Thanks to the reconstruction of the Germanic poetic prototype, we restore the three Germanic heroic names **Ing* – **Ermin* – **Istwas*. There is no doubt that Ing is one of the legendary figures of the East German tribes. The Anglo-Saxon poem says:

Ing wæs ærest mid East-Denum
gesewen secgun, oþ he siððan est
ofer wæg gewat; wæn æfter ran;
ðus Hearingas ðone hæle nemdun.

“Ing was seen first by the people of the East Danes, until the moment when he went to the east (sometimes read *eft* ‘back’) across the sea. His chariot followed him. That is why the Hearings called him a hero”. We note that East Danes in the epic *Beowulf* called *Ingwine* (favourites of Ing) are probably the very *Ingaevones*, whom Tacitus distinguishes as a Germanic tribal group that from all other tribes lived closest to the sea (OE *lagu*). Another implication in the poem about Ing is an indication of the chariot (*vaen*) that accompanied the hero on the voyage. This episode echoes the Germanic ritual described by Tacitus and dedicated to the goddess *Nerthus* (compare Old Norse *Njörðr*, the god of wealth and fertility, Freyr’s father), during which the chariot of the deity moved, making its way through the crowd of those gathered. Snorri Sturluson, already in the period of the author’s German literature, informs about his second name according to his ancestors – *Yngui*. Perhaps this evidence prompted W. Krause to reconstruct the common Germanic proto form *Ingwas* – “deity of fertility”. Such a reconstruction based on the ethnically derived rune name seems to us to be very likely. The Indo-European world knows many ethnonyms, as well as the names of the heroes of individual tribes, the names of which go back to the

deity worshiped by the tribe, but who was also recognized by the neighbours, cf. Greek cult of Athena.

In the rune , which takes the 23rd place in the reconstruction according to the Rune Poem, the meaning of “*land*”, “*home*”, “*homeland*” comes to the fore, rather than “*real estate*”, as indicated in the cyclical futhark. This is evident in the context of the poem. In the Futhark, this rune occupied the 24th position.

In the earliest alphabetic inscriptions, for example, the bracteates from Vadstena and Grumpan, we can observe fluctuations in the general cyclic scheme, which are sometimes difficult to justify purely technological errors (it is especially difficult to assume this from the bracteate from Grumpan with the ending *m, l, n, o, d*). Note that the author of the text of the Anglo-Saxon Rune Poem seems to inherit Grumpan’s pattern and puts the rune  in the 23rd place. Reconstruction using the “parallel row” method, carried out by us by comparing the chain of names of runes 20 – 21 – 22 – 23 in the Futhark, as well as conceptualizing the myth about the origin of the Germanic peoples, results in correlating the basic features of the ethnogenic myth (Ing is the son of the prehuman Mannus, a hero of the Ingaevones tribe, who lived on the ocean coast in the homeland in the house of their ancestors). By the way, even such a perceptive analyst of Anglo-Saxon runic texts as R. Page neglects the sequence of the runic row in the Anglo-Saxon poem, giving the rune  *eðel* its usual 24th position (Page, 1973: 84). Such a bias towards the common Old Germanic pattern does not correspond to the sequence of verses in manuscripts, as well as to the textual meaning of the name of the rune in the poem (“Motherland is the house of ancestors”).

Eþel byþ oferleof æghwylcum men,
gif he mot ðær rihtes and gerysena on
brucan on bolde bleadum oftast.

“The house of ancestors is dear to every man if he can enjoy in his house in eternal prosperity what is righteous and decent”. There is a correlation between the proper name Ing and the name of the Ingaevones tribe.

2.2. Alliteration of Rulers and Names of Kingdoms

Before the advent of writing, forms of cultural memory were relevant, the identity of an individual was the same as the identity of an ethnic group. It is likely that the need for codification through imitation with sounds was the predecessor to the emergence of alphabets, since the semiotics of the name is a preliminary stage in the search for the economy of speech. As D. Crystal notes (Crystal, 2004: 32), among the Anglo-Saxon nobility, who bore Celtic names, proper names were consonant with the ethnonym *Cymro* “Welshman”: Caedwalla, Caedda, Cedd, Ceawlin, Cerdic, Cumbra.

So, the names of the Anglo-Saxon aristocrats coincide with the initial consonant of the ethnonym “Welshman”, the choice of which was not accidental (hereinafter the contexts are given according to: (The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: An Electronic Edition (Vol. 5) literary edition), *our translation – S.P. and A.P.*): 519 *Her Cerdic 7 Cynric: Westsexena rice onfengun on þy ilcan gear e hie fuhton wiþ Brettas þær mon nu nemneþ Cerdicesford: 7 sibban ricsadan Westsexana cynebearn of þan dæge* (Here Cerdic and Cynric inherited Wessex; and in the same year they fought against the Britons where the place is now called Cerdicesford. And from that time the royal offspring of the West Saxons ruled). Probably, as it can be inferred from the context, it was about an ethnic mixture of Germans and Celts. 560 *Her Ceawlin feng to rice on Wesseaxum* <...> (Here Ceawlin inherited Wessex <...>); 643 *Her Cenwalh feng to Wesseaxna rice 7 heold .xxxi. wintra* <...> (Here Cenwalh inherited the kingdom of Wessex and ruled for 31 years <...>); 709 <...> 7 *Ceolred feng to Myrcna rice* <...> (<...> and King Ceolred inherited the kingdom of Mercia <...>).

In science, the connection between proper names and the names of tribes has long been examined. C. Lévi-Strauss noted that individual names depend on the same system as the collective names that we studied before, and that through them it is possible to pass through transformations from the horizon of individual to the horizon of the most general categories. Indeed, each clan or sub-clan has a cer-

tain number of names, which are given to its members, and since the individual is part of the group, the individual name is part of the collective name (Lévi-Strauss, 2008: 361).

According to the list of the alliterative names of Anglo-Saxon kings, in the three kingdoms (Ēast Engla Rīce (the Kingdom of East Anglia), Ēast Seaxna Rīce (the Kingdom of Essex), Westseaxna Rīce (the Kingdom of Wessex)), alliteration between the name of the ruler and the name of his kingdom is maintained: Anna, Aethelhere, Aldulf <...> – Ēast Engla Rīce; Seaxnete, Swaepa, Sigefugel <...> – Ēast Seaxna Rīce; Aedmund, Aelfred, Aelfgiva <...> – Westseaxna Rīce.

The possibility of linking genealogy in sequence with alliteration appears to be important in syntagmatics and paradigmatics. The sequence of names in syntagmatics interacted with ethnonyms in paradigmatics through alliteration. For example, the Angles lived in Northumbria. Perhaps this fact influenced the names of kings beginning with the vowel *A*, which are associated in paradigmatics with the name of the ethnos Angelcynn. The thulas had historical significance, because they were a living history of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms since their function was provided by the transfer of information from generation to generation.

3. The Origin of the Names of Ethnoses

3.1. The Origin of the Name “Rus”

The paradigmatic transfer of phonetic markers in the names of Anglo-Saxon aristocrats in diachrony correlates with the names of kingdoms. Here the traditional type of connection “proper name – totem” is actualized. It is possible that the Scandinavian roots of the correlation of the names “*Rhos*” – “*Rurik*” could serve as the factor that influenced the choice of the ethnonym “Rus”. Academician Yu.S. Stepanov says that there is no need to consider this name of the East Slavs as given to them by the Germanic people. Most likely, the semiotic parallel of the Germanic name “Rurik” and the ethnonym “Rhos”, that is a tribe from among the Swedes, served as a factor that influenced the choice of the term “Rus”, which was initially associated with the Northern Novgorod center: Gradually, it moved southward and

settled in Kiev's centre, gradually turning into an ethnic term for the entire population of this land and a state term (Stepanov, 2004: 152). As a relic of the Germanic rule, the proper name and the name of "Rus" retain the alliterative relationship of the Rurik dynasty with the name "Rus".

3.2. The Origin of the Name Italy

Sometimes the name of a country, such as Italy, is correlated with a sacrificial ritual. Take for example an inscription from Lamas de Moledo (Portugal), written in the Lusitanian language. In this text, the name of the *Veaminicori* tribe is presented in the context of the ritual sacrifice of a lamb and a piglet.

RVFINVS.ET
TIRO SCRIP/SERVUNT
VEAMINICORI
DOENTI
ANGOM
LAMATICOM
CROVCEAIMAGA
REAI COL.PETRANIOI.T
ADOM.PORGOM IOVEAI
CAELOBRIGOI

This inscription is from a series of inscriptions from the west of the Iberian Peninsula. The records date back to the first century AD. The first four words are read in Latin as "Rufinus and Tyro wrote". The text deals with the sacrifice of young dairy animals. We can establish the sacred layer of the names of these creatures. In a later prayer to the god Mars in Latin, the sacred row of young dairy animals *agnus*, *porcus*, *uitulus* is implied. In the process of analyzing the Latin prayer, we inferred a duality in the nomination of sacrificial animals. So, the prayer itself is called *souuitaurilia* and brings to us the profane names of the sacrificial adult animals. In the context of sacrifice, they are sacralized and understood as objects of grandiloquence. It turns out that the Lusitanian inscription and the Latin prayer are texts of different stylistic registers.

I Mars pater te precor quaesoque
Uti sies uolen propitious

Mihi domo familiaeque nostrae:
Quoius rei ergo
Agrum terram fundumque meum
Suouitaurilia cicumagi iussi
II uti tu
Morbos uisos inuisosque
Uduertatem uasitudinemque
calamitates intemperiasque
prohibessis defendas auerruncesque
III utique tu
fruges frumenta uineta uirgultaque
grandire (du)eneque euenire siris
pastores pecuaque salua seruassis
duisque (du) onam salute ualetudinemque
mihi domo familiaeque nostrae
IV harunce rerum ergo
fundi terrae agriquer mei
lustrandi lustrique faciendi ergo
sicuti dixi
macte hisce suouitaurilibus lactentibus
immolandis esto
Mars pater eiusdem rei ergo
Macte hisce suouitaurilibus lactentibus esto
(Watkins, 1995: 199-200).

Émile Benveniste specifies that this is a description of a sacrifice called *su-oue-aurilia* which exposes deep social symbolism. Neither the choice nor the nature of the sacrificial animals is accidental. All three animals are symbolic here: the pig is dedicated to the deity of the earth Ceres, it is associated with soil fertility; the bull is traditionally dedicated to Jupiter, Zeus. These are the most sacred sacrificial animals intended for solemn occasions, their shepherds were the priests of the mighty gods. In addition to these two, often, if not constantly sacrificed creatures, there is the ram, the animal of warriors. All three social classes which are symbolized by these animals are represented here, which provides the key to the rite of illumination. The sacrifice, called *souuetaurilia*, allegorically unites three social strata, which by this solemn ritual are transferred under the auspices of the invoked mighty god Mars; thus, the whole society is symbolically represented at the ceremony (Benveniste, 1995: 333).

In the Indo-European tradition, there are two names for an animal: profane and sacred. Coming to the sacrifice, the owner of the land,

according to Cato, had to say the following words “*suouetaurilibus lactentibus esto*”. This is a prayer addressed to Mars to receive three very young dairy animals. The prayer was pronounced again in the following form: “*Mars, pater, eiusdem rei ergo macte hisce suouetaurilibus lactentibus esto*” (Father Mars, in the name of this, be glorious with this sacrifice of young animals). Then Cato continues: “*ubi porcum immolabis, agnum uitulumque oportet*” (when you slaughter *porcus*, *agnus*, *uitulus* will be necessary). Compare the terms of the prayer *sus*, *ouis* and *taurus* with the sacred names of the animals actually sacrificed *porcus*, *agnus*, *uitulus*. The duplicity of forms testifies not only to the division into young dairy and adult animals, but also to a deeper division of vocabulary into profane and sacred. The second row is presented in a sacred context, and these names are widely used in naming the divine principle. It is not by chance that Christ is called *the lamb of God*, i.e. there is a fact that the naming of the Christian god is successive to the Indo-European sacrifice cult with two layers of vocabulary: sacred and profane. Thus, the sacred name *Italia* is formed from the name *uitulus*.

The Lusitanian inscription was created to commemorate the animal sacrifice by the people called the *Veaminicori*, which they offer to the gods and which they refer to by their cult titles. *Doenti* is a verb meaning “they bring (give)”. The rest of the inscription, in the accusative singular, denoting the offering: *angom lamaticom, tadom porgom*; and the names of the recipients in the dative singular: *petranioi, caelobrigoi*. As noted by James Clackson, this

is not much, but enough to dispel all doubts about the Indo-European origin of the Lusitanian language (Clackson, 2007: 3). Some words are very similar to Latin ones. For example, the sacrificed *porgom* probably means “piglet” (Latin accusative singular *porcum*), and *angom* meaning “lamb” (Latin accusative singular *agnum*). The verb form *doenti* “they bring (give)” contains the root *do* “to give”, known from the equivalent forms in Greek (*dō-*), Latin (*da*), and Sanskrit (*dā / d*). The inscription shows the coincidence with the third person plural forms *-enti*, which is also found in these languages (dialectal Greek *-enti*, archaic Latin *-nti* and Sanskrit *-anti*). Further, the ending *-oi* coincides with the dative singular marker (Greek *-ōi*, archaic Latin *-oi*, Sanskrit *-ai*), and the plural nominative *-i* is consistent with the *i*-nominative of declension.

4. Conclusion

Thus, we can conclude that the sacred names of young dairy animals are represented in the Lusitanian language. In the rite of sacrifice, the scale of grandiloquence is attested. The name *Italia* refers precisely to the solemn sacred layer of vocabulary, but also acts as an implicit name for a Latin prayer to the god Mars.

In the proportions of a proper name, rules for handling a name are incorporated, which vary from tradition to tradition. Attention is drawn to the special nature of ethnogenic texts that shed light on the origin of peoples. Cultural boundaries can act as the limit that generates recognizable patterns that migrate from culture to culture.

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A New Approach to Chinese Discourse: Cultural Context

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Abstract. The article provides a systematic description of the trends in the development of the Chinese discursive and communicative linguistics. Discursive research and its results in the Chinese academic community have their own specifics, which are based on the traditional philosophical and ideological foundation and a unique language picture of the world. The scientific findings explicate culturally determined communicative and discursive conventions of the Chinese social interaction. The aim of the research is to highlight the Chinese cultural discourse studies as a new research tradition in the Chinese linguistics of the modern stage, to expand its methodology, and to construct the discursive space of China as the totality of the dominant cultural and communicative vectors, these vectors being an interpretative tool to help understand and evaluate Chinese discourses.

Keywords: Chinese cultural discourse-analysis, deconstruction, transformation, cultural and discursive space, cultural and communicative vector, mode of cultural and communicative vector.

Research area: philology.

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Новый подход к исследованию китайского дискурса: культурный контекст

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Аннотация. Статья посвящена систематизирующему описанию тенденций развития дискурсивно-коммуникативного направления в китайском языкознании. Дискурсивные исследования и их результаты в китайском академическом сообществе имеют свою собственную оригинальную специфику, базируются на традиционном философско-мировоззренческом фундаменте и уникальной языковой картине мира, эксплицируя при этом культурно обусловленные коммуникативно-дискурсивные конвенции в социальном взаимодействии носителей китайского языка. Целью исследования стало описание китайского культурологического дискурс-анализа как новой исследовательской традиции в китайской лингвистике современного этапа, расширение его методологии и моделирование дискурсивного пространства Китая в формате доминирующих культурно обусловленных векторов коммуникации как интерпретативной основы дальнейших исследований китайского дискурса.

Ключевые слова: китайский культурологический дискурс-анализ, деконструкция, трансформация, культурно-дискурсивное пространство, культурно-коммуникативный вектор, модус культурно-коммуникативного вектора.

Научная специальность: 10.00.00 – филологические науки.

Introduction

Since the start of the reforms and opening-up over three decades-ago, Chinese scholars have been involved in the global academic field. Discourse as an interspecific generic concept, the unifying core of which, according to Chen Rudong, is “the interaction of subjects between themselves and the surrounding reality” (Chen, 2008: 131), became the subject of Chinese linguists’ study in the late 1980s, since the beginning of external reforms in the country and the integration of Western research concepts into the Chinese humanities. Thus, the basis for the development of discursive problems in Chinese linguistics was formed by the ideas of European authors in the field of discourse theory and discourse analysis, their interpretation by Chinese scholars and attempts to apply appropriate methods on the material of the discursive space of China. During this period the cross-discipline – discourse studies – appeared. Traditionally, Chinese forms of communication have been studied from many

perspectives, ranging from text linguistics (话语语言学 / 篇章语言学), conversation analysis (会话分析), pragmatics (语用学), ethnography of communication (民俗交际学), critical discourse analysis (判话语分析), narratology (叙事学), argument theory (论辩), social interactionist theory (互动社会语言学), and discourse psychology (话语心理学) to cross cultural / group / age and interpersonal communication (跨文化, 社群, 代沟, 个性人际交际研究) (Nagibina, 2017).

However, it should be noticed that the Chinese discourse research traditionally includes literary criticism (文艺学), social communication (传播学), translation studies (翻译学), philosophy (哲学), cultural studies (文化学), politology (政治学), sociology (社会学), historical studies (历史学), commerce studies (商学), jurisprudence (法学), ecology (环境学), theology (宗教学), pedagogics (教育学), and psychology (心理学).

Linguistic survey of Chinese researchers were conducted on the basis of such famous ar-

eas as logical-pragmatic communication theory (Gu, 1990; Sheng, 2000); conversation analysis (Yu, 2008; Li, Li, 2014); ethnography of communication (Wen, 2004); the theory of speech acts (Chen, 1996; Yuan, 2004); cognitive theory of the relationship between discourse and grammar (Li, 2000); system-functional grammar (Wu, 2002), and critical discourse analysis (Zhang, 2004; Shi, 2014).

Theoretical framework and description of Chinese cultural discourse studies

In spite of a number of scholarship on the topic, contemporary Chinese linguistic communication has hardly ever been considered from a Chinese cultural psychological perspective. At the beginning of the 21st century, Chinese cultural approach, namely “Chinese cultural discourse studies” appeared as a part of Chinese discourse studies and cultural discourse studies. To justify his theory the Chinese linguist Shi Xu, the author of this approach, uses the concept and methods of critical discourse studies in general. He regards them as a kind of discourse-analytical procedure aimed to study the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in social and political contexts (Dijk, 1993).

However, there is hitherto little particular and precise knowledge of the relationships between Chinese cultural cognition and emotion, on the one hand, and Chinese discourses, on the other hand, though Chinese cultural psychological principles for social (inter) action have been recognized more generally. Professor Shi Xu emphasizes: “Human reality is always a cultural reality” (Shi, 2005: 53). At the same time, the concept of “culture” is defined as “a system of perception of reality, symbols, ways of self-expression, values, rules, speech models and social interactions peculiar to a particular civilization” (Shi, 2014: 27). The purpose of cultural discourse studies is to construct another, “alternative” discourse by demonstrating the hidden or, as L.V. Kulikova calls it, “underwater” part of each culture – the place of collision of its own norms, values, and worldviews specific to each nation (Kulikova, 2009: 84).

Thus, cultural discourse studies developed by Shi Xu for the entire spectrum of Eastern¹ communication is aimed at interpreting national socio-cultural factors that determine the linguistic forms of utterances, the utterances being traditional for a particular cultural and discursive space. Cultural discourse studies considers any fragment of oral or written discourse as a product of social (inter)action, which is determined by a certain set of communicative orientations of a particular culture. The social context, defined by the cultural orientations of each community, must necessarily be the basis for the research of Eastern communication, implemented through language. Otherwise, the researcher risks to misinterpret the text or oral statement, interpreting patriotism as fanatical nationalism, birth control as a violation of human rights, selective reporting of the current situation as propaganda or outright lies, etc.

The identical traits in historical and economic projections of the discourse of the Eastern countries shows a certain set of similarities of text generation and interpretation (Basso, 1990; Kinge'l, 2000; Shi, 2009, 2013, 2014):

1. The language of racism faced by the inhabitants of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America at the international level.

2. A general discursive model of utterance construction aimed at harmonizing relations with the interlocutor. To prove its worth Shi Xu cites the emotional language explicators of “politeness” / 客气 and “faces” / 面子 in Asian countries; shona, or the language of inter-ethnic communication in Zimbabwe, mainly used to restore harmony of communication; “dialogue”, which is a characteristic feature of “positive perception of the interlocutor” in discourse.

3. Eastern discourses are characterized by various forms, methods, and a kind of “bindweb” of communication. In Nigeria, for example, silence is an integral part of communication.

4. The main topics of communication in the Eastern countries are the pressing daily issues of poverty, development, peaceful life, etc.

¹ Societies of Asia (and the Middle East), Africa, Latin (Central and South) America.

Chinese cultural discourse studies as a component of cultural discourse studies was proposed by Shi Xu as a reference model for the interpretation of Eastern communication. Scholars of Chinese cultural discourse studies define discourse as the most important component of culture, the spiritual core of which is Chinese philosophy, and insist that Chinese communication should be evaluated taking into account the factor of the manifestation of its own system of knowledge and worldview ideas. According to Chinese scholars, since ancient times, the principles of producing and organizing discourse have been a direct projection of Chinese philosophy (Wei, 1990; Lin, 1994; Ge, 1995; Chen, 2001; Wang, Zheng, 2013; Shi, 2009, 2013, 2014).

It may be noted here that cultural and philosophical categories and principles are wider in scope than their discursive embodiment, since they are appropriated in other forms of social action as well. Chinese discourse studies illustrates the actual functioning of these discursive rules with the examples from various socio-cultural settings.

The Confucian tradition considers communication as the main tool for the formation of society, and its organization should be in harmony with the social order, which implies the achievement of harmony. Zi Lu, a follower of Confucius, points out in the *Analects*, the main book of Confucianism:

片言可以折狱 / “A few words can solve a case”.

一言可以兴邦 / “One phrase can make a state thrive”.

一言而可以丧邦 / “One phrase can bring a state to ruin” (论语原文译文集赏析, Available at: <http://down1.5156edu.com/showzipdown.php?id=62967.html>). These moral principles are a descriptive, analytic, interpretative, as well as evaluative tool to help understand and criticize more adequately, thus making present-day Chinese discourses more transparent and accountable in current globalization (Shi, 2010). Chinese philosophical postulates, spiritual universals, which have an archetypal nature, act as a “censor” in relation to the participants of the discourse, defining the norms of the national communicative style.

Chinese cultural discourse studies is based on a combination of such methodological components as “deconstruction” and “transformation”.

Deconstruction aimed at explicating or revealing “cultural suppression” involves a number of tasks (Shi, 2005, 2009, 2013, 2014):

1. Semantic description of symbols and characters correlated with race, skin color, gender, nationality, ethnicity, colonial history, identity, religion, geographical location, economic situation, etc.

2. Identification of forms and categories of reproduction of the discourse of oppression, which, as a rule, is carried out through the use of a particular cluster, lexical, stylistic, and rhetorical methods combined with the syntactical composition of the text fragments.

3. Direct criticism of the omissions and the implicitness of “cultural dominance” by demonstrating the language structures used for this purpose.

The second structural element of the Chinese cultural discourse analysis, “transformation”, is the promotion of discourses that can resist the discourses of “cultural suppression”, aimed at leveling the asymmetry and creating a balance of existing discourses. In this regard, transformation includes:

1. Voicing the opinions of the so-called suppressed cultures, commenting on the political and historical reasons for their silence or non-expression of their opinion on a controversial issue that has become a reason for conflict or military actions.

2. Interpretation of communication participants’ behavior, which implies constructing the discourse according to cultural and communicative guidelines, a clear comment and explanation of the national cultural characteristics of the behavior of all participants of the polylogue.

3. Creation of a more harmonious communication by changing the discourses of various social institutions in mono- and intercultural interaction.

The study of extensive theoretical and empirical material allowed us to model the Chinese cultural-discursive space through a set of cultural and communicative vectors that char-

acterize the features of communication and communicative style in the Chinese language culture. The cultural-discursive space is defined in our research as a continuum of the flow of social experience and national traditions, in which a specific content and functional unity is formed on the basis of the integration of cultural and communicative phenomena and symbolic codes.

The cultural and communicative vector is understood as a traditional archetypally determined discursive reference point, which has the social nature of a symbolic convention and a recurrent character, determining the specifics of the linguistic implementation of discourse in a particular linguistic culture. The cultural and communicative vector manifests itself in interaction in various ways, indicated in this paper by the modes of its representation.

The model of the Chinese cultural and discursive space is presented through the combination of eight cultural and communicative vectors and the discursive imperative, the obligatory phono-forming constituent of Chinese communication. The description of the system of cultural and communicative vectors provides a theoretical basis for the analysis of the current Chinese discourse, as well as gives a general idea of the specifics and content of discursive interaction with the representatives of the Chinese language culture. Graphically, the model of the Chinese cultural-discursive space is visualized as follows (Fig. 1).

