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Siberia as a Trigger
of Geopolitical Conflictogenic Media Discourse

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Abstract. The article reveals the influence of manipulative tactics in the media discourse on the public consciousness of the peoples of different countries regarding such a huge territory as Siberia. The authors analyze the historical, sociological, and psycholinguistic aspects of the functioning of the geopolitonym Siberia in the geopolitical conflictogenic media discourse within the framework of the linguistic-informational model of Siberia in the modern media discourse on the material of different structural languages. The selection of sources was based on the method of contextual analysis with an emphasis on the implicit content of the media image of the region, the descriptive method, the method of cultural interpretation, content analysis. Information wars use the image of Siberia as the center of the matrix of conflict-prone media discourse to increase attention to events in Russia and accentuate geopolitical manipulations in the public consciousness. The authors give the concept of a media matrix for understanding the cognitive side of media images of a geopolitical topoobject, such as Siberia. The media matrix of geopolitonyms consists of linguoinfornems, being implemented in linguoinformational steps in the media discourse. The media image of Siberia is diverse, being realized in evaluative linguistic systems of different languages, based on scalable sociostereotypes about Siberia. The authors show what the mythologized and realistic perception of the image of Siberia is based on, how it is interconnected with the tasks of geopolitics, influencing success in intercultural communication. The research is aimed at understanding linguistic universals

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in the perception of geopolitonyms. The article is of interest to specialists in the field of linguistics, psychology, journalism, history, cultural studies, sociology, and political science.

Сибирь как триггер геополитического конфликтогенного медиадискурса

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Аннотация. В статье раскрывается влияние манипулятивных тактик в дискурсе СМИ на общественное сознание народов разных стран относительно такой огромной территории, как Сибирь. Авторы анализируют исторические, социологические и психолингвистические аспекты функционирования геополитонима Сибирь в геополитическом конфликтогенном дискурсе СМИ в рамках лингвоинформационной модели Сибири в современном медиадискурсе на материале разноструктурных языков. Отбор источников происходил с опорой на метод контекстуального анализа с акцентом на неявное содержание медийного образа региона, описательный метод, метод культурной интерпретации, контент-анализ. Информационные войны используют образ Сибири в качестве центра матрицы конфликтогенного медийного дискурса для усиления внимания к событиям в России и акцентуации геополитических манипуляций в общественном сознании. Авторы дают концепцию медиаматрицы для понимания

когнитивной стороны медийных образов геополитического топообъекта, каким является Сибирь. Медиаматрица геополитонимов состоит из лингвоинфорнем, реализуясь в лингвоинформационных шагах в дискурсе СМИ. Медиаобраз Сибири многообразен, реализуясь в оценочных лингвистических системах разных языков, исходя из масштабируемых социостереотипов о Сибири. Авторы показывают, на чем основано мифологизированное и реалистичное восприятие образа Сибири, как оно взаимосвязано с задачами геополитики, влияя на успех в межкультурной коммуникации. Исследование нацелено на понимание лингвистических универсалий в перцепции геополитонимов. Статья представляет интерес для специалистов в области лингвистики, психологии, журналистики, истории, культурологии, социологии и политологии.

Ключевые слова: медиаматрица СМИ, Сибирь, лингвоинформационная модель, лингвоинформнема, геополитоним, лингвоинформационные шаги, медиадискурс.

Introduction

During the development of Siberia in the XIX century. and XX century. young people, inspired by the slogans of the Soviet government in the printed press, went to Siberia, seeking to conquer the mystical land of the unknown and to prove themselves. Siberia has been associated with powerful symbols of darkness. So, V. G. Kartsev in his «Essay on the history of the peoples of North-Western Siberia» (Kartsev, 1937) describes and gives reproductions of lithographs, which depict Siberian aborigines in the form of animal-like people, dog-headed people (psoglavs – in Russian), etc.

Such positioning actualized archetypal ideas about Siberia as a gateway to Hell, the world of Death and Cold, and about Siberian peoples as representatives of a different nature opposed to ordinary people (Beloglazova, Kabakchi, 2020; Evseeva, Zhmakina, 2020; Grevnev, 2019; Karabulatova et al., 2014; Khairullina et al., 2015; Moskalyuk, Grishchenko, 2020; Mushkina, Bitner, 2021; Sayfulina et al., 2013; Vasil'eva, Dmitrieva, 2021;), which creates a fertile ground for nurturing conflicts on the «friend-foe» axis and «center – periphery» (Nemirovskaya, 2020; Skovorodnikov, et al., 2019; Sowińska, T. Dubrovskaya, 2012). In this regard, the cultural phenomenon of «folklore» pseudo-linguistic research on Siberian topics actualizes the pre-scientific methodology, contributing to the additional mythologization of Siberia in the world of human civilization, which also becomes the subject of scientific research (Savchuk, 2021; Terskikh, Malenova, 2015; Tyupa, 2002). «So, the results of previous research cannot serve today as a pretext for defending irrationalism that renounces thinking» (Huebner, 1996: 265).

Researchers note that recently the concept of «trigger» has become widely used, moving from the field of psychophysiology and medicine to other branches of scientific knowledge to designate a certain combined complex of the national picture of the world stored in the operative memory and background knowledge of an object, subject, event and action that with the manifestation of one of the elements of this complex, the remaining parts of the symptom complex are actualized (Ruzhentseva et al., 2020; Korolyova, 2021). This term was especially actively used in journalism and politics (Ardila, 2019; Carvalho, de & Mesquita, 2021; Korolyova, 2021). At the same time, in the exact sciences, a trigger is a mechanism that forms two stable values of a signal at the input-output and is capable of abruptly changing these values due to

external directional influence, which makes it possible to use a trigger in machine learning as a memory element (Kostomarov, 2019).

The globality of the toponym Siberia for human civilization is due to the multidimensional associative space of chthonicity in society. In classical cognitive modeling, the study of any conceptual category begins with the formation of a frame-type knowledge structure, and in our case, in the form of a toponymic synopsis (top-onymic scenario) (the term of I. S. Karabulatova, 2002). First, such trends as «The Beginning» and «The End», «Life» and «Death», «Purgato-ry» and «Transformation» are clearly expressed here, which acquired a «second wind» in the apocalyptic era of the pandemic (Karabulatova et al., 2021).

The main ideas of this type are presented in the cognitive theory of metaphor (Lakoff, Johnson 2004). The result of this analysis is an opportunity to draw a conclusion about the typical ways of understanding these categories when perceiving the toponym Siberia, which are actualized in the geopolitical conflictogenic media discourse as an integral part of the lin-guistics of modern information and psychological warfare (the term of the Krasnoyarsk school-A. P. Skovorodnikov et al., 2019) in the confronta-tion between Russia and the West.

We are talking about Siberia as a geopoli-tonym, since it is not just a toponym, but a desig-nation of a historical, cultural, and socio-political name of a territorial entity as a geopolitical sub-ject Examples of geopolitical subjects are widely known at the level of countries, regions, historical regions: EU, Russia, Crimea, Caucasus, Kuban, Saryarka, Siberia, Brittany, Ireland, Xinjiang, Volhynia, Bavaria, Galicia, Sicily, Corsica, etc.

The geopolitonym Siberia does not just form a virtual image of the region in the media discourse but acts as a multidimensional con-struct of the linguistic picture of the world in the «producer – recipient»system. Onomasts under the geopolitonym understand the names of countries, regions, significant historical ar-eas that have an impact on human awareness in the civilizational context (Madieva, 2010).

At the same time, the construction of a particular geopolitical media structure uses cognitive means of forming communicative

meanings of predictable speech behavior, which also becomes the subject of scientific discussions in different countries (Savchuk et al., 2019; Luna Morales Xochiquetzal, 2008; Nijiati et al., 2020; Qin, Uccelli, 2019).

The representation of Siberia as an im-portant strategic topoobject in the modern media discourse is due to the high degree of significance of this territory in the layouts of modern world, federal and regional geopolitics, in determining the locus of Siberia in the my-thologized picture of the world of a modern na-tive speaker in the actualization of mass media discourse.

Materials and methods

The mythologized space of the semantics of the toponym Siberia has a syncretic charac-ter, and therefore synergetics has become the defining methodological principle in this study. The toponym Siberia itself is considered as a geopolitonym through the prism of linguistic tools associated with the methods of related scientific disciplines (political science, psy-chology, journalism, sociology, history, folk-lore studies, psycholinguistics, etc.).

The research material is heterogeneous, the key point of selecting the material for anal-ysis was the orientation of the publication on the topics of Siberia with an explicit or implicit provocation of the conflict in society. The cata-log of such publications amounted to more than 4,000 articles extracted from the open access of the Internet, which allowed us to group the material by podcasts: 1) socio-political events; 2) cultural life, art events, cinema; 3) sports events; 4) economic events; 5) natural disas-ters, flora and fauna; 6) legends, legends, folk-lore of the ethnic groups of Siberia and other peoples about Siberia; 7) old and new mythol-ogy about Siberia; 8) real historical events and pseudo-history; 9) discoveries, scientific life of Siberia and attempts to devalue achievements.

Based on the above, we believe that an in-tegrated approach is the most acceptable for the analysis of the geopolitical conflictogenic dis-course of the conceptual space «Siberia». We have included in the methodology of the anal-ysis of the geopolitonym Siberia as a trigger of the media discourse such methods as: 1) defi-

nitional analysis with an emphasis on identifying explicit signs of the geopolitonym Siberia in the conflictogenic mass media discourse as a source of potential danger to society on the basis of primary and secondary interpretation of data; 2) the method of contextual analysis in order to determine the implicit content of the media image of Siberia as a trigger point; 3) the descriptive method; 4) the method of content analysis of monitoring the communicative system of the conflictogenic geopolitical media discourse.

Results

The media image of Siberia is a topo-oriented multi-layered model of the terrain for the recipients of the media discourse. Researcher O. N. Sorokina proposed the concept of an information model of images of countries on the example of China (2007), in which the linguistic component remained undeveloped, although it was and remains dominant in the media discourse.

The conflictogenic media discourse, as a rule, is provocative, for this purpose it actively uses manipulems (the term I. P. Savchuk, 2021) to control the reactions of society to this or that information. It should be said that manipulations with geopolitonyms are not so rare, they demonstrate the importance of a geo object for society (Martynenko, Ilina, Kupriyanova, 2019).

For example: «Sohu (China): is Siberia lost by China still possible to return? I regret to inform you that this is impossible» (15.11.2019, https://inosmi.ru/social/20191115/246230265.html); «Phoenix (China): Siberia was conquered by several hundred people! How did Russia with such a small population conquer such huge territories?» (15.08.2019, https://inosmi.ru/social/20190815/245635239.html); «The New York Times (USA): The Chinese are flocking to the Siberian Lake Baikal – and this worries the locals» (06.05.2019, https://inosmi.ru/social/20190506/245035734.html).

So, in the publication of «Phoenix» (China), in the reprint of the Russian portal InoSMI, it is indicated: «After the Little Ice Age, Siberia was exhausted, the Cossacks and soldiers met only weak nomadic tribes on their way, who were practically unable to resist. After the Russians appropriated these territories and invented the machine gun and wire fences, the Siberian farmers lost any opportunity to change the current situation. Russian missionaries also played a big role in this» (15.08.2019, https://inosmi.ru/social/20190815/245635239.html).

At the same time, Siberia is represented as a victim of the expansion of the tsarist government, almost as an ownerless and deserted space, which fully coincides with the point of view of Siberia both in the West and in the East. We find in the publication such expressive lexemes and expressions as (Siberia) is exhausted, weak nomadic tribes, to appropriate territories, to lose the opportunity, conquered Siberia, etc. At the same time, the text of the publication itself comes into conflict within itself. On the one hand, Siberia is represented by weak nomadic tribes. On the other hand, Siberian farmers were colonized by Cossack detachments and detachments of missionaries. While the nomadic and sedentary lifestyles are opposed to each other in historical development. However, the note is constructed in such a way as to cause an internal conflict in the recipient of this information.

When S. Cohen proposed the hypothesis about the interdependent behavior of political actors on the world stage (Cohen, 1971), he proceeded from the fact that the verbal-paraverbal geopolitical behavior of countries would reflect this interchangeability based on the established relations between the countries – variable players. The researcher concluded that geographical or geopolitical thinking is based on the principle of spatial differentiation, so the mobility of differentiation of political phenomena depends on the location, which is the essence of political geography and geopolitics.

Siberia as a trigger of the conflictogenic media discourse is realized using linguoinforneme through the structure of the linguoinformational step in the space of the linguoinformational model. We propose the concept of a linguoinforneme, by which we understand the technique of constructing a media image of a subject or object in a particular accentological assessment, based on a social order. Contradictory media images of an object or subject

create variability in the interpretation of the «semantic aura» of a geopolitonym in the media discourse, exerting their impact as a «potentially dangerous discourse» (Karabulatova, 2020: 4). Thus, the linguoinforneme of Siberia constructs a media image of the territory depending on the point of view on the «Siberian problem» of a particular state in a deliberately planned emotionally expressive one.

For example, the Siberian theme is relevant for the northern regions of Kazakhstan, which were founded as fortified garrisons and villages of the Siberian Cossack army, on the site of which large cities later grew. First, these are Kokshetau, Pavlodar, Kostanay, Petropavlovsk, which began to provide a dialogue between the Kazakh Steppe and the Russian Forest (Karabulatova, Koyshe, Gultyaev, 2013), cultivating national cadres for indigenous peoples, among whom the percentage of illiteracy reached 80 % (Burdina, 2007). At the same time, the pre-revolutionary national newspapers of the local peoples of Siberia and Northern Kazakhstan also actively introduced a linguistic-information model aimed at the growth of ethnic and socio-cultural self-awareness (Khayretdinova, 2012).

In the context of modern political games both in Russia and in Kazakhstan, the issues of identification of the population of these cities, the use of» language patrols», attribution of the cities and territories themselves acquire a new urgency and become a potentially dangerous conflictogenic discourse in the context of ethnic trauma of the Kazakhs due to the tsarist policy of acculturation (Lyubichankovsky, 2019; Osipov et al., 2016). At the same time, the question invariably arises: where does Siberia end and the Kazakh Steppe begin? As indicated by a group of scientists, under the leadership of the Academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences G. V. Osipova, the consequences of this ethnotrauma are still actively used in the conflictogenic media discourse, actualizing the associative fan in the mental picture of the world of the peoples of the former tsarist Russia (Osipov et al., 2016).