In the modeling of Chinese cultural and discursive space, the paper highlights the end-to-end constituent of Chinese communication – “Aesthetics of speech” / 话语审美, which determines the speech and behavioral practice of Chinese speakers. The Aesthetics is a discursive imperative that constructs a cultural-discursive background (a set of phonetic, lexical, and syntactic language means), a prerequisite for proper communication. The Aesthetics of speech / 话语审美 as an unwritten law or rule of producing discourse is postulated in “Zhou Yi”, the most authoritative work of Chinese canonical and philosophical literature. “Zhou Yi” contains a reference to apriority of beauty and grace of the plane of expression – the totality of material resources of the language as a condition of the translation of the ethical and moral, i.e. achieving the ultimate goal of communication – order and harmony:

«君子进德修业，忠信所以进德也，修辞立其诚，所以居业也» (周易传文白话解, Available at: <http://vdisk.weibo.com/s/ujpgg77s55hYt.html>). In its modern interpretation this provision means “A noble man should approach the choice of the form of implementation of the plan with the utmost responsibility and reverence”. Within the framework of the Chinese language culture, the aesthetics of discourse is a two-way process of satisfying the needs of aesthetic thinking of both the referent and the recipient of the message (Shi, 2010). As described by the



Fig. 1

literary critic Liu Xie in “Dragon-Carving and the Literary Mind”, a classical book of literary criticism, the Chinese aesthetics of communication is extremely associated with the state of “xujing” / 虚静 – the enlightened and immune to external factors consciousness (the state of the spiritual world), which allows the author as a producer of discourse to embody the artistic concept, setting and delineating the boundaries of the aesthetics of the work (Yang, 2003).

The aesthetics of Chinese discourse as a tool for proper interaction of members of society is a kind of philosophical and religious dogma of successful communication. Zuo Qiuming, a historian of Lu Kingdom, the supposed author of “Zuo Zhuan”, in the comments to the chronicle of Spring and Autumn Period, specifies:

言之无文，行而不远 / “Non-elegant words will not spread far” (周易传文白话解, Available at: <http://vdisk.weibo.com/s/ujpgg77s55hYt.html>).

The scale of the consequences of what has been said can be predicted depending on the type of discourse. According to Yang Na, the words of Confucius 名不正，则言不顺；言不顺，则事不成 / “(If) the name is not corrected, then the word does not correspond (with the deed); the word does not correspond, then the deed will not be done” imply the direction of all actions to “improve and resystematize the language” in order to give it more euphony, which will positively affect harmonious social interaction (Yang, 2014: 258).

The cultural and communicative vector “Harmony” as the goal-setting constituent of the Chinese cultural and discursive space is the central element in the model of Chinese cultural discourse studies to construct and maintain the balance between individuals, microgroups, societies, and states. Within the framework of the paper, seven modes of implementation of the “Harmony” vector at the discursive-behavioral level are identified. The inner feeling of harmony occurs under the condition of the ability to conduct natural communication according to such principles as 和顺、平和、心平气和、和颜悦色 / “peacefulness, self-restraint, equilibrium, kindness”, “融洽 / “agreement and harmony”, 和解、和平、结束战争或争执 /

“compromise, reconciliation, the end of the war or dispute” (Li, 1988).

The cultural and communicative vector “Face” / 脸面, which goes back to the ethical and political tradition of Confucianism, determines the social and normative behavior in the Chinese culture. The Chinese cultural and discursive space is constructed by the twelve modes of this vector in the order of interpersonal / intergroup / interstate interaction formed under the influence of moral constraints. For example, the following fragment of Chinese political discourse implements the mode “saving a face” / 留脸面, which, as a rule, appears more frequently than the discursive variants “injury to a face” / 损脸面 or “cast aside all considerations of face” / 撕破脸面:

卫亚非表示对欧盟的提议非常失望，希望欧盟部长会议能认真对待此事，给予中国企业一个公正的裁决 / “Wei Yafei is deeply disappointed with the proposal of the European Union, but hopes that the Council of Ministers of the European Union can make a fair decision” (Shi, 2010: 154).

At the same time, the mode “saving a face” / 留脸面 is implemented by a complex oppositive sentence with the inclusion of the combinations 公公的 (“fair decision”), 认真对待 (“take seriously, responsibly”) and the modal verb 能 (“can”).

The cultural and communicative vector “Politeness” / 礼貌 is realized in the interdependence or hierarchical relations between the participants of communication, determined by the communicative context. The vector “Politeness” / 礼貌 is a communicative convention that manifests itself in self-humiliation, belittling one’s position, and elevating the interlocutor.

The cultural and communicative vector “Meaning beyond language” / 言不尽意 is one of the central and most practical elements in the Chinese belief system. It is that of the nature of language. That is, language can never express meaning entirely; one must use language carefully or strategically and go beyond language in searching of meaning. The Chinese belief about the relationship between language and meaning can also be traced back to the Chinese classic philosophy—that regards language

as limited in its power. Yet, meaning is boundless and requires endless search. The value of implicit information in the Chinese language is primarily based on the intellectual effort that the addressee has already expended to obtain it. The extraction of implicit meanings for native Chinese speakers is commensurate with the deciphering of sacred, canonical texts that can only be understood by a select few, in this case, those involved in the Chinese cultural and discursive space. For this reason, the level of language proficiency is largely determined by the knowledge of *cheng'yu*, the knowledge of historical and mythological characters, because allusions to them are peculiar for all types of discourse.

This vector specifies the independent decoding of the information by the addressee. It has three modes of implementation: “speaking sparingly or little” / 慎言, “speaking implicitly, indirectly or vaguely” / 含蓄 and “multiple repetition of thought” as a way of producing the true meaning of the utterance / 正义多表. The mode “speaking implicitly, indirectly or vaguely” / 含蓄 is a discursive construction of meanings through allusion and metaphor, when the addressee is forced to read between the lines and make his own conclusions from what is said, to interpret it in his/her own way.

The forms of production and understanding of the Chinese discourse, typified by such situations as disasters, emergencies, crises, as well as the presentation of one's own achievements, occur according to the cultural and communicative vector “Thinking dialectically” / 辩证思维. The implementation of this vector is carried out by the modes of maximum restriction of the use of extreme terms or statements; global description of the discursive context; inclusion of the positive aspects of the current negative situation, and vice versa the mode “being vigilant in peacetime” / 居安思危.

The cultural and communicative vector “Inclusion in relations” / 关系 reflects the same primacy of the addressee and the addressee in the construction of discourse, which is always a dialogical form of communication. In accordance with the Confucian tradition, the implementation of this vector is considered in three

modes: “relations between the family and the state” / 家国关系, “relations between officials and the common people” / 官民关系, “relations between ordinary people” / 民民关系.

One of the variants of the implementation of the ancient principle of regulating the ethical norms of social behavior 孝道 / “loyalty (service) to parents, or the norms (principle) of filial piety” is the cultural and communicative vector “Respect for authority” / 崇尚权威. The orientation of communication according to this vector is manifested through explicit indication of the relevant social position, age, experience; quoting authoritative statements; excessive frequency (in comparison with non-Chinese discourse) of referring to an authoritative person's opinion.

The cultural and communicative vector “National patriotism” / 民族爱国主义 is manifested in many types of the Chinese discourse. In modern China, this vector is realized in “soft” / 软实力, implicit opposition to two opponents – Japan and the United States. This reference point is especially found in the Chinese political leaders' oratory, where various types of positive self-presentation are used: a politician's speech on behalf of the government, the speech on behalf of the country, and the speech on his/her own behalf. The cultural and communicative vector “National patriotism” is actively represented in the Chinese Internet space, in information blogs posted by users in social networks and forums. Such maxims or fragments of them, as well as the quotes from the texts of the discourse of the top leadership of the Communist Party of China are immediately borrowed by other users of the Internet network. Many expressions have become precedent statements and aphorisms.

Conclusion

Having assimilated foreign concepts and methods of discourse analysis, it is at the beginning of the 21st century when the Chinese linguistic community proposed its own theory of interpretation of Eastern discourses in general and the Chinese communication in particular – cultural discourse studies and its investigation line, Chinese cultural discourse studies.

Based on the study of extensive theoretical and empirical material, the paper models the Chinese cultural and discursive space through a set of cultural and communicative vectors and their complex philosophical and linguistic description. This expands the methodology of Chinese cultural discourse studies as a device and resource for making sense of especially practical cultural discourses.

In this paper we attempt to highlight the cultural and communicative vectors, discursive modes or embodiments of the basic com-

ponents of the Chinese communication. The proposed model of the Chinese cultural-discursive space has a complex and verifiable character, since it is based on research carried out in the tradition of Chinese cultural discourse studies.

The authors' model of interpretive analysis of the Chinese discursive space can create a productive perspective for further study of various types of the Chinese institutional communication, as well as discursive practices of everyday Chinese interaction.

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The Function of the Final Modal Particle 啊 in Chinese Dialogical Text: the Method of a Semantic Experiment

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Abstract. Although there are many studies devoted to the problem of Chinese final modal particles, their conclusions usually are not verified by appealing to the opinion of Chinese native speakers. The current study uses the procedure of a semantic experiment and statistical data processing method to analyze key functions of the final modal particle 啊. Respondents were given the fragments selected from Chinese dialogical texts, all these fragments included sentences with the particle 啊 (declarative, imperative, usual interrogative sentences and rhetorical questions). They were asked to evaluate the possibility of excluding the particle from the sentence in the given context without changing the basic meaning of the sentence. If respondents considered such exclusion possible, they also had to explain the difference between the sentences with and without the particle. The analysis of the semantic experiment results identified the following functions of the final modal particle 啊 in a Chinese sentence: 1) softening of the intonation and deescalation of the situation; 2) creation of the communicative tone that is more natural and appropriate to the communicative situation; 3) emphasis of the speaker's feelings and emotions. These functions have been observed in declarative sentences, imperative sentences and rhetorical questions. In usual interrogative sentences the particle does not have a big influence on a sentence's meaning that can be explained by the process of its grammaticalization. The function of feeling and emotion's emphasis indicated by respondents confirms the idea that modus constructions might be the source of Chinese final modal particles.

Keywords: Chinese final modal particle, function of the particle 啊, semantic experiment, declarative sentence, imperative sentence, usual interrogative sentence, rhetorical question.

Research area: philology.

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Функция конечной модальной частицы 啊 в китайском диалогическом тексте: метод семантического эксперимента

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Аннотация. Несмотря на большое количество исследований, посвященных проблеме функций конечных модальных частиц современного китайского языка, очень редко заключенные в них выводы подтверждаются экспериментально путем обращения к мнению носителей китайского языка. В настоящем исследовании для анализа функции частицы 啊 использовалась процедура семантического эксперимента с привлечением метода статистической обработки данных. Для этого были выбраны отрывки из устных диалогических текстов, содержащие предложения с рассматриваемой частицей (повествовательные, побудительные, обычные вопросительные предложения и риторические вопросы). Респондентам предлагалось оценить, возможно ли в неизменяемом контексте исключить из предложения частицу и существует ли при возможности такого исключения смысловая разница между предложением с частицей и без нее. Проведенный анализ результатов семантического эксперимента позволил сделать вывод о следующих основных функциях частицы 啊: 1) смягчение интонации и разряжение обстановки; 2) создание более естественного и соответствующего коммуникативной ситуации характера общения; 3) акцентирование заключенных в предложении чувств и эмоций. Перечисленные функции частица выполняет в повествовательных предложениях, побудительных предложениях и риторических вопросах. В обычных вопросительных предложениях частица оказывает уже довольно слабое влияние на смысл предложения, что в целом объясняется ее дальнейшей грамматикализацией. Указание респондентами на акцентирование заключенных в предложении чувств и эмоций при наличии частицы подтверждает тезис о возможности происхождения конечных модальных частиц современного китайского языка от модусных конструкций.

Ключевые слова: конечная модальная частица китайского языка, функция частицы 啊, семантический эксперимент, повествовательное предложение, побудительное предложение, обычное вопросительное предложение, риторический вопрос.

Научная специальность: 10.00.00 – филологические науки.

Introduction

Functional unit 啊 has various usage in Chinese dialogical text. It can fill the position of final modal particle (嘿, 你怎么不高兴啊? – Hey, why are not you happy [*particle*]?). It can be a topic marker in the middle of the sentence (刘易阳啊, 你拿我话当什么了你? – Liu Yiyang

[*topic mark*], you don't believe me, do you?). Or it also can demonstrate a single usage with a pause before particle and different types of intonations afterwards (你别生气, 啊? – Don't get angry, okay?). The paper presents one of the most frequent options of functional unit 啊 in Chinese² dialogical text. It is the position of the final modal particle. In Taiwan, particle

¹ The examples are retrieved from a modern Chinese TV play *Naked Wedding* (2011, Zhang Yan – Producer).

² In this paper Chinese means Mandarin Chinese.

喔/哦 is used more frequently, but the question of the equivalence (啊 ≈ 喔/哦?) needs further explorations.

In ancient China, modal particles were first mentioned in the dictionary “Shuowen Jiezi” (《说文解字》). However, till the beginning of the 20th century all descriptions of this language category were tightly connected with the classical Chinese language (文言) in which modal particles differed from modal particles of Baihua (colloquial Chinese). As Baihua spread after “May Fourth Movement” in 1919, the number of linguistic works describing lexical and grammatical phenomena of colloquial Chinese has increased. Particularly, functions of final modal particles of Baihua were described in details in the works of Lü Shuxiang (Lü Shuxiang, 2014, first published 1956), Chao Yuan-Ren (Chao Yuan-Ren, 2015, first published 1968), Zhu Dexi (Zhu Dexi, 1982), Wan Li (Wan Li, 2014, first published 1985), Sun Rujian (Sun Rujian, 1999), Qi Huyang (Qi Huyang, 2002, 2011), Cui Xiliang (Cui Xiliang, 2012), Teng Shou-hsin (Teng Shou-hsin, 2019) etc.

In Russian sinology Chinese particles were mainly described within the framework of the problems of Chinese parts of speech and description of various types of Chinese functional words. But there are a lot of narrowly specialized research papers, devoted to Chinese final modal particles, which have been published recently. For example, there are papers, which describe the most common particles of contemporary Chinese (Simatova, 2014), functions of individual particles (Kravchenko, 2016), intonation modifications of particles in the flow of the speech (Soktoeva, 2018), etc. Besides, very often not only particles of Putonghua (standardized Chinese language) are being investigated, but also dialect particles, which have much greater variety.

The essence of the position of final modal particle can be disclosed through its participation in the construction of the predicative structure of a message. Such an explanation was proposed in the framework of V.A. Kurdyumov’s Predicational conception, which takes Topic and Comment as basic theoretical notions (Kurdyumov, 2013). The Predicational

conception explains the change of the emotional coloring of the sentence after adding a modal particle as a change of modus or relationship between modus and address in a message (Kurdyumov, 2014: 39).

Modus is an external topic for proposition, or dictum³. Explicitly modus is presented in so-called explicit modality constructions, for example, *I am glad that..., I’m surprised that..., etc.* Address is interpreted as even more external topic, which comment is a combination of modus and dictum. Verbally address is usually expressed through different addressing forms. However, in Chinese, address is often harmoniously combined with modus, forming a conventional modus-address unity as a topic for dictum. These are such expressions as *I tell you, I ask you*, etc.

From the perspective of positional morphology, a section of the Predicational conception, Chinese final modal particles are the result of the folding of subjective-modal constructions (or explicit modality constructions), they replace an additional predicate of subjective modality in a sentence (Kurdyumov, 2014: 39). According to positional morphology, the particle POS route⁴ is associated with the further strengthening of its functional features and gradual weakening of connection with its primary subjective-modal meaning. In some cases, Chinese native speakers already regard particles as just means of arranging pauses, labeling some elements of a statement and creating a smoother rhythm of the speech.

There are six groups of modal particles that are most common for contemporary Chinese. These are a group of “ba” (吧, 呗, 罢了), a group of “ne” (呢), a group of “ma” (吗, 嘛), a group of “la” (了, 啦), a group of “a” (啊 and its phonetic varieties 呀, 哇, 哪) and a group of “de” (的). The particles’ functions of the first four groups were described in details in V.A. Kurdyumov’s paper (Kurdyumov, 2014). The current paper supplements the materials of this research with the description of the main functions of the final modal particle 啊 and its phonetic varieties.

³ For more details, see (Kurdyumov, 1999: 162).

⁴ About the notion “route” see (Kurdyumov, 2005).

The grammar dictionary of Lü Shuxiang (Lü, 1999, first published 1980) has a section devoted to the functional unit 啊. The cases of using 啊 as the final modal particle are described in this dictionary in declarative, imperative, exclamatory, usual interrogative sentences and rhetorical questions. Some meanings listed in the dictionary are in fact related to sentences with 啊, but not actually to the particle itself. For example, it is stated that the intonation of reminding, explaining and a shadow of impatience are often observed in declarative sentences (Lü, 1999: 46). In our opinion, this is just the description of the situations, for which the using of the sentences with a final modal particle 啊 is quite common. The dictionary indicates only two functions of the particle itself. These are, firstly, the function of softening intonation in usual interrogative sentences and rhetorical questions, and, secondly, the function of turning a statement into a question (Lü, 1999: 46).

The main function of the final modal particle 啊 has been already clearly identified and demonstrated by Ch. Li and S. Thompson. As for the most of Chinese final modal particles, its function is to reduce the categoricalness of the statement that leads to softening of the intonation (Li & Thompson, 1989: 313). Ch. Li and S. Thompson emphasized several times that the expression of impatience, warning, friendly attitude and other various meanings is not a direct function of the particle 啊, all these meanings are enclosed in the sentences (Li & Thompson, 1989: 316). It should be mentioned that some meanings may be related to the refraction of the particle main function of the categoricalness' reduction in a concrete sentence. For example, if the categoricalness is reduced, the order is becoming a kind request, and the statement is getting a more friendly tone. It has been found out that there are not many linguistic studies in China nowadays that are especially dedicated to the analysis of the function of the final modal particle 啊 in Putonghua. According to the topics of the papers available for reading in the China Knowledge Resource Integrated Database CNKI (中国知网), Chinese linguists today are more concerned about the problem of this particle acquisition by Chinese children and foreigners who are learning Chinese as a

foreign language and also about the problem of the basic functions of this particle in different Chinese dialects.

Statement of the Problem

Although there has been already proposed quite a clear and comprehensible explanation of the particle 啊's main function, in our opinion, it cannot be considered as exhaustive. Firstly, the research of the particle 啊 made by Ch. Li and S. Thompson is a small section of a solid monograph on Chinese Grammar, so it probably doesn't present all variety of sentence types with this particle. Secondly, it seems that the examples of sentences with the particle 啊 are either composed by the authors themselves, or borrowed from the previous studies. Since the usage of final modal particles is marked as a feature of a spoken language, for reliable conclusions we consider it necessary to analyze particle functions basing on the examples selected from real dialogical texts. Thirdly, the usage of final modal particles is very subjective. It is reasonable to organize a semantic experiment, i.e. appeal to the opinion of native speakers for the purpose of further analysis and generalization from a linguist's point of view. Fourthly, despite the recognition of the opinion that sentences with and without a particle differ in meaning in some way, this statement has not been objectively confirmed yet, for example, by using statistical data processing methods⁵.

We consider that a deeper analysis with using the method of a semantic experiment will allow to see whether the Predicational conception is right about the nature of Chinese final modal particle. Particularly, whether native speakers feel the so called "hidden modus" intuitively in the sentences with a particle.

Basing on the previous linguistic works and our own observations we can formulate the hypothesis of the current research: Chinese native speakers in most cases must feel the difference between sentences with and without the particle 啊 because of so called "hidden modus" in the semantics of the particle; but there should be some cases when native speak-

⁵ Statistical approach is widely used by linguists nowadays, including specialists in Chinese language, for example in (Jiang Menghan, Shi Dingxu, Huang Chu-Ren, 2016).

ers don't see big difference between sentences with and without the particle, because of the weakening of the particle's subjective-modal meaning. The task is, firstly, to identify those cases, when the difference between sentences with and without the particle is obvious and to describe the function of the particle in these cases, and, secondly, to identify those cases, when there is no noticeable difference between sentences with and without the particle.

Steps and Methods

This study includes the following steps: 1) selection of Chinese dialogues from the TV play⁶ and further selection of the sentences with a final modal particle 啊 from these dialogues; 2) the distribution of the examples with the particle into four groups according to a sentence type, where the particle can be used, these are the groups of declarative sentences, imperative sentences, usual interrogative sentences and rhetorical questions; 3) selection of five sentences from each group for making a semantic experiment and compiling a questionnaire; 4) making a semantic experiment among Chinese native speakers; 5) statistical and qualitative analysis of the results of the semantic experiment; 6) conclusion about the functions of the final modal particle 啊 in various types of sentences in Chinese dialogical text.

The essence of a semantic experiment was discussed in details in the works of O.N. Seliverstova (Seliverstova, 2004). Such an experiment is an evaluation of a certain number of sentences by informants according to the objectives of a research. For example, informants may be given a sentence with a language unit No. 1 and asked whether it is possible or not in this context to replace a given language unit with a language unit No. 2. The task in our semantic experiment was the following: we offered informants a number of sentences with the final modal particle 啊 and asked them to evaluate the possibility of excluding the particle from the sentence in the

given context without changing the meaning of the sentence. We set the criteria for evaluating sentences without the particle on the scale of A. Timberlake (Timberlake, 1982: 309), for convenience, replacing his designations («no mark», «+», «?» and «*») by numeric as points: 4 points – acceptable, no difference from the sentence with the particle; 3 points – acceptable, in some way differs in meaning from the sentence with the particle; 2 points – marginal / infrequent; 1 point – unacceptable / rare.

During processing the results for each group of sentences, the weighted average (conditionally weighted average score) was determined using the following formula:

$$\bar{X} = \frac{\frac{\mu_1}{\sigma_1^2} + \frac{\mu_2}{\sigma_2^2} + \dots + \frac{\mu_i}{\sigma_i^2}}{\frac{1}{\sigma_1^2} + \frac{1}{\sigma_2^2} + \dots + \frac{1}{\sigma_i^2}}$$

where $\mu_1, \mu_2 \dots \mu_i$ are the arithmetic means for each question in the group, $\sigma_1, \sigma_2 \dots \sigma_i$ – standard deviations for each question in the group⁷. For a more accurate determination of the weighted average for each group of estimates (i.e. for each group of sentences with the particle) we have also calculated the standard deviation of the measurement results and the standard deviation of the weighted average by the following formulas (Norin, 2009: 28):

$$S = \sqrt{\frac{1}{n-1} \sum_{i=1}^n \frac{1}{\sigma_i^2} (\mu_i - \bar{X})^2}$$

(standard deviation of the measurement results),

$$S_{\bar{X}} = S / \sqrt{\sum_{i=1}^n \frac{1}{\sigma_i^2}}$$

(standard deviation of the weighted average),

where $n = 5$ (the number of the rows of answers). The final result of the calculations was

⁶ We consider a modern Chinese TV play an appropriate source of language material for the research. Firstly, dialogues in TV plays have a certain degree of spontaneity (for example, final modal particles are often not written in scripts, but are pronounced by actors). Secondly, TV plays usually demonstrate only those patterns of speech behaviour that are most typical for a certain language community.

⁷ This formula is a more detailed variant of the weighted average formula $\bar{X} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n p_i \mu_i}{\sum_{i=1}^n p_i}$ (Norin, 2009: 28), where p_i is the weight, defined for each range of data (in our case, for the range of the scores respondents gave to the same question) as the value inversely proportional to the variance of this range, i.e. $1/\sigma_i^2$ (for more details see (Romanov & Komarov, 2002: 40-41)).

written as $\bar{X} \pm S_{\bar{X}}$. To achieve the highest accuracy, all calculations were performed in Microsoft Excel.

One of the prior similar semantic experiments has found out by calculations that a representative sample of 25-40 measurements can be considered sufficient (Suleimanova, 1986: 148-149). It means that it is enough to choose 5 sentences for questioning of 5-8 informants. That is why five sentences were selected for each group. For the convenience of the calculations, we questioned 10 informants.

For a semantic experiment, the quality of the informants is also very important. It is correctly noted that not all native speakers can take part in semantic experiments, because not everyone is able to treat the process of speech activity consciously (Seliverstova, 2004: 96). Precise testing of this ability is necessary only in case of complex semantic experiments, when there is a significant proportion of self-analysis of statements by respondents. In our experiment informants were offered quite simple questions, the answers on which did not require special analytic skills. That is why

Chinese TV play, where the main storyline is the relationship between a guy and a girl. We believe that Chinese young people can understand the situations presented in the questionnaire better than the representatives of older generation, and therefore they are able to evaluate these situations most objectively.

The semantic experiment of the current study was supplemented by a qualitative analysis procedure. For doing this kind of analysis we asked respondents, who had chosen the number 3 (the sentence without the particle in some way differs in meaning from the sentence with the particle) while answering the question, to explain the difference between the sentences with and without the particle. Qualitative analysis was implemented for those groups of questions, where the weighted average after calculations was close to 3.

Results

After the questionnaire procedure the following groups of estimations were obtained for further statistical processing (see Tables 1, 2, 3 and 4).

Table 1. Estimations obtained in the group of declarative sentences

Question number	Respondent Number									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Question № 1	3	3	4	1	3	3	4	3	4	3
Question № 2	3	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	4
Question № 3	3	1	1	1	1	3	1	3	1	1
Question № 4	3	3	4	3	3	3	4	4	3	3
Question № 5	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	3	4	4

we considered it possible to choose a group of university students majoring in Linguistics and Philology (20-23 years old) as respondents. In our opinion, majoring in Linguistics and Philology develops the ability of elementary analysis of speech activity that is necessary in the framework of this study. The choice of the university students as respondents for the semantic experiment is determined by the nature of the language material: respondents were asked to evaluate sentences selected from the modern

For the evaluation in the group of declarative sentences respondents were offered the following fragments from the Chinese dialogues⁸:

Question № 1

丈夫: 你别生气, 啊, 你得这么想, 咱这佳倩和刘易阳迟早得结婚哪, 你何必把这简单的事情弄复杂了呢? 退一步海阔天空。(Husband:

⁸ For a more effective evaluation, brief descriptions of communicative situations were offered to respondents before fragments of dialogues.