Back in Soviet times, the Russian psychologist O. K. Tikhomirov was the first to point out the existence of phenomena of a subjective-objective order, which allowed him to introduce the concept of «value-semantic structure of the situation». The value-semantic structure of the situation, according to O. K. Tikhomirov, contains a characteristic of the effect of human interaction with objectively specified conditions (Tikhomirov, 1972, 1974). We believe that the value-semantic structure of the situation determines the conflictogenicity of mass media discourse. In addition, we believe that it is impossible to determine the potential danger of a discourse without considering the psychological parameters of the value-semantic structure of the situation that encourages the submission of information from one point of view or another.

The value-semantic structure of the situation itself affects the choice of a particular linguo-phoneme in mass media discourse, since the linguo-phoneme designates specific methods of manipulating the public consciousness of recipients, therefore, the lexical and semantic repertoire of the linguo-phoneme is always biased by a social order, unlike the cognitive metaphor, which more characterizes the author's language style.

At the same time, the creation of a clear scheme for analyzing the media matrix of the image of the country creates successful prerequisites for the development of a full-fledged classifier for further training of neural networks (Karabulatova, 2020 b) not only in terms of differentiating the system of interpretations of potentially dangerous discourse, but also in the context of the subsequent calculation of the predictive level of potential dangers for the recipient of the media discourse.

The analytical perception of the media image of Siberia in multilingual media discourses has been actively promoted in recent years from the position of the pragmatic potential of the linguoinforneme, i. e., assumptions about the typical features of the impact on the addressee during perception by the recipient. We believe that the pragmatic potential of the linguoinforneme underlies the linguistic interpretation and determination of the differences between fake, deepfake, post-truth and truth, which are indicated by Yekaterinburg researchers (Chudinov et al., 2019).

Thus, the linguoinformational model of media discourse used is implemented in linguoinfornems using the strategy of linguoinformational steps. Linguistic and informational models of the representation of Siberia in foreign media discourses emphasize the geopolitical interests of other countries in relation to Siberia and Russia. So, when the Chinese media, publishing materials in Russian, turn to the image of Siberia, they proceed from the traditional hieroglyphic model «China is the Middle state», or «the center of the world», and «Siberia is the outskirts, the periphery of the Middle state». Hence such publications as «Why did China lose Siberia?», «Can China return Siberia?», etc. As researchers from Yekaterinburg under the leadership of A. P. Chudinov rightly point out, rhetorical questions are one of the leading signs of a trigger in geopolitical discourse (Ruzhentseva et al., 2019). In addition, the conflictogenic geopolitical discourse widely uses euphemisms, as if polemizing with «opponents» on the geopolitical world stage.

When we set the task of identifying trigger zones in the conflictogenic mass media discourse, we face the need to identify the specific meaning of the lexical unit used in the analyzed text segment. For example: What are the borders of Siberia as a territory in the author's understanding? Do these borders coincide in the modern territory of Siberia? Who does the author call Siberians? Does the author of the text use marking words-characteristics based on ethnicity: Russians / Ukrainians / Caucasians/ Kazakhs/ Yakuts/ Chinese, etc.? Are there any indications of social signs: a reindeer herder/ professor/ teacher/ mother/ drug addict/ oil worker/ student, etc. in a specific text? What signs characterize this lexeme, causing cognitive dissonance in recipients (such as: «Crimea is yours; Siberia is ours»; «The Siberian ripper tortured and killed schoolgirls in his apartment. His mother helped him in this»; «An eighth-grader stabbed the deputy director of a school near Novosibirsk», «In furs, but without underwear: how did Siberians differ from other women in Russia», «Why did a student of a Siberian college decide to kill his abusers», «An Omsk student is forced to climb a birch tree to study remotely», etc.

It is impossible not to agree with those researchers who note the polycode nature of capacious proper names, which contain a certain alpha and omega of human civilization. Thus, according to V. I. Postovalova, «the main feature of the interpretation of the beginning and the end in the Orthodox worldview is that these categories are not thought of here as abstract meanings, but as 1) specific names – the Names of God (Beginning, End, Beginningless, Infinite, etc.), as well as 2) semantic components of specific situations-realities, mythologies, events, etc. (creation of the world, Parousia, or the Second Coming of Christ, Judgment, Kingdom, etc.)» (Postovalova, 2002: 620). Geopolitonym Siberia occupies one of the central places in the eschatology of the Russian and European worldview, since it refers to a specific space, the mythological world of the Russian spirit, and the mythological world of the transcendental secrets of European civilization.

Thus, in the Russian language consciousness there is an opposition: Russia-Siberia, which is an echo of the opposition of Russia and Siberia as Tartary/Tartarus. Thus, a special place is occupied in the plots by the «Tatar/Tartarland», which is located at the opposite pole, being opposed to everything Russian, it is the habitat of «enemies of foes, hefty Tatars, evil Tatar young warriors». «The conspiracy of a brave man who goes to any war» describes the battles with the Tatars – with gentiles, warriors who are famous for their cruelty, bravery, supernatural invulnerability: «You, mighty heroes, kill the Tatars, fill the entire Tatar land; and I would be safe and sound because of you. I go to the bloody Tatar/ Tartar Army, I beat enemies and foes; and I would be safe and sound». The Kremlin, which is not only in Moscow, but also in Siberia, the former capital of the Tobolsk province, now in one of the cities of the Tyumen region – Tobolsk, acts as a stronghold that can protect from all enemies. The first layer of associations is associated with flint, in fact, the etymology of the word is different: «Kremlin – flint, kremnik is old. and krom (from kromit, kromlenoe mto), detinets, inner fortress, fortress inside the city; a wall with loopholes, gates, towers, protecting the most important part of the city, the pal-

ace, the treasury» (Karabulatova, Bondarets, 2005:138).

On ancient maps, the territory located beyond the Ural (Riphean) Mountains was designated only as Tartarus. It is known that an indispensable part of the mythocoordinates of European civilization is «tar-tar», or «tartarary». Tartar – borrowing from the Greek. language, was considered the lower part of the underworld-Hades, representing the dark abyss in the depths of space, was sometimes identified with Hades. There are always whirlwinds raging around Tartarus, it is surrounded by a triple layer of darkness and an iron wall (or three copper walls). The iron (or copper) gate of Tartarus is the creation of Poseidon. These iron gates can also be correlated with the Ural Mountains.

In Tartarus was the dwelling of Nikta/ Νίκτα (Night). In Hesiod, Tartarus is personified and is considered one of the first four gods. So, in the ancient tradition, Tartarus was described as a certain space located in the very depths of space, below Hades – the kingdom of the dead; it is not just fenced off by an iron / copper wall, but the night surrounds it in three rows. Even the gods are afraid of Tartarus because everything that falls into Tartarus disappears irrevocably, because there is no way back from there.

In modern Russian, the expression «to fall into the tartars» means to disappear, to perish (Klyaus, 1997: 136). It is this last, metaphorical meaning, that is realized in conspiracy texts in binding and in exile, in curses, etc. The description of Tartar repeats the information of myths, for example in «Prayer when someone mocks in the house»: «the gates are copper…, and iron shackles, (…) and the bonds of darkness are held in tartars, binding him (the snake)» (Karabulatova, Bondarets, 2005: 138).

In the context of modern history, the geopolitical role of Siberia as the sacred topos of Eurasia is central. From here come the «vessels» of oil pipelines connecting Europe and Asia. Here are the main natural reserves and resources of the entire planet. And «in this sense, the new mythological and political slogan of the United Russia, emphasizing that «Here is the heart of Russia!» is no longer just a metaphor coming

from the seemingly coincidental outlines of the Tyumen region with a human heart, but a text with a deep meaning that makes us think about the mystical role of each small homeland in the fate of the big homeland» (Fedorova, Koyshe, Karabulatova 2012: 194).

This ancient toponym Siberia evokes lively reactions in most people living in different parts of our big planet, as a kind of designation of an otherworldly, mysterious, unreal space where the spiritual power of the Earth-Gaia is formed, where the «mysterious Russian soul» is maximally manifested (Fedulov et al., 2015). This space is mythologized as much as possible due to the remoteness from the center and the lack of knowledge about this territory.

Based on the stability of the mythologized perception of Siberia, in the Russian and European media discourse, Siberia is positioned as a territory of mysticism, sacredness, secrets, prohibitions. In this connection, the first place is occupied by the linguoinformational model «Siberia as an unknown secret», which exploits such linguoinfornemes as «Siberia as a frontier between the real world and the unreal world» (Evseeva, Zhmakina, 2020), «Siberia as a world reserve of lost knowledge» (Karabulatova, Fedorova, Saifulina, 2014), «Siberia as an enchanted world» (Kartsev, 1937; Kuznetsova, 2009), «Siberia – the other world». It is believed that supposedly only in Siberia the primordial knowledge is preserved, there are hidden resource sources and sacred «places of power», special people live, etc. (Karabulatova, 2008: 57–58), which imposes its own specifics on the perception of their own identity among Siberians (Grevnev, 2019; Evseeva et al., 2020). The linguoinformational model «Siberia as an unknown mystery» places the multilayered onomamifologeme Siberia in the center of linguoinforneme, which acts as a «poetics of space» with a significant share of fiction with the help of linguoinformational steps for the implementation of a mythological synopsis.

The mythologeme of the geopolitonym Siberia organizes around itself a specific mental space with a dominant expressive-emotional component, which is reflected in phraseological units and paroemias (Vassilenko, 2015), asserting the fabulousness, sacredness of this

place: «Siberia is mother, and the Urals is father»; «Volga is mother and Don is Father, and Siberia is aunt»; «ice Siberia», «send to Siberia»; «Siberian bogatyr», «Siberian witch», «Siberian herbalist», «strong as a Siberian», «Siberian healer», «Siberian shaman», «Caucasian longevity and Siberian health», etc.

All these stable expressions reinforce the link «Siberia as a world reserve of lost knowledge», in which the Siberian acts as a special cultural hero who lives and acts according to the magical laws of a fairy tale (Propp, 1998). Therefore, in the modern media discourse, the hero's presence in Siberia, the hero's stay in Siberia is one of the mandatory attributes of the mythological halo since it gives the hero of the publication an aura of being chosen. The conflictogenicity of such a discourse is formed from the opposition of the hero and the main environment (the hero-deliverer-the king, the vizier, the king, etc.).

The resonant story of the Siberian shaman A. Gabyshev is embedded in the same paradigm, which has about 80 thousand news reports as of January 2021, and the BBC has created several documentaries about him (each of them has over 500 thousand views on YouTube). We refer such stories not to the genre of informational documentary discourse, but to mockumentary (pseudo-documentary) as one of the types of modern information warfare, «a completely or partially fictional product» that creates the illusion of realism (Zelvensky, 2008).

Mockumentaries go in a single bundle with the media discourse, increasing the impact on the recipient, since they aim to cause a wide public response, «shake up» public sentiment. In these news reports, the Siberian shaman A. Gabyshev is also depicted as a lone hero, led by Heaven, to fight the forces of Evil: «The Siberian shaman is coming to Moscow!», «The Yakut shaman is going to expel Putin», «Shaman Gabyshev has returned. What Putin is afraid of», «« Violence is not allowed, even over a demon.» How a shaman from Yakutia went to expel Putin and did not reach», «A Yakut shaman who went to «expel Putin» was detained and taken to a mental hospital», «Special forces stormed the house of a Yakut shaman

who promised to expel Putin», «Shaman Gabyshev was going to Moscow again», etc.

Therefore, it is not surprising that they began to be perceived as a kind of reincarnation of folk heroes who already existed in the people's memory. All these heroes have already been «registered» in the internal picture of the world of public consciousness, since such images as the Russian ataman Ermak, the Tatar khan Yedygei, the Ukrainian Robin Hood – Ustin Karmelyuk, the Tatar heroine Suzge are recorded in the national picture of the world.

In the XXI century, new names joined this cohort: the Siberian shaman Alexander Gabyshev actualized the mythologeme «Siberian sorcerer», imprinted in the public consciousness thanks to the Siberian sorcerer and healer Grigory Rasputin, a native of the Tobolsk province. Rasputin's name is widely known not only in Russia, but also in the West. His name became a household name, and the dark story of the death of a sorcerer and a seer entered the mythologized picture of the world. According to legend, G. Rasputin warned that the tsarist empire would collapse if members of the royal family were involved in his, Grigory Rasputin's, murder. Similar statements are made by the Irkutsk shaman A. Gabyshev. The way of the demonstrated behavior also strengthens the spiritual continuity between these sorcerers: the Tobolsk sorcerer G. Rasputin walked from Siberia to the capital of Russia to St. Petersburg, and the modern Irkutsk shaman A. Gabyshev also walked to the capital of Russia – Moscow.

The stories of modern cultural heroes mythologized by the public consciousness, coupled with the theme of Siberia, began to unfold in the media discourse as a mythologized discourse, resembling a biopic on the theme of the 11 steps of a fairy-tale hero in a fairy tale by V. Ya. Propp (1998). The inability of the official authorities to work with mass archetypes leads to an increase in the level of conflictogenicity of the media discourse and prohibitions, which increases the degree of discontent in society.

Despite the fact that the sub – regions of Siberia form their own linguoinfornems, which are promoted in the media discourse: «Ugra – the birth of a circumpolar civilization» (Pra-

solova, 2010), they find little response, since they are actively exploited only by representatives of government bodies, self-government and parties as a key component: «The survival strategy of the district (in the KhMAO, a very capacious concept is used for this – «the birth of a circumpolar civilization»») began with the realization of the main thesis…» (Moshechkov S. Ugra looks to the future // Russian Federation today, 2002, No. 1); «One of the most remote from the cultural and economic centers of the region in the eyes of contemporaries becomes the cradle of the future circumpolar civilization-the heiress of the most dynamic and positive features of the historical path of Russia» (Ugra: the birth of the circumpolar civilization. How to equip the North? // Vestnik, 2004, No. 4). The use of this linguoinforneme became the basis for the creation of historical, patriotic and tourist routes in the regions (Fedulin, Minaev, 2014).