Table 2. Estimations obtained in the group of imperative sentences

Question number	Respondent Number									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Question № 1	3	4	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3
Question № 2	3	3	4	1	4	4	4	4	4	3
Question № 3	3	3	4	1	4	4	4	3	4	4
Question № 4	3	3	4	2	3	4	4	4	3	3
Question № 5	3	3	4	1	4	3	4	3	3	4

Don't be mad, ah, let's put it this way: Jia Qian and Liu Yiyang will have to get married anyway [particle], there is no need to make the simple thing complicated. Take a step back.)

妻子：哪有海阔天空啊？我看到的就是坑。后面就是大坑。(Wife: Take a step back for what? What I see is a pit. There is a big pit behind.)

Question № 2

组长：这个工作不适合你。你真应该找一个力所能及的工作。(Team leader: This job is not for you. You should really get a job you can do.)

组员：可是别的我都不会呀。(Team member: But I can't do anything else [particle].)

Question № 3

母亲：这刚刚说是个毕业了，这前面的路多宽哪，这多少人呢等着你去挑啊，是吧？人外有人，天外有天，这就高中就是就随便像玩闹似的，就他了呀。(Mother: You have just graduated. How wide is the road ahead? How many people are waiting for you to choose [particle], right? There is always someone better in the world, this high school is just like playing games, and you have chosen him.)

Question № 4

男朋友：嘿，你怎么不高兴啊？(Boyfriend: Hey, why are you so upset?)

女朋友：高兴什么呀我。(Girlfriend: Why should I be happy?)

男朋友：为什么不高兴啊？这件事充分地说明我刘易阳年富力强，百步穿杨啊。(Why not? This case fully shows me Liu Yiyang being young and vigorous [particle].)

Question № 5

母亲：你想想啊。你从一进高中，你俩就早恋。你这学习成绩直线就往下降啊。本来能，考上重点呢，结果勉勉强强，啊，上了二本。(Mother: Just think about it. Since you entered high school, you two fell in love. Your grades were plummeting [particle]. Originally, you could enter a key university, but here we are, ah, you have barely entered an ordinary second-rate university.)

For the evaluation in the group of imperative sentences respondents were offered the following fragments from the Chinese dialogues:

Question № 1

女朋友：啊，背一遍，联络守则。(Girlfriend: Recite the rules of communication.)

男朋友：哎呀，不背了。(Boyfriend: Oh, no.)

女朋友：背呀。(Girlfriend: Do it [particle].)

Question № 2

男朋友：不是不是，你，你等会儿啊，你等一会儿等一会儿等一会儿，挺高兴的一事怎么说到这事了？你让我往前捋两句呀，我刚才说...(Boyfriend: No no, you, wait a minute [particle], just a minute, a minute! A very nice thing has happened, right? How have we started to talk about this? Let me back to the previous topic, I have just said...)

Question № 3

男朋友：不是不是，你，你等会儿啊，你等一会儿等一会儿等一会儿，挺高兴的一事怎么说到这事了？你让我往前捋两句呀，我刚才说...(Boyfriend: No no, you, wait a minute, just a minute, a minute! A very nice thing has

happened, right? How have we started to talk about this? **Let me back to the previous topic [particle]**, I have just said...)

Question № 4

丈夫: 不着急不着急不着急。亲爱的, 我想一主意来。**咱来商量啊。** (Husband: Easy, easy. Honey, I have an idea. **Let's talk [particle]**.)

妻子: 你说。(Wife: Go on.)

Question № 5

男朋友: 娇娇你...**你别走哇。**你, 你...再坐一会儿, 好不好? 再坐一会儿。(Boyfriend: Ji-aojiao you... **Don't go [particle]**. You, you... Stay for a while, will you? Stay for a while.)

Question № 3

儿子: 妈, 你怎么还不睡啊? (Son: Mom, **why are you still up [particle]?**)

母亲: 儿子啊, 有些事情我得跟你说清楚啊。(Mother: Son, there's something I have to tell you.)

Question № 4

丈夫: 那生米已经煮成熟饭了, **那你说怎么办哪?** (Husband: The rice is cooked – what done is done. **So what can you suggest [particle]?**)

妻子: 正因为生米煮成熟饭了, 我才可以退一步, 但是我退的一步最多就是让他们住到咱们家来。(Wife: Just because the rice is cooked, I can take a step back, but the only

Table 3. Estimations obtained in the group of usual interrogative sentences

Question number	Respondent number									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Question № 1	3	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	4	4
Question № 2	3	4	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	4
Question № 3	3	3	4	3	4	4	4	4	3	4
Question № 4	3	4	4	3	4	4	4	3	4	4
Question № 5	3	4	4	1	1	3	4	3	1	2

For the evaluation in the group of usual interrogative sentences respondents were offered the following fragments from the Chinese dialogues:

Question № 1

母亲: 你要是同事的话, 你让我看看。这样才能证明, 你真的是给你同事发信息。(Mother: If it is a colleague, let me have a look. Only if you do so, you can prove that you're actually texting your colleague.)

女儿: 不是, **那凭什么呀?** (Daughter: No, **why should I [particle]?**)

Question № 2

母亲: 我问你啊, **你跟刘易阳分还是没分哪?** (Mother: I want to ask you one thing: **have you and Liu Yiyang broken up or not [particle]?**)

女儿: 分了。(Daughter: Yes, we have.)

step I can take back is let them live in our house.)

Question № 5

男朋友: 嘿, 你怎么不高兴啊? (Boyfriend: Hey, **why are you so upset [particle]?**)

女朋友: 高兴什么呀我。(Girlfriend: Why should I be happy?)

For the evaluation in the group of rhetorical questions respondents were offered the following fragments from the Chinese dialogues:

Question № 1

儿子: 我取点儿钱用。(Son: I'll draw some money.)

母亲: 不行。(Mother: No.)

儿子: **什么叫不行啊?** 我的工资卡, 你快, 给我拿来。(Son: **What do you mean "no" [particle]?** It's my pay card. Come on, give it to me.)

Table 4. Estimations obtained in the group of rhetorical questions

Question number	Respondent number									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Question № 1	3	3	4	2	4	4	4	4	1	4
Question № 2	3	3	4	3	3	3	4	4	1	4
Question № 3	3	3	4	2	3	4	4	3	1	4
Question № 4	3	4	4	1	4	4	4	4	4	4
Question № 5	3	3	4	3	3	4	4	4	1	4

母亲：我是你妈。什么你的我的。(Mother: *I'm your mother. Does it matter yours or mine?*)

Question № 2

母亲：谁当初答应我说娶了媳妇儿住在家里的？(Mother: *Didn't you promise me before to live at our home after getting married?*)

儿子：当初是当初。(Son: *It was before.*)

母亲：什么叫当初是当初哇？家里头没有地方住吗？是小了点儿，可是足够你们住了。(Mother: *What do you mean "before" [particle]? Isn't there a place at home to live? Yes, it's small, but enough for you two.*)

Question № 3

男朋友：你的意思是说，我刘易阳要当爸爸了。(Boyfriend: *You mean I'm going to be a father.*)

女朋友：小声点儿。(Girlfriend: *Keep quiet.*)

男朋友：为什么要小声啊？(Boyfriend: *Why should I keep quiet?*)

女朋友：丢人现眼。(Girlfriend: *Disgrace.*)

男朋友：什么叫丢人现眼呀？这么值得普天同庆的事，我一定要说出来。(Boyfriend: *What do you mean "disgrace" [particle]? I must say it out loud because it's worthy of universal celebration.*)

Question № 4

组员：刘易阳，你还是不是个男人哪？你是不是给苏珊打了电话把我给撸下来了？(Team member: *Liu Yiyang, are you still a man [particle]? Did you call Susan to denounce me?*)

组长：没错。(Team leader: *That's right.*)

Question № 5

丈夫：你别生气，啊，你得这么想，咱这佳倩和刘易阳迟早得结婚哪，你何必把这简单的

事情弄复杂了呢？退一步海阔天空。(Husband: *Don't be mad, ah, let's put it this way: Jia Qian and Liu Yiyang will have to get married anyway, there is no need to make the simple thing complicated. Take a step back.*)

妻子：哪有海阔天空啊？我看到的就是坑。后面就是大坑。(Wife: *Take a step back for what [particle]? What I see is a pit. There is a big pit behind.*)

After statistical processing of the estimations in four groups by the formulas presented above, the following results were obtained (See Table 5).

According to the table 5, in groups of narrative sentences, imperative sentences and rhetorical questions the weighted average (including the deviation) is approximately equal to 3: group of declarative sentences – 2,85 (3,10 – 0,25) and 3,35 (3,10 + 0,25); group of imperative sentences – 3,11 (3,21 – 0,10) and 3,31 (3,21 + 0,10); group of rhetorical questions – 3,22 (3,30 – 0,08) and 3,38 (3,30 + 0,08). Thus, the respondents generally agree that in the indicated groups there is some semantic difference between sentences with and without particle. In the group of usual interrogative sentences, the weighted average is in the middle between 3 and 4. With a deviation to the lower limit (–0.11), the weighted average approaches 3 (3,43), and with a deviation to the upper limit (+0.11) it approaches 4 (3,65). Therefore, it is possible to conclude that regarding the group of usual interrogative sentences, the opinions of respondents have been varied: one part believes that sentences with and without particles differ in meaning, while the other part does not feel any significant semantic difference.

Table 5. The results of data statistical processing

Group	Weighted average	Standard deviation of the measurement results	Standard deviation of the weighted average	Result*
Declarative sentences	3,10062483	0,865029980	0,247169327	3,10 ± 0,25
Imperative sentences	3,213189865	0,260620115	0,09607287	3,21 ± 0,10
Usual interrogative sentences	3,541436464	0,436586457	0,10860254	3,54 ± 0,11
Rhetorical questions	3,3001443	0,192821164	0,084001589	3,30 ± 0,08

*For the convenience of analysis, the weighted average and standard deviation of the weighted average are recorded in rounded forms.

Discussion

According to the results of statistical data processing, the weighted average score is equal to 3 in the groups of declarative sentences, imperative sentences and rhetorical questions. That is why a qualitative analysis of respondents' opinions has been implemented in these three groups.

Four main criteria used by respondents for distinguishing between sentences with and without the particle were identified (See Table 6).

The criterion "Harshness of intonation" is indicated in most publications, discussing the functions of the final modal particles of contemporary Chinese. Respondents note that declarative and imperative sentences with the particle 啊 sound more tactful, so a listener is more likely to accept the point of view or request contained in the speaker's sentence with the particle. Particularly, the particle function of categoricalness reduction appears in imperative sentences, when a command turns into a kind request or even into a supplication. We can take as an example the sentence with the particle from the question № 1 (group of

imperative sentences): 背呀 (*Repeat [particle]*). It sounds like a wish of a cranky girl, and does not have such categoricalness as in the command 背 (*Repeat!*) without the particle. In rhetorical questions, the function of the particle to soften intonation also appears in categoricalness reduction: interrogative (and therefore less categorical) intonation, according to respondents, becomes more evident. It is obvious that the softening of intonation with the help of the particle leads to de-escalation of the situation, making communication process more easy-going and informal. This fact is emphasized by many respondents for all groups of sentences.

Sentences with the particle 啊 in all groups are regarded by respondents as more natural (更通顺, 更加生活化, 比较自然), more coherent (更连贯) and more corresponded with speech habits of Chinese native speakers (符合使用习惯). Moreover, respondents consider sentences with the particle 啊 suitable for the communicative situations concerned (disputes and quarrels). Thus, even in situations of confrontational interaction, Chinese native speakers usually choose a sentence with the particle, the use of

Table 6. Criteria for distinguishing between sentences with and without the particle

	Criterion	Sentence without the particle	Sentence with the particle
1	Harshness of intonation	Harsh intonation	Softened intonation
2	Naturalness of intonation	Less natural intonation	More natural intonation
3	Appropriateness for the communicative situation	Less appropriate	More appropriate
4	The intensity of feelings expression	The feeling is expressed less intensively	The feeling is expressed more intensively

which, as mentioned above, helps to deescalate the conflict situation.

The most interesting is the last criteria “The intensity of feelings expression”. Although respondents consider that the particle 啊 is used to reduce the categoricalness of sentences and to soften intonation, they also note that key feelings expressed in sentences by different lexical means are more evident in sentences with the particle 啊. It should be mentioned that we have not taken into consideration those answers of respondents that simply identify the particle 啊 as a means of expressing feelings. This is a common mistake in analyzing a sentence with a final modal particle: the meaning introduced by the particle into the sentence is not distinguished from the meaning of the sentence itself. Many respondents noted precisely the more explicit expression of the feeling that could be also observed in the sentence without the particle. For example, in the question № 2 (group of declarative sentences) for the sentence with the particle one of the respondents indicated the emphasis on the speaker’s hopelessness and his desire not to be fired (更突出重点组员别的都不会的一种无奈和不想被辞掉的心情). Another example is the sentence with the particle from the question № 5 (group of imperative sentences). For it, one of the respondents indicated a more explicit expression of the speaker’s desire to explain the situation (想要解释的心情更加强烈).

We believe that the particle function of emphasizing speaker’s feelings and emotions which is intuitively felt by Chinese native speakers, confirms the idea that Chinese final modal particles have been originated from *modus constructions* (Kurdyumov, 2014: 39). This function also correlates with the function of final modal particles, mentioned above (to soften the intonation and to deescalate the situation), because in a relaxed atmosphere a person is more inclined to express his sincere feelings and emotions. The fact that in the group of usual interrogative sentences respondents did not see a significant difference between sentences with and without the particle can be explained from the perspective of positional morphology by the further movement of the particle along its route: in interrogative sentences, the particle

is gradually losing connection with its subjective-modal meaning and turning into a “pure” functional unit. The function of interrogative sentences themselves also stimulates this process: requesting information may not require the expression of any feelings and emotions, while in declarative, imperative sentences and rhetorical questions it can be necessary.

Conclusion

As a result of the conducted semantic experiment, including statistical and qualitative analysis of respondents’ answers, the following functions of the final modal particle 啊 have been identified in Chinese dialogical text: 1) softening of the intonation and deescalation of the situation during the process of communication; 2) creation of the communicative tone that is more natural and appropriate to the communicative situation; 3) emphasis of the speaker’s feelings and emotions. These functions have been observed in declarative sentences, imperative sentences and rhetorical questions. As for usual interrogative sentences, Chinese native speakers don’t feel a big influence of the particle on such sentences’ meaning already. It can be explained by the further grammaticalization of the particle, i.e. the process of its turning into a “pure” functional unit.

Thus, our hypothesis has been confirmed: Chinese native speakers in most cases (declarative sentences, imperative sentences and rhetorical questions) feel a certain difference between sentences with and without the particle 啊, but in some cases (usual interrogative sentences) this difference is not noticeable. This fact can be explained by the statements of the Predicational conception about the existence of so called “hidden *modus*” in the semantics of a modal particle and about a possibility of a gradual weakening of a Chinese modal particle’s subjective-modal meaning.

The current research has illustrated verification potential of a semantic experiment for investigating Chinese modal particles. On the one hand, the procedure of a semantic experiment involves native speakers, and only they often can catch the meaning of such pragmatically complicated language units as modal particles. On the other hand, a semantic exper-

iment gives the tools for statistical processing of data that makes the research more objective.

In the context of the problem discussed it would be interesting to analyze the particle 啊

function in organizing Chinese dialogical text (for example, marking a topic, etc.) and to describe the functions of interactive inserts presented by the functional unit 啊.

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Categoricalness in Scientific Discourse

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Abstract. The article views categoricalness as a communicative category functioning in the scientific discourse and adversely affecting the process of scientific communication. The results of the discourse and contextual analysis of categoricalness revealed its correlation with the communicative categories of politeness, authoritativeness, confidence, subjectivity, and emotionality. The analysis of the texts of scientific reviews, oral discussions, and disputes allowed the authors to conclude that Russian scientific communication is characterized by a high level of categoricalness, which suggests potential conflictogenity in such type of interaction. The article discusses ways of neutralizing categoricalness through the use of several mitigation tools, including lexico-stylistic and syntactical ones, intended to eliminate the destructive component from scientific communication.

Keywords: categoricalness, destructiveness, credibility, authoritativeness, emotionality, communication, communicative category.

Research area: philology.

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Категоричность в научном дискурсе

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Аннотация. На примере научного дискурса авторы рассматривают категоричность как коммуникативную категорию, оказывающую влияние на характер протекания коммуникативного научного взаимодействия. Результаты дискурсивного и контекстуального анализа реализации категоричности позволили выявить ее взаимосвязь с категориями вежливости, авторитетности, уверенности, субъективности, эмоциональности. Благодаря анализу примеров научных рецензий и устных научных дискуссий в исследовании сделан вывод о том, что русскоязычной научной коммуникации свойствен высокий уровень категоричности, что обуславливает потенциальную конфликтогенность подобного взаимодействия. В статье предлагаются пути и способы нейтрализации категоричности с помощью ряда митигативных средств, что призвано способствовать конструктивному научному общению.

Ключевые слова: категоричность, деструктивность, достоверность, авторитетность, эмоциональность, коммуникация, коммуникативная категория.

Научная специальность: 10.00.00 – филологические науки.

1. Introduction

Nowadays, studies into communicative categories are gaining popularity, which allows deeper understanding of the mechanisms and principles of communication. Communicative categories, diverse in their communicative nature, structure, and functional significance, are believed to affect the effectiveness of communication. In our opinion, one of the communicative categories found in various types of discourse and determining its pragmatics is categoricalness.

Since communicative categories as elements of communicative consciousness have not been thoroughly studied so far, the analysis of their implementation and functioning allows us to talk about the theoretical significance and scientific novelty of the presented study. We also believe that the manifestation of categoricalness in scientific discourse, characterized by non-categoricalness, generality, evidentiality, accuracy and clarity

(Cherniavskaia, 2005), is of particular interest.

The purpose of this article is to explore the distribution and function of the communicative category of categoricalness in scientific discourse as well as to identify possible ways of reducing or avoiding it. It needs to be stressed that the paper presents the exploratory stage of our current research. The working hypothesis can be formulated as follows: in scientific discourse, categoricalness is intentional in nature; it is associated with the destructive strategy of the speaker, focused on downplaying the authority of the scientific opponent by demonstrating his/her superiority.

2. Categoricalness:

Background and the Use of the Term

One cannot ignore the fact that the phenomenon of categoricalness attracts researchers of various paradigms of knowledge in human sciences, such as philosophy, psy-

chology, sociology, and, of course, linguistics.

From a philosophical point of view, categoricalness is interpreted as an unconditional statement or negation that excludes an alternative, thus appearing as a category identical to lack of alternatives (Kont-Sponvil', 2012). In this regard, one cannot help recalling Kant's categorical imperative, which functions as a moral law, unconditional, not recognizing excuses, an absolute requirement and compulsion to moral actions.

The psychological paradigm of knowledge interprets categoricalness as non-admittance of another opinion and defines it as straightforwardness and frankness, confidence in one's words and actions, the reasons for such outwardly manifested confidence being often found in internal psychological problems, primarily, deep self-distrust.

In sociology, categoricalness is again associated with a high degree of the speaker's confidence, motivated and partly justified by his/her high social status. "By acquiring a status, an individual masters the roles that correspond to him, carrying out this process through the prism of his personal social and emotional experience, and also under the influence of the environment to which he belongs" (Topka, Koneva, 2015: 176). According to the authors, in the space of institutional discourse, the situation of demand, because of the social status and the corresponding right of the speaker to categorical speech actions, is often associated with situations of order and accusation (ibid.), which is inevitably manifested in the decisive demand for unconditional, unquestioning execution of orders.

In linguistics, categoricalness is defined through semantically related concepts, which allows us to recreate its "semantic portrait": *категоричный – безапелляционный, безусловный, догматичный, императивный, конкретный, не допускающий/не терпящий возражений/иного понимания/иных толкований, однозначный, решительный, твердый, ультимативный* (peremptory, unconditional, dogmatic, imperative, specific, not allowing/not tolerating objections/other opinions/other interpretations, unambiguous, de-

cisive, firm, ultimatum) (Aleksandrova, 2011; Ushakov, 2000).

Thus, we can see that all approaches to categoricalness in human sciences associate it with a kind of unconditional position intolerant to other opinions. To explore its role in scientific discourse, we need to answer the following questions: How does categoricalness function in discourses? What language means are involved in its implementation? These aspects will be considered in the next chapter.

3. Categoricalness in Discourse

As we have already mentioned, categoricalness is one of the communicative categories that are directly oriented to the communication process and affect the nature of communicative interaction. Regarding its functioning, categoricalness performs communicative-organizing and regulatory functions. We believe that categoricalness can be detected in various discourses, both institutional and non-institutional, its evaluative perception being different. While in a status-oriented discourse, categoricalness is generally expected and justified, and, therefore, is not openly condemned, in personality-oriented communication, categorical communicative behaviour does not receive an unambiguous definition.

Categoricalness is not always assessed positively; it is commonly perceived negatively. Suffice it to observe the above-mentioned synonymous concepts through which categoricalness is interpreted. First of all, the negative perception is connected with the fact that a categorical person who practices "black-and-white" thinking has binary logic based on two-value options, unquestionably positive and unquestionably negative. Such unambiguity, intolerance to a different understanding, the "inflexibility" of the speaker cannot but cause protest, rejection of such behaviour by the communication partner. The categorical speech behaviour of a person is characterized by the absence of doubts about what has been said, and intemperance in assessments. The speaker's confidence in his/her knowledge, assessments, statements, etc. determines the direct connection of the category in question with another

category of communicative interaction – reliability/credibility.

One cannot fail to notice that categoricalness is directly related to the category of emotionality, since in communicative behaviour it manifests itself as an open demonstration of disregard for the opinions of others, a manifestation of inflexibility, superiority or disrespect.

In communication, categoricalness is recognized through several verbal and non-verbal markers. First of all, it can be identified through the explicit means of expression:

Я категорически не согласен с теми, кто утверждает.../с мнением, что ... (I strongly disagree with those who state .../with the opinion that ...);
Я категорически против, чтобы (I am strongly/categorically opposed to...);
Я категорически/категорично заявляю/утверждаю, что... (I categorically affirm/state that...);
Я категорически возражаю/отказываюсь обсуждать... (I strongly object/refuse to discuss...).

Note that the predominant use of the “I”-construction strengthens the meaning of reliability, but fails to tune the interlocutor into constructive interaction.

Among the non-verbal markers that allow us to identify categoricalness, the prosodic components of communication dominate, with the authoritative tone being the most frequent one (**категоричным тоном распорядилась/констатировал/сказал** (ordered/said/confirmed in a categorical tone)):

И вот пришел новый начальник и сухим, категоричным тоном объявил, что никаких машин нет и не предвидится. (And so the new chief came and in a dry, categorical tone announced that there were no cars and not any was expected) (Yu. Trifonov. Quenching thirst. RNC).

Categoricalness can also be recognized with the help of directive speech acts, discursive strategies and tactics of the speaker. Performing a regulatory function, categoricalness correlates with the speaker’s choice of a particular strategy and tactics of communica-

tive behaviour. It is no coincidence that some researchers pay attention to the influencing potential of categoricalness, defining it “as a tactical technique used by communication participants to achieve a specific impact goal” (Topka, Koneva, 2015).

Thus, being connected with the categories of persuasiveness and emotionality, categoricalness directly affects the nature of the communicative interaction; it can create a tense atmosphere of communication, and sometimes lead to an acute conflict situation, which means that categorical communicative behaviour may be considered a variety of destructive communication.

There is little doubt that categoricalness as an obligatory communicative category can be found in any type of discourse – personal (common) and institutional (political, mass media, pedagogical, medical, etc.) discourses.

In the next chapter, we will turn to the manifestation of categoricalness in scientific discourse, and try to answer the question of how common categoricalness is for this type of discourse and whether it is possible to talk about the destructive potential of categoricalness in relation to scientific communicative interaction.

4. The Analysis of Categoricalness in Scientific Discourse

4.1. Features of Scientific Discourse

First of all, we should remember that the main communicative canons of scientific discourse traditionally include accurate and logical presentation, reasoned validity or invalidity of certain provisions. The scientific style is distinguished by its purpose to objectively demonstrate the truth, empirical conclusiveness supported by confirmed relevant arguments. Since scientific discourse is considered a tool and a means of perceiving reality and storing scientific knowledge, it fulfills a number of functions, namely communicative, cognitive, and accumulative.

A scientific text is a product of a goal-oriented communicative activity: many scientists sometimes work on the same scientific problem, including researchers from different countries who often have opposite points of view.

Among other things, scientific discourse aims to demonstrate the correctness or fallacy of theories, concepts, opinions, etc. The participants of the scientific communicative interaction who enter into a scientific polemic dialogue are scientists deemed equal in the communication process. This equality exists because “none of the researchers has a monopoly on truth, and the infiniteness of knowledge makes each scientist critical about both his/her own and others’ research” (Karasik, 2000).

In other words, there are many parameters characteristic of scientific discourse. They include the academic style of speech, relevance and authoritativeness. While the scientific style categories (accuracy, abstractiveness, logic, objectivity) have been described in detail (see the papers by Ponomareva, 2004; Rakitina, 2006; Cherniavskaia, 2005; Banks and Di Martino, 2019), a few words should be said about authoritativeness as a communicative category of scientific discourse, since it directly correlates with the category of categoricalness.

It is widely recognized that authoritativeness belongs to the core characteristics of scientific discourse and is revealed in scientific texts through a number of discourse markers of direct and indirect authoritativeness, which include references to the authority of the work’s author, public opinion, the viewpoint of recognized specialists in this field of science; impersonality of presentation in combination with focusing on the achievements of the author; the use of complex special terminology in this area of research; appeal to illustrative examples, etc. (Boldyreva, 2006: 4). Therefore, the hypothetical nature of scientific theories and principles should supposedly stimulate the non-categorical tonality of scientific interaction, and it is quite reasonable that the principles of scientific communication include the principles of cooperation and politeness with their main maxims (G.P. Grice, D. Leech) designed to neutralize possible conflict situations. However, the use of the above-mentioned discourse markers to prove and defend their point of view often requires imperative modality, which is one of the discourse manifestations of categoricalness. Categoricalness, therefore, comes into conflict

with the norms of scientific communication, violating research ethics.

Interestingly, the survey of foreign research papers on scientific discourse did not reveal any mentioning of categoricalness as its meaningful feature. In one respect, this might be the evidence of the low priority of this category for the western academic community; but this might also be because this category is inherently present in some mitigating/downtoning techniques known as “hedging”.

4.2. The Specifics of Categoricalness in Scientific Discourse

The variety of genres of scientific discourse, as you know, can hardly be reduced to a single foundation, with the possible criteria for classifying genres being tasks that are implemented by the author of a scientific text, the volume and structure of the text, the channel of communication (oral or written).

Without setting ourselves the task of differentiating scientific genres and types of scientific texts, we would like to draw attention to those situations of scientific interaction that are directed at polemics and/or scientific dialogue, in which coincidences or discrepancies in the assessment of the problems under discussion can be identified. It is in such cases that categoricalness is most vividly manifested.

Let us discuss a few contexts. The first one is an extract from a letter which is a response of a Deputy Director for Research at a university Master’s program to a student’s request to help with the research theme. The extralinguistic factors are as follows: the author of the request is an extra-mural student, a practising school teacher, i.e. an adult with a certain social status; the object of the discussion is the theme of scientific research involving a comparative analysis of the educational systems of Russia and the United Kingdom.

Вы могли поступить в общепедагогическую магистратуру и анализировать и сколько угодно сравнивать даже системы образования Древней Греции, современного Китая и Англии времен Чосера, но Вы выбрали магистерскую программу «Современные

технологии преподавания английского языка».

<...> Магистерская программа направлена на подготовку квалифицированных преподавателей-практиков в области технологий преподавания английского языка, а не теоретиков-мечтателей.

<...> Если у Вас с Вашим научным руководителем другое видение, обращайтесь с ним лично к директору. Я лично не усматриваю прямой связи названной Вами темы ВКР с магистерской программой.

You could have enrolled at the Master's program in general pedagogy and analyze and compare even educational systems in Ancient Greece, modern China and England in the times of Chaucer as much as you like, but you have chosen the "Modern Technologies in Teaching English" Master's program.

<...> This program is aimed at training qualified practising teachers in the field of English teaching technologies, not dreamer theorists.

<...> If you and your supervisor have a different vision, contact the director personally. I do not see any direct connection between the theme of the qualification paper you mentioned and the Master's program.

In this example, several categorical devices can be observed: the use of sarcastic speech technique, the repeated use of the second-person pronoun *Вы* (You), which indicates the direction of the statement at the addressee and emphasizes the unconditional character, the confidence of the addressee in his/her assessment; using the imperative which makes any statement sound categorical. All of the above does not leave the addressee an opportunity to discuss or defend his/her position (in this example, the research theme). The categorical statements here are a sign of disrespect and superiority; they initially put the communicants in an unequal position. In this example, it does not matter who is right; it is important that the addressee feels that his/her opinion is disrespected, which prepares him/her for further rejection of communication with a person whose job responsibilities include consulting

on academic and research issues. This example also indicates a possible connection of categoricalness with the communicative category of destructiveness because the intention to humiliate the addressee can be observed. It should be noted that this letter also has an indirect addressee, the supervisor of the Master's student, who is also "curbed" by being sent to the head of the institute. Thus, in this example, the categorical nature of the statement translates the everyday situation of scientific communication into conflict communication, which often has neither interpersonal nor scientific value.

The argument "This is not linguistics!" sounds approximately in the same vein when discussing topics, papers and messages not related to the study of the language system proper. To illustrate this point, we provide a fragment from a discussion of a scientific presentation at a linguistic conference (Volgograd, 2019). One of the participants (doctor of philology) addresses the question "What do you mean by discourse?" to the speaker (candidate of philology). After a detailed explanation that included references to some distinguished linguists (N.D. Arutiunova, V.I. Karasik, etc.), the author categorically declares: "For me, discourse is not a linguistic concept," demonstrating peremptoriness and, we dare say, a kind of sciolism. Therefore, the categorical nature of the statement eliminates the possibility of scientific discussion and, unfortunately, inhibits the initiative and development of scientific thought.

Categorical manifestations in written scientific works can be illustrated by the example of scientific reviews, thesis report reviews and extended abstract reviews. These scientific genres comply with the norms of scientific ethics and ideally tend towards an indirect expression of negative assessments and are thereby oriented towards non-categorical opinions (Nefedov, 2019).

Не могу согласиться с А.Д.Н. и в том, что существует прямой способ выражения угрозы. На мой взгляд (который я изложила в своей статье...). And I cannot agree with A.D.N. that there is a direct way of expressing threat. In my opinion (which I outlined in my article ...)

We do not intend to discuss the fallacy of the reviewer's position here (though, phrases like "I'll smack your face/I'll punch you" do sound like direct ways of expressing threat). In this passage, the author of an extended abstract review, a researcher with a doctor's degree, resorts to an authoritarian method of assessing the young researcher's work, which stimulates categoricalness.

T.V. Larina draws attention to the categorical language of Russian scientific reviews: "As a rule, such means of mitigation are absent in Russian-language reviews. Instead, we encounter impersonal value judgments that often include language means of imperative modality, which gives the style of Russian reviews a categorical tone: *The presented article requires a serious revision*" (Larina, 2019: 391).

The genre of scientific review, which aims at evaluating scientific research, is characterized by the highest density of evaluative language units. "The review compares two individual pictures of the world, two worldviews and meanings" (Khomutova, Kravtsova, 2014: 72). At the same time, the reviewer is focused on his own "I", his ideas and views often presented in a categorical form:

Почти анекдотически выглядит список литературы к статье О.Н. Кондратьевой.

The list of references to the article by O.N. Kondratieva looks almost anecdotal (Review // *Voprosy yazykoznaniiya*, 2008, No. 4).

Despite the use of the de-intensifier *почти* ("almost"), the lexeme "anecdotal", which bears a sharp negative evaluative connotation, forms an unambiguously critical attitude towards the author of the publication.

In the following example, the reviewer's opinion is presented as the only and objectively existing truth, while not only the scientific views of the author of the dissertation are subject to direct negative criticism, but the author himself, though indirectly:

Остается загадкой, как, например, автору удалось совместить взгляды Г.И. Богина и В.И. Карасика, М.М. Бахтина и Н.Д. Арутюновой, и т.д. <...> и не мудрено: в рамках заявленной «когнитивной»

парадигмы это просто невозможно (Pishchal'nikova).

It remains a mystery, how, for example, the author managed to combine the views of G.I. Bogin and V.I. Karasik, M.M. Bakhtin and N.D. Arutyunova, etc. <...> And no wonder: within the framework of the declared "cognitive" paradigm, this is simply impossible (Pishchal'nikova).

4.3. Ways to Downtone Categoricalness

In this chapter, we will attempt to answer the question: What are the possible ways to mitigate categoricalness in scientific discourse?

To downtone categoricalness, tactics of mitigating the negative evaluation and harshness of critical remarks can be used. They derive from the politeness principles and aim at creating a friendly tone of communication, maintaining a communicative balance, both your own and your opponent's "face". As a rule, this can be achieved through the use of a variety of mitigative language means (Takhtarova, 2010), which include lexical units indicating the subjectivity of a critical remark (*по моему мнению, на наш взгляд, как нам представляется/видится* (in my opinion, in our opinion, it seems/is viewed)) as well as de-intensifiers (*не вполне, почти, слегка* (quite, almost, slightly)). "To implement evaluative mitigation, meiotic signs can be used; they include euphemisms, meiotisms and litotes proper, whose common pragmatic orientation towards optimizing" (Takhtarova, 2010).

In the western practice of teaching academic and scientific style, there is a special section on teaching hedging, a set of special techniques for mitigating categorical statements, the so-called "academic political correctness" (Plappert, 2019). Hedging practices, including the use of non-imperative modality, impersonal and passive constructions, a set of lexical indicators of the degree of certainty, various stylistic and rhetorical techniques, are included in most textbooks on academic English and are vital components of academic discourse (see, for example, Oliver del Olmo, 2015). In the examples below, one can observe some hedg-

ing techniques: modal words and words with a modal meaning as well as modal verbs with a meaning of uncertainty:

On the one hand, the depiction of Aegisthus as teacher-tyrant in Agamemnon seems to reveal an aristocratic perspective similar to that seen elsewhere in archaic and classical Greek 'song culture,' in particular Pindaric lyric – and presumably reveals an audience receptive to this perspective (Rogers, 2005: 188-189).

While we might take comfort in the fact that no one doubts PV belongs to the fifth-century BC, the possibility that the play could belong to the second, third, or even perhaps final quarter of the fifth century BC affects the kind of argument we can make with PV (Rogers, 2005: 202).

In these fragments, the use of hedging techniques does not only soften but, in fact, eliminates categoricalness from the text by minimizing the author's responsibility for the expressed point of view and providing a space for discussion on the issue under discussion.

Unfortunately, techniques of mitigating categoricalness in Russian scientific discourse are not taught to undergraduate and graduate students (although there are a number of dissertations on categoricalness in various discourses, see: Malyshkin, 2015; Mariukhin, 2010; Takhtarova, 2010), and young scientists have to learn from their own mistakes (for example, when foreign journals reject their articles precisely because of the author's categorical style). The last point makes the issue of categoricalness in a scientific discourse

especially relevant: this communicative category should be subjected to detailed study with subsequent development of practical recommendations for researchers on the ethics of working with scientific text (writing and reviewing scientific papers) as well as holding scientific debates.

5. Conclusions

Categoricalness in scientific discourse is intentional and functions as a specific speaker's strategy aimed at demonstrating his/her self-righteousness, superiority and often at discrediting the opponent's opinions.

In the analyzed examples of scientific polemics, different variants of categorical communicative behaviour functioning through verbal and non-verbal cues are presented. It seems that categoricalness as a category of communicative interaction is directly related to the categories of reliability, emotionality, persuasiveness and authoritativeness. The basis of the analyzed examples of categorical communicative behaviour in Russian scientific discourse is the general authoritative strategy, which has enormous destructive potential and thereby contributes to disregarding the partner in scientific dialogue.

Categoricalness can be reduced with the help of a number of mitigative means, including hedging techniques, which contributes to constructive scientific communication. Nevertheless, some observations suggest that the use and functioning of mitigative devices in scientific discourse can be culture-specific and should therefore be considered in a wide cultural context.

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Images of Slavs in Discourse-World of Brexit

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Abstract. The paper focuses on the media image construal of the Slavs against the backdrop of the Brexit procedure. The objective of the author is to examine the cognitive-discursive mechanisms of representing the West, East, and South Slav national groups in the British media in the context of Britain's withdrawal. The author employed the cognitive-discursive analysis, integrating advances of European and Russian linguistics. The term “discourse-world of Brexit” is considered to be a conceptually complex discourse-level structure, serving as a background against which the national images stand out. It is argued that images of the Slavs are organized by frames that enable media managers to negatively or neutrally evaluate members and non-members of the European Union. The media frames structuring the national images are systematized. Examples from the news on the web corpus are used to prove that images of the Slavs are discursively constrained and biased. The results might present interest for further investigation of prejudices in the media.

Keywords: image, discourse-world, framing, frames, British media, Slavs, Brexit.

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Образы славян в дискурсивном мире Брексита

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Аннотация. Исследуется медийная специфика дискурсивного конструирования образов славянских народов в период освещения журналистами проблем Брексита. Цель работы – изучение когнитивно-дискурсивных механизмов репрезентации западных, восточных, южных славян в британских СМИ в контексте выхода Великобритании из Евросоюза. Используется когнитивно-дискурсивный метод и корпусный анализ, интегрирующие достижения европейской и российской лингвистики. Вводится в научный оборот термин «дискурсивный мир Брексита», предлагается его трактовка как репрезентационной структуры. Определяется онтологический статус репрезентационной структуры, служащей фоном, на котором профилируются образы славян. Утверждается, что национальные образы славян организованы фреймами, которые позволяют журналистам преимущественно негативно или нейтрально оценивать членов и не членов Европейского союза. Систематизируются медийные фреймы, структурирующие образы славян в каждой национальной разновидности, обусловленной культурно-языковой принадлежностью. Приводятся доказательства из британского новостного интернет-корпуса, подтверждающие, что образы славян дискурсивно ограничены и в значительной степени идеологизированы. Полученные результаты представляют интерес для дискурс-анализа в аспектах изучения воспроизводства идеологии в зарубежных средствах массовой информации, предрассудков по отношению к славянским народам, а также национальных гетеростереотипов.

Ключевые слова: образ, дискурсивный мир, фреймирование, фрейм, британские медиа, славяне, Брексит.

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1. Introduction

The pivotal moment of the UK referendum ended up with a victory of the Leave side on 23 June 2016, but it took Great Britain more than three years before it finally stopped being a member of the European Union on 31 January 2020. Numerous aspects of the withdrawal have received much scholarly attention in economics and finance (Dovářová et al., 2019; Tien et al., 2019); psychology and sociology (Chandio & Sah, 2020; Hutchings & Sullivan, 2019);

functional linguistics (Fontaine, 2017); media discourse studies (Meislova, 2019; Mompean & Valenzuela, 2019; Đurović & Silaški, 2018; Gheorghiu, 2019; Musolff, 2017; Tincheva, 2019). Some scholars argue that the “levels of prejudice towards ‘others’ was a factor in the Brexit vote” (Hutchings & Sullivan, 2019).

The existing papers are mainly Eurocentric, i.e. interpreting Brexit in terms of European values. The problem of the withdrawal has affected both domestic and international

affairs, shared by many Slavic communities inside and outside Europe. Almost nothing has been found in the current publications on the images of the Slavic nations against the background of Brexit from a non-European perspective.

Slavic national groups include members (Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia), candidate members (North Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia), and non-members of the EU (Belorussia, Russia, Ukraine). I argue that the images of Slavs, disseminated by the British media, map on prejudices.

Brexit highlighted the prejudiced attitude toward the Slavic ingroups and outgroups. My concern is to give a discursive account of the image construal from a position of a non-European representative. The paper aims to provide an examination of dominant images of the Slavic national groups in the British media and specify notable frames, structuring them. The inquiry helps better understand the role of Brexit framing in representing images of the Slavs in the context of the withdrawal procedure. It will be shown that some attitudes are neutral, while the majority is negative.

2. Cognitive-Discursive Approach and World Modelling Theory Background

The cognitive-discursive approach seeks to take into account the communicative, cognitive, and social factors in analyzing media discourse. The methodological bases of the study have been elaborated through integrating ideas, proposed by van Dijk (2000, 2006, 2013, 2016), Wodak (2006), Wodak and Meyer (2001), Gavins and Lahey (2016), Tincheva (2018, 2019), Boldyrev (2017), Cherniavskaya (2013), Beller and Leerssen (2007), Scheufele (1999), Tewksbury and Scheufele (2009), Kunczik (2002, 2016). The cognitive-discursive approach, used to investigate the images of Slavs in the British media, is based on the following assumptions:

- the context of language use is crucial for discourse studies (van Dijk, 2000; Wodak & Meyer, 2001; Wodak, 2006);
- discourse structures can not be isolated from cognitive phenomena (Boldyrev, 2017;

Cherniavskaya, 2013; Tincheva, 2019; Wodak, 2006);

- language is essentially “world-building” (Gavins & Lahey, 2016);
- discourse is structured by ideologies as belief systems (van Dijk, 2013, 2016);
- discourse-world is socially, politically and culturally situated (Gavins & Lahey, 2016);
- the media never reflect social practices disinterestedly (Fairclough, 1989);
- media frames organize social reality (Entman, 1993; Kunczik, 2016; Scheufele, 1999);
- media discourses disseminate images and prejudices (Kunczik, 2016).

Principally, discourse structures need to be described in terms of cognitive notions, such as knowledge and concepts that are formed in the mind and serve as an interface between an individual and social practices (Tincheva, 2019; van Dijk, 2016). Discourse studies gain significantly in case cognitive aspects are integrated with social and communicative (Wodak, 2006: 180). Discourse studies are not limited to one method. According to van Dijk, they include: “analysis of the lexicon, syntax, local and global meaning (semantics), speech acts, and other relations with the context (pragmatics), style, rhetoric, argumentation, narrative structures, or other conventional organization of discourse, on the one hand, and quantitative corpus analysis, ethnography, participant observation, or psychological experiments, among other methods, on the other hand” (Van Dijk, 2013: 176).

Discourse analysis may prove more reliable if qualitative techniques are combined with the quantitative in a “mixed-methods” perspective, which “enables researchers to provide a stronger evidence base for studying a research problem than either quantitative or qualitative research alone” (Qaiwer, 2016: 68). The present study is designed to use a mixed methodology that includes a cognitive-discursive approach in combination with a corpus approach to assessing the Brexit-related reality.

Reality is given by people through representations, which include words, pictures, sounds, stories, and “stand for” ideas (Hartley, 2002). Based on the signifiers they encounter, people create mental representations. The role

of texts is crucial for invoking mental representations (Gavins & Lahey, 2016).

I have introduced the term “representational structures”. It denotes mental constructs, textualized in discourse, which relate to the processes and results of reality presentation, and vary in degrees of conceptual complexity. The main ones are discourse-world and text-world. (Tinceva, 2018: 298).

The term *discourse-world* refers to “the real-world situation in which language occurs” (Gavins & Lahey, 2016: 2). I have devised a broader perspective to study discourse-worlds within World Modelling Theory. It is a branch within discourse linguistics, which relies on concepts, proposed by discourse analysts and cognitive linguists, to explore mental and linguistic representations of reality in discourse for the purposes of communication (Kushneruk, 2018, 2019: 267–271).

I have defined *world-modelling* as structuring information about reality and its representation in discourse in accord with the objectives of communication. I use the term *discourse-world of Brexit* (henceforth DW of Brexit) to denote a rich, discourse-level conceptual structure, encoded by media managers and decoded by readers, in an aggregate of Brexit-related texts, produced in the context of Britain’s withdrawal from EU.

I also take into account the imagological perspective of the term representation, which designates “the ways in which texts provide images of the world” (Beller & Leerssen, 2007: 415). Images are disseminated by the media, which shape readers’ perception of national groups, focusing on particular aspects of their life, behaviour, etc. that draw on the existing stereotypes and prejudices and form the new ones.

3. Imagological Background and Statement of the Problem

The term *image* was used in Western philosophy (Hartley, 2002: 107). The complexity of an image stems from the interrelation of different semantic categories that constitute it. In literary studies, it is defined as “the mental or discursive representation or reputation of a person, group, ethnicity or ‘nation’” (Beller & Leerssen, 2007: 342). In communication and

media studies, it is considered on the individual level, encompassing visual, communicative, behavioural aspects; on the cultural level, as “the alienation of personal attributes for semi-otic purposes” (Hartley, 2002: 107–108), and on the media level, it is associated with public representation of politicians, entertainers, celebrities (Hurcombe, 2016). Linguistically, the basic meaning components of a word *image* are: (1) a visual representation of something; (2) a mental picture or impression of something; (3) a popular conception projected especially through the mass media (<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/image>).

In recent years, divergent researches have been carried out on various aspects of image within *imagology*. Beller postulates that imagology “studies the origin and function of characteristics of other countries and peoples, as expressed textually, particularly in the way in which they are presented in works of literature, plays, poems, travel books and essays” (Beller & Leerssen, 2007: 7). With time, the imagological perspective has acquired a broader scope. Imagology presents a viable approach to tackle questions in a wider circle of humanities, including media discourse analysis. What image of “them” we construct, crucially depends on the choice of media managers who form people’s expectations about national groups.

One cannot brush aside factual information when assessing individual or group images. I follow Curtis, pointing out that statements about people are “inherently comparative in nature” (Curtis, 1998: xxix). Image representations are more problematic in the media discourse, which is as much about testable facts as about misleading interpretations. It is the question of a selective choice of the junks of factual information on the part of journalists who are powerful agents of discourse (Dijk, 2006). One of my claims is that national images of the Slavs are “silhouetted” in the DW of Brexit but their representations are discursively constrained.

4. Materials and Methods

The data are situated in the context of Brexit as covered in the British media throughout the year 2019 and January 2020. The situat-

edness criterion is pivotal for cognitive-discursive analysis as it tends to account for the role of political, social and ideological factors in reality representation. The dataset was intentionally compiled. The contexts were searched and retrieved from an online corpus *News on the Web* that contains about 9 billion words from web newspapers and magazines from 2010 to the present time.

For the research, I created a personalized collection based on a combination of the keyword “Brexit” and information about the texts, namely, by timespan (1 Jan 2019 – 31 Jan 2020) and country (Great Britain). These parameters limited the sample to 3090 texts (total of 3186549 words).

In the corpus of texts collected for the study, I searched for instances of words that nominated any Slavic national groups. By the Slavic national groups, I mean peoples of Central and Eastern Europe, including Russians, Ukrainians, and Belorussians (East Slavs), Pol-

ish, Czechs, Slovaks (West Slavs), Bulgarians, Serbians, Croatians, Macedonians, and Slovenians (South Slavs).

Any context containing the following tokens was considered eligible for inclusion in the virtual corpus (in alphabetical order): Belarus, Bulgaria (Bulgarian, Bulgari), Croatia (Croatian), Czech Republic (Czech, Czechoslovakia, Czechs, Czechia), Macedonia (Macedonian), Montenegro, Poland (Polish, Poles, Pole), Russia (Russian, Russians), Serbia (Serbian), Slovenia (Slovenian), Ukraine (Ukrainian, Ukrainians). I also analyzed the use of the names of political leaders such as Caputova, Duda, Grabar-Kitarovic, Putin, Vucic, Zelenskiy, Zeman. The total number of contexts was calculated and classified by groups of related languages. The following results are systematized in Table 1.

Table 1 demonstrates the distribution of references to different Slavic groups in the Brexit-related virtual corpus. In an aggregate

Table 1. Distribution of tokens in the Brexit-related corpus

Subgroup of Slavic languages	Tokens	Total number of contexts – 712
West Slavs		252
POLISH		184
	<i>Poland</i>	82
	<i>Polish</i>	73
	<i>Poles</i>	15
	<i>Pole</i>	13
	<i>Duda</i>	1
CZECH		40
	<i>Czech</i>	23
	<i>Czechoslovakia</i>	6
	<i>Czechs</i>	4
	<i>Czech-born</i>	4
	<i>Czechia</i>	1
	<i>Zeman</i>	2
SLOVAK		28
	<i>Slovakia</i>	20
	<i>Slovak</i>	4
	<i>Slovaks</i>	1
	<i>Slovakian</i>	1

Continued Table

Subgroup of Slavic languages	Tokens	Total number of contexts – 712
	<i>Caputova</i>	2
East Slavs		390
RUSSIAN		332
	<i>Russia</i>	161
	<i>Russian</i>	91
	<i>Russians</i>	14
	<i>Russia-focused</i>	1
	<i>Russian-related</i>	1
	<i>Russian-owned</i>	1
	<i>Russian-occupied</i>	1
	<i>Russian-backed</i>	1
	<i>Putin</i>	61
UKRAINIAN		55
	<i>Ukraine</i>	27
	<i>Ukrainian</i>	11
	<i>Ukrainians</i>	8
	<i>Zelenskiy</i>	9
BELARUSIAN		3
	<i>Belarus</i>	3
South Slavs		70
CROATIAN		24
	<i>Croatia</i>	15
	<i>Croatian</i>	8
	<i>Grabar-Kitarovic</i>	1
BULGARIAN		21
	<i>Bulgaria</i>	15
	<i>Bulgarian</i>	5
	<i>Bulgari</i>	1
SERBIAN		10
	<i>Serbia</i>	6
	<i>Serbian</i>	3
	<i>Vucic</i>	1
SLOVENIAN		6
	<i>Slovenia</i>	4
	<i>Slovenian</i>	2
MACEDONIAN		6
	<i>Macedonia</i>	5
	<i>Macedonian</i>	1
MONTENEGRIN		3
	<i>Montenegro</i>	3

of texts about Brexit, the UK media most frequently employ references to the East Slavic ethnic groups (54.8%). Then come the West Slavs (35.4%) and the South Slavs (9.8%).

5. Discussion: Images of Slavs

Terms “country image” and “national image” are used synonymously: “National image, then, can be defined as the cognitive representation that a person holds of a given country, what a person believes to be true about a nation and its people” (Kunczik, 2002: 49). I will concentrate on verbal and textual codifications to reveal the main Brexit-related frames, constituting national images.

Within media communication, framing has to be treated as a social constructivist phenomenon. I claim that DW of Brexit serves a discursive reference space, against which country images are profiled. Profiling has to do with the gestalt perception principle and the figure/ground phenomenon (Tsur, 2009: 238).

National image representations are structured by media frames, i.e. cognitive and communicative schemas, used for presenting news (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987; Gheorghiu, 2019; Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009). Entman points out that “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (Entman, 1993: 52). I will show that media frames are embedded in DW of Brexit.