The new conditions for the development of territories force us to look at the region as a commodity that needs to be sold profitably, hence the positioning of Siberia as the successor of the Soviet friendship of peoples in the countries of the post-socialist camp, implementing the linguoinforneme «Siberia as a brotherhood»: «Wydarzenie zostało zorganizowane z uwzględnieniem narodowych tradycji, zwyczajów i kultury Polaków zamieszkujących terytorium Kraju Krasnojarskiego posługujących się językiem polskim» (JUBILEUSZ DOMU POLSKIEGO W KRASNOJARSKU, 25.12.2020, http://www.rodacynasyberii.pl/aktualnosc/538); «Ukrainians in Siberia: how the Ukrainian community lives in Irkutsk» (Irkutskinform, 04.12.2020, https://irkutskinform.ru/ukrainczy-v-sibiri-kak-zhivet-ukrainskaya-obshhina-v-irkutske/); «Germans in Siberia: colonists, special settlers and Russians» (Taiga.info, 13.12.2020, https://tayga.info/162593); «The State Duma deputies outraged Nur-Sultan, who reminds: Western Siberia has always been a place of settlement of Kazakhs, and Orenburg is their first capital» («They live on Russian lands»: is the territory of present-day Kazakhstan a gift to Russia?», 20.12.2020, Businessonline, https://www.business-gazeta.ru/article/493040).

In this regard, in the Russian and European media discourse, Siberia is often positioned as a kind of miracle, therefore, the linguistic information model «Siberia as a miracle» is implemented in the linguistic information system «Siberian miracle as a source of success», occupying a key position. The lexeme «miracle» means «something amazing, surprising with its extraordinary nature» (Shvedova, 2011: 1098), so the «Siberian miracle» is described with a high degree of expression and emotional saturation. For example: «Siberians are nuggets. Who develops talents in children and why?» (Argumenty I facty, 13.05.2016); «Siberians are lazy when they do not feel competition, especially when their life reaches a pleasant stability; but if they find a Siberian, he is able to dramatically change his life even at 40, even at 50 years old, and achieve success. The Siberian is led in this not by the desire to «defeat the enemies», but by a bright practical dream» (Svobodnaya Pressa, 27.09.2010).

The linguoinforneme «Siberian miracle as a source of success» actualizes the demonstration of certain superpowers, non-standard solutions that are perceived as a miracle in different spheres of life (new technologies, sports, medicine, economics, technology, culture, agriculture, etc.). This linguoinforneme is supported by a bizarre mythologization of the image of Siberia in the minds of recipients because Siberia itself is located at a considerable distance from many countries of the world and is considered a territory of secrets and mysticism. For example: «A Siberian who was paralyzed as a child became a fitness trainer» (Komsomolskaya Pravda, l0.06.2021); «A Siberian makes shoes and jackets out of salmon – the Chinese wanted to buy the technology for half a million dollars: The story of a chemist who created fashionable things from fish waste» (NGS.ru, 29.07.2021). In the context of the geopolitical media discourse, Siberian health can act as a miracle, as well as the associated frames of medicine, flora, fauna, and health improvement systems.

In the linguoinformational models of the Western mass media discourse, the geopolitonym Siberia is at the center of a news message as a powerful mythologeme that causes

the recipients to react with fear, the inevitability of evil, death, disease, and cold. So, in so many publications, the very stay in Siberia is equated with imprisonment, to a kind of mystical purification.

For example: «Siberia gets used to the cold surprisingly quickly: the Yakut horse does not mind the frost of 55 degrees» (Helsingin Sanomat, Finland, 31.12.2016); «Extreme reality show in Siberia: «Even rape and murder are allowed»» (Il Giornale, Italy, 17.12.2016). If we look at other linguistic information models with the geopolitonym Siberia in the media discourse, we will see that most publications have a negative connotation with a predominance of negative emotionally colored vocabulary, which allows us to classify them as potentially dangerous discourses, since they represent Siberia in a negative format.

The XXI century has become an epoch-making one for revealing the unique potential of sports in Siberia. After the 2019 World Universiade in Krasnoyarsk, the number of articles in the media about the specifics of the «Siberian sports miracle» is increasing exponentially: «The Siberian miracle. How did our young curlers win international recognition?» (Arguments and facts in Eastern Siberia, 18.12.2020).

The linguoinformational model «Siberia as a space of forbidden knowledge and mysticism» is actualized in the following linguoinformems: «Siberia as a center of forbidden knowledge», «Siberia as a source of little-studied», «Siberia as a threat to humanity», «Siberia as the salvation of mankind».

Thus, the linguoinforneme « Siberia as a threat to humanity «is contrasted with the linguoinforneme»Siberia as the salvation of humanity». The linguoinforneme «Siberia as a threat to humanity» itself positions Siberia as a region with a dominant of all kinds of threats to the world in various spheres of life. First, this concerns the appearance of voids and sinkholes due to oil and gas production, deforestation, the awakening of unknown prehistoric viruses and deadly pathogens due to the melting of permafrost, etc. The conflict-prone media discourse will present the image of Siberia as something demonic, inexplicable, and irresistible, inspiring an irrational fear of the unknown and of Russia, including, therefore, any achievement of Siberia, any «breakthrough» in any area is considered not as a success, but as the conquest of positions, living space from someone else.

With the help of the linguoinforneme «Siberia as a threat to humanity», a threatening and dangerous image of Siberia is progressively introduced using bright, emotionally colored vocabulary and rich images with the help of linguoinformational steps. for example: «The prediction of the witch from Siberia came true», «The Krasnoyarsk sorcerer killed in Spain was resurrected in his homeland two months later», «Siberian shamans: killing with a word», etc. The result of such a strategy is the introduction of the idea that Siberia as a threat contains a potential danger to the development of civilization, meaning, and, the Western type of civilization. However, psychologically, this linguoinforneme is just an unconscious fear of misunderstanding the ethnocultural specifics of Siberia, as well as the fear of assimilation due to the powerful economic and cultural influence of Siberia on other countries and regions. The linguoinforneme «Siberia as a threat» acts as a statement of the fact of the deep dichotomy of the image of Siberia with the media images of other territories that have a significant impact on the world stage (Germany, Russia, the USA). Hence the desire of individual states to establish international control over the Siberian territories, or to annex them in some way. For example: «The USA was preparing to buy Siberia for $3 trillion» (https://udipedia-news.ru/view/new?utm_campaign=2681&utm_content=df267876-c9be-4de9–99fc-59906c1b3816&utm_source=44199&utm_medium=104&sid6=10870803&templates_show_id=41&sid9=view&uid=86ade616–104b-43c1–8f8e-4c22552b8579); «Siberia of the Middle Kingdom: why China claims Russian territories» (Arguments of the Week, February 24, 2021); «Which countries believe that Siberia should not belong to Russia, Rambler reports» (Next: https://weekend.rambler.ru/read/42654132/?utm_content=weekend_media&utm_medium=read_more&utm_source=copylink); ««Why Siberian?»: Eliz-

abeth II's unexpected decision puzzled the Russians» (Tsargrad, 24.11.2020).

Linguistic and informational steps to implement the «Siberian threat» support in the minds of recipients the image of Siberia, which is likened to a separate subject that determines the emotion of the threat. This image is actualized with the help of expressions: the awakened deadly virus (as one of the symbols of the coming Apocalypse), the mysterious petroglyphs of the Kuyussky grotto, the gate to hell, the Tunguska glade, the cave of the black devil (to denote the forbidden anomalous places of Siberia as places of manifestation of Evil in Western culture), etc.

First, the linguistic-informational model exploits the geopolitical myth with the focus of the recipients 'attention on achieving a certain conditional «emotional bottom» with the subsequent successful overcoming of the problem when leaving this state of hopelessness. This is designed not just to distract attention from some urgent situation, but to release the internal forces of a person to recreate a full-fledged sense of the possibility of overcoming a negative situation. On the one hand, it seems to be a good goal, but on the other hand, we are dealing with a social danger, which was pointed out by A. N. Kanev, warning about distortions in the ethno-national Renaissance (Kanev, 2009).

The process of decoding and interpreting the conflictogenic mass media discourse about Siberia aims to test each hypothesis according to the context, and only then it becomes possible to establish the meaning of a particular word and utterance. The process of text interpretation in linguistics, as in psychology, is often considered as a one-sided process of perception, while, unlike the psychological approach, the main attention is paid to the linguistic personality of the recipient communicant, while the speech producer is practically ignored.

Discussion

Modern researchers consider the trigger conflict-causing mass media discourse through the prism of the policy of «soft power» without considering purely linguistic tools, focusing primarily on the features of extralinguistic factors (Barabash et al., 2019; Musolff, 2006; Nye, 2011; Nikitina, 2021; Kazakova-Apkarimova, 2014). A certain role is played using artificial intelligence in the recognition of negative content, which causes interest in conflict-prone political mass media discourse to identify a mechanism for promoting negative and ambiguous stereotypical images of countries and regions, especially in a situation of political instability.

Various issues of conflictogenic political discourse are considered in the works of leading scientists in the field of political linguistics, media linguistics, psycholinguistics, and cognitive linguistics (Dzyaloshinsky, 2012; Evseeva, 2020; Chudinov et al., 2019; Sheigal, 2000; Lakoff, 2004; Wodak, Boukala, 2006; Zheltukhina et al., 2020).

These studies set an algorithm for a full-fledged scientific analysis of the «soft power» policy in the image of Siberia, offering verified methodological tools and appropriate approaches to the selection of material (Barabash et al., 2019; Budaev, 2016; Chudinov et al., 2019).

We were guided by the theory of stereotyping (Lippman, 2004) to create clusters of parametrizations of linguistic-informational models and linguistic information in the context of positioning the image of Siberia, because this theory opens new opportunities for social and linguistic understanding of the political stereotype as such and its structure, including in the context of geopolitical image-making (Zamyatin, 1999; Tokbulatova, 2019; Skovorodnikov, 2020).

At the same time, the very development of problems of representing the image of Siberia correlates with the mechanism of representing the Caucasus, China, and Russia in media discourses, since it is based on theoretical studies on the semiotics of the ethnolinguinformational space (Dyganov, 2010; Niyazova, 2007; 2021; Khayretdinova, 2012). However, a distinctive feature is the specific use of linguoinfornemes, which include features of the representation/inclusion of the media image of the region and / or country in the ethno-linguistic and information space. The linguoinforneme «Siberia as the center of the unknown» updates tourist routes, which is reflected in the publications of

researchers (Terskikh, Malenova, 2015). The Siberian space again and again excites research minds, aiming at understanding the role of Siberia in the Russian language consciousness through the prism of non-fiction literature, which also traces the actual linguoinforneme introduced with the help of mediadiscourse (Tyupa, 2002).

«Emotional swings» are a characteristic feature of conflictogenicity, arousing interest from the audience, so mass media discourse swings the attention of recipients, throwing out the maximum number of hormones of joy and success, distorting the perception of reality as such. Political scientists see this as a source of separatist sentiments aimed at separating Siberia from Russia, the Urals from Russia as independent states (Kazinik, Tkachev, electronic resource).

The strengthening of emotional swings in the linguistic-informational model in the conflictogenic mass media discourse goes through the dynamic overcoming of fear. Such, for example, in our opinion, are provocative publications about the Siberian People's Republic, the creation of groups and communities with this name in social networks (for example, the social network «VKontakte» shows that the community «Siberian People's Republic» has about 300 participants who publish information and calls for the separation of Siberia from Russia).

Such statements cause fears among state structures and law-abiding citizens as a real threat to the state, the region, their own lives with the intensification of the fear of death and inevitable changes. At the same time, the psychophysiological reactions of recipients are like reactions to opioids, in connection with which the perception of reality is catastrophically transformed, but the recipient experiences the most vivid emotions (Niyazova, 2021). The use of this forbidden technique gets the audience hooked on receiving increasingly strong stimuli's, rocking them to revolutionary sentiments, which we saw during the collapse of the USSR, when geopolitonymic myths were used to strengthen separatist sentiments. For example: «Ukraine is the breadbasket of the USSR: enough to feed everyone!» etc. (Savchuk, 2021). However, this positioning of exclusivi-

ty in relation to a particular region or republic within the USSR was due to the introduction of the ideas of the collapse of the Soviet Union with the exploitation of ethnocentrism (Khairullina et al., 2015; Sayfulina et al., 2013). The mosaic of ideas about Siberia, the abundance of interpretations of the name itself forced researchers to carefully approach the secondary analysis of scientific literature and etymologies (Beloglazova, Kabakchi,2020). At the same time, the geopolitonym Siberia in the conflictogenic discourse of the media continues to occupy a central place in the dissemination of invariants of the onomastic myth (Karabulatova, Niyazova, 2014). Currently, we are observing certain elements of this strategy in relation to the regions of Russia, which poses a danger to the geopolitical unity of the country.

Conclusion

Our research has demonstrated that background concepts and symbols vary in the composition of precisely fixed concepts when constructing the media image of Siberia in a conflict-prone media discourse, transforming the picture of the world of a modern recipient. The geopolitical image of Siberia is formed from a fan of associatively connected ideas about the end and beginning of the world, so the media image of this region looks quite mosaic, but it is understandable for decoding in the minds of recipients. The linguoinforneme can be conditionally compared with a complex of cognitive metaphors, but it selects only those metaphors for which there is a social order. At the same time, the media discourse space is aimed at solving pragmatic problems of maximum audience involvement. When comparing the definition of a cognitive metaphor, in the definition given by E. McCormack (1990: 363), and the linguoinforneme in the media discourse, we can find differences in the scope of concepts separately. The cognitive metaphor orients us to the process of understanding the implementation of the linguoinforneme. The linguoinforneme is a structural element of the mass media matrix of geopolitonyms as a producing media image of countries and regions (such as: China, America, Altai, Crimea, Ireland, Siberia, etc.).

The linguoinforneme itself, as a building element of the conflictogenic media discourse, contains specific techniques for manipulating the public consciousness of recipients. In addition, the lexical and semantic repertoire of linguoinforneme is always biased by a pro-government social order (or anti-government), in contrast to the cognitive metaphor, which acts as a characterological feature of a person's individual language style.

The linguoinforneme makes the very scheme of analyzing the media matrix of the image of a specific territory clearer, creating successful prerequisites for developing a prototype of a multidimensional classifier for further training of neural networks both in terms of differentiating the system of interpretations of a potentially conflictogenic discourse, and in the context of subsequent calculation of the predictive level of potential dangers for the recipient of such a media discourse.

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Representation of SIBERIA Linguocultural Concept in the English Fiction of the 18th – early 20th Centuries

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Abstract. The article describes and systematizes the constants and cultural codes of SIBERIA, a linguocultural concept, through the case of British and American linguistic cultures. Mythologization of SIBERIA, built on the «friend-or-foe» dualism, reveals similarities with the mythologeme of the «World Tree» (an inner cultural space of the people's cosmic world of firmness, desire to build the «middle world», opposite to the «lower world» of nature, vast territories, extreme cold, giantism, and terrifying social conditions). The permanent and variable elements of SIBERIA, represented in the artistic discourse, are considered; the explication found in some English works of the 18th – 20th centuries are investigated for their frequency and, further, classified.