The East Slavs

DW of Brexit is an ideologically biased construct. The choice of frames (hereafter highlighted through bold italics) structuring it is driven both by journalistic codes, political and ideological factors. The classification proposed in the paper relies on revealing discourse meanings, primarily signalled by topics, propositions, modalities, actor descriptions, and rhetorical means (van Dijk 2013). Among the East Slavs, tokens relating to the Russian (85%) are the most frequent, tokens of the Ukrainian rise to 14%, only 1% of occurrences allude to

the Belarusian. In DW of Brexit, the image of Russia is the most controversial.

The coverage of Brexit is biased by the assessment of Russia as a political aggressor. Against the backdrop of a Brexit landscape, framing encourages readers to perceive Russia in several aspects: ***Putin’s Russia, Russia as regime, Russia as superpower, Russia as threat, Russia as adversary, Russia as enactor of warfare.***

The Independent, known to have advocated the UK remain, represents Russia in close association with President Putin as a strong leader, who has a decisive role in manipulation and is not going to “take the pressure off” (1), (4):

(1) Putin managed to manipulate the Russian people into his antagonised theory through fuelling acrimony towards the west. This has been always a key tactic, which has proved efficient in turning ordinary citizens – more or less compelled as they are to consume constant, malicious propaganda – to believe that Brexit can turn the wheel in Russia’s favour. (The Independent, 8.01.2019).

Negative meanings about Russia are emphasized by predicates and arguments with negative semantics, conveyed by the words *manipulate, antagonised, acrimony, malicious, propaganda*, and the metaphorical use of *fuel, consume, turn the wheel*.

Russia’s political image is often evoked by ***Russia as superpower*** frame:

(2) It should be clear by now that Brexit is not just a local British dilemma. <...> This is due to its strategic and economic impact on Europe’s stability, Britain’s position on the world’s stage, and how Brexit will help Russia to rise again as a superpower in a new bipolar order. (The Independent, 8.01.2019).

In (2), a deontic modal expression *It should be...* connotes serious problems, in case Russia becomes a superpower.

In DW of Brexit ***Russia as threat*** frame is the most visible. It renders preconceived ideas about Russia’s possibilities of inflicting damage to Brexit procedure:

(3) Seely is as absorbed as anyone in the day-to-day drama of Brexit, and he’s been increasingly vocal in recent months about the

threats posed by a revanchist Russia. (Politics Home, 10.10.2019).

In (3), Russian activity is interpreted in terms of revanchism. In other contexts the frame is realized through propositions that relate to Russia's interference in Brexit: "Russia used Twitter bots and trolls 'to disrupt' Brexit vote." (The Times, 8.12.2019).

It seems that the frame *Russia as threat* does not contribute to any newly-coined image, but is retrieved from a repository of images, associated with the USSR period (e.g. "Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe", "dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics"):

(4) Russian President Vladimir Putin has predicted the downfall of the European Union in a chilling warning comparing the bloc's demise to the collapse of the Soviet Union. (Express, 21.11.2019).

In (3) and (4), history-related facts are selectively used to reinforce the existing critical-negative evaluation. References to Soviet Russia serve as a lesson, intended to darken political colours. A highly negative image-making becomes even more pronounced due to the use of rhetorical means, such as epithets and metaphors. E.g.:

(5) But the Kremlin's interest in Scotland is not simply military, rather it is more insidious. In the Scottish nationalist movement, Russia sees a proxy to weaken and divide the UK, which has long been a thorn in the Kremlin's side. (The Scotsman, 16.03.2019).

In (5), Russia's interest is characterized as insidious. Negative connotations arise from the metaphorical use of the word *proxy*, attributed to the nationalist movement. Negative image is also created by the metaphor "a thorn in the Kremlin's side", meaning "a constant or persistent cause of annoyance". It embeds the perception of Russia as a powerful opponent and a serious danger.

Image construal of Russia is often triggered by the co-activation of several frames:

(6) Third, an existential threat to British democracy is cyberwarfare by Putin's regime in Russia. The DCMS select committee found that Russia has already engaged in "unconventional warfare" against British voters. (<https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/2019/09/10/>).

In (6), the frames *Russia as threat*, *Russia as enactor of warfare* and *Russia as regime* are simultaneously co-activated by explicit forms of direct-negative evaluation, such as "an existential threat", "cyberwarfare by Putin's regime", and "unconventional warfare". The lexeme *regime* has a meaning "a government, especially an authoritarian one" (<https://www.lexico.com/>). Negatively-charged frames invite readers to perceive the country as an adversary.

The frame *Russia as adversary* has got numerous explicit manifestations:

(7) Adversaries include but are not limited to Isil, a resurgent al-Qaeda, Russia and China. <...> If cyber is MI6's hottest area, it is Russia that is its greatest state adversary. (The Telegraph, 15.02.2019).

In (7), Russia is put at the same rank as jihadist groups, having violent ideologies and claiming religious authority over all Muslims, such as Isil and al-Qaeda.

Russia as enactor of warfare frame is realized through overt accusations of waging warfare (*cyberwarfare*, *cyberattacks*, *hybrid warfare*) and striving to dominate European countries. E.g.:

(8) The Kremlin has already developed a sophisticated and well-coordinated arsenal of techniques to divide and dominate small European countries. (The Scotsman, 16.03.2019).

In (8), the frame exerts a substantial influence on deteriorating Russian political image due to explicitly represented propositional meanings and associations about the growing influence of the country.

The peripheral aspects of Russia's image are presented in relation to economy and society. The transported nation-image of Russia is also highly negative. It is structured by the frame *Russia as raw materials' source*:

(9) Putin believes the post-Cold War international order is unfair. This idea is not new or his alone, but it has assumed heightened importance as Russia's oil-fuelled economic growth rates of the early 2000s have been replaced by recession and stagnation. (The Scotsman, 16.03.2019).

In (9), the negativization of the image is explicit. Recession and stagnation are about a decline in economic activity. The metaphor

oil-fuelled highlights the country's vital dependence on oil.

The image of Russia, carried forward by the British media, draws on facts about social problems in the country, the main being suicide and demography:

(10) "Russia's suicide rate is one of the highest in the world," and in 2010 "one in ten villages in Russia had fewer than ten inhabitants". (The Spectator, 30.01.2019).

In (10), the frame *Russia's social problems* is activated, which contributes to a gloomy image of the country with an unfavorable social atmosphere.

Readers of the British press are exposed to the frame *Russian people*. In DW of Brexit, a set of characterizations is limited to evoking mental representations solely about oligarchs:

(11) For we were in Anthracite <...> a once-rundown area which is now the go-to mecca for chic restaurants and boutiques and flats you can't even think about unless you've met Mr Russian Oligarch. (The Express, 6.04.2019).

Context (11) is taken from the article about a spot worth visiting during "dark days in Brexit Britain". The use of *antonomasia* serves to highlight how much oligarchs are associated with Russians. English-language dictionaries, reflecting current usage of the word *oligarch*, automatically select examples about Russians (see, for example, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/oligarch>).

In DW of Brexit, the image of the Ukrainians is discursively represented by three frames. *Ukraine as victim of Russia* frame typically manifests in the articles about the war in Donbass. A complex image of a poor country, victimized by the Soviet Union, which eventually gained independence, and is now led forward by a president, unsuccessful in eradicating corruption, is regularly pushed forward. It is often due to the co-activation of frames, such as *Ukraine as a weak country* and *Ukrainian president*:

(12) Zelenskiy's promise to fight corruption has resonated with Ukrainians who are fed up with politics as usual in a country of 42 million people that remains one of Europe's poorest nearly three decades after winning indepen-

dence from the Soviet Union. (<https://uk.news.yahoo.com/>).

It is emphasized that the current president is a comedian without prior political experience: "Ukrainians vote on Sunday in the second round of an election that could thrust a comedian with no prior political experience into the presidency of a country at war and wanting transformational change". (Yahoo news, 21.04.2019).

The Belarusians are almost ignored in the media coverage of Brexit with one exception. The Independent mentions a refugee from Belarus, arriving in England (The Independent, 2.02.2019), which is an implication of a hot topic of immigration.

The West Slavs

Among the West Slavic national groups, tokens relating to the Polish, constitute the largest one (73%), less frequent are tokens of the Czech (16%), occurrences of the Slovak (11%) form the minority. All three countries are members of the EU, they are primarily conceptualized in relation to EU politics. Clusters of ideas are framed to guide readers' understanding of their political interests in Brexit. It is quite predictable that national images are structured by the frames *Poland as EU member*, *Czechia as EU member*, *Slovakia as EU member*. These frames are set by linkages to chief politicians, responsible for making decisions in each country.

Poland as EU member frame is realized through quotes, attributed to D. Tusk, K. Szymański, A. Duda, A. Rzegocki, expressing their concern on Polish national security after Brexit. The frame *Czechia as EU member* reduces the country political image to A. Babis and M. Zeman (The Independent, 27.06.2019). *Slovakia as EU member* frame helps understand the role of the first female president Z. Čaputová (Politico, 21.08.2019).

Brexit coverage features idiosyncratic frames. In DW of Brexit, the image of the Polish is mainly limited to several interpretative schemas, presenting Poland's economic activity and social life. The most emblematic frames are *Migration*, *Poland's economy*, *Employment*, *Polish people*.

Via media frame *Migration*, the readers have come to comprehend that thousands of Polish nationals are concerned about their settled status after British withdrawal. This frame is textualized by the representation of statistics about Polish communities. The metaphor *surge* (“the migrant surge from Poland”) is used in the media as a powerful semantic-rhetorical means that makes a biased ideological representation of the Polish. Together with overtly negative qualifications of the Poles, the frame contributes to a preconceived hetero-image construal:

(13) David Cameron thought that Remain was a certainty because of the belief among those advising him that people wouldn’t “vote themselves poorer because they don’t like the Poles living next door”. (The Independent, 12.04.2019).

The context exemplifies a semantic strategy of polarization between “us” and “them” (van Dijk 2000). “They” stand for the residents of the UK, and “the Poles” stand for the collective image of immigrants from Poland. Thus, a hetero-image, induced by the Independent, has a negative slant and implies hostile evaluation.

An auto-image has acquired a positive evaluative bias. For instance, *Poland’s economy* frame in the Brexit-supportive press is driven by the intentions of Polish politicians to build up an attractive image of the country. In an interview, A. Rzegocki has been quoted saying:

(14) “Poland and the Polish economy is growing, life standards are improving – they are much different compared with five to 10 years ago.” (Grimsby Telegraph, 18.09.2019).

In (14), Polish nationals living in the UK are encouraged by the ambassador to get back to “their homeland”.

Employment frame highlights types of work Polish people do for British companies. These are mainly menial jobs in agriculture, construction, hospitality, food and fish processing, fields and factories: “Ninety-nine per cent of the people in the fields and the factories were Polish.” (The Independent, 2.02.2019).

The frame *Polish people* reflects socially shared beliefs about their culture and be-

haviour. Against the backdrop of Brexit, some of them are formulated as stereotypes:

(15) “Apparently it’s de rigueur for Polish drinkers who allegedly don’t get hangovers and cautious Germans who believe that a pickled herring or two will keep the aches and shakes away.” (The Herald Scotland, 16.03.2019).

In (15), two stereotypes about the Poles are revealed. Firstly, Polish people are drinkers, secondly, they don’t get hangovers.

In DW of Brexit an image of the Czech and the Slovak become evident due to the frame *Czechoslovakia*. References are regular in the press, advocating the Remain side. It seems explicable in terms of ideological polarization. The frame *Czechoslovakia* makes salient the benefits of being a member of the EU for the Czech and the Slovak in contrast to their united country history:

(16) Austria, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia are all members of the European Union, enjoying the benefits of the single market and the free movement of people. <...> Away from all the arguments about Brexit, that huge historical fact about the EU is how it has helped transform the fortunes of its members. It helped the western ones recover from the Second World War, and the east-central ones to rebuild after the Cold War. (The Independent, 26.06.2019).

In (16), the current situation in the EU is implicitly compared to the times of the socialist camp, associated with communism as a plague of the 20th century in Eastern and Central Europe. It is presupposed that the EU has given the Czech Republic and Slovakia protection and support within the cosy “European family”.

The South Slavs

Among the South Slavic national groups, tokens of the Croatian (34.3%) are the most numerous, less frequent are tokens of the Bulgarian (30%), occurrences of the Serbian constitute twice a smaller part (14.3%), references to the Slovenian and the Macedonian are even (8.6%), tokens of the Montenegrin are the fewest (4.2%).

Journalists frame issues about the political activity of member states (Croatia, Bulgaria,

Slovenia), concerned about the exodus of Brexit. Frames *Croatia as EU member, Bulgaria as EU member, Slovenia as EU member* render viewpoints of politicians who represent the countries' interests (A. Plenkovic, President K. Grabar-Kitarović, B. Borisov, M. Sarec):

(17) The Slovenian prime minister has not been shy in criticising the actions of the UK over the past two and a half years of Brexit negotiations. In March he said: "We are concerned about what the European Union's future will be not the UK's." (The Week, 8.05.2019).

In (17), the frame *Slovenia as EU member* is activated by indirect and direct-quotative uses. The frame encourages audiences to make connections between the withdrawal procedure and the prime minister's worries about the EU-related future.

Though the Balkan Peninsula is marked by ethnic diversity of South Slavic peoples, in DW of Brexit, they are represented by the frame *Balkan countries*, which tends to project a "collective" victimized image:

(18) Paul Stronski highlights in his paper "Russia's game in the Balkans" that the Kremlin's influence in the Western Balkans is geared towards undermining the countries' hopes of joining the European Union and NATO (The Express, 23.11.2019).

In (18), the image of a victim is enhanced by the threat Russia poses to all Eastern Europe. Arguably, such an image is rooted in postwar Yugoslavia. The frame *Yugoslavia* is primarily evoked in the Remain-supportive press:

(19) Yugoslavia's a good prism through which to see Brexit Britain and the rotund philanderer. Under the Tories, a terrible Brexit will also mean that the country falls apart. (The Guardian, 25.11.2019).

Context (19) reflects the pro-European position, purporting that Britain's departure from the EU is a gross mistake. The allusion evokes the image of Boris Johnson, being an ardent proponent of Brexit. The frame *Yugoslavia* contributes to organizing public opinion in polarized terms through the contrast of the current situation in Europe and the historical period when peoples in the Balkans suffered from ethnic divisiveness and political upheaval. It suggests that the united Europe is good,

and Yugoslavia has brought about some bad experience:

(20) The promise of European Union membership has long been dangled before Balkan states as a tonic that could help to heal the scars of the Yugoslav wars. (The Times, 21.12.2019).

In (20), empathy is accorded to the images of the Balkan states by means of a metaphor of a healing tonic, implying that EU membership for candidate states is supposed to be not only refreshing, but making them well again after a Yugoslav turmoil.

6. Conclusion

The notion of DW of Brexit denotes a complex discourse-related conceptual structure, textualized in the media texts about Brexit. DW of Brexit is a representational structure, against which mental portraits of the East, West and South Slavic peoples are profiled. In DW of Brexit, framing is reduced to a number of noteworthy concepts, characteristic of a nation in the context of a political process. The basic frames pre-determining the perception of the Slavs in the British media discourse have politics, economics and society as source domains.

It has been taken into account that Slavic peoples fall into groups, depending on their related languages and the criteria of membership in the EU. Within DW of Brexit, images of those who are members of the EU are generally framed around the perspectives of an after-Brexit future and national interests in the gradually changing European home, being re-organized by Brexit initiatives. A number of idiosyncratic frames have been found out, which reflect biased social attitudes to the Slavs. Eurocentric evaluation of the Slavs is primarily negative, arguably because they belong to out-groups.

Ideological polarization reaches its apogee in the discursive representation of the Eastern European peoples, scaling from overt deprecation of Russians, to the negative and neutral characterization of Ukrainians and Belarusians. The reading public is invited to perceive Russia as an external aggressor, having supernatural power of influencing Brexit. The Ukrainian is valorized either negatively or neutrally.

In DW of Brexit, the most salient image of the West Slavs is that of the Polish. It is obviously less negative as compared to the East Slavs, but tends to reveal prejudices about people's behaviour and social impetus in the context of Brexit. Historical flashbacks are typical strategies of representing the Czech and the Slovak.

The relevant news frames, organizing images of the South Slavs are the *Balkan countries* and *Yugoslavia*. The former projects an image of the Balkan countries, represented as a single whole in spite of their independent political status and decades, passed after the dissolution of Yugoslavia. In the Brexit-supportive press, the named strategy of polarization is adopted by media managers to highlight a

possible collapse of the EU, in case of Britain's departure. It seems that the collective image of the Balkan countries is deeply embedded in the mental models of Europeans and because of it finds regular expression in the media.

Preconceived views, organized by frames, determine what people observe and attribute to national images. In the context of Brexit, the images of the Slavs are biased. Most post-communist countries are marked by negative stereotyping. The research has presented a tentative attempt to induce change of negatively-charged images. The author hopes it might provide bases for transcending ethnocentrism, reducing national arrogance, a better understanding of peoples and improving their relations in the global community.

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The Mythologeme “Coronavirus” in the Modern Mass Media News in Europe and Asia

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Abstract. The article analyzes the impact of nominations in the media discourse on the coronavirus on the public consciousness of Europe and Asia. The authors consider the historical, sociological, and psycholinguistic aspects of the use of names in texts about the coronavirus, identify the features of the impact of such texts on the reader and determine the target orientation of such texts. Hypothesis: names in news reports about coronavirus in modern news discourse in conditions of quarantine and self-isolation act as triggers that unite different strata of society, creating a hologram of a single mental space, actualizing archetypal images of the confrontation between Good and Evil. Particular attention is paid to the connection between ethno-confessional myths and ideas about the coronavirus in the public consciousness, their involvement in information wars. The methodology for the analysis of names is standard; it includes sociolinguistic, structural, and semantic analysis, evaluative, motivational, target analysis, etc. The study helps to understand linguistic universals in the transmission of psycho-emotional moods in a stressful situation in a pandemic. The article will be of interest to specialists in the field of linguistics, sociology, political science, psychology.

Keywords: proper name, news discourse, polycode, coronavirus, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, Russians, Albanians, Tatars, French, potential danger.

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Мифологема «коронавирус» в современных новостях масс-медиа Европы и Азии

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Аннотация. В статье анализируется влияние номинаций в медиадискурсе на коронавирус на общественное сознание Европы и Азии. Авторы рассматривают исторические, социологические и психолингвистические аспекты использования имен в текстах о коронавирусе, выявляют особенности воздействия таких текстов на читателя и определяют их целевую направленность. Гипотеза: имена в новостных репортажах о коронавирусе в современном новостном дискурсе в условиях карантина и самоизоляции выступают в роли триггеров, объединяющих разные слои общества, создавая голограмму единого ментального пространства, актуализируя архетипические образы противостояния Добра и Зла. Особое внимание уделяется связи этноконфессиональных мифов и представлений о коронавирусе в общественном сознании, их вовлеченности в информационные войны. Методика анализа имен стандартная, включает социоллингвистический, структурный и семантический анализ, оценочный, мотивационный, целевой анализ и т. д. Исследование помогает понять языковые универсалии в передаче психоэмоциональных настроений в стрессовой ситуации в условиях пандемии. Статья представляет интерес для специалистов в области лингвистики, социологии, политологии, психологии.

Ключевые слова: имя собственное, новостной дискурс, поликод, коронавирус, психолингвистика, социоллингвистика, русские, албанцы, татары, французы, потенциальная опасность.

Работа выполнена при финансовой поддержке Министерства образования и науки Российской Федерации по программе повышения конкурентоспособности Российского университета дружбы народов (РУДН, РУДН) среди ведущих мировых научно-образовательных центров.

Научная специальность: 10.00.00 – филологические науки.

Introduction

Humanity has not faced such large-scale problems for a long time as the modern pandemic of the coronavirus COVID-19. The modern pandemic activates forgotten archetypes and mythologemes in the public consciousness, which are characterized by an anthropomorphic image of the disease, which acts as an equalizer of the established socio-stereotypes of human civilization. Based on this, the coronavirus pandemic in modern media is portrayed as a war with some living / or like living beings opposing people.

Recently, apocalyptic sentiments are being heard more and more often in various mass media, while nominatives (proper names) appear in several guises, being in a clear dependence on the author's strategies and goals of speech behavior when writing texts about coronavirus. The restructuring of public consciousness is proceeding through the so-called "Overton windows" (Karabulatova, Savchuk, 2019) by using the polycode character of mythologemes that actualize the archetype of Death, referring each person to the image of the coronavirus as a symbol of the Apocalypse before the End of the World.

In this regard, we see references to the popular picture of the world of different peoples, including different religions, so we took in our study the idea of coronavirus in comparison with the mythology of Russian Orthodox, Greek Orthodox, Muslim Tatars, French Catholics, Albanians (Muslim and Christians) and Chinese Buddhists. This gives us insight into why fears and social deviations are on the rise in society due to the coronavirus. It is believed that Albanian culture remains one of the most incomprehensible and difficult to analyze due to the fact that most of the related languages have become extinct. In addition, Albanian norms of etiquette are rather vague, since Albanians can profess both Orthodoxy, Catholicism, and Islam. Based on this mutual nature of the Albanian mentality, we took for comparison Russians and Greeks as bearers of Orthodox culture, French as bearers of Catholicism, Tatars as bearers of Islam, Chinese as bearers of Buddhism and a representative of the "zero patient nation" in the coronavi-

rus pandemic. Such a comparison gives us an understanding of the specific and universal in modern myths about coronavirus in different ethno-linguo-confessional environments.

The problem of analyzing nominatives in the mass-media discourse about coronavirus is that researchers perceive the metaphors used as "the final product of linguistic analysis, and there is no semantic motivation for why a particular metaphor is associated with a particular emotion. There is no linguistic, semantic link between physical motivation and the metaphor itself." (Apresyan, 1995: 456).

The disease has the character of stigma in any community (Bovina, Yakushenko, 2015). This attitude, according to N. Morant (2006), began to change in Western Europe in the second half of the twentieth century, however, the situation of the coronavirus pandemic began to be used as a powerful manipulative tool of modern information war (Barabash et al., 2019; Bernatskaya et al., 2020; Skovorodnikov et al., 2019) at a new stage of the digital format, when it is difficult for a layman to distinguish the truth from the fake. In this regard, there is an urgent need to develop tools for countering explicit and hidden manipuloms in the management of public consciousness. We propose to consider manipulative strategies used to change the picture of the world of recipients under manipulative methods. Manipuloms are based on cognitive modeling (Evseeva, Ponomareva, 2018). We propose the term manipuloma as a designation for manipulative techniques.

Materials and Methods

The discourse analysis of the news mass-media discourse about the coronavirus pandemic using nominatives considers, first, the principle of representativeness. This is a basic approach in sociolinguistics, which allows you to approach the description of the macro-structure of names that have signs of polycode, with subsequent interpretation depending on the communication tasks.

The targeted nature of the submission of materials in the Internet space allows you to quickly compare statistical data on publications about the COVID-19 pandemic in different countries, regions, cities, localities, etc.

(Statistics of the spread of coronavirus in Russia for today, 24.10.2020).

In addition to sociolinguistic methods, we use the well-established methodology of traditional linguistics, linguoculturology, and psychology.

Thus, we determine the frequency characteristics of polycode names in the modern mass-media discourse about the coronavirus pandemic through descriptive statistics.

Review and Discussion

Sociology separately considers such a tool for manipulating public consciousness as rumors, gossip or the so-called "word of mouth", we can easily find their trace in the Internet space (for example, Yandex.Zen, social networks) (Osetrova, 2011).

Thus, it is the virtual image of the country formed in the mass media that is constructed using nominative markers, accumulating around itself news texts with proper names that ensure the reality of a particular phenomenon / event / place / person / society (Pocheptsov, 2015).

At the same time, the mass media discourse functions to ensure the fulfillment of the tasks of informativeness, suggestion, agitation, and propaganda (Chomsky, 2011; Zheltukhina, 2003), where the "assembly points" of the reliability of the proposed news are proper names. Any information indicating the name of the hero, the place of his location, etc. is designed to give the information guide features of authenticity and increase the attention of society, so proper names are experiencing a new flourishing in the situation of constructing realities in the virtual space of mass media. So, for example, the fake news constructed by professionals about the allegedly fallen meteorite in the Moscow suburb of Barybino on June 22, 2017, aimed at drawing public attention to the predatory seizure of land. High-quality fake content attracted the attention of the world media to the problem of Barybino residents and allowed to solve the problem of confrontation over the seizure of land by the "Coalco" company in favor of the village residents (Matveychev, 2017). A clear geographical reference, the involvement of experts in the field

of mathematics, astronomy, physics helped to attract the attention of journalists from all over the world, while high-quality video and photo materials only supported the false news. At the same time, socially significant content about the coronavirus is replete with social potential dangers that form social schizophrenic reactions in society, which allowed I.S. Karabulatova to pose the problem of automatic evaluation of potentially dangerous texts in modern news discourse (2020). At the same time, the pragmatics of nominatives in the digital space of mass media discourse comes to the fore: the analysis of electronic communications is carried out in various aspects (Bernatskaya et al., 2020; Chudinov et al., 2019; Karabulatova, 2020)

Results

We believe that the mythologization of the coronavirus is influenced by the following classes of onyms:

1) anthroponyms, names of people (Ivan – popular Russian male name; Henry is a French male name; Hanif – popular men's Tatar name; Arbery – a famous Albanian female name, etc.).

2) theonomy – the names of the deities (Bokura – a female deity of the Albanians, the person of the mother of all things; of Perun – the Supreme male deity of the ancient Slavs, the God of Sky and lightning; Su Anasy – the Mother-Water is a in the Tatar mythology; Anku in French mythology, the deity of Death in women; Nuwa – in Chinese mythology, a female deity).

3) mythonyms – names of a fictional object/ subject (Alatyr – stone-the center of the universe in Russian mythology; Albasty – in Tatar mythology, a malevolent spirit, akin to the Russian Baba Yaga; Vuivr – a dragon-like creature, a hybrid of an Echid and a Wyvern in French culture; Kuchedra – a fire – breathing dragon with nine languages, sometimes turning into a shaggy woman with saggy breasts, Albanian folklore); Dzami – Evil demons in Chinese culture, seeking to harm people.

4) geopolitonyms – names of countries and regions (Russia, Siberia, Tatarstan, Albania, Berat, France, Brittany).

5) mythopathonyms – folk names of diseases (tryasovitsa – fever in Rus.).

6) toponyms – names of geographical objects (Moscow, Paris, Kazan, Peshkopia, Shan-grila).

7) informonyms – names of various media (newspapers, magazines, Internet channels, blogs, etc.), etc.

Folklorists have designated by the term mythopatonym folk names of diseases and their symptoms. They believe that the disease acquires anthropomorphic features and is personified in the folk mythological picture of the world. The disease acts as a punitive tool of the higher powers for ordinary mortals, who are punished for their sins (Ivanova, 2015; Vystropova, 2019). At the same time, the names of diseases and symptoms of diseases occupy a key place in the sacred and ritual discourse of

medicine practice both in the past and present, actualizing the archetype of disease as a transitional sign from the real world of health and life to the other world of death in the modern mythologized picture of the human world (Fang Xiang, 2017; Marinenko et al., 2019).

In this vein, new works on the analysis of the coronavirus problem in mass media and news discourses began to appear (Kisel, 2020; Karabulatova, Shekhi, 2020; Gornostayeva, 2020).

The situation of emotional blackmail and intimidation leads to the actualization of protest forms of public behavior, which makes it possible to classify such publications as potentially dangerous texts. Usually, emotional, and psychological anomalies are in "sleep mode", and a very powerful, constantly acting stimulus is necessary for their activation. The space of emotional and psychological anomalies itself

Table 1. Target orientation of the use of nominatives in the mass media discourse on the COVID-19 coronavirus

N/n	Purpose of text with nominative	Examples of titles of publications in the media (from open sources on the Internet)
1	Popular science attribution, Clarification of the nature of the coronavirus	1) Coronaviruses (Coronaviridae) are a fairly large list of viruses that can infect both animals and humans, causing respiratory syndromes of varying complexity. Belong to the II group of pathogenicity; 2) Coronaviruses (Coronaviridae, CoV) – a family of viral infections from the order of Nidovirales, which have the property of infecting not only humans, but also many different animals, especially pets, livestock, pigs and others. As of 2020, the coronavirus family includes 40 types of viruses. The most popular of which, at least among people, was the virus "2019-nCoV" (Wuhan coronavirus, Wuhan seafood market pneumonia virus) newly detected at the end of 2019 in Wuhan (China), etc.
2	Locus indication	1) For the first time, the coronavirus was recorded in Wuhan; 2) The spread of coronavirus in Moscow is growing; 3) Tighter coronavirus restrictions in Albania; 4) In France, they announced the loss of control over the situation with coronavirus, etc.
3	An indication of a specific person (expert, etc.) associated in one way or another with the coronavirus	1) Moscow Mayor Sergei Sobyanin announced measures to prevent coronavirus; 2) Albania's Minister of Health Ogerta Manastiliu announced on October 11 that the government had decided to introduce mandatory wearing of masks; 3) The head of the scientific council under the French government, Jean-Francois Delfressy, called the situation with the coronavirus in the country critical; 4) Prime Minister of Tatarstan Pesoshin commented on the increase in the incidence of coronavirus in Tatarstan; 5) Alexander Lukashev, a virologist, director of the Institute of Medical Parasitology at Sechenov University, allowed the third wave of coronavirus in Russian regions, etc.

Continued Table 1

N/n	Purpose of text with nominative	Examples of titles of publications in the media (from open sources on the Internet)
4	Actualization of archetypal images and fears of the unconscious	1) Fear of the coronavirus COVID-19; 2) Coronavirus and the Phoenix bird archetype, the language of images and symbols. Medical history and recovery; 3) Russian biologists have discovered an ominous property of the coronavirus; 4) The coronavirus has become a harbinger of the apocalypse: the world is on the brink of a global catastrophe; 5) Coronavirus – Horseman of the Apocalypse; 6) Could a zombie apocalypse start due to a virus in China? 7) Deadly danger; 8) The terrible forecast of scientists: 80% of humanity will die from the coronavirus; 9) Experts told where the coronavirus lives. He is everywhere; 10) Five minutes and everyone dies. The doctor told the truth about the coronavirus; 11) The Dalai Lama Reveals the Secret Of COVID-19 To the World
5	Elimination of panic in society	1) Panic moods due to the spread of coronavirus are based more on emotions (perhaps artificially or generally for the sake of hype kindled) than on facts: Professor of the St. Petersburg Research Institute of Experimental Medicine Larisa Rudenko; 2) Epidemic of mythology: is the coronavirus as terrible as it is portrayed; 3) Virus with a legend. Which of the written about the coronavirus is true? 4) "They don't believe in conspiracy theories": why the coronavirus disappeared in China
6	Leveling negative emotions in society	1) Folk legends about the Covid-19 coronavirus; 2) Conflict and stress due to uncertainty: how to cope with problems remotely during a pandemic; 3) Wait: a weak point of the coronavirus was found; 4) A COVID-19 cough recognition system may appear at Russian airports; 5) Former military medic A. Lytvyn says that the pandemic will be replaced by a new Renaissance
7	Constructing new myths	1) The main prophecy of Vanga – Russia will cope with the terrible virus; 2) Forget it immediately: TOP 6 myths about coronavirus; 3) The immunologist named ways of personal protection against coronavirus; 4) Coronavirus: 5 reasons to be optimistic; 5) Coronavirus: instructions for survival; 6) New solutions of the era of coronavirus, which we could not imagine some six months ago
8	Laughing fear of coronavirus, using humor	1) The Ministry of Health and Virologists have dispelled popular myths about the coronavirus. Immunity in smokers and "no more dangerous than the flu": top 10 autumn myths about coronavirus; 2) Alcohol and a bath will not help: doctors have denied the most popular myths about the coronavirus; 3) 40 selected jokes about coronavirus in order not to fall into despair; 4) Before Halloween, Russians began to buy a coronavirus costume; 5) Defeat the coronavirus like the Pechenegs; 6) 25 original ways to have fun in quarantine; 7) Folk creativity for self-isolation: coronavirus, go away, you are not welcome here; 8) How the coronavirus changed porn. Yes, this world won't be the same

contains many various neuropsychiatric abnormalities that differ in etiology, anamnesis, and clinical picture (Bernatskaya et al., 2020; Karabulatova, 2020). The more severe the personality disorders, the more difficult it is for such a person to critically perceive the information. Hence, we see the growth of publications that appeal to the mythologized picture of the world, fairy tales, beliefs, legends (Fang Xiang, 2017).

Simplifications in the personal picture of the world lead to cognitive distortions based on various classes of logical disorders, which, in turn, is predetermined by differences in the volume of background knowledge, differentiation of the volume of concepts in RAM, as well as in the choice of stereotypes of strategies for presenting material to the audience.

At the same time, disorders in the emotional and mental sphere are characterized by an unstable balance between the norm and pathology, so these anomalies belong to the borderline level of mental disorders.

Potentially dangerous texts about the coronavirus can be shown in the form of the "Overton window" (Fig. 1) scheme, which will clearly demonstrate the progressive "pressure steps" on the human psyche in the context of a shift from the social norm to deviations and to more serious psychopathology.

We believe that such powerful epidemics and pandemics (Marinenko et al., 2019) as the COVID-29 coronavirus pandemic actualize popular beliefs that live in the realm of the unconscious. The mythopathonym "coronavirus COVID-19" itself focuses on such archetyp-

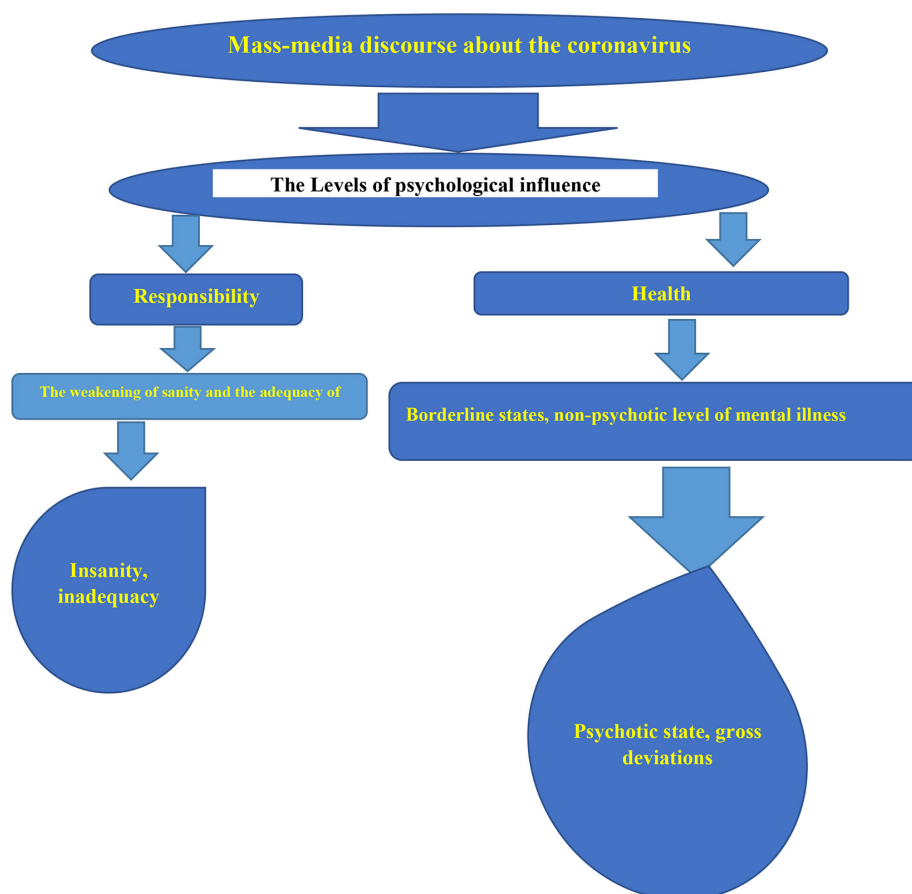


Fig. 1. "Overton Window": "Pressing steps" of the mass-media discourse on the coronavirus, transforming the preservation of the psyche in the context of psychopathology

al fears as the fear of death, the prediction of the Apocalypse, the death of all living things, the death of humanity, the end of the world, obsession with devilish forces, heavenly punishment. At the same time, the mythologeme coronavirus actualizes the mythologeme about the sacred significance of Russia (Karabulatova, Shehi, 2020).

Ideas about the coronavirus fit perfectly into the mythology of the disease in the picture of the human world. The very type of pathogen, designated as a coronavirus, actualizes the anthropomorphism of COVID-19. The designation in everyday speech, as simply a crown, indicates the opposition of the male and female worlds, since in the mythologized picture of the world, the disease, as a rule, is designated by a female name or has a female gender. For example, in the Slavic languages: tryasovitsa, fever, erysipelas, scrofula, rubella, dropsy, sternum, etc.

In almost all languages, the disease is indicated in the form of a woman. So, in the Albanian language, which is a separate group among the Indo-European languages, there is the concept of a Strigoi, i.e. an evil witch who drinks blood at night, as a result of which a person becomes seriously ill. This character, according to the beliefs of the Albanians, eats human flesh. Also manifests itself and Lamaya (Llamaja), which appears in the form of a woman with a snake's tail and eats people.

Traditionally, diseases, especially those caused by viruses and infections, have been imprinted in the popular memory of the peoples of the world as a tool of blind, thoughtless, and ruthless force with a huge number of victims. Therefore, we see in the Albanian, Russian, and Tatar mythology the designations of numerous spirits who punish people who stumble with diseases, acting as a payment for sins.

So, in Tatar mythology there is a female image of the evil Albasty, which suffocates a person, causes cough, asthma, pulmonary edema, leading to the death of a person. To cure the patient and remove the fear of the disease and, consequently, before death, it is necessary to identify the disease, so the disease as a manifestation of the forces of Evil in the Tatar folk picture of the world is associated with the

influence on a person of such mythical images as Yale, Shaitan, Chin-Sekmet, which are rooted in the pre-Islamic beliefs of the Tatars, and the so-called "popular Islam". As a rule, the symptoms are personified, each feature is described metaphorically and anthropomorphically, which is generally characteristic of the folk picture of the world and the mythologized consciousness of the native speaker.

In the Albanian mythological picture of the world, a special place is occupied by the personified Eternal Femininity, which acts as E Bukuri e Dheut (E Bukuri e Dheut) or the so-called Beauty of the Earth, i.e., the most beautiful woman of mankind, which is a symbol of happiness, well-being, health, and prosperity (Karabulatova, Shehi, 2020). Bucuri is portrayed as a golden-haired, white-skinned beautiful woman. In Albanian anthroponymy, Bukuri has become one of the most popular female names. At the same time, if the balance of Good and Evil is broken, then Bukuri can act on the side of the dark forces, then she turns into a black, black-haired woman, bringing disease, grief, desolation. Therefore, in the situation with the pandemic in Albania, they began to say: "Beautiful as Bukuri, but the crown hinders". Here we see the combination of the values of corona: 1) a symbol of universally recognized beauty, 2) arrogance and pride, 3) the designation of the coronavirus (Shehi et al., 2020).

At the same time, we see the mythologization of protective and preventive measures for the spread of diseases. So, in the national picture of the world common belief that there are places where people live and spirits of disease, and if you get in a place (in other words, the center of disease), the disease settles forever in the soul and the body, leading to his death. The virus and infection are designated as bad air, unclean air, which emphasizes the nature of the spread of such diseases.

An indication of the original source of this disease – bats, an image that is endowed with an initially negative connotation in different linguistic and cultural worlds, also contributes to the strengthening of the coronavirus mythologeme. It is enough to remember that in European culture, the forces of Evil can turn into bats.

The bat is an accomplice of witches, sorcerers. The bat is one of the symbols of vampires and other evil spirits. In ancient times, it was believed that the soul of a deceased person can fly in the form of a bat. Some publications indicate caves where bats live. In some publications, coal mines were indicated, which increased the negative impact on humans, contributing to an even stronger mythologization of the coronavirus. At the same time, two opposing points of view came into opposition: the bat – a symbol of Evil (European mythologeme), and the bat – a symbol of happiness and well-being (Chinese mythologeme). But in most mythologies, the bat is either a personification of the forces of Evil, or a talisman from the forces of Evil, which activates the associative space of the concept of "bat" in the language culture.

Conclusion

The personification of diseases through the designation through the work of certain evil

spirits, helps to cope with the uncontrolled fear of death, performing the psychotherapeutic role of maintaining mental health in a stressful situation. Diseases, especially epidemics and pandemics, in folk mythology appear as the result of the work of certain demonic entities that are similar in some ways to people but are opposed to the human world.

In this situation, the lack of consideration of the features of the mythologized picture of the world of modern man in news texts about the coronavirus leads to an unconscious strengthening of one of the negative components of the polycode message about the coronavirus, which carries the possibility of using the "window of discourse" in the context of the formation of a potential danger to society.

Today, news stories about coronavirus are at the top of the list worldwide. The reason for most of our fears is imagination, which fills the missing gaps with the background knowledge of the ethnic group about similar situations.

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Variability of News Interpretation in Political Discourse (A Case Study of the Internet Materials Covering the 2014 and 2018 Winter Olympic Games)

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Abstract. This paper focuses on the analysis of the discourse formed by the ordinary citizens discussing news on the Internet social networks. Conceptualizing the theory of the variability of interpretation, the authors study political discourse emerging on Runet, with the aim of identifying the determinants of variation. The empirical base is the news published on “*Newsland.com*”, which covers the 2014 and 2018 Olympic Games. These mediated events do not aim to focus on political issues. However, they stimulate the interpretation activity of the addressees who tend to discuss political background of the sports events as well as to disclose major problems in society. As the analysis shows, there are two groups of factors influencing the interpretation activity of the participants of political discussions on the Russian Internet: objective, determined by the text as a sign, and subjective, determined by the interpreter’s attitude towards the mediated event. The authors argue that the semantic and pragmatic presumptions, as well as the implicatures of the media news are among the mechanisms of interpretative variation. Additionally, the paper shows a significant role in the interpretation of such a subjective category as anticipation or expectation, which also refers to the implicatures. This factor largely determines the interpreter’s point of view on the information presented in the article. The methodological pathos of the article is to assert the possibility of identifying, describing and modeling internal and deep categories of everyday political discourse based on the analysis of its external manifestations.

Keywords: interpretivism, internet commentary, semantic block, semantic zone, source text, political worldview.

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Вариативность интерпретации в политическом дискурсе (на материале интернет-комментариев к статьям о зимних Олимпийских играх 2014 и 2018 гг.)

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Аннотация. Данная статья посвящена коммуникативно-дискурсивному анализу дискурса, образуемого обсуждением политических событий рядовыми гражданами в социальных сетях Рунета. Основной аспект анализа лингвоинтерпретационный. В статье устанавливаются две группы факторов, влияющих на интерпретационную деятельность участников политических дискуссий в русском интернете: 1) объективные, текстовые, определяемые содержанием обсуждаемой статьи; 2) субъективные, дотекстовые, определяемые отношением интерпретатора к описываемому в интернет-публикации событию и его мировоззренческими установками. На основе анализа лингвистической и экстралингвистической составляющих интерпретирующих суждений, а также сопоставления плана содержания и плана выражения интерпретируемого текста осуществлено моделирование имплицитной картины мира индивидуальных и групповых участников интернет-дискуссий. Доказана значимая роль в интерпретационной деятельности такой субъективной категории, как предвосхищение, которая относится к дотекстовым факторам и в существенной мере детерминирует точку зрения интерпретатора на излагаемую в статье информацию. Авторы статьи предполагают, что данная категория формирует определенные стереотипы интерпретации, некоторые из них имеют ментально-психологический, социально-групповой, а в ряде случаев и национальный колорит. Методологический пафос статьи заключается в утверждении возможности выявления, описания и моделирования внутренних и глубинных категорий обыденного политического дискурса на основе анализа его внешних, поверхностных проявлений.

Ключевые слова: интерпретивизм, интернет-комментарий, семантический блок, смысловая зона, текст-источник, политическая картина мира.

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Introduction

The public availability of online resources, including political discussions, not only broadens the understanding of political communication, but also promotes the study of the impact of public opinion on politics (Davis, 2005; Kushin, 2009; Wright, 2012). As Page et al. notes, online environment has penetrated into and merged with everyday interpersonal communication, and is “still distributed across potentially large-scale audiences” (Page et al., 2014).

In this regard, today the focal point of different sciences is non-professional political communication. Originating in various areas of everyday communication, “online political talk” also attracts the attention of researchers interested in linguistic ways of expressing political views (Kim et al., 2013). In the 1990s, the object of political linguistics and discourse analysis was mainly the official government websites or pages created by the political elite (Chudinov, 2008; Hill & Hughes, 1998). However, at the beginning of the millennium the research focus shifted to the discourse of electronic media, including not only news pages, but also “comment threads” (space for comments), in which any user can leave a response, including evaluation of political events (Canter, 2012; Graham et al., 2017; Misnikov et al., 2016; Speakman, 2015).

In many researches focused on linguistic analysis of political discourse it is noted that there is a need for in-depth study of those platforms for discussions where policy issues are intertwined with everyday ones (Dijk, 2008; Habermas, 1989; Wodak, 2011). The pages of news publications provide an opportunity for ordinary citizens to interpret political events in the form of comments. As a result of the perception of texts on political topics, the addressees of political Internet discourse become addressers. Hence, their political intentions are directly represented in language and discourse (Golev, 2011).

However, everyday (non-professional) political discourse is also born in the Internet spaces intended, for example, to discuss films and TV series, sports events, etc. Interestingly, today the public are increasingly discussing the

issues of social welfare, patriotism, freedom, and equality in the comments to the events from different spheres of social life.

The search for the common ground of everyday political consciousness with a professional one (both official and opposition) using the material of the non-professional discourse is a significant task of everyday political linguistics, which is not yet formulated sufficiently clearly and precisely as a scientific problem. The subject of everyday political linguistics is the linguistic means of expressing those concepts, existing in the ordinary citizens' minds, which influence the formation of ideology and political worldview (Bennett, 2012; Golev, 2011; Popkova, 2014). Insufficient study of non-professional political discourse, which is formed in the comments to the materials of non-political orientation, gives relevance to the problem under study.

The study of comments to non-political events from the perspective of the variative-and-interpretative functioning of the text makes it possible to identify the underlying text-generating mechanisms. Description of verbal means of manifestation of ordinary consciousness in the paradigm of linguistic interpretivism allows taking into account the specificity of relations between the addressee, the author, and the text. Along with this, it also makes it possible to include pre-text and implicit components of everyday interpretation in the analysis (Golev & Kim, 2014). Additionally, the researchers focus on the “reconstruction of the author's mental world”, immersed in certain conditions during the text creation (Dem'iankov, 1989).

Thus, the aim of this study is to identify the specific features of everyday political discourse, which is produced as an outcome of the interpretative activity of the recipient of non-political events, and to describe the relationship of the author of the text and its recipients, which is formed on the basis of the interpreting activities of the latter.

The results of the analysis make it possible to identify the main vectors of interpretation, including implicit and explicit meanings of the original non-political text. As the analysis shows, the discussion of sporting events cer-

tainly touches on political topics, regardless of the presence of political meanings in the propositions of the source text. However, the structural and substantive features of the interpreted discourse have a significant impact on the formation of the field of interpreting texts. This interdependence is determined by the implicit meaning of the discourse as a space coherently formed by the multi-interpretational potential of its constituents.

Theoretical Framework

Linguistic Interpretivism

Written and oral process of thinking, language and speech functioning is manifested in the multifaceted nature of text communication. This study is based on the theory of variative-interpretative functioning of the text. The research methodology is determined by the approach outlined by V.Z. Dem'iankov as linguistic interpretivism developed within the framework of the Kemerovo scientific school "Social and cognitive functioning of the Russian language".

The interpretive approach has been developed in line with the cognitive-discursive paradigm of Russian linguistics since the end of the 20th century. From the point of view of interpretivists, the interpreter infers the meaning of a word as it is not embedded in a language form. Accordingly, interpretation is understood as a cognitive process and at the same time the result in establishing the meaning of speech and/or non-speech actions. V.Z. Dem'iankov, largely following the premises of logical-philosophical, semantic and pragmatic theories, identifies the following prerequisites of this approach:

1. Interpretation is simultaneously seen as a process, a result, and a recipient's mindset. The result can be perceived both externally and internally as understanding.

2. Interpretation is a purposeful cognitive activity that has feedback from the local and global goals of the interpreter, who is not always sure of the purposefulness of the actions of the author of the perceived speech.

3. Interpretation consists in establishing and/or maintaining harmony in the interpreter's mental world, which can be expressed in the awareness of the properties of the context

of speech and in placing the results of such awareness in the space of the interpreter's inner world.

4. The object is interpreted only within the framework of the system, when a set of acceptable types and forms of presenting the result is defined in advance. According to the expression, in particular, the genesis, social and personal motives of the author are restored.

5. Meanings do not form a separate world, but appear only as a result of successful interpretation. Interpretation is an attempt to create a value according to some goals, for which specific strategies are used. It is the interpreter's mind, in which the meaning acquires its verbal form widening or narrowing, or even essentially reshaping the interpreter's inner world.

Speech value statement harmonizes with the preceding context. The meaning of the expression is the actualized speech meaning within the framework of the momentary situation of interpretation (Dem'iankov, 2004).

Text as a Result of Variative- and-Interpretative Process

According to the concept developed in the study, the text in the system-centric dimension is a "bundle" of potential meanings (Kim, 2013). Their implementation takes place in the course of its perception by the reader, i.e. in the process of the interpretative functioning of the text in the addressee's mind. Therefore, the result of this activity is *the interpreting text*, the content of which is caused, among other factors, by the implementation of the implicit meanings of the original, *interpreted text*.

At the same time, we take into account the phenomenon of variability being a key property of language (Golev & Kim, 2009). The system of language and its elements are inevitably variable both in terms of the signified and in terms of the signifier, since language has a large but finite set of means for expressing an infinite set of meanings. Hence, it gives the subject of speech a certain freedom to establish the connection between sign and meaning.

As the factors of variability of text interpretation are concerned, they fall into two groups: objective, text-centered (the factor of the text) and subjective, anthropocentric (the

factor of the addressee-interpreter). Notably, we assume that the addressee is an active and creative participant in the perception of the text language activities aimed at the interpretation of its semantic content. Following the phenomenological conception, we regard interpretation as cognitive activity. This activity involves “obtaining on the basis of one, “initial” – interpreted – object of another object, different from it and proposed by the interpreter as equivalent to the initial on a specific background of situations, a set of presumptions and knowledge” (Dem’iankov, 1982: 327).

Implicit and Explicit Meanings of the Text

As it is universally acknowledged, almost any statement contains implicit information additionally to its explicit layer (Implitsitnost’ v iazyke i rechi, 1999; Paducheva, 2004; Strawson, 1964; Yus, 1999). As I.V. Arnol’d notes, an important feature of implicit information is that it has a variable interpretation. In linguistic semantics there are several types of implicit information in a statement, of which the most important for us are *semantic and pragmatic presupposition and implication* (consequence) (Arnol’d, 1982).