Keywords: SIBERIA, concept, mythologeme, English and American fiction of the 18th – 20th centuries

Research area: cognitive linguistics.

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Отражение лингвокультурного концепта SIBERIA в англоязычных художественных произведениях XVIII – начала XX века

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Аннотация. В статье описываются и систематизируются константы и культурные коды концепта SIBERIA в произведениях представителей английской и американской лингвокультур. Выявлено, что мифологизация концепта SIBERIA, построенная на дуализме «свой-чужой», обнаруживает сходство с мифологемой Мирового дерева (огороженное культурное пространство упорядоченного мира людей, наделенных силой духа, стремлением к построению плодородного «срединного мира»/ «нижний мир» природы как огромных пространств, экстремального холода, избыточных форм, деструктивных социальных условий). Выделены константные и вариативные составляющие концепта SIBERIA, репрезентируемые в художественном дискурсе. Выявлена частотность употребления и проведена систематизация экспликантов концепта SIBERIA в англоязычном художественном дискурсе XVIII – начала XX века.

Ключевые слова: СИБИРЬ, концепт, мифологема, англо-американская литература XVIII–XX веков.

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Introduction

Concept analysis is one of the most widely used research methods, but still one of the most disputable. Major concepts can be a focus of cultural linguistics and cognitive semantics, as well.

The cultural linguistics was famously proposed by Wilhelm von Humboldt in his language philosophies: the idea of language-speakers «inseparability» grounded the science. In modern times, Anna Wierzbicka, S. G. Vorkachyov, V. V. Vorobyov, V. I. Karasik and other linguists continue to analyse physical and spiritual uniqueness of peoples through the language they use.

Cultural linguistics is commonly compared to cognitive semantics. In that way, S. G. Vorkachyov concludes that the concept analysis in linguoculturology has little difference from the one of cognitive semantics: they coincide in targets (typologizing and modelling representations), in study objects determination and research methods. Still, cognitive linguistics goes beyond the national conceptional framework to the universal sphere – and here is the difference, since such studies are focused on general laws of concepts creation (Vorkachyov, 2003). This science investigates the whole body of grammar and lexis that can be described by the terms coined for knowledge representation (frames, scenarios, etc.) (Baranov, 1997: 14). Linguaculturology, in turn, concerns culture-bound items, and the studies aim at description and classification of the marks that distinguish certain cultural items. Cognitive studies are likely to be of a semasiological nature (sense -> language, concept -> representations), while linguaculturology researches are onomasiological (concept naming -> possible cultural meanings).

This article represents an attempt to integrate these approaches and analyse concept SIBERIA (further referred as SIBERIA), which, on the one hand, is very nation-bound, but on the other – bears certain interest for the list of world

concepts. Here, SIBERIA is considered as a part of mythological, daily, and artistic worldviews, and deeper reflected on its description in the English literature of the 18th – 20th centuries.

Theoretical framework and methods

In the early 1990s, the Russian linguistics introduced several terms which reflected the specifics of language representations. Thus, to nominate mental representations, «concept» (N. D. Arutyunova, D. S. Likhachev, V. P. Neroznak, Yu. S. Stepanov, and others), «linguocultureme» (V. V. Vorobyov), «mythologeme» (V. N. Bazylev, M. Lähteenmäki), «logoespisteme» (E. M. Vereschagin, V. G. Kostomarov) were used. Nevertheless, «concept» has outlived all the other terms due to its frequency and applicability.

Conventionally belonging to logics and philosophy, «concept» has drawn linguistic interest as another way to understand complex language – cognition relationships. Owing to its cross-disciplinarity, the term has contributed to exceed the scope of linguistics, through covering the fields of cognitive psychology and linguistics, linguoculturology, philosophy, logics, semiotics, literature studies, etc. (Vorkachyov, 2003). Its capacity is mainly bound to a term system where it operates: in *philosophy* and *classical logic*, «concept», «meaning», «essence» are basically synonyms. Concept is defined as the meaning of a name, comprehension, while its extension is the denotata (Vrazhnova, 2004: 12). As for semiotics, concept means what information a sign expresses, what it denotes, and thus, becomes a part of «sign – concept – denotate» triangle (ibid: 14).

The volume of «concept» is interpreted assuming the entity it equates. Some consider concept as a representation (Askoldov, 1997, Babushkin, 2001), others – as a notion (Stepanov, 1997, Zusman, 2003), or a certain attribute of mentality (Kubryakova, 1996). Anna Wierzbicka supports the same idea by naming concepts «the objects of «Ideal», which reflect culturally determined beliefs about the real world» (Wierzbicka, 2001).

Concept is a complex mental entity which involves different aspects of peoples' knowledge and experience. In that manner,

S. Kh. Lyalin assumes that a «discreet integrity» is determined by a notion, an image, and an action (Lyalin, 1997: 18). Yu. S. Stepanov points out a «notional side» and «everything that makes it a cultural element» (Stepanov, 1997: 41). M. V. Nikitin notes that any concept is a mix of «two correlating elements, i. e. cognitive and pragmatic» (Nikitin, 2004: 54). V. I. Karasik and G. G. Slyshkin describe «an image – notion – value structure where the last component is dominating» (Karasik, 2002; Slyshkin, 2000). In (Vorkachyov, 2003), concept contains three different sides: notional (including definitions, implications, definition excessive features, etc.), image-bearing («association set expressed in metaphoric connotations, or precedents»), and meaningful (linked to verbalization, and to its lexical status) (Vorkachyov, 2003). According to V. V. Kolesov, concept's content has notional, imaginative, and symbolic elements: a) image bears a «psychological base» for the sign, b) notion expresses cognitive logic, and c) symbol reveals «general cultural component which determines the conscious mental field» (Kolesov, 2002: 42).

Concept may also be regarded as a field unit with its core and peripheral features. I. A. Sternin says that a concept has its core made of a basic (intangible) image, and extra conceptual characteristics which belong to the close, far, and extreme peripheries: the first is metaphorically called «a fruit pit», since it makes the concept function as a cogitative unit, and the last one – «a fruit pulp» (Sternin, 2001: 58–59); in (Popova, 2005: 15–16), periphery is a poorly structured interpretation field. V. I. Karasik, and G. G. Slyshkin propose the idea that a concept is made of the «value-centered» points of consciousness and association vectors: the core is shaped by the items most relevant in the society, and the periphery – by the less actual ones (Karasik, 2001: 77). N. N. Boldyrev describes the concept's structure regarding its formation and maturity, and, thus, compares it with a «running snowball» which, cycle by cycle, acquires new layers (Boldyrev, 2002: 29–30).

By acquiring new features, the concept falls under mythologization, and, thus, becomes a mythologeme. A mythologeme can

be formed by abductive thinking, i. e. based on analogies, on allied or neighbour characteristics that would assemble different phenomena. A multifunctional nature of myths turns them into a source for universal historical and artistic material applicable for investigating the world, or a tool aimed at perception and modelling-based reality interpretation. A myth joins sound conflicts and crises, fails and successes, losses and achievements happened to whole nations. The long life of mythological plots allows speaking of mythologemes bound to the peoples' «historical memory». Basically, a mythologeme is expressed by mythological toponyms or anthroponyms. Conceptualization of Siberia both in the modern minds and in the arts belonging to the cultural heritage reveals the nature of mythologization.

In this article conceptual modelling, which includes definitional analysis, component analysis, contextual analysis, and concept explicates calculation, is used.

Discussion

Image of Siberia in Science and Journalistic Reports. The first time the Britishers paid their attention to Siberia was long before the official Siberia-to-Russia annexation, back to 1581. The British were especially interested in the sea route to Novaya Zemlya, Spitsbergen, and Siberian Land opened in the 11th century by the Pomors (Russian ethnos). In the 16th and early 17th centuries, the English sailors were trying to conquer the Northern Sea route: G. Willoughby, R. Chancellor and Durfoorth (1553), S. Borough (1556), A. Pet and C. Jackman (1580), G. Hudson (1608, 1609), W. Gordon (1611) (Scheglov, 1883; Purchas, 2014). At that period British merchants were exploring Western Siberia, pursuing the idea of «free trade with India and China, along the Ob» (Scheglov, 1883: 71–72). Having quite a choppy knowledge of Siberian life, the 15th – 17th centuries travelers did not care about detailed chronicles, sometimes quite randomly fixing everything that they saw or heard. The European researchers of the 18th century represented Siberia differently, both in the amount of works and their quality: «they are scientifically more fundamental and profound and correspond to the natural sciences of the Enlightenment», they have less «legends», and more facts and consistency, as (Zinner, 1968: 5–6) says. The examples are John Trusler's *Travels into Siberia and Tartary, provinces of the Russian empire* (1788–1789), and Martin Sauer's *An account of a geographical and astronomical expedition to the northern parts of Russia* (1802) (Beloglazova, 2020: 1903).

In the 19th century, the Great Britain and the United States were interested in Siberia, as far it became a part of the global trade and economic network created through the Trans-Siberian Railway. That enabled to picture Siberia in numerous guides and references, scientific and journalistic papers, periodicals, as well as in private documents (travel notes, memoirs, personal correspondence). As A. I. Zashikhin writes, among the H. Nerhuda Bibliographic Index 161 book titles about Russia published in 1856–1916, the «British Siberian Series» is of a special pride (Zashikhin, 1994). That time, the English researchers were focused on the scope of Siberian life: engineers (R. Adams, M. Bell, I. Cole, R. Jefferson, L. Bates) were interested in mineral deposits, technical capacity of mining enterprises, gold mining management, railways construction; economists (D. Frazer, L. Lewery, D. Mavor, C. Aulagnon, W. Morfill) investigated the forest sector and agriculture, manufacturing, transport, trade, communications; journalists and political reviewers (G. Reed, M. Baring, G. Norman, E. Dillon, F. McCarthy, D. Ralph, P. Foster, Ch. Wenning, F. Moore, J. Kennan) considered Russia's expansion to the East, alongside with the problems of regional policy and social development; historians and diplomats (G. Lensdell, H. de Windt, E. Grosvenor, S. Turner, A. Beveridge, G. Pierce) analysed the birth of Siberian society, its culture and education; travellers (F. Spencer, D. Bassett, M. Chaplikki, D. Price, E. Walter) concerned the climate, natural resources, flora and fauna diversity, local customs and traditions, life of minorities; missionaries (K. Marsden) were interested in the life of exiles and lepers (Ananiev, 2019; Volgin, 2003; Goryushkin, Sagaidachniy, 1983; Marsden, 1892). While the science, made up of reports in reliable sources, conveyed an expertise

on problems and differed in backgrounds and complexity, the texts of most travellers «are completely wrench», and the assessments are «pronouncedly subjective» and marked by «the stamp of ethnocentrism and prejudice» (Volgin, 2003: 8–10).

The formation of Siberia's image in the English-speaking world has suffered significant transformations and was influenced by the participants of its reclaiming and their desires. Thus, in the early stages, the core of the myth about Siberia, similarly to the myth about Russia (Korolyova, 2014: 8), is centred on a vast, ungraspable space. This space is remoted somewhere, where the Earth ends; it is inaccessible, underdeveloped, unexplored (*terra incognita*), and characterized by harsh climatic conditions (a frozen land, a sunless country); and local exotic life attracts and frightens at the same time.

As far as the Russian Empire was exploring the area and expanding it with new regions, the West regarded Siberia as an Asian colony, as Asian (Eastern) Russia, or as the Russian «Wild East» (similar to the American «Wild West»). The British perceived Siberia as a part of the «Russian World», but very extreme one, remoted from its centre; as a place where, on the one hand, one can escape from a tyrant tsar, or the autocratic regime and live by independently, and, on the other, – a place where politically unwelcomed people were sent.

The way of perceiving Siberia as a place of exile, deportation, prisons, and hard labour was determined by real historical conditions. In 1599, Boris Godunov exiled Fyodor Romanov's brothers to Siberia; in the 17th century, Siberia was a settlement and *katorga* (forced labour) for state criminals, even foreigners who lived at the tsar's court, later war captures, just criminals (Scheglov, 1883). In the 19th century, many political prisoners were sent to Siberia, and, by 1899, the exiles and their families made up 1/6 of Siberia's population (Salnikova, 211: 171). The English researches are deeply interested in the life of transported criminals, regarding them as a very specific stratum of Siberian society. While some authors (J. Kennan, F. Wright, G. Norman) believed that «the number of criminal exiles in Siberia is exceed-

ed and negatively affects its social life», giving Siberia a «bad reputation», the others (A. Beveridge, J. Goodrich, H. Pierce, L. Bates) noted that «the exile contributed to Siberia's colonization by involving people into economy» and stimulated its development (Volgin, 2003; Dahlmann, 2009).

A seismic moment for Siberia's image was the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway: a regular railway service made travellers, specialists and scientists rush to Siberia. Thus, in the eyes of the Western world, Siberia gradually transformed from an agrarian region, inhabited by indigenous minorities and exiles, into a prospering industrial and economic zone, into a «land of promise», and the Trans-Siberian Railway became a key to its natural resources, a bridge between Russia and China, Europe, and Asia. British and American researchers and travellers were especially interested in the structure of Siberian society, but not only and not so much in transported criminals (exile to Siberia was abolished on June 12, 1900), but also in the socio-economic development, interaction between different social categories (peasants, Cossacks, merchants, industrialists, and government officials), in languages and cultures interpenetration, customs and morals, traditions and beliefs of the Russians and indigenous peoples of Siberia.

Thus, in the British mind, the image of Siberia has been drastically changing throughout the whole history. The real political, socio-economic, and cultural-historical facts have made the Western researchers mythologize and mystify Siberia, leaning either towards the myth of the Promised Land, or (more often) to the myth of a disastrous space. Also noteworthy is describing Siberia as a rather homogeneous space, which somewhat contradicts the idea of an infinite space, which requires at least climatic and cultural differences between the regions, as well as similarity in the myth of Siberia and a general myth about the Russian culture.

Representing SIBERIA in the English literature of the 18th – early 20th centuries. In English, SIBERIA is represented by a basic lexical unit – ***Siberia*** (noun). There is a need to analyze its meaning and stem words to reveal

the original cognitive features of SIBERIA. The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) says: *Siberia. The name of a region of the U.S.S.R. in Asia used as a type of a cold, inhospitable place, or a place of exile, banishment, or imprisonment. Also fig. (OED, 1989: 405).* **Siberian** (adj., the same source) means *«Of or belonging to, characteristic of Siberia»* and is followed by such examples:

A) **1789** G. White *Selborne* cvi, The writer … thinks he never before or since has encountered such rugged, Siberian weather.

B) **1802** Pinkerton *Mod. Georg.* I. 317 Russia exchanges her precious Siberian furs for tea, silk, and nankeen (OED, 1989: 406).

The stem noun **Siberian** (sb.) – *a native of Siberia* (OED, 1989: 406) – is exemplified by three examples, only one of which has emotional colour: **1782** J. Brown *Compend. View Religion* I. ii. 35 The Siberians … cast their newly born infants into rivers (OED, 1989: 406). Obviously, this sentence has negative connotations: it points out cruelty of Siberian people.

Siberianize, a noun-derived verb, has a single meaning – *to send to Siberia; to render Siberian in character* (OED, 1989: 406) and is supported by: **1864** *Daily Tel. 9 Aug.*, After a century of Cossacking, bombarding, knouting, and Siberianising (OED, 1989: 406), which is also negative.

Leaning on the description of **Siberia, Siberian, Siberianize** in the OED and the examples taken from the English literature, one can summarize the main cognitive features of SIBERIA as follows:

1) a region of the U.S.S.R. (in the 18th century – the beginning of the 20th century – a region of Russia) in Asia;

2) a cold place;

3) an inhospitable place;

4) a place of exile, banishment, or imprisonment;

5) cruel people;

6) precious furs.

These cognitive features can also be found in the 18th – early 20th English fiction, where Siberia is mentioned. To sample, D. Defoe's novel *The Further Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, first published in 1719, tells the readers about the adventures of Robinson Crusoe in Madagascar, Southeast Asia, China, etc. As his way home lies through Russia, namely, through Siberia, Chapters XIV–$5VI describe this part of his trip.

The fact that the plot develops in Siberia – a territory of Russia (Moskovia) – was emphasized by the writer, that, in turn, lead to various lexical units indicating the locations: *Russian* (8)*, Russians* (6)*, Russia* (2)*; Siberian* (6)*, Siberia* (4)*; muscovite (–s)* (14)*, Moscow* (9)*, Muscovy* (8)*; Asia* (2)*.* The brackets say how many times each word occurs in Chapters XIV–$5VI.

To add more truth to the story, the author also uses a plenty of toponyms, allowing the reader to get acquainted with Siberian cities, rivers, lakes, etc., which are also quite frequent in the novel: a) Siberian rivers and lakes: *Oby* (5)*, Dwina* (2)*, Udda* (2)*, Schanks Oser* (1); b) Siberian villages, towns and cities, Moscovite colonies: *Tobolski* (4)*, Sibeilka* (4)*, Jarawena* (4)*, Nertsinskay / Nertsinkay* (2)*, Plothus* (2)*, Soloy Kamaskoy* (2)*, Tumen* (1)*, Adinskoy* (1)*, Nortziousky* (1); c) Siberian rivers and towns named after them: *Arguna* (4)*, Janezay* (3). In the story, all these units help to explicate cognitive features of SIBERIA as «a region of Russia in Asia».

As the lexicographical analysis has revealed, «*a cold place*» and «*an inhospitable place*» are among the main cognitive features of SIBERIA. They are introduced in D. Defoe's novel through the description of nature and landscapes where Robinson Crusoe travels, as well as the weather conditions, etc.

The first thing that grabs his attention is a vast Siberian territory, and its savagery: «*… we entered the wilder part of the country …*»; «*In passing this frightful wilderness …*»; «*We now launched into the greatest piece of solid earth that is to be found in any part of the world …*» (Defoe, 1719). Interestingly, ***great*** (adj) occurs 43 times in Chapters XIV–$5VI; the stem words emphasizing the uninhabited territory – ***wild, wilder, wildest, wilderness*** – 6 times; adjectives characterizing the distance from «civilized Europe» ***remote (–st)*** – 4 times. Siberia is so distant from the capital that it is easier to leave it uninhabited, than to try to settle in and protect: «… the Muscovites having abandoned

that part of the country … being so very remote, and so difficult to send troops thither for its defense …» (Defoe, 1719).

The author describes everything in Siberia as something magnificent, huge, deserted and frightening: *«After this we passed several great rivers, and two dreadful deserts; one of which we were sixteen days passing over...»; «...we enter the Muscovite dominions, ... a continued desert or forest, which cost us twenty days to travel over»; «We had entered a vast desert, and had passed by a great lake called Schanks Oser...»; «From this city we had a frightful desert, which held us twenty-three days' march»; «... half of it being another desert, which took us up twelve days' severe traveling, without house or tree ...»* (Defoe, 1719). The occurrence of **desert (noun)** for 23 times (in the studied part) emphasizes the desolation of Siberia; adjectives **dreadful** and **frightful**, which express Crusoe's gloomy mood created by that journey, are met 2 times each; **severe traveling** and such words as **danger / dangerous / dangers** (8) speak of the obstacles and trials that wait a traveler crossing Siberia around the corner.

However, there are not only deserts and wildness in Siberian nature. When describing the territory, D. Defoe also writes about forests, rivers, and lakes: *river (–s)* (22), *rivulet* (1), *lake (–s)* (4), *wood (–s)* (11), *tree (–s)* (9), *forest* (2). The novel also has something to say about Siberian fauna: wild animals, such as *bear* (2), *reindeer* (1), *deer* (1), *buffaloes* (1), *fish* (1), *mutton* (3), *venison* (1), and cattle (*sheep* (4)), as well.

As known, Siberia is a place with severe climate, so in most fragments of the novel, there were *winter* (13), *north* (7), *cold* (6), *dark* (6), *snow* (5), *frozen* (3). Moreover, the chapters have a bright description of the most harsh weather conditions in which people have to survive: *«I had been here eight months, and a dark, dreadful winter I thought it; the cold so intense that I could not so much as look abroad without being wrapped in furs, and a kind of mask of fur before my face, with only a hole for breath, and two for sight: the little daylight we had was for three months not above five hours a day...»* (Defoe, 1719). The whole-winter frosts

are seen as: «extremity of cold», «the cold so intense», «the weather was extremely cold».

Apart from the terrible weather conditions, the novel explicates another cognitive feature of SIBERIA – «*an inhospitable place*», and among the factors that damage the perception of Siberia there is «*cruel people*» – when describing the tribes of pagan barbarians wandering in Siberia and robbing travelers: *«Tartars, who rob in great armies ...»; «As it was usual for the Mogul Tartars to go about in troops in that desert, so the caravans always fortify themselves every night against them, as against armies of robbers ...»; «... sable-hunters, who are all Tartars of Mogul Tartary ... and they frequently attack small caravans...»* (Defoe, 1719). The barbarians' attacks on the caravans were so much important for the plot, that the author named one of the chapters on Robinson Crusoe's journey through Siberia as «Attacked by Tartars» (Chapter XIV). The high frequency of these barbarian tribes also emphasizes their role in D. Defoe's ideas about Siberia: *Tartars* (39), *Tartar* (9), *Tartary* (3), *Tartarian* (1), *pagans / paganism / pagan* (9), *barbarous* (4), *barbarians* (1), *barbarity* (1), *Mogul Tartars / Tartary* (5), *the Tonguses / tonguse* (3), *Kalmuck* (2). Thus, the most often used nomination is **Tatars**, but, as the author admits, there are also other ethnic communities among the Siberian nomads. The most widely used characteristics of the barbarians attacking the caravans in Siberia are *miscreant (–s)* (3), *cowards* (2), *harm* (2), *hunters* (2), *horde / hordes* (2), *murdered* (1), *robbers / rob / robbed* (4), that is bringing to picture them villains, robbers, and murderers.

For Defoe, another distinguishing characteristics of these people was heathenry, which he concerned to be an absolutely negative side: *«... the people, given up to strong delusions, worship the devil, and prostrate themselves to monsters, elements, horrid-shaped animals, and monstrous images»; «... The inhabitants were mere pagans, sacrificing to idols, and worshiping the sun, moon, and stars, or all the host of heaven; and not only so, but were, of all the heathens and pagans that ever I met with, the most barbarous, except only that they did not eat men's flesh»* (Defoe, 1719). The author

believed that their customs are so terrible that they are not far from cannibalism.

The life and customs of the barbarian tribes is expressed through such units as:

a) related to heathenry: *fire / fired / wild-fire / firelocks / fires* (22), *idol* (21), *burn (–ed / -ing) (an Idol)* (11), *worship / worshiping / worshipped / worshipers* (9), *(the great) Cham Chi-Thaungu (idol's name)* (4), *devil (–s) / devilish* (4), *sacrifices / sacrifice / sacrificing* (4), *diabolical* (2), *monstrous* (2), *sorcery* (1), *scarecrow (characteristic of an idol)* (1), *temples* (1), *witchcraft* (1);

b) clothes: *sheepskins / skins* (6), *bonnet (a Tartar hat)* (4), *(Tartar) robe* (3), *(Tartar) gown* (2), *wool* (1);

c) dwellings: *hut (–s)* (8), *houses* (1), *vaults* (1);

d) occupation: *hunting* (4), *robbers / rob / robbed* (4);

e) weapons: *arrows* (11), *bow (–s)* (5), *scimitar* (2), *pole-axe* (1);

f) specific features: *hideous (4), thieves (4), hurt (4), ignorantly / ignorant (3), bloody (2), brutish (2), dangerous (2), frightened (2), stupid / stupidity (2), rudeness (1), ruggedness (1), terrify (1), unsufferable (1).*

The figures above demonstrate that when picturing the barbarians' life and customs, Defoe was particularly focused on their idolatry, which provoked negative feelings: the author calls their idol a «*scarecrow*» and says about their devil worship. Worth noting is the role of fire: on the one hand, fire is involved in barbaric rituals, and on the other, it becomes a thing, which helps the travelers to burn the idol and, thus, to cleanse the world.

Moreover, the lexis expressing the features of barbarian tribes are in negative colours that, in turn, represents the author's negative attitude towards these people. Their life is described in such a way as to highlight weak civilization in their settlements and to present them as impolite people, being unfamiliar to the Christian world: «*... for rudeness of manners and idolatry no people in the world ever went beyond them. They are all clothed in skins of beasts, and their houses are built of the same; you know not a man from a woman, neither by the ruggedness of their countenances nor their*

clothes; and in the winter, when the ground is covered with snow, they live underground in vaults, which have cavities going from one to another. ... these had idols in every hut and every cave»; «*The people are mostly pagans; their houses and towns full of idols; and their way of living wholly barbarous ...*» (Defoe, 1719). Any clash with these people is fraught with property losses, or even could one's lives: «*... we must have been plundered and robbed, and perhaps murdered, by a troop of thieves ...*» *(Defoe, 1719).*

Still, despite such scrutiny of dangerous barbarian tribes in Siberia, Defoe also recognizes the power of the Russian Tsar in this region, seen by the military garrisons guarding the settlements, towns, and trade caravans. To describe the Russian authority, which guarantees security across these territories, the author uses:

a) government bodies and government officials: *government / governed / governor (–s) / governs* (17), *czar / czarish* (13), *monarch* (3), *lordship* (2), *czarish majesty* (1), *the Emperor of the Russians* (1);

b) military: *soldier (–s)* (13), *guard / guards / guarding / unguarded* (14), *garrison (–s)* (10), *troop (–s)* (9), *armies / armed / army / unarmed* (5), *cossack* (1);

c) military actions: *attack (–ed)* (10), *fight (–ing)* (9), *killed* (8), *shot* (6), *conquered / conqueror / conquers* (5), *defend / defense* (5), *wounded* (4), *victory –* (4), *fortified* (3), *protect* (1), *battle* (1);

d) characteristics of the military: *brave* (5), *order* (5), *power* (5), *courage* (2), *brave commander* (1);

e) safety: *care* (8), *safe* (7), *escape* (4);

f) counterparts: *enemy / enemies* (9);

g) weapons: *pistol / pistols / pistol-shot* (6), *sword* (5), *weapon* (3), *gunpowder / powder* (3), *bullets* (2), *musket* (2), *guns* (1), *gunshot* (1).

Regarding these nominations and their frequency, the military, weapons, and actions aimed at defending and ordering, as well as positive lexis outlining the essence of governmental army in the novel, means that D. Defoe generally accepts the Russian policy and its presence in Siberia. By that, he stresses the role of the tsar and his army for peacekeeping

in this area: *«... abundance of fine things of the greatness, the magnificence, the dominions, and the absolute power of the Emperor of the Russians»* (Defoe, 1719). The Tsar's concern about his subjects, his willingness to increase their living standards to normal even in the harsh climate of Siberia are seen in sophisticated dwelling layouts and interiors, in the towns built by the Russian ruler: *«It is true, within doors we were warm, the houses being close, the walls thick, the windows small, and the glass all double»* (Defoe, 1719). Thus, the role of the Russian tsar for Siberian settlements may well be interpreted as another representation of SIBERIA concept, i. e. a feature called «a region of Russia in Asia».

Following the lexicographical data, another cognitive feature of SIBERIA, is «a place of exile, banishment, or imprisonment». In *The Further Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* this feature is quite explicit and detailed: *«... for this is the country I mean on both sides the river Oby whither the Muscovite criminals that are not put to death are banished, and from whence it is next to impossible they should ever get away»; «... they were in a prison every jot as secure as if they had been locked up in the castle at Moscow...»* (Defoe, 1719). Thus, as Defoe notes, despite a freedom to move around the settlements, the exiles have no possibility to escape, and, thus, they are equal to prisoners. At the same time, thanks to the exiles, some Siberian settlements made a good impression by their educated communities: *«But this being the country where the state criminals of Muscovy ... are all banished, the city was full of Russian noblemen, gentlemen, soldiers, and courtiers»; «... at Tobolski, in Siberia ... where I was sure of ... excellent company»* (Defoe, 1719). Interestingly, political exiles are described only as noble, educated, kind people with high morals. So, for example, when Robinson Crusoe suggests escaping, one noble man, a friend of his, refuses, preferring to remain an honest man: *«... I decline it, ... you shall leave me an honest man still, though not a free man»* (Defoe, 1719).

D. Defoe's ideas about the exile and deportees are embodied into the following lexical units:

a) exile: *banished / banishment* (9), *prison* (1);

b) characteristics of the exiles: *gentlemen* (2), *criminals* (2), *honest* (2), *kindness* (2), *liberty* (2), *generous* (1), *grandee* (1), *former grandeur* (1), *noblemen* (1).

It seems clear, that when depicting the exiles, the author uses mostly positive words, telling the reader about people's nobility and high blood. ***Criminals*** (noun), which conventionally conveys negative connotations, in this novel loses them and operates as an official term denoting people who have committed certain violations of the law – insignificant and in no way diminishing their high impression and good appearance. Thus, the cognitive feature of SIBERIA «a place of exile, banishment, or imprisonment» reveals as «a place of exile, banishment, or imprisonment for noblemen / gentlemen».