Semantic presupposition is understood as an implied semantic component of a sentence, which is not expressed in it with sufficient explicitness. Each presumption is “generated” by an element (a word or syntactic construction) of the sentence, i.e. included in the description of its meaning (Asher & Lascarides, 1998; Dynel & Cap, 2017).

E.V. Paducheva distinguishes, on the one hand, existential and factual presumptions, and, on the other hand, presumptions in the interpretation of words (Paducheva, 2004). At the same time, one sentence can correspond to several presumptions that actualize its different semantic components. The implicit components also include *a pragmatic presupposition*, i.e. the presumption of the listener’s knowledge. “The pragmatic presumption is pragmatic in the sense that the characteristic of its content includes a reference to the speaker, i.e. to one of the pragmatic components of the speech act” (Paducheva, 2004: 124). The component of the Common Ground Condition of the speaker and

listener is a pragmatic presumption (Qualif, 2017).

The study of the implicit information contained in the news, however influencing the development of the interpretative process and determining the meaning variations proposes the question about the sources of this information. Primarily, we take into consideration the Maxim of Quantity, saying “Give only the necessary amount of information – not too much or too little” and the associated postulate of the method (be brief, avoid unnecessary verbosity) (Grice, 1991; Stalnaker, 1985).

The implementation of these postulates in text organization provides the inclusion of *implicit components* in the structure of the text, the need for which is confirmed by the general communicative principle of least effort in speech. The speaker does not verbalize information in full, but concentrates language resources in the field of relevant information. Another related to the named source of implicit information is the specificity of the receptive process, which consists in the text form semantization as a procedure of meaning-making. Extracting the information, the recipient embeds it in his picture of the world while completing the missing semantic links. The result of this factor, which determines the process of interpretation, may be the phenomenon of “conflict of interpretations”, implying the presence of polar points of view on the same issue (Ricoeur, 1998).

Everyday Political Linguistics as a New Field of Study

Today a number of sciences exploring a naive discourse have formed a new direction, synthesizing the achievements of political linguistics and the theory of everyday knowledge, everyday political linguistics. Ordinary political linguistics is closely connected with the political linguistics, which explores political communication, i.e. speech activity that focuses on the promotion of certain ideas, the emotional impact on citizens, and their motivation to political action (Golev, 2011; Golev & Kim, 2014; Saveleva, 2015; Tan et al., 2007).

While political linguistics focuses on the use of political discourse, the language of pol-

itics for the purpose of exercising power, everyday linguistics focuses on the description of the socio-cognitive functioning of non-professional political discourse, on the knowledge that ordinary native speakers exchange when discussing political issues. Ordinary political linguistics is also aimed at studying the peculiarities of everyday language consciousness on the material of political texts and fragments of the citizens' language system.

Methods and Materials

The communicative-discursive approach presented in this paper focuses on the phenomenological and linguistic value of everyday interpretation of political events by Russian Internet users. The main method of modeling the interpretation activity of ordinary participants of the Internet discussions on political topics is an in-depth linguistic (semiotic) analysis of interpreted and interpreting discourses implemented within communicative approach to discourse analysis.

The *first* stage involves the identification of semantic blocks objectified in the text under discussion by the method of semiotic analysis. The *second* stage entails the identification of semantic zones of the original (interpreted text), actualized by the authors of the comments. To achieve this the authors apply the "addresser – addressee" conception to discourse analysis. At the *third* stage, a bundle of interpretations (semantic versions) of the source text is revealed. They are further classified on various grounds in order to describe the most frequent discourse structures, thus allowing the researchers to uncover the mechanisms of the addressee's interpretative activity. This stage results in establishing the semiotic means of the political worldview representation in the interpretation of non-political events.

The empirical data elicited for the analysis are online commentaries posted by native Russian speakers on www.Newsland.com. Internet comments have been the focal point of linguistic, political and discourse researches for the last two decades. Comments of ordinary citizens are of interest for interpretative linguistics, as their generation is the result of active (interpreting) activity of the addressee,

considered as an active participant of communication. In addition, the comments to the media news explicate the dynamic changes taking place in the society as a whole and in the political consciousness of its individual representatives, in particular (Golev, 2011; Reader, 2012; Saveleva, 2015; Shanahan, 2017; Wojcieszak & Mutz, 2009).

To illustrate the developed conception we used the reports of two Olympic Games: the Winter Olympic Games-2014 in Sochi, Russia, and the Winter Olympic Games-2018 in Pyeongchang, South Korea. These events have attracted great attention of the world's audience as well as of the Russian viewership, having received quite a number of controversial opinions. The choice of the data for the analysis is caused by the observed tendency to have an extensive interpretation aptitude in regards to major sports events and their political overtones. The grand sports events such as the Olympic Games are always set on the media agenda. Reasonably enough, they stimulate the citizens' discussions and become politicized. Interiorization of such phenomena occurs through the perception of the competition itself and through the discursive interpretation of the latter. Therefore, the coverage and the discussion of news from South Korean Pyeongchang caused hot debate that acquired its political connotation due to the fact that the Russian team could not participate under its own flag. The connection between these two events and the current political environment is obvious. So, the analysis of the Internet comments to the coverage of the Olympic Games, held at a four-year interval, seems to be of particular interest in terms of identifying common and different tendencies in the interpretation activity of the public.

Results

The development of the meanings of the source text in the addressee's mind allows us to observe the asymmetric vectors of perception of the primary text and the generation of the secondary one. Basing on the example of news discourses devoted to the events of the Olympic Games-2014 in Sochi and the Olympic Games-2018 in Pyeongchang, we will

present practical outcomes that would contribute to the theory of interpretative functioning of the text.

The first news source is the news headlined "Closing Olympic Ceremony designed in Art-House Style" that was published on *www.Newsland.com* in February 2014. It is likely to reveal its multi-interpretation potential due to its relatively transparent content and the author's intention. However, the preliminary analysis showed that quite a substantial number of political views and opinions emerge in the comment thread.

The news text contains the blocks of both explicit and implicit information that implement dictum and modus meanings (propositions and intentions). Dictum meanings receive verbalization in the form of the explicitly expressed information, forming the dictum blocks of the interpreted (source) text. Modus meanings are presented implicitly. Our semiotic analysis of the explicit components of the text allows us to distinguish several semantic blocks (hereinafter – SB):

1. The Olympics are over. This semantic block (SB 1) has been distinguished on the basis of the explicit units of the text, forming a single semantic space and working on the central idea of "closing ceremony". Closing is associated with the final point of the event, with its final stage. Accordingly, the idea of completing and closing the Olympics is actualized in the following statements:

The first ever white Olympics in Russia lasted 17 days, during which 98 sets of medals were played. The closing ceremony of the Olympic Games will be held in the Art-house style; Sochi's Fisht stadium is preparing for the closing ceremony of the XXII winter Olympic Games (Newsland.com. February 2014. Closing Olympic Ceremony designed in Art-House Style). The narrative style of the first statement outlines the spatial dimension of the text, supported by quantitative indicators. The key expression *closing ceremony*, repeatedly introduced in the article, also conveys the semantics of completion.

2. The Russian Team became the leader in the number of medals. This semantic block (SB 2) has been allocated by the research-

ers on the basis of the following chunks of the news:

The Russian national team became the winner of the unofficial team standings, becoming the leader in both gold and total number of medals. Our team finished the performance in Sochi, winning a total of 33 medals: 13 gold, 11 silver and 9 bronze (Newsland.com. February 2014. Closing Olympic Ceremony designed in Art-House Style).

The synonymous series formed by the lexemes *leader* and *winner*, as well as the use of the generalizing adjective *total* contribute to the formation of SB 2. Despite the fact that the commented news is underrepresented in the interpreted discourse, placing these units in a strong position brings it into the focus of perception.

3. The semantic concept of the closing ceremony is the idea of spring and rebirth. This semantic block actualizes the general concept of the ceremony and is formed in the following fragment:

According to the creative Director of the ceremony, one of the main reasons for involving the children's choir in the ceremony is to show the idea of spring and rebirth. Although the ceremony will be imbued with light sadness, but in less than a few days spring will come, and spring and children are a message about the future, which comes despite the end of the holiday of Games (Newsland.com. February 2014. Closing Olympic Ceremony designed in Art-House Style).

On the one hand, the representative of the show's tone is the sublime literary expression of *light sadness* and, on the other, the parallel theme of spring – *to show the idea of spring and rebirth* – actualizes the inherent contradiction of the Russian soul (to be sad and happy at the same time). In addition, *the message about the future* conveys the idea of continuity in the Olympic Games.

The distinguished semantic blocks reflect the dictum meanings of the source text, which are modified in the commenters' postings, forming the corresponding semantic zones. At the same time, if the source text carries rather neutral mood, the participants' interpretative statements in the discussion have a pronounced

emotional tone. For example, in the comments to SB 1 we notice the interpretation with a comparative aspect, accompanied by a negative connotation:

The Olympics, let us say, damn lost – 33% of the medals, compared to 63% in 1988 in Calgary... (Newsland.com. February 2014. Closing Olympic Ceremony designed in Art-House Style).

This commentary also interprets SB 2, giving a criticizing overview of the sportsmen's endeavors. Interestingly, we recognize the interpretation of SB 3 in the comments containing an ironic modus, hinting at borrowing both the term and the concept, through the introduction of the pun *house-chaos* and the author's humorous prediction:

The closing ceremony of the Olympics will be held in the style of art CHAOS – – so the Olympics would be remembered for a long time! (Newsland.com. February 2014. Closing Olympic Ceremony designed in Art-House Style).

Thus, we have identified three implicit semantic zones (SZ), the first of which is a semantic presupposition, since its content is determined by the semantics of the lexical units that make up the text.

1. The closing ceremony of the Olympics is a grand spectacle. This semantic zone has been formed as a result of the text cohesive property, allocated at the level of explicit meanings. Thus, the key word *ceremony* contains the denotative seme *celebration* and is defined as “a formal religious or public occasion, especially one celebrating a particular event, achievement, or anniversary” (Newsland.com. February 2014. Closing Olympic Ceremony designed in Art-House Style). The lexeme *ceremony* repeatedly used in the news contributes to the formation of SZ 1 in the interpreted news:

Among the stars who will take part in the ceremony; the Director of the closing ceremony was an Italian theater Director; the ceremony will be attended by a children's choir of 1 thousand people; the ceremony of handing over the Olympic flag (Newsland.com. February 2014. Closing Olympic Ceremony designed in Art-House Style).

Additionally, the implicit text units convey the idea that “the closing ceremony is a grand spectacle” and incorporate the semantic interpretative vector “the scale of the event – the greatness of the state and its leader”. This type of implication is seen as a semantic presupposition. The semantic zone “the closing Ceremony of the Olympics is a grand spectacle” is represented in the following Internet comments:

(1) *The Whole world is glued to the TV and is watching the miracle of the closing of the super Olympics!!!* (Newsland.com. February 2014. Closing Olympic Ceremony designed in Art-House Style).

(2) *It was certainly spectacular* (Newsland.com. February 2014. Closing Olympic Ceremony designed in Art-House Style).

In the first commentary, the reader focuses on the idea of the event as attracting a global audience. It coincides with the commenter's emotions, expressed by means of the emotional words, such as *miracle* and *super*. The author of the second response uses the adjective *spectacular*, which conveys the concept of greatness.

The remaining implicit layers of information are pragmatic presuppositions or implicatures, since these meanings are not verbalized directly in the commented news; they are caused, on the one hand, by the addressee's prior knowledge and, on the other hand, represent a logical inference that is presented explicitly.

2. The Olympics united the country. This semantic zone is formed on the basis of the following explicit components of the source article:

The First ever white Olympics in Russia; the Russian national Team won the unofficial team competition; Our team completed the performance in Sochi; the closing Ceremony will be dedicated to Russian culture; ... the audience will see again; ...the ceremony will be attended by a children's choir of 1 thousand people, which was assembled from all 83 regions of Russia (Newsland.com. February 2014. Closing Olympic Ceremony designed in Art-House Style).

First of all, the idea of unification is translated through the collective nouns denoting

a group of people united by one occupation, which were used in the interpreted text: *the national team, the team, the choir, the audience*. These units are supported by some linguistic units denoting the spatial features of the country, both its larger fragments and smaller ones: *the territory of Russia, 83 regions of Russia, Sochi*. Such explicit units of the text as *the territory of Russia, the Russian national team, our team, Russian culture* and some others actualize the idea of unification. This semantic information is a pragmatic presupposition, i.e. the knowledge that the Olympics as an important global event, broadcast by the media, attract the attention of the global viewership. The desire to win unites the Russia's team fans. Therefore, the Olympiad unites the whole country. SZ 2 is represented in the following Internet comments:

(1) *And the Olympics united all of us!* (Merriam Webster's Online Dictionary).

(2) *The whole country is sitting at the TV and rejoices in the victory of Russia in the super Olympics!* (Newsland.com. February 2014. Closing Olympic Ceremony designed in Art-House Style).

As you can see, like the author of the news, the interpreter verbalizes the concept of unification (mostly virtual) through the same key concepts, thus, strengthening it with the metonymy *the whole country is sitting at the TV*.

3. Russia is a great country. This semantic zone has been formed by the following explicit components of the source text:

The Russian team became the winner of the unofficial team standings, becoming the leader in both gold and total number of medals; Our team finished the performance in Sochi, winning a total of 33 medals: 13 gold, 11 silver and 9 bronze (Newsland.com. February 2014. Closing Olympic Ceremony designed in Art-House Style).

Some lexical units, such as *winner, leader, win*, and similar predicates characterizing the Russian Olympic team express the explicit information relating to their victory. The strength and success of a sports team is projected on the strength of the country it represents. Therefore, the implicit information about the greatness of Russia is a logical consequence of the explicit

information about the strong sports team of the country. The following Internet comments constitute this semantic zone (SZ 3):

(1) *Now people have something to rejoice and be proud of* (Newsland.com. February 2014. Closing Olympic Ceremony designed in Art-House Style).

(2) *and everyone would like to live in such a great country as Russia – a great space, nuclear and sports superpower!!!!!!!!!!!!* (Newsland.com. February 2014. Closing Olympic Ceremony designed in Art-House Style).

(3) *Russia has given mankind a miracle!!! So same as has presented and space!!! By paving the way for humanity there!!!* (Newsland.com. February 2014. Closing Olympic Ceremony designed in Art-House Style).

Clearly, the feeling of joy and pride experienced by the author of the cited replies and manifested in the text-interpretant with the help of the predicative elements, is caused by an event of the world scale and the reflection on the greatness of the country, emotionally characterized as *a superpower*. This token contains a double hyperbola: the first is confined in the meaning of the token *power* (*a large and powerful country*), the second – in the prefix *super-*. The metaphorical use of the toponym *Russia* also contributes to the actualization of SZ 3.

4. President Vladimir Putin is a strong leader of a powerful state. Let us pay attention to the crystallization of the meanings that form this SZ. Obviously, the sources of the formation of this semantic zone are the following explicit components of the news:

The Russian Team became the winner of the unofficial team standings, becoming the leader in both gold and the total number of medals; Our team finished its performance in Sochi, winning a total of 33 medals: 13 gold, 11 silver and 9 bronze (Newsland.com. February, 2014. Closing Olympic Ceremony designed in Art-House Style).

Together with that, this semantic zone is an implication of the news about the victory of Russia's Olympic team. A strong sports team, a winning team, is a direct consequence of a strong winning country. A strong country is a consequence of the strength of its leader, i.e.

President Vladimir Putin. This semantic zone is actualized by the following comment:

(1) *And our **President VV Putin** is just fine! Finally united all country in an iron fist, and now no enemies are threatening Russia!!!* (Newsland.com. February, 2014. Closing Olympic Ceremony designed in Art-House Style).

In this commentary, there is a completion of the semantic vector that has been gradually developed in the interpreted news, explicated by the use of the conjunction *and* in the initial position. We understand that the author continues to extend the idea. The idea of interdependence of power of the country and its leader, the President, is an inference. We also observe the totalitarian discourse containing metaphorical expressions, which were typical for the communist propaganda *no enemies are threatening Russia, to unite in an iron fist*, which uncovers the commenter's political worldview.

The interpretation space of the comment thread contains not only the zone of positive assessments of objective information, but also the zone of negative views. The analysis of interpretive vectors shows the discussion elaborating towards the acceptance of the truth of propositions and implicatures as well as their fallacy. In this case, the commentators express their opposing views. Notably, the zone of negative evaluations is determined not so much by explicitly expressed blocks as by implicitly presented information organized in the interpretative space. At the same time, there is a line of increasing distancing from assessments of a particular event to assessments of the general situation in the country. The Olympics often serve only as an occasion for proper political statements, though in many cases, they have nothing to do with the sporting events. We see in this a clear tendency to politicize the consciousness of ordinary participants in Internet discussions, e.g.:

5. The oligarchs do not care about the people. Some interpreters perceive this publication as part of the pro-government discourse aimed at preserving power. Indicators of this implication can be found in the following comments:

(1) *Well, if the oligarchs have united against the common people and nothing more..;*

(2) *Poverty is now;*

(3) *The Whole country unlike you vampires just think how to pay the bills, to dress and to give education to the children, how to carry the burden of the elderly and to bring you, bloody thief, to "zu hundert"* (Newsland.com. February, 2014. Closing Olympic Ceremony designed in Art-House Style).

In the interpretive space, sports issues inevitably intertwine with economic and political ones. Besides, provocative statements fit into any interpretative meaning-making processes. As illustrated above, we see that pragmatic presuppositions (i.e., the addressee's knowledge about the funds normally spent on the large-scale events) are represented in the texts through negative assessments and deoratization of discourse.

6. The Ukrainian problem. As we can see, the zones of negative meanings develop as a pragmatic presupposition of the web-site *www.newsland.com* readers. They actualize the political vectors of interpretations, representing the recipients' political worldview and showing their common background knowledge:

There are Maidans in Kiev, revolution, but in Sochi Limpiyada Muti (Russian slang).

As clearly seen, the zones of negative modus meanings develop as a pragmatic presupposition of the participants of the readers' community. They actualize the political vectors of interpretations, thus representing the political picture of the world of the news recipients, at the same time showing common background knowledge and opposite political views.

Let us compare the development of interpretation axes within the same interpreting community and similar news material by presenting the analysis of the second news text. The news text "Olympics 2018: the countdown of Russian shame has started" published on Newsland.com in April 2018, in contrast to the neutral semantic organization of the first, contains a modus of negative attitude to the Russian Olympic team. First of all, it is embedded

in the title. The semiotic analysis of this text allowed us to identify the following semantic blocks used by the authors of the comments as interpretative dominants:

1. Participation in the competition without a flag is a disgrace to Russia. In the source news article, the author's subjective position allows to distinguish this semantic block. It is laid down in the title "*Olympics 2018: the countdown of Russian shame has started*" (Newsland.com. February 2018. Olympic Games – 2018: The countdown of the Russian shame has started). Since the headline is one of the strong positions of the news discourse, this topic is developed in the comments, signaling the semantic presupposition:

(1) *Count of **Russian shame** started earlier...for example, in the commercials 1993, when the government began to seize the Jew* (Newsland.com. February 2018. Olympic Games – 2018: The countdown of the Russian shame has started).

(2) ***What a shame. Strictly according to the ORTHODOXY! Slapped cheek – SUBSTITUTE ANOTHER! Bless those who curse and hate you!*** (Newsland.com. February 2018. Olympic Games – 2018: The countdown of the Russian shame has started).

In fact, the phrase *Russian shame* became the incentive for the text production in a series of comments. However, interpretative configurations are utterly diverse, from diachronic to theological.

2. Olga Graf's statement is a proud thing to do. This semantic block corresponds to the following propositions of the original text:

*Skater Olga Graf, with a high chance of one of the awards, **refused the invitation** received from Lausanne, thus **supporting her teammates** suspended from the Games* (Newsland.com. February 2018. Olympic Games – 2018: The countdown of the Russian shame has started).

*I hope that as a result justice nevertheless will triumph, – so Olga explained the decision. Making it clear **that honor and pride is not an empty phrase for her*** (Newsland.com. February 2018. Olympic Games – 2018: The countdown of the Russian shame has started).

The narrative describing the athlete's refusal to participate in the Olympics forms the SZ in the series of propositions. However, they also introduce the interpretation of the author of the news, stylized under the literary stanza of *the great Russian pride* (Newsland.com. February 2018. Olympic Games – 2018: The countdown of the Russian shame has started).

In the comments, this block forms a semantic zone, which is accompanied by an explication of an ambiguous attitude to the athlete's statement. The described vector of interpretation is also due to semantic presumption, the result of perception of the meanings of such text units as *refused an invitation, supported teammates; showed integrity; pride – not an empty phrase?* The following responses demonstrate the development of SZ 2:

(1) *Among athletes, there was only one patriot of Russia – it is Olga Graf* (Newsland.com. February 2018. Olympic Games – 2018: The countdown of the Russian shame has started).

(2) *Olga Graf deserves **her name**. She is our **honor and glory!*** (Newsland.com. February 2018. Olympic Games – 2018: The countdown of the Russian shame has started).

(3) *Olga Graf is as duplicitous as everyone else from the sport. Such a heroine* (Newsland.com. February 2018. Olympic Games – 2018: The countdown of the Russian shame has started).

In the cited examples, we observe a conflict of interpretations, since most of the comments express proponent opinions. Yet, some readers express opposing views.

In the comments, this block forms a semantic zone followed by an explication of the ambiguous relation to the sportswoman's statement. This vector of interpretation is caused by the semantic presupposition, the result of the perception of such lexical units as *refused an invitation, supported by teammates; showed integrity; pride – not an empty phrase?*

3. The problem of doping in sports. This burning issue has microdiscursive nature and increases in connection with the performance of each of the Games. The link between the two sports megaevents – the Sochi Olympics and the Pyeongchang Olympics – does not

have a long time gap, since it was reduced by the doping scandal. So, in the comments this interpretive vector is actively stimulated by other factors having an extralinguistic nature, e.g.:

*Sport of the highest achievements **without doping can not exist** for a long time! Look at how our spat athletes will “rake” gold in Korea **without doping!** And it would be necessary to raise such a howl at the world and **ALL the ATHLETES of the WORLD to GET through security DOPE!*** (Newsland.com. February 2018. Olympic Games – 2018: The countdown of the Russian shame has started).

The mundane nature of the conversation about sports and politics influences the development of interpretative dominants. Therefore, the following four semantic blocks are due to both the implicatures of the original discourse (the specifics of the situation against which the 2018 Olympics are discussed, both political and individual) and the expectancy factor.

4. The President Vladimir Putin. The theme of power has a timeless character in the Russian everyday consciousness. In the discussion concerning the Olympics, the question of the effectiveness of the current government is raised justifiably, acquiring the following form:

(1) ***Putin – and his team:** No mind, no truth, no power of this, no living idea. Oh boy... The Ukrainian posts Chet about Putin's rating...))) Is already a joke!!!* (Newsland.com. February 2018. Olympic Games – 2018: The countdown of the Russian shame has started).

(2) *Bandera P slept – now the Slavs – brothers, the Ukrainians are not brothers. In the Baltic States, Russians have long been clamped, deprived of citizenship. if you don't know their language. DID OUR **DAD VOVA PROTECT RUSSIANS???** Of course **NOT!*** (Newsland.com. February 2018. Olympic Games – 2018: The countdown of the Russian shame has started).

These comments explicate the interpretation induced by the provocative and conflicting behavior of the readers, who are not interested in commenting on the merits and violate the principles of communication. Nevertheless, these interpretative lines can be found on the present-day Runet.

5. The Ukrainian problem. The discussion of sports issues branches out in the interpretative and semantic space of the readership, dividing them into the nuclear part, most closely related to the source text, and the periphery. Among the supplementary topics is the Ukrainian question, explicated in the following comments:

(1) *There are **no Ukrainians in Kuban...**, you somehow way separated part of Russians, from other Russians?* (Newsland.com. February 2018. Olympic Games – 2018: The countdown of the Russian shame has started).

(2) *Remember, **the Ukrainians – it's only the residents of Ukradina*** (Newsland.com. February 2018. Olympic Games – 2018: The countdown of the Russian shame has started).

(3) *It was not enough to divide a single people within the Russian Federation, we do not need such a Russophobic policy* (Newsland.com. February 2018. Olympic Games – 2018: The countdown of the Russian shame has started).

As you can see, these comments have nothing to do with the main line of commenting, which is interconnected with the content of the source news. One should note that they arise on the periphery of the interpretive space that is deliberately voiced by the participants of the conversation, defending their political positions.

Conclusion

As a result of the three-stage semiotic analysis, the semantic blocks that make up the text at the external, explicit level were identified. Then, on the basis of the communicative-discursive analysis of the interpretive space of comments, semantic zones were defined. These zones cover the second level of the text created by the supplementary meanings of its constituent units, as well as by the phenomenon of the semantic presupposition. As the research shows, this level has been formed in texts-interpreters regardless of the presence of the political mode of news discourse about world sport and the Olympics. In addition, the analysis of comments reveals the presence of the third incentive with commenting-pragmatic presupposition, resulting in the formation of

peripheral zones on the Internet venues, mainly having a political character. In the commentaries on politically neutral (News article 1) and highly political discourses (News article 2), there are similar topics that arise from the implications of discourse as well as from broader context: the political situation in the country and in the international arena. These are the questions of the power, the conflict driven by the separation of Ukraine, low standards of living, as well as unreasonably high level of oligarchs' income, with an age-old question of corruption of those, who are in power.

Discussion

Thus, the interpreted discourse in the process of its functioning in the addressee's consciousness forms a multi-vector interpretive space. Interpretative vectors of development of semantic blocks of the News article 1, which substantially correlate with it, are mainly due to the action of semantic presumption mechanisms. The development of sports as well as political topics in the space of the commentaries occurs due to multi-interpretation potential of news article. Intentional component of the commentaries is primarily constructed as synergy phenomenon. Nevertheless, the connection between the comments, for example, their skeptical nature, can be traced at the level of pragmatic presupposition, which is associated with the basic principles of communication and

the addressee's goals. When comparing the ratio of semantic blocks of the two analyzed news with the semantic zones of comments, there is no positive correlation between the modus component of responses. The neutrality of News article 1 does not affect the predominance of negative or positive evaluations in the replies. Neither does the article on 2018 Winter Olympics carrying a clear negative and ironic tone. Yet, the implicatures of both articles determine the politicized nature of the discussion. Additionally, there is an influence of the context, general political situation in the country and in the world, as well as political events preceding the Olympic Games 2018. Commonly, the Olympics act as the only reason for the actual political statements, though in many cases they have nothing to do with the sporting events. In general, news interpretation space can be presented as the integrative construction with linguistic and extra linguistic determinants affecting the formation of semantic zones of the commenting texts (See Fig. 1).

The study of the text in the communicative aspect – from the standpoint of variability of interpretation – sheds light on its semantic organization, including explicit information and implicit content of the text. At the same time, these language data clearly demonstrate the interpreter's implicit intentions associated with the action of the mechanism of expectation. It turns out to act as the most important factor

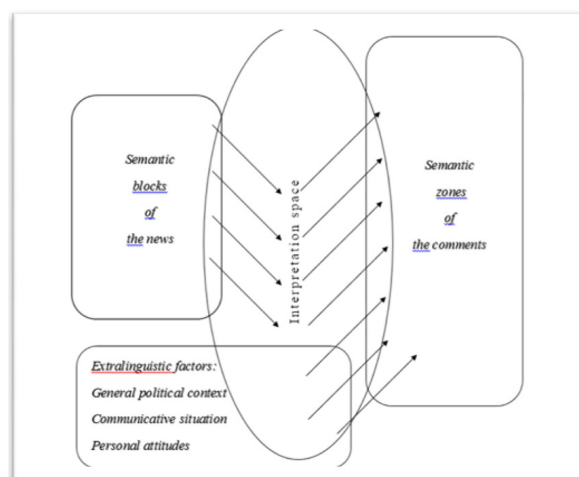


Fig. 1. The interpretative space of news article (compiled by the authors)

of its receptive-interpretative activity. Actualization of the semantic components of the text is carried out in accordance with the pre-text settings of the addressee taking on the role of the reader-interpreter, their communicative intentions as well as their socio-political views. Such a dual determination allows to adequately describe the structure of the interpreting text (the thread of all comments) as a communicative whole, and in its perspective to structure the commented text in a new way: from

the standpoint of perlocution. This position assumes structuring with repulsion not from what the author wanted to say (i.e. not from the illocution), but from what he said (i.e. what was perceived by the readers of this text).

The implications of the study include the possibility to model the internal intentions of the participants of ordinary political discussions and, in general, their political picture of the world by their external (speech) manifestations.

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Gender Features in Female Political Discourse: the Construction of Hillary Clinton's Political Image

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Abstract. Modern political campaign involves considerable efforts, which also include the creation of a political image. That is a complex process, which means elaboration of biography, character features, appearance and the style of speech. However, image making is a two-sided process, one side is a politician's behaviour and the second is media sources coverage of this behaviour. Recent research has shown the main features of male and female language styles and the gender markers, which women politicians employ for political campaigns. The materials for the analysis in this paper are the articles and analytical reports about Hillary Rodham Clinton. This paper is at the confluence of linguistics, politics and media discourse. The main goal of the research is to investigate which gender features journalists use for Hillary Clinton's representation in the media.

Keywords: Hillary Clinton, gender, woman's language.

Research area: politology.

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Гендерные особенности женского политического дискурса: создание политического имиджа Хиллари Клинтон

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Аннотация. Предвыборная кампания любого политика подразумевает целый комплекс манипуляций с биографией кандидата, его манерой речи, внешним обликом

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и репутацией. Однако конечный образ является не столько воплощением работы пиар-команды и поведением самого политика, сколько освещением и репрезентацией этого образа в средствах массовой информации. Статья посвящена вопросу гендерной идентификации политика в СМИ, тому, какая гендерная стратегия преимущественно избирается журналистами для освещения деятельности Хиллари Клинтон.

Ключевые слова: Хиллари Клинтон, гендер, женская речь.

Научная специальность: 23.00.00 – политология.

Introduction

The 21st century is an epoch of equality. In western society the idea of gender formation prevails over the idea of sex predetermination. Nevertheless, our sex has an impact on parents' educational strategy. Every person inherits the language and the model of behaviour, which demonstrate the human characteristics. We segment such peculiarities and as a result we are to understand the personality. So, femininity and masculinity are two main blocks, which are important for comprehension. Still we cannot divide language into two groups – just the language of women and the one of men, we speak about intensity of femininity and masculinity of the language. There is no person, who uses canonical language without admixture from other discourses or other socially induced groups.

If we speak about the degree of femininity/masculinity in political connotation through the media network, we will see that in media sources the degree of femininity /masculinity is demonstrated as a stereotype about men and women in its pure form. Media sources aggravate the stereotypization in politics through accentuation on indigenously women's characteristics and roles, for examples, a mother, a wife, a guardian of the hearth, a teacher, and a seller. Listed roles are proven true by public opinion that such political posts as a Minister of Health; a Minister of Social Services, of Citizenship and Immigration, a Minister of Public Relations, a Minister of Maternity and Child Welfare Service and a Minister of Education are associated with women (Shvedova, 2002). The number of women, represented in the national parliaments was on the average of 17 percent all over the world in 2010, these data is far less

than the number of men in the top government echelons (Inter-Parliamentary Union, March 2015, "Sluggish progress on women in politics will hamper development"). For our research we chose Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton, who started her career from the role of a wife and a mother, but became a Secretary of State in the most powerful country.

Theoretical framework

Gender studies became a widespread trend in the second part of the 20th century as a reaction on the first wave of feminism, when for the first time ever women demanded a suffrage. Despite the long way of this concept to its modern representation, the first view was the same as the sex, well-known as a biological one. That "biological" term was driven by the typical vision on women's position in the society, it was thought that women could not participate in social life because their nature, their brain could not function like men's. That judgment was not scientifically motivated, but was a part of a whole epoch. When gender studies came into existence, the global point of view on gender nature moved from biological to social. Today perception is confirmed by the World Health Organization and there are many researchers, who we rely on. R. Lakoff deals with political correctness and public apologies, but the main issue is the peculiarities of women's speech (Lakoff, 1975). A. Haas specializes in *differences between male speech and female speech* (Haas, 1979). D. Zimmerman and C. West study the connection between biological and social in gender, they are specialized in "doing gender" concept (Zimmerman, West, 1987). J. Coates wrote such papers as *"Women, Men and Language"* (1986), *"Women in their Speech"*

Communities" (1989), *"Women Talk. Conversation between Women Friends"* (1996), and *"Language and Gender: A Reader"* (1998), her focus is on childhood and its characteristics in separate gender groups. M. Conrick works in the field of sexual harassment and gender and linguistic stereotyping mostly in Canada (Conrick, 1996). D. Tannen focuses on dominance and power in communication and on miscommunication between two genders in conversation (Tannen, 1991). S. Romaine writes about gender linguistics on grammatical and lexical levels (Romaine, 2005). D. Cameron is a popularizer of gender linguistics, she wrote the book *"The Myth of Mars and Venus: Do Men and Women Really Speak Different Languages"*, which became a cycle of articles in *the Guardian*, also she has several programmes on BBC radio, one of which is *"Woman's Hour"* (Cameron, 2010).

Methods

For the purposes of this paper we firstly analyzed the distinctions between male and female language in general, then, placed them on the political area and analyzed how that transformation can be represented in the media discourse. The next step was the analysis of extracts from the articles about Hillary Clinton. We chose 10 sources: *The Wall Street Journal*, *the ABC news*, *the New York Magazine*, *the Forbes*, *the New York Times*, *the USA Today*, *the USA news*, *the Business Insider*, *the Washington Post*, *the Los Angeles Times* and *the web-site of White House*. In the end, we compared the general male and female peculiarities with phrases and words, which directly constructed the image of Hillary Clinton as a woman-politician and finally we totalized – which gender strategy prevails in Clinton's image construction. The image construction in this paper implicates not all the techniques, which politicians use, but only those specific phrases and words, which can influence people's perception of a politician.

Analysis of the material

One of the most famous gender scientists D. Tannen induced an essential postulate for linguistics: two genders exploit language and

speech because of two different reasons. Men's cause is keeping influence, status and making an arrangement. Women, by contrast, use language for establishment of communication, for relationship maintaining and "to be liked" (Tannen, 1991). Nevertheless, political context assumes that communication and language in the frames of state management has both goals – influence and a persuasion as well as communication and attraction, that is why, we are to find out distinguishing features in women's and men's language to understand if there are any differences in structure of languages of two genders or we have the differentials only in the targets.

The first distinction is the use of adjectives. The majority of gender researchers pinpoint attention upon ones in speech of two genders, the differences between which were repeatedly corroborated by experiments, which are based on R. Lakoff's research "Language and Woman's place", although dating 1975, having become classical (Lakoff, 1973). A. Haas with reference to O. Jespersen, R. Lakoff and C. Kramer consolidated that a woman makes use of adjectives more frequently than men and always emotionally – estimatively (Haas, 1979). R. Lakoff uses the word "empty" for description. Women often express their regard to saying, using empty adjectives, for example, "pretty", "cool", "divine", "precious", "lovely" and "cute". Such words can be a reaction on any case, whereas men, in the majority, express more complete and complex point of view. Use of adjectives by women gives the impression of infantilism and incompetence from the speaker's point of view. Apparently, journalists use that sort of descriptive adjectives to create an image of a faint and flippant politician. If the wish of a journalist is creation of an image of a professional woman-politician, all adjectives are to be neutral or hard and "strong", in other words, they should be male. Despite many research and evidence that men and women are originally equal, gender discourse presupposes discrimination. But it is not scientifically determined, contrariwise, public opinion is unnegotiable, ordinary people all over the world divide language into good and bad, into women's and men's. For emancipat-

ed western countries it sounds as an outdated fact, however, when women's qualities are ascribed to men, men react negatively. But when men's qualities are attributed to women, modern community encourages that. The case is more complicated in the political sphere. The image of a woman-politician depends on her representation in media mostly, and excessive femininity in speech can become a problem for her embracement by the public as a serious politician.

The other distinction is the use of politeness words, and hyper formal structures, both lexical and grammatical. It can be connected with a social role of a woman. Traditionally, she spends a lot of time with a child, so aspires to bring up a polite and kind child, that is why, mother reads books, tries to speak a correct language. During a girl's upbringing, parents usually speak according to literary language norms, at the same time, while boy's parenting, parents' speech is simple (Potapov, 2000).

The third difference is correctness. Turning to political reality, hyper correct and polite speech can be estimated as a distance from nation and, presumably, the public expects distinct and well-coordinated actions from politicians, but politeness and absolutely correctly constructed speech cannot create an impression of a leader.

The next divergence which R. Lakoff pointed out is a fact that women use more questioning forms while men prefer confirmations. Abundance of questions has an adverse effect on women's political image. Journalists are capable of presenting plenty of questions not as a strive to cure a problem, but as an inapprehension and a lack of qualifications.

Sequent distinction involves naming. R. Lakoff wrote about women's nomination in *the New York Times* and *the Times* newspapers. Men were represented as individuals due to their ranks, titles, profession or using last and first names or just last name. But women were considered as somebody's wife or with "Mrs", which means that women were represented through relation with men (Lakoff, 1973).

And one more contrast refers to the topics of conversations. H. Moore examined about 180 conversations of New York citizens

and concluded that men speak about business, money and sports mostly and women's topics were about men, other women and clothing (Moore, 1922). In the 1970s results showed the main men's topic was politics, at the same time women avoided this topic as well as discussions about religion (Langer, 1970).

Below are the gathered data which illustrate the main differences between men and women in language use.

Therefore, the male features are simple but comprehensible words and phrases, speech is direct and deprived of linguistic surpluses, such as tag questions, empty adjectives and exclamations. The topics are material, the manner of representation is direct; name, last name and profession are normally used for nomination. Women are often indirectly nominated by "she" or by subaudition, femininity assumes emotional adjectives, talks about home and family, and clear grammar with the use of standard lexis.

The purpose of the practical part is to estimate what features prevail in the media representation of Hillary Clinton and determine what gender strategy is mostly used for representation of candidate Clinton – feminine or masculine. We analyzed articles in terms of gender features and semantic context to understand image connotation firstly. And then we separated Hillary's representation into several images.

We took articles from 10 most authoritative American editions which cited. One magazine made a quotation about Hillary: "the Russian president noted that he has always had "cordial conversations" with Clinton at international events. "When people push boundaries too far, it's not because they are strong but because they are weak," he said. "But maybe weakness is not the worst quality for a woman." (Henderson, the Telegraph, 05.06.14). The first phrase "cordial conversations" directly points out either on friendship or on feminine side of Hillary Clinton, who wants to establish close relations, who refers to feelings. We know from the international context that there is no amicability between Russian and American politicians, that is, we cannot conclude that Hillary is represented as a friend. Here Hillary is

portrayed as “weak” because of the femininity. The second part of the quote is used in the indirect manner, without direct reference to Hillary. The phrase primarily creates an impression of womanhood by an emotional adjective “cordial” and indirect appeal, which fall within female features according to the Table 1. But there is an undertone in quote – although weakness is a female characteristic, Hillary converts her femininity into the political muscle, she uses her weakness for political expansion.

On the White House web-site in the article about Hillary it is written “Hillary’s childhood in Park Ridge, Illinois, was happy and disciplined. She loved sports and her church, and was a member of the National Honor Society, and a student leader.” That sentence is a very sensible for image construction – there is a balance between womanish and manlike. “Happy” is a neutral adjective, “disciplined” is more masculine. “She loved sport” – it said that Hillary is a strong personality, but at the same time “loved her church”, it can be said she is a radiant and sinless, she was an honour role student, which associate with girls mostly. (Voyer, *American Psychological Association*, 29.04.2014), but was “a leader”, that quality was historically men’s. Turning to Table, neutral adjectives are considered to be masculine. According to the eighth line, there is masculine sport and leadership, at the same time

feminine church and honour role, which are mostly emotional. Having analyzed the article about Hillary’s childhood, we came to conclusion, that she is represented by both strategies: feminine and masculine.

“The presumptive Democratic front-runner, started her campaign miles ahead of challengers. [...] Her popularity remains high despite the “emailgate” revelations that she used her own private email address and server while at the State Department instead of the government system, potentially making her correspondence vulnerable to hacking and foreign surveillance. She said she had regretted the decision and complied with government rules.” (The world’s most powerful people, Forbes, 2015). That quote shows the candidate as an advanced politician, as a victim of her own negligence. Words “presumptive” and “potentially” create an impression of uncertainty and characterize Hillary as a person, who cannot predict the consequences of her actions. But taking into consideration the fact that she took over the responsibility for incident and apologized, it says that Hillary is a strong and willed politician.

“She is proposing band-aids to assuage the pain rather than fundamental changes that fix the source of the problem.” (Goodman, Forbes, 25.11.15). This quotation is two-folded. On the one hand, Hillary is a healer, helper. On the

Table 1. The differences between language of men and women

№	Male features	Female features
1	Distant, neutral adjectives <i>great/ terrific/good/cool</i>	Frequent, emotional, empty adjectives <i>adorable/ charming/ sweet/ lovely/ divine</i>
2	Men use simple grammar and often rude speech, creative	Clear grammar and lofty lexis, more standard forms
3	Direct questions, affirmative constructions	A lot of tags questions
4	Use less modal forms	Use more epistemic modal forms: <i>perhaps; sort of; probably</i>
6	Talk more about nature	Talk more about feelings
7	Direct speech	Less assertive and less direct character of speech
8	Tend to use more slang, profanity and obscenity, and to talk about sports, money and business	Tend to talk more about home and family and to be more emotional and positively evaluative
9	Personal nomination	Indirect nomination

other hand, is a politician, who cannot solve the main problem. The aid associates with maternity and care, with something feminine. The decision making is more common for the head of the family, for man.

We analyzed these and many other articles about Hillary Clinton and noticed the tendency of a prevailing masculine features in the image construction. The majority of journalists pointed out on the male features of the character, which Clinton shows in political struggle. At the same time we analyzed articles, where Hillary was half represented or represented as a woman. Half representation means either Hillary's male and female features were just listed or that features were countered. The majority of articles with "just a woman" representation were devoted to scandals or events, where Hillary makes herself inaccurate.

So, the data showed three images, which are created by the media: Hillary Clinton as a professional, as a fighter or aggressor and as a woman. The first image is a professional. That image is neutral in general, but in political context it becomes a masculine image. Quotes demonstrate Hillary's man side, her leadership, strong character and professionalism, for example, "Clinton tends to struggle", "Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton sharply criticized members of the U.S. Senate", "Mrs. Clinton rejected the idea of reintroducing huge numbers of American combat troops in the Mideast, as Republicans have urged", "She can be relentlessly efficient.", "She can seem insulated, hostile (especially to the media) and calculating". The plenty of verbs, adverbs and nouns in a sentence create an effect of "manliness", of a forcible woman-politician, where a politician is in big letters. "Struggle" is a word, which is associated with early men, who struggle for food, family and power (Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary & Thesaurus). The second phrase underlines Hillary's fearlessness, there is an impression that she is alone against the Senate. The next quote "Hillary rejected the idea" makes Hillary a big chief, who can decide on the issue of war and stand against republicans party, she is a warrior. "Relentlessly" is an adverb, which innately extrinsic for women as for mothers, the same connotation

has a word "cruel" (Oxford dictionary). One more evidence of leader's characteristics of Hillary is a title of a book about Clinton "Leadership secrets of Hillary Clinton".

The next image is a fighter and an aggressor. This block of citations represents the character of men mostly, represents Hillary as a person, who is ready to act with severity, for example, "Mrs. Clinton is focused on capturing the nomination and has been contrasting herself with the Republicans", "She is going to win", "Hillary beats Trump or Cruz, but loses to Rubio or Carson", "It was encouraging to hear Mrs. Clinton bluntly demand that Turkey, a NATO ally...", "Clinton was an aggressor from the start", "She promised to pressure the government in Iraq to arm Sunnis and Kurds", "Hillary Clinton sought to sharpen the distinctions between her candidacy for president and that of Vermont Sen.", "She's like a bull stomping its hooves before a charge." The word "capturing" has a semantic connection with a war, with an attack, so Clinton is a person, who is ready to start the battle. Hilary "is going to win" assumes the participation in the war. The word "beats" has a close meaning with battle and she is a warmonger again. At the same time she "loses", but it is part of the war, it demonstrates Hillary as a fighter. Clinton "bluntly demand", that is an element of ultimatum. The phrase "promised to pressure" has a semantic of a danger, of aggression. The same terms are applicable to the phrase "sought to sharpen". More than that, Clinton has a direct nomination of an aggressor in several articles. In addition, journalists compare Hillary with a bull, with an animal, which is basically shown as an aggressive beast, willing to kill matador on the arena.

Together with masculine features, Clinton is characterized by journalists as a woman by traditional stereotypes about women's social roles, women's hobbies, interests and streaks of character, "Clinton's notes show her searching for videos on how to do a "fishtail bun" hairstyle and struggling to locate Showtime on her television.", "But she did, indirectly and deftly, contradict Mr. Obama's comments....", "Mrs. Clinton will weave in her own experiences as a mother and grandmother to try to persuade voters that she is best positioned to address in-

come inequality and to aid the middle class.”, “She doesn’t directly say these schools push out these children”, “Asked what she thinks, you suspect the bubble over her head asks: What do you want me to think?”, “Embracing the title grandmother – rather than running away – makes her real.”, “She complains that she was constantly criticized for showing too much feeling in public; She laughs raucously again, mirth appearing to be, incongruously, her way of acknowledging pain.”, “She’s part of a generation that had to navigate daily the sometimes-yawning gap between the expectations of friends, family, employers and their country”, “She made space in an incredibly difficult campaign to say... I want that support, it is important to me”. The character of a politician as a woman drowns by using the words, which associate with a stereotyped perception of a woman. In quotes above it puts emphasis on homemakers’ hobby – television, videos and hairstyles. The focus is on family relations also, Hillary is represented as a grandmother and mother. In the analyzed articles we met repeated mentions about the role of Bill Clinton’s wife. Moreover, attention of a reader is on adjectives that show representative feminine features: indirectly and deftly, incongruously. Herewith it is felt that Hillary is a person, who relies just on her own experience, not on facts, who desires to make herself agreeable for all, is a weak woman, who needs aid and support.

One more important aspect of Hillary Clinton’s image construction is a nomination, which journalists use for her representation. Several British and American sources investigate the issue of Clinton’s nomination and concluded that Hillary Clinton uses nomination for influence. To be a serious politician in the business environment she prefers high-status and reputable name. In the situation, when she wants to underline her femininity, to show her feeling of solidarity, she applies to father’s Rodham. Concerning media’s nomination, the full name is used just in the biographical articles, in other papers about current events journalists use “Hillary Clinton” nine times out of ten. Also we faced with naming “Mrs. Clinton” several times, but such wording was used together with “Ms.” for all candidates-men. We

also found a lot of articles with absolutely direct nomination, when the name of the post added to the name, for example, “Former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton” or “Democratic presidential front-runner Hillary Clinton”. At the same time we encountered several articles, where used “Hillary” naming and all they were the narration of Hillary’s friends or familiars. It is notable that in the article about Clinton on the site of the White House, nomination is built by clear order: before entering the college she is “Hillary Rodham” or “Hillary Diane Rodham”, then she is “Hillary” even after the wedding with Bill Clinton and only after New York Senator’s election she became “Hillary Clinton”. According to such a way of nomination the last name is a bonus for a political status. Today Hillary Clinton is a famous politician, that is why, journalists underline her status by full nomination. On the premise that direct naming prevails in the articles, we can say that nomination is not feminine, and taking into consideration the fact that for men’s nomination combination of name and surname used mostly than name only, we conclude that nomination of Hillary is masculine to a greater extent.

On the basis of the conducted analysis we believe that the main tendency of Hillary Clinton’s political image construction is prevailing of masculine manner of representation. The feminine description was used mostly for showing Clinton’s weak spots and sometimes for approaching with women’s part of electorate.

Conclusion

Every person has gender frames, but those frames change in the political context, because politicians adjust their behaviour according to the image. The most important part of the image constructing is media sources, and our task was to define what gender strategy of representation is used to form the public representation of Hillary Clinton. In the texts about Hillary Clinton journalists used neutral adjectives, pointed out on direct wordings, on topics about sports, business and used personal nomination, all those points are from the “masculine” group. At the same time, we

met several emotional adjectives, some modal forms, few mentions about feelings, several references on family and a kind of indirect nomination. We concluded that Hillary Clinton was represented mostly as a masculine politician. We also defined Hillary Clinton's political images: a politician – professional, a

politician – aggressor and a politician – woman. Moreover, we saw the overrepresentation of traditionally men's features over the image of a woman, so, in a greater degree Hillary Clinton has a masculine image and she is a professional politician firstly and after all the others a woman-politician.

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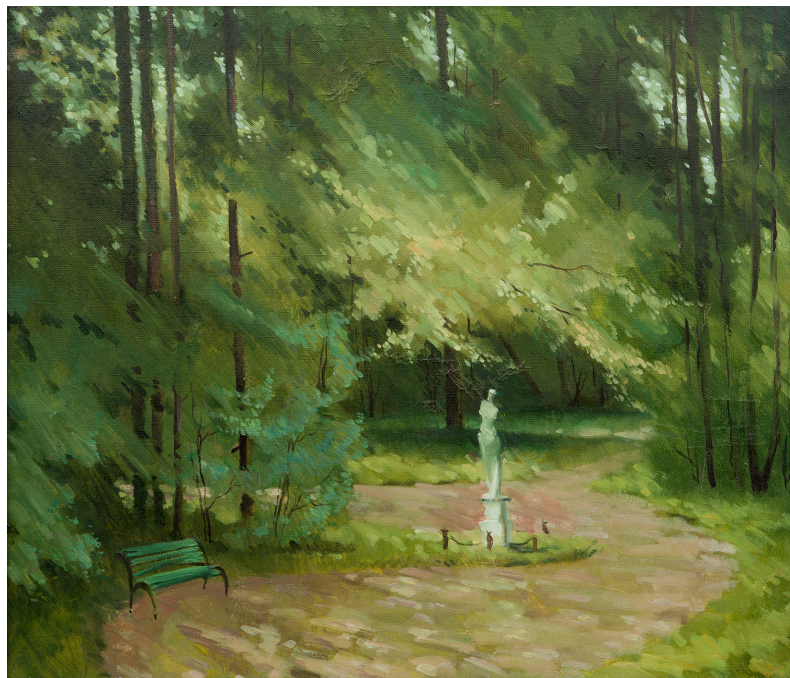




Внукова Н.А.
Натюрморт с тыквами, 2008 г.
ДВП, темпера, масло, 60 х 80 см



Воронов В.А.
Тыква и кабачки, 2009 г.
Холст, масло, 60 х 50 см



Зуев И.Л.
Летний парк, 1991 г.
Холст, масло, 60 х 70 см



Спорт Г.Г.
Река Кача в районе Стеклозавода. Посёлок памяти 13 борцов, 1960 г.
Картон, масло, 16,7 х 24,3 см