Considering the data in OED (one of the most authoritative English explanatory dictionaries), one has found that SIBERIA can also be characterized through «precious furs». In *The Further Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, it has less intensive representation than all the cognitive features described above. Thus, the novel introduces the following words: *fur (–s)* (6), *sables / sable* (5), *black fox-skins* (1), *fine ermines* (1). For example, Robinson Crusoe mentions that he bought precious furs in the Siberian city of *Tobolski* for the onward selling in Europe: *«I had bought a considerable quantity of sables, black fox-skins, fine ermines, and such other furs as are very rich in that city»* (Defoe, 1719).

Taking into account all of the above, it can be argued that in *The Further Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* by D. Defoe the main cognitive features of SIBERIA concept can be classified with a certain degree of specifics:

1. «A region of Russia in Asia» has a double explication: by geographical names and through the role of government and power of the Russian tsar in Siberia.

2. «A cold place» is verbalized through the lexis, which means «extreme cold» that covers Siberia in winter.

3. «An inhospitable place» is represented, first, through the depiction of vast and desert-

ed territories, frightening with their scale and desolation. In Chapters XIV–$5VI (a story of Robinson Crusoe's journey across Siberia), the most frequently used lexical unit is **great (adj)**, which occurs 43 times. All this suggests that in D. Defoe's work «an inhospitable place» cognitive feature is transformed into a rather negative and frightening attribute – «great dangerous wilderness».

4. «A place of exile, banishment, or imprisonment» takes on more noble colours, i. e. «a place of exile, banishment, or imprisonment for noblemen / gentlemen», since the exiles are pictured there as noble people with high morals.

5. «Cruel people» is realized when describing the wild tribes of heathen barbarians inhabiting Siberia. They worship idols, rob, and kill travellers; they also have barbaric traditions and customs. In that way, this cognitive feature is transformed and extended to a «cruel people: paganism and barbarity».

6. There is also a place for «precious furs» in this novel.

Apart from the novel considered above, representation of SIBERIA can be found in a few other English literature works of the 18th – early 20th. However, they represent not all the cognitive features of the concept – one or two, that are essential and required by the context where Siberia is mentioned. For example, in *Jane Eyre* one can find such cognitive features as «a cold place» and «an inhospitable place»: *«… the bleak shores of Lapland, Siberia, Spitzbergen, Nova Zembla, Iceland, Greenland, with» the vast sweep of the Arctic Zone, and those forlorn regions of dreary space – that reservoir of frost and snow, where firm fields of ice, the accumulation of centuries of winters, glazed in Alpine heights above heights, surround the pole, and concentre the multiplied rigors of extreme cold … death white realms …»* (Bronte, 1847).

In *Under Western Eyes*, the author emphasizes the feature called «a place of exile, banishment, or imprisonment»: *«To mention him at all would mean imprisonment for the «bright soul»*, *«… a journey to Siberia in chains»*; *«Nobody could doubt that he had wandered in Siberian forests, naked and girt*

with a chain» (Conrad, 1911). This cognitive feature is represented together with «an inhospitable place», since in the novel Siberia is shown as a death trap, where a person, especially a criminal, has no chance to survive: *«The poor creature had come out to the mines to join one of his fellow convicts … But she arrived too late. Her lover had died only a week before»* (Conrad, 1911). Thus, the cognitive feature «an inhospitable place» in this case takes darker colours associated with death – «a death trap».

In *The Three Brides*, Siberia is also a place of exile, «a place of exile, banishment, or imprisonment»: *«… here I find myself miles' no, leagues further off banished to Siberia»* (Yonge, 1876). However, unlike Joseph Conrad, Charlotte Mary Yonge does not write that the heroine will die in Siberia but shows how far Siberia is from her first resident place.

In *The Lost Poacher*, the characters perceive Siberia as a terrible place of exile, where the criminals and violators are forced to work on salt-mines or quicksilver mines, where they fall ill and die in a terrible agony, and none of their relatives will ever know where and how they died: they are buried alive in Siberia. The sailors even say that even death is less horrible than being exiled to Siberia: *«In you go, Siberia and the salt-mines … Never a word will get back to the States … Dead to the world and kith and kin, though you live fifty years»*; *«You'd rather be dead than go to Siberia»*, *«They put you into the salt-mines and work you till you die. Never see daylight again … And if they send you to the quicksilver mines you get salivated. I'd rather be hung than salivated … the quicksilver gets into your blood … And your gums all swell like you had the scurvy, only worse, and your teeth get loose in your jaws. And big ulcers form, and then you die horrible. The strongest man can't last long a-mining quicksilver»*; *«… imprisonment in Siberia a living death …»* (London, 1900). Besides, the stories about a painful death in exile in Siberia are so much hair-raising, that, against *Under Western Eyes*, and *The Lost Poacher*, a combination of such cognitive features of SIBERIA as «a place of exile, banishment, or imprisonment» and «an inhospitable place» becomes

even more heavy and expresses thoughts of imminent death, «a death trap». There is also «a region of Russia in Asia» cognitive feature, since the schooner's team violated the Russian borders, entered its water territories, and thus, must be punished in Siberia.

Mark Twain is another author who suggested an image of exile place for Siberia, from where the criminals and convicted cannot return alive: *«Ten years in Siberia for being in Russia without a passport»; «In a few hours I shall be one of a nameless horde plodding the snowy solitudes of Russia, under the lash, and bound for that land of mystery and misery and termless oblivion, Siberia! I shall not live to see it; my heart is broken and I shall die»; «Siberia hung over him black and threatening …»; «… home and liberty or Siberia and death …»* (Twain, 1902). In this work, such cognitive features as «a place of exile, banishment, or imprisonment» and «a region of Russia in Asia» are explicated, alongside with some minor signs of «a cold place» and «an inhospitable place».

Thus, the most «value-accentuated points» of SIBERIA in the English minds and associations diverging from them represent Siberia as an inhospitable, harsh, sometimes cruel space inhabited mostly by «strangers». Referring to the «World Tree» mythologeme, where the inner «in-closed» cultural space belongs to people, the higher sphere is «designed» for the gods, and the lower one is a dwelling place of dark forces, it is the last space where the English authors mostly «localize» their ideas about Siberia. At the same time, the works also introduce the people of the «middle» world – with outstanding intellect and high morals.

Conclusion

The research and analysis have demonstrated that the linguocultural concept SIBERIA in the English literature of the 18th – early 20th centuries is revealed as, first, «a place of exile, banishment, or imprisonment», «a region of Russia in Asia», «an inhospitable place», «a cold place» – which are an essential part of its meaning. In the novels, Siberia have so many horrible characteristics that further combination of the cognitive features results in «a deathtrap». Thus, these features are the core, while the periphery are «cruel people», «precious furs», as well as the alternatives: «great dangerous wilderness», «a place of exile, banishment, or imprisonment for noblemen / gentlemen», «cruel people: paganism and barbarity».

SIBERIA concept can also be represented as a mythologeme. As a result of mythologization, grounded in the «friend – foe» dualism, this concept bears a resemblance to the «World Tree». The settlements of political exiles located in Siberia – noble people with high morals – represent some covered cultural space of the cosmic world of people who have a power of fortitude, a desire to build the «middle world», opposite to the «lower world» of Siberia's nature. The last, as known, is a world of huge, frightening spaces, extreme cold, darkness, giantism, destructive social conditions that doom a person to a painful death.

Like the «World Tree», which brings together all spheres of the universe, the image of Siberia unites the four elements: a vast Siberian territory is the earth which is a part and parcel of the air filling its space; the magnificent Siberian rivers and lakes, ice and snow mean water; peoples inhabiting Siberia cannot live without fire that warms and protects them, and often becomes a tool that cleans the world of filth.

Key differences can be found in the interpretation field, in the value-based component of SIBERIA. The contemporary mind actualizes rather positive characteristics of the associative field, while the English authors considered in this study were focused on the negative ones only.

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Cultural Identity as the Basis of Modern Cultural Typologies

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Abstract. The purpose of this article is to show the significance of markers of cultural identity for modern ethnometric typologies. In the modern period of modernization various cultural typologies are becoming popular. They are compiled based on multicomponent factors. The authors briefly describe these classifications as traditional markers of identity, such as religion, and new factors of psychology and mentality. The modern concept that explains the hybridization of modern cultural forms is transculturation. The transcultural manifestations include a certain decline of the role of the native language and the transformation of the traditional production niche of ethnic groups in Siberia. The traditional perception of identity consists mainly of cultural, religious and linguistic characteristics. At the same time, the typolog**y** of L. Harrison shows the positive correlation between the cultural and industrial-economic components. This historical fact was noted by the famous anthropologist Frederik Barth, who focused on the production component of the ethnic border as opposed to the cultural one. The existing significant differences in the professional structure among Russians and Buryats in the twentieth century prove the fact that ethnic borders, despite the globalization / modernization processes, can still be associated with a certain production niche. The authors come to the conclusion that cultural markers still retain their significance, but can be implemented in hybrid forms of transculturation. These processes are reflected in these cultural typologies in the forms of multicomponent factors.

Keywords: cultural typologies, ethnometric typologies, cultural identity, markers of cultural identity, transculturation, Siberia, Buryats.

Research area: philosophy of culture.

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Культурная идентичность как основа современных этнометрических типологий

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Аннотация. Цель данной статьи – показать значение маркеров культурной идентичности для современных этнометрических типологий. В современный период модернизации популярными становятся различные культурные типологии. Как правило, они составляются на основе многокомпонентных факторов. В своей статье мы показываем, что в основе этих классификаций лежат как традиционные маркеры идентичности, например религия, так и новые комплексные факторы, относящиеся к психологии и мировоззрению. Современной концепцией, объясняющей неизбежную гибридизацию культурных форм, является транскультурация. К транскультурным проявлениям мы относим снижение роли родного языка и трансформацию традиционной производственной ниши этносов в условиях Сибири. Традиционное восприятие идентичности складывается преимущественно из культурных, религиозных и языковых признаков. В то же время рассмотренные нами типологии (например, типология Л. Харрисона) обосновывают взаимосвязь культурной и производственно-экономической составляющей. Данный факт отмечал норвежский антрополог Фредерик Барт, который акцентировал внимание на производственной составляющей этнической границы в противовес культурным. Существующие значимые различия в выборе профессий у русских и бурят в XX веке доказывают тот факт, что этнические границы, несмотря на глобализационные/модернизационные процессы, могут быть связаны с определенной производственной нишей. В качестве заключения мы отмечаем, что культурные маркеры по-прежнему сохраняют свое значение, но могут реализовываться уже в гибридных формах транскультурации. Данные процессы отражены в рассмотренных типологиях в виде многокомпонентных факторов.

Ключевые слова: культурные типологии, этнометрические типологии, культурная идентичность, маркеры культурной идентичности, транскультурация, Сибирь, буряты.

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Introduction

Currently, processes of socio-economic, political and cultural modernization lead to the growth of intercultural interaction. These processes are described through the construction of various ethnometric typologies. The results of these classifications are used in scientific humanitarian research, in international business communication and management, in the analysis of practical aspects of intercultural communica-tion, in various political, marketing, commercial projects etc. These classifications still remain on the markers of cultural identity. In our work we analyze the classification factors of modern cultural typologies and their correlation to the forms of traditional cultural identity.

Theoretic framework

The most well-known classification model today is the typology of cultural consequenc-

es by Geert Hofstede (https://www.hofstede-insights.com). Firstly, the author, based on the analysis of the results of IBM employees survey (40 countries, 116 000 employees), in the 1970s, identified four main cultural factors for his classification, which he called: «Power Distance Index»,»Uncertainty avoidance», «Individualism/collectivism», «Masculinity» (Hofstede, 1980). In the 1980s, based on research in East and Southeast Asia conducted by the Canadian psychologist Michael Harris Bond, a fifth dimension was created – «Long term orientation» (Hofstede, Bond, 1988). At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the sixth factor «Indulgence» was added (Minkov, 2011).

Geert Hofstede placed the countries under study in the data space of six factors. His research, «Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions and Organizations across Nations» (Hofstede, 2001), is the most cited book in the cross-cultural management area, so we do not describe this one. In fact, these six factors are based on certain cultural values of nations. These are the cultural characteristics, values, traditions and customs of a country that determine the factor meanings of each attribute for a particular country or national culture. In general, these ethnometric features are complex components of cultural identity and reflect the system of traditional values. In his works, Hofstede recognized the priority of traditional cultural values. «Social, national or gender cultures that are instilled from early childhood have much deeper roots in the human consciousness than the cultures of professional groups acquired with education, or than the various organizational cultures acquired during work» (Hofstede, 2011).

The following classification that we want to note is created within the framework of the World Values Survey. This study is the largest survey in the world since the 1980s, and its findings for 97 countries are considered representative. According to R. Inglehart, socioeconomic modernization usually leads to a significant transformation of cultural values and, in fact, to a change in cultural identity (Inglehart, 1997). As a result of the economic modernization of recent years, most of the countries participating in the World Values Survey un-

der the leadership of R. Inglehart demonstrate a constant trend of countries moving towards the values of self-expression, which is clearly demonstrated by the map of cultural orientations (https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp). These authors considered such criteria as: traditional-secular-rational values and values of survival-self-expression (Inglehart, Welzel, 2005). The values of self-expression are based on the European democratic values of liberalism and individualism, the values of survival on the ideas of collectivism and authoritarianism. In this work, R. Inglehart defines traditional values in the context of religious identity. As you know, the main factor of ethnic identity is the native language, and the second most important is religion. Thus, this typologization is based on such a determinant factor of cultural identity as religion.

Finally, we want to consider the typology of Lawrence Harrison's cultural traditions. This author analyzes countries in the space of 25 parameters: Religion, Destiny, Time orientation, Wealth, Knowledge, Ethical code, The lesser virtues, Education, Work/achievement, Frugality, Entrepreneurship, Risk propensity, Competition, Innovation, Advancement, Rule of law/corruption, Radius of identification and trust, Family, Association (social capital), The individual/the group, Authority, Role of elites, Church-state relations, Gender relationships, Fertility (Harrison, 2006). These factors determine the cultural resource for the success of economic modernization in a particular country. At the same time, this classification in the most complete one described the factors of cultural identity. L. Harrison emphasizes the determining role of religious factors as a most significant component and as a formal system of relations between secular and religious values.

These typologies mainly demonstrate stability of certain cultural forms. Their authors consider national cultures in the aspect of quantitative factors (six dimensions) according to G. Hofstede, as a coordinate system of R. Inglehart, one of the axes of which is the religious-secular factor. L. Harrison in his classification, to the greatest extent, analyzes the main markers of cultural identity in terms of their importance for economic development.

G. Hofstede and L. Harrison noted the priority of cultural values, their crucial role for the economy and management, R. Inglehart considers his typology as an evidence of the processes of cultural values changes. At the same time, the map of cultural values demonstrates, in the dynamics of recent years, the high influence of traditional (religious) values in the countries. For example, Russia, according to this scale, fell from a relatively high position of secular values +1.3 in 1990 to +0.5 in 2020 in the direction of traditional (religious) values (https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp).

These classifications are the most well-known ethnometric models. There are also other typologies, such as the GLOBE project by Robert House (About the Foundation – GLOBE Project) (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, Gupta, 2004), organization typology by Fons Trompenaars (Trompenaars, 2003), but they are relatively specific and professional oriented, therefore could not be representative in the paper.

Discussion

The processes of globalization in the modern world actualize the phenomenon of cultural identity, primarily in ethnic aspects. In general, the typologies of cultural dimensions reflect the factors of traditional cultural identity, emphasizing their relevance for the classification of countries.

According to the principles of diffusion, cultural differences decreased in cross-cultural process of globalization. State policy of a unified national identity accompanied this process of acculturation. At the same time, ethnic groups tend to strengthen their cultural identity. There is a confrontation between the trends of globalization and glocalization. As a result of the growth of cross-cultural and economic interaction, the phenomenon of transnationalism and the concept of transculturation arise, as opposed to the theories of acculturation and assimilation. There is no doubt that the social and cultural distances between ethnic groups tend to decrease, as shown by the data of seven mass surveys of the World Values Survey from 1981 to 2020, but they can also be maintained through modifications to hybrid cultural forms according to the concept of transculturation.

These typologies, as well as the entire modern experience of intercultural interaction, demonstrate the stability of the phenomenon of cultural identity even in the context of global modernization. Cultural identity demonstrates its stability, firstly, because it is broader than just ethnic or linguistic one, and secondly, cultural identity can exist in non-verbal forms (Khilkhanova, Khilkhanov, 2020). The native language, first of all, is a marker of ethnic identity, and in the modern conditions of globalization, it can reduce its identification value (Khilkhanova, 2020). The decline in the role of the native language, the increase of religious values in the context of modernization can be explained by the processes of transculturation.

The problems of cultural identity transformation are considered by various philosophical concepts. In modern society, the concept of transculturation is gradually replacing the Eurocentric models of acculturation and multiculturalism, when explaining the phenomena and consequences of intercultural interaction. In most studies, this theory is perceived as the main principle of the functioning of modern cultural forms in the era of globalization (Tlostanova, 2011: 133). This concept logically explains the nature of cultural changes among ethnic groups in the context of socio-economic modernization.

The traditional perception of identity consists mainly of cultural, religious and linguistic characteristics. At the same time, the typologies justify the relationship between the cultural and industrial-economic components. Most researchers do not consider the industrial specialization of an ethnic group in the context of identification. In our opinion, cultural values were determined by the production niche of the ethnic group, and in the future, according to L. Harrison, they ensured the success or failure of modernization. The production niche of an ethnic group is the economic and cultural type that is traditional for an ethnic group and is determined by its natural, spatial, and cultural environment (Khilhanov, 2007: 14). Initially the relationship between cultural identity and the traditional way of managing was noted by anthropologist Frederik Barth. He focused on

the production component of the ethnic border, rather than on the complex of cultural characteristics. As a result, the scientist determined the main role of industrial relations for the ethnic border, and in general for the phenomenon of cultural identity (Bart, 1969).

Specific production patterns have been formed in Siberia for centuries. Representatives of different ethnic groups (Russians, Buryats, Evenks) developed various labor skills that determined the norms, traditions and values of the social group within the framework of production specialization (farmers, ranchers, hunters).

Geographical and climatic factors in Siberia resulted in the widespread traditions of nomadic and semi-nomadic cattle breeding. These traditions corresponded to cultural complexes of ideas, images, traditions and rituals characteristic of nomadic life.

A particularly stable relationship between ethnicity and production patterns is observed among the small peoples of Siberia and the Russian North. In the twentieth century, radical changes in the daily life of fishermen and reindeer herders of the Russian North often destroyed their traditional way of life and gave rise to a whole complex of current social and cultural problems (Vahtin, 2020).

Foreign and domestic experience shows that the peoples who can preserve the traditional economy as a life-supporting factor also preserve the basic elements of traditional culture. Another question is that in the context of global modernization, the preservation of traditional forms of management is unlikely. Rather, professional transformation leads to occupations in the informal economy: poaching, illegal fishing, illegal gold mining, etc. (Klokov, 2020). These processes can be analyzed on the example of the Buryats, the largest ethnic group in Siberia.

The construction of the cultural border, the formation of the opposition «We-They» among the Buryats took place in the conditions of contacting mainly with the Russian population. In the course of historical development, the Buryats acquired multiple cultural identities: tribal, regional, ethnic, Mongolian, Buddhist, and Russian.

Historically, the main level of identification for the Buryats was connected with kinship ties. From an administrative point of view, the family resembles a Russian community. As you know, the community was the main administrative association for the peasants, and was supported by the state for fiscal purposes. Communal farming, the practical absence of private ownership of land, determined the priority of traditional collectivist cultural values among the Russian population. As it is known, the attempts of the Russian goverment to destroy the community and to create farms in the beginning of twentieth century, were not successful, partly because of the priority of the peasant collective values of survival. Before the revolution, the Buryat clan also owned the main allotments of land (mowing), which were regularly distributed among its members. The Buryat kinship ties was primarily a phenomenon of socio-economic and administrative nature, the features of which determined cultural traits and values, as well as the communal way of life determined the collective mentality of the Russian peasantry. Today, the ancestral affiliation of the Buryats corresponds to belonging to certain district communities. Such a transformation of ancestral identity can be attributed to the modern manifestations of transculturation.

In our opinion, when we look at the Buryats (as well as other Siberian peoples in the conditions of modernization) in the twentieth century, we can observe a change in the content in the production niche itself. At the same time, cultural identity largely determined the choice of a production niche. The data of The Russian census of 2002 showed that the main part of the Russian population in the Republic of Buryatia works in the manufacturing industry (137 people out of 1000), in trade (118), in public administration and defense (106), in education (103). Buryats are employed in education (203), trade (119), public administration and defense (117), health (116) and agriculture, hunting and forestry (102) (Khilhanov, 2007:221).

Conclusion

The existing significant differences in the professional choices among Russians and

Buryats prove the fact that ethnic boundaries, despite the globalization / modernization processes, can still be associated with a certain production niche. The cultural identity of the Buryat and Russian populations still influences the structure of their employment. Thus, cultural identity is directly related to the economic component, which is directly reflected in the modern typology of L. Harrison. The modern classifications of G. Hofstede and R. Inglehart are based on a multidimensional factor analysis of traditional features of cultural identity. The authors of this article note that when analyzing these classifications, it is necessary to know the fact that cultural markers still retain their value, but can be implemented already in hybrid forms of transculturation.

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Linguacultural Interactions in Orenburg Region

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Abstract. The sub-dialects in the territories of later settling are of special research interest due to the specifics of interdialectal and foreign contacts and the influence of extralinguistic factors, which determine the relevance of lingua-cultural researches. In this regard, the Orenburg region, being established as a territorial district on a wide frontier area, makes it possible to trace the peculiarities of forming and intercrossing of numerous transmigratory sub-dialects, which were in an active contact with the Turkic and Finno-Ugrian languages. It is documented with the lexicographical material, presented in the dictionaries by V. I. Dahl, N. M. Malech and B. A. Moiseyev, as well as by the records of sub-dialectal speech from the 1950–1970s and up to the early XXI century, which makes it possible to trace the main parameters of the linguacultural interaction of social and ethnical groups, evaluate the limits of engaging dialectal systems for Turkic borrowings and determine their lexical sets, allowing to eliminate the lacunae in the traditional transmigratory culture which has undergone many changes. Being directed at a more prestigious social group, – primarily, the Orenburg Cossacks, the borrowings of cattle-breeding terminology and the words for foods show the stages of forming the relations which lead the consultants and scholars to understanding the unified commonality of the local population.

Keywords: secondary transmigratory dialects, territories of later settling, Orenburg Russian dialects, borrowings, Turkic languages, language contacts.

On the threshold of his 96th birthday we would like to express appreciation to B.A. Moiseyev, Orenburg's famous historian, toponymy scholar and dialectologist, without whose works the research of Orenburg's linguistic space would be impossible.

Research area: linguistics, russian language.

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Лингвокультурные взаимодействия на территории Оренбуржья

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Аннотация. Оренбургские русские говоры, складывающиеся на обширной территории в условиях активных процессов междиалектных и межъязыковых контактов, представляют интерес не только как материал изучения формирования и развития систем переселенческих диалектов, но и в аспекте лингвокультурных взаимодействий на территории позднего заселения. Анализ записей диалектной речи 50–70-х годов XX в., а также словарей В. И. Даля, Н. М. Малечи, Б. А. Моисеева дают возможность реконструировать особенности заселения края, направления интерференционных процессов в зависимости от отношений социальных и этнических групп в пределах поселений. Выявленные тематические группы заимствований позволили определить причины их появления в говорах переселенцев и соответствующие изменения в системе традиционной обиходной материальной и духовной культуры в условиях контактирования народов, которые способствовали постепенному формированию осознания единства местного населения, выраженного специфическими терминами общности.

Ключевые слова: вторичные переселенческие говоры, территории позднего заселения, оренбургские русские диалекты, заимствованная лексика, тюркские языки, языковые контакты.

На пороге 96-летия ученого мы хотели бы выразить признательность Б. А. Моисееву, известному историку Оренбурга, топонимику и диалектологу, без чьих работ исследование лингвистического пространства Оренбурга было бы невозможно.

Научная специальность: 10.02. 01 – русский язык.

Introduction

The secondary sub-dialects present particular interest in connection with the forming of the special dialectal systems, disconnected from the original corpus and being unfolded 'in the conditions of intensive interdialectal and often interlingual contacts' (Barannikova, 2005), which, to one degree or another, allows to determine the mechanisms of interaction between various linguistic strata under new historical conditions. As a rule, the territories populated by, as I. A. Baudouin de Courtenay put it, 'an ethnographical mix', show 'the so-called natural course of events, rid of deliberate influence of administrative authorities and other political and social factors, relying on various preventative and preceptive measures' (Baudouin de Courtenay, 1963). It determines the significance of researching the processes of interference, the specifics of permeability of the sub-dialect system and the variety of the inventory of the borrowed linguistic units, their correlation with the original correspondences and the degree of their intactness. These conditions presuppose the complications in researching and classifying the secondary sub-dialects, in regard to the entity of linguistic and extralinguistic factors. Moreover, systemic studying of the secondary Russian sub-dialects only began in late 1970s and as of today it has not sufficiently covered the territories of later settling. Unfortunately, notwithstanding certain achievements in researching the secondary Russian sub-dialects and contactology (as in the works of L. I. Barannikova, O. I. Blinova, V. E. Goldin,

L. E. Kalnyn, L. L. Kasatkin, O. Yu. Kryuchkova, S. A. Myznikov, B. B. Palagina, V. I. Suprun, L. G. Samotik at al.), the peculiarities of secondary sub-dialects and insufficient resource base for their research allow us to believe that 'we only have very shallow understanding of linguistic landscape in territories of later settling' (Bazhenova, 2016).

Statement of the problem

It's especially important to study the under-investigated secondary Russian sub-dialects in territories of later settling and the significant aspects of their formation and development. In this regard, the sub-dialects of the rather vast Orenburg region area, historically representing a bigger territorial entity of the Russian empire, from the beginning of its establishment has been a special zone of ethnical, cultural, confessional and linguistic interaction, which was presupposed by active migratory processes as well as the extending frontier line, which is still true as of today. The reclamation of an enormous area, which since 1744 included the modern territories of Orenburg and Chelyabinsk oblasts, parts of Kurgan, Samara, Perm, Tyumen and Sverdlovsk oblasts, Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, north and west Kazakhstan, was characterized by several waves of migrants (not only from west to east, but also from the territories of Ural and Siberia to the already reclaimed lands) and it went along with interactions among settled and nomadic Turkic and Finno-Ugrian peoples.

V. I. Dahl was the first to point out the peculiarities of the dialectal landscape of Orenburg governorate, having summarized the conclusions of the 8-year long (1833–1841) observation of the Orenburg 'parlance': 'Orenburg governorate, originally populated by foreigners, mostly nomadic, became filled with Russians from twenty governorates in the past hundred years; that is why there is not any common dialect in this governorate; however, the old inhabitants have already formed a few special features' (Dahl, 2000, v. I); 'In Saratov and Orenburg governorates, populated in this century, and partly recently, by descendants of twenty governorates, it is very easy to discover the migrants' origin by their parlance; it

is more difficult when the elderly have passed away, while the young ones get gradually used to the local dialect, even more so if the settlement is diversely populated by people from different areas, and the youth accommodated and got accustomed to it' (Ibid.).

Later the Orenburg Russian sub-dialects came into the researchers' attention only in the XX century, while the main directives in studying the Russian language on the territory of Orenburg oblast, outlined by V. I. Lytkin, N. A. Meschshersky, V. G. Rudelyov, D. K. Zelenin and N. I. Zorin, were still relevant and remain so up to today, and were generally realized in the research works of B. A. Moiseyev, who, in late 1970s could compose the chrestomathy of Orenburg Russian sub-dialects and 'the dictionary of Orenburg oblast'.

It became possible to publish those works only in the XXI century, allowing the author to augment and revise them (Moiseyev, 2005; 2010; 2019), as well as prepare works on Orenburg toponymy (Moiseyev, 2013; 2016). As a result of this, the scientific community was presented with novel material, containing the records of dialectal speech, collected through 1950s-1980s, around 7000 words and word combinations along with the description of main toponymic units of the Orenburg region, which enabled researching of the specifics of Orenburg's dialectic and onomastic spaces. In this regard it is enough to refer to the collections of articles of the Moiseyev's readings, established for B. A. Moiseyev's 80th birthday in 2015 (Vestnik, 2015; Fourth Moiseyev's Readings, 2018; Fifth Moiseyev's Readings, 2019; Sixth Moiseyev's Readings, 2021).

However, despite all the material currently existing in the scientific possession, dialectal and onomastic spaces of the Orenburg region demand being actively studied. In particular, S. A. Myznikov, who pointed out how necessary it is to study the linguistic landscape of the Orenburg region in 2010 (Myznikov, 2010), addressed to the under-investigation and topicality of the linguistic specifics of the region in regard to the Orenburg Russian dialects during the Fifth Moiseyev's Readings in 2018 (Bekasova, Yakimov, 2019).

Methods

It goes without saying that every aspect of investigating the secondary sub-dialects represent a unique phenomenon, connected with the peculiarities of the formation of new Russian sub-dialects on a large territory in different time periods, in different ways and under unequal linguistic and non-linguistic conditions. While using the traditional methods of investigation for the dialect systems (descriptive, contrastive-comparative, lingua-genetic, etc.), investigating the secondary sub-dialects demands special attention paid to extralinguistic factors, the parameters of the language situation and the problems of contactology. Considering the fact that the most intact part of the secondary sub-dialect system is vocabulary, the investigation involved the principle of systemic lexical description. However, the aims of the article presupposed the angle of studying the lingua-cultural interaction on the territory of later settling, meaning to investigate the transformation of traditional habitual material and spiritual cultures under the conditions of interacting peoples, which were previously geographically, ethnically, and confessionally isolated.

Discussion

Mass migration to the territories of Orenburg governorate began in the second half of the XVIII century, when the descendants from the traditional settlement areas faced a number of difficulties in connection with the peculiarities of the frontier land (which was often disturbed), extreme continental climate along with special natural features and interactions with the Turkic peoples. Several waves of migration determined the territories inhabited with 'the old residents' being gradually filled with the newcomers, which often caused linguacultural opposition, quite clearly reflected in the memories of the consultants.

In this regard, the attitude towards aliens in one of the preserved old settlements, which is rare for Orenburg oblast, – Gorodishche (a former Cossack village, founded in 1800) is very illustrative. The descendants of the Orenburg Cossacks, who firmly believe in their elitism, has kept the nickname for all the newcomers –

'Наплывь' *[naplyv] (those who flowed in; cf. 'everything that flowed in was brought with water' (Dahl, 2000, v. III))*. There is more jargon for the newcomers. For example, B. A. Moiseyev points out that the Cossacks, descendants of the Orenburg stanitsas (big Cossack villages), who founded their own settlement next to the Elshan outpost in the early XIX century, used the word 'raznochinets' (the commoner, or a XIX century Russian intellectual not belonging to the gentry) for referring to Russian and Ukrainian peasants, who, having moved to the Cossack Elshanka, had to rent the lands from the Cossacks (Moiseyev, 2016).

A certain antipathy in the attitude of Cossacks to the peasants is a very common phenomenon, which, as a rule, is lingua-culturally motivated. In particular, B. A. Moiseyev notes the situation in Grigorievka settlement in Sol-Iletsk region, which was originally populated by 'the Cossacks with *okanie* (pronunciation of unstressed [o] as [o] in Russian dialects). After a while the migrants from Voronezh and Kursk governorates came and volunteered to become Cossacks. Their sub-dialect with *akanie* (pronunciation of unstressed [o] as [a]) possessed a few very distinct features: *yakanie* (pronunciation of unstressed vowels as [ya]), the absence of the consonant [f], etc., which were always ridiculed by the initial inhabitants. The Cossacks, who moved there earlier, prone to okanie, gave all the directions to the military activities, householding, and social life. They believed their subdialect to be the exemplary speech and tried to protect it. Under these conditions many features of *akanie* (such as *yakanie* and the affricate [g]) gradually disappeared' (Moiseyev, 2019).

Such patterns are quite common, because, as it was pointed out by L. I. Barannikova, under the conditions of inequality among the migrants in territories of later settling there is 'a willing to mirror the elite groups of population', when in 'the sub-dialects present along the Ural river' L. I. Barannikova notes 'the well-known to dialectology cases of mimicking the neighbours, when the non-Cossack population imitated the Cossacks' (Barannikova, 2005).

A similar case in the Orenburg region was first described by D. K. Zelenin (1905),

who, characterizing the sub-dialect of the Cossack settlement Blagoslovenka, stated that it was 'not a product of a blend' but 'a result of a victory of one of its components over all the others', while 'the lucky winner happened to be the Cossack sub-dialect (Orenburg and Samara Cossacks). The victory was witnessed by the local old residents – the original Cossacks…The same victory is proven by the equality of the Blagoslovenka sub-dialect and the sub-dialect of the oldest Cossack lineage – the right bank Cossacks' (Zelenin, 1905). D. K. Zelenin particularly notes that 'we have all the grounds to believe that the non-Cossacks who moved to Blagoslovenka, along with the Ukrainians and the Mordvins, deliberately chose the way their new neighbours Cossacks speak as a standard for their own pronunciation (Zelenin, 1905).

Such understanding of the Cossacks' everyday life, culture and sub-dialect as the most prestigious is presented over all the Orenburg region, however, there are known cases when non-Cossacks remained detached and isolated in their determination to preserve their traditional culture and language. Certain 'unpleasant relationships' between the founders, the peasants from Saratov governorate, and the Cossacks were spotted by B. A. Moiseyev in Saratovka settlement. This resentment resulted in these social groups being isolated from each other within one settlement. It must also be added that the Cossacks 'didn't like the peasant men and called them hurtful and offensive names: *muzlan, muzlanye* [rough country man, bumpkin]' (Moiseyev, 2019). The exemplary material of the Dictionary of Orenburg Oblast presents various aspects of resenting the neighbouring non-Cossacks. For example, «*Мужики-музланы жили среди казаков*» *[The muzlans lived among the Cossacks]*, «*… зря с музланом дружбу затеваешь. Мы, казаки, сами свои дела разберём*» *[… you shouldn't make friends with a muzlan, we, Cossacks, must mind our own business]*, «*Эх вы, музланы́-грязны*» *[You, unclean muzlans]*, «*Музланьё понаехало наши земли занимать*» *[The muzlanie flooded in to occupy our land]*, «*Время-то какое, гольное музланьё везде в лаптях. И одолевают*

наших…» *[What times are these, the rough muzlans are everywhere in their laptys, bothering our kin…]* (Moiseyev, 2019, 250–251). We must also point out the semantic transformation of the lexeme in the records from 2012: [*мойа́ св'кро́в говор'ѐ*ла / пр'ийе́хал'и музло́ны на нашу з'ѐмл'у / б'иссо́в'есныйе прохло́пал'и в ладо́шы / а т'еп'ѐр' говор'ѐт отн'има́йут у на́с з'ѐмл'у / б'иссо́в'есныйе музло́ны / а ja говор'у вѐт' ты жэ пр'ийе́хал'а на ста́нцыjу / ты н'е на своjе́й з'ѐмл'е / вот / а пр'ийе́хал'а на ста́нцыjу / кака́jа ра́зн'ица / ты ж то́жэ тогда музло́нка] (Yakimov, 2017). A female villager of 76 years old, speculating about 'the wonderers' – people, forced to migrate in times of Tsar and Stalin and now willingly changing their residence, criticizes her mother-in-law, who resented the aliens, and thus the context loses its negative and social connotation of the word 'muzlan', but the meaning 'the newcomer to an acquired land, an alien' becomes amplified.

There was tension among the migrant peasants as well. According to B. A. Moiseyev's findings, the Kursk peasants, who settled in Gamaleyevka settlement around 1930s, in a few years happened to be neighbours with Siberian peasants, who, having refused to become Cossacks, were forced to leave the Cossack lands. The relations between *the Kuryaks* (the Kursk peasants) and *the Siberians* were severely resentful: the Siberians did not take cattle or fowl from the Kuryaks, neither did they marry the Kuryak girls because they believed that those would become bad housewives (Moiseyev, 2016). When the Siberians complained, the Kuryaks would say: 'Сейчас в избе гадко, зато на столе будет сладко. К осени вся живность подрастёт, и на зиму будет мясо *[The house is bad now, but the meals will be good. Come autumn, the farm animals will grow and we will have meat in winter]*' (Ibid.).

This resentment towards everyday habits determined the existence of isolated ends of the settlement, – the Kursk (Kuryaks), the Siberian (Sibiryaks), and later the Khokhol (the Ukrainian) end, where life was isolated for a long time, preserving the according dialectal differences.

Therefore, lingua-cultural clashes among the Slavic peoples could lead either to elimi-

nating, or to preserving the differences in the traditional national culture and language.

The relationships between Slavic and Turkic peoples, who began interacting in the territory of Orenburg governorate, had many more complications. The records of 1950–1970s from nearly all around Orenburg oblast show evidence of hostile attitude between the two clashed peoples, for example: [Стър'èк'и роскàзъвъл'и, к'ирг'èзы удол'евàл'и их, скот'èну въровàл'и; // ràн'шь байàл'ис' к'ирγ'èсъфъ, в'åч'ъръм патскîч'ут', аγрàб'ут', пл'åт'у *(плетью)* ат'àнут'ижàл'иццьн'åкъму //; К'ирг'èзы нъпадàл'и, из-за йàфтъвъ нъ покîс выйежжàл'и вм'åс'т'и / а хтî н'и усп'åт скос'èт', упозд'àт, од'èн н'и йàд'ит: ф пл'àн брàл'и / об åтъм и ф п'åс'н'ъ п'àлъс'; К'ирг'è*ссы* наб'åг'и д'åлъл'и// йàсл'и ф пîл'ъ нъч'авàт', то т'ил'àг'им'и, бр'èч'к'им'и, бъранàм'и абгарàжъвъл'ис'] (Moiseyev, 2005).

It must be noted that the migrants understood the reasons for this hostility: [Был к'ирг'èск'ий край // Урáл къзак'è зъхват'èл'и у татáр // зд'ес' был л'ез др'имóч'ий // въравàл'и рóск'их, казáк'и жûл'и ут'исн'èт'ъл'нъ; К'ирг'èзы, ан'å нарît найàз'н'ик'и, а къзак'è бûл'и п'ъхат'èнцы / к'ирг'èзы уган'àл'и скат'èну, жàншшын / аднà жàншшынъ с к'ирг'èзинъм жылà, срад'èлъ два р'еб'îнкъ и уб'ижàлъ аттîл'а / ва вр'åм'ъ жн'итвà фургîшкъм'и *(повозками, фургонами)* д'åлъйут кар'àйу *(полукруг)* / л'óд'и ф с'ър'ид'èнк'ъ, а патрóл' хîд'ит нарóжы / в'ит' к'ирг'èзъв байàл'ис', ан'å – нарîд бунтовàтый] (Moiseyev, 2005).

With time, the neighboring people gradually developed tolerance towards each other, followed by mutual respect to distinct ethnic and linguistic features of their lives – 'axioms, common in every social or cultural group, defining good and evil, life and death, beautiful and ugly, which determined behavioural patterns, moral and ethical recommendations and prohibitions' (Panchenko, 2005). B. A. Moiseyev's records allow, to some degree, to reconstruct the main stages of this reconciliation between the peoples, which, according to Y. B. Myznikova, lead to the appearance of 'the model of special ethnocultural self-consciousness of the local

population and establishment of tolerant attitude towards the representatives of other ethnic or religious communities', characteristic for Volga-Ural region (Myznikova, 2017).

In particular, in 'Toponymic essays of the Orenburg Region' B. A. Moiseyev writes up on the circumstances of peaceful coexistence of the Russian peasants and the Kazakhs on the territory of modern Pokrovka settlement, which began with equal trade conditions on the communal Dzhirenkupensky bazaar and understanding each other's speech. When the friendly relationships were set by becoming *tamyrs* – friends, or partners, 'in Russian sub-dialects along the river Ilek the word 'to tamyr' became wide-spread, which meant 'to be friends with the Kirghiz'. A fable, documented by B. A. Moiseyev in 1958, shows that on the right bank of the Ilek river there were the Cossack outposts and cordons, but the Russian peasant could only settle along the right bank, where the Kirghiz-Kaysacks were nomadizing, destroying the migrants' dug-outs with no chimneys, but then, the Kirghiz, charmed by the peasants' persistence, sent their Aqsaqal with an offer to become *tamyrs* and fight against the Kush-pels and Adais, who raided the Ilek, together. The brotherly friendship between the Russian peasants and the nomadic Kazakh helped them protect themselves from the alien nomads and defend the friendly nomads from the Cossacks. According to numerous interviews with the old residents of Orenburg settlements, B. A. Moiseyev states that 'in the late XIX century and later *tamyrstvo* [friendship or partnership] between the Kirghiz and the Russians along the river Ilek became habitual' (Moiseyev, 2016), which is also proven with the illustrative material in the dictionary articles from 'the Dictionary of Orenburg Oblast', for example: *'the Kirghiz and the Urus [a Russian person] were friends', 'These Kirghiz were neighbours, they tamyred with Urus', 'The nearest didn't attack us, they were tamyrs back then', 'We were not tamyrs with the Adais, they attacked us and our tamyrs'* and so on (Moiseyev, 2019).

Under the migrants' influence, the *Kush-pels* (nomadic Kirghiz) became *dzhataks* (the settled Kirghiz), and there soon appeared the first *eghenchi* – the Kirghiz land cultiva-

tors. Similar relationships took place among other peoples, too: [Наро̂д жыл в дро́жбъ̂ з башк'ѐръм'и и мнı̂гъ ѐх пъродн'ѐлъс' с ро́скым'и / и с'еч'àс йес'т' у нàс фам'ѐл'ийа Хайı̂ръф / башк'ѐр жын'ѐл'с'ъ на б'а̊днъй ро́скъй бàб'ъ; Жàл'и с'ер'пàм'и / и вот йав'ѐл'ис' с касàм'и татàры, нън'имал'и их кас'ѐт' / б'аγо́т' фс'à с'алı̂ смáтр'а̊т': какàйь удı̂б'ийь – касà /] (Moiseyev, 2005).

It goes without saying that 'tamyrstvo' [being friends] as a special form of lingua-cultural interaction had a positive effect on the lives of contacting peoples, enabling the exchange of accumulated experience and achievements of traditional cultures. A bright and authentic marker of accepting the realia of other peoples' everyday life is the borrowings in the Russian Orenburg sub-dialects, which covered the lexical gaps that appeared because of a certain 'lingua-cultural confusion' that the migrants had in a new and unhabitual environment and which they tried to fix by giving the new realia borrowed nominatives. At that, the thematic definition of the Turkic borrowings in the Russian Orenburg sub-dialects allows us to trace the sequence of how the people became closer.

In particular, the special features of household relationship with the nomadic Kazakhs, who had well developed herding in the conditions of the South Ural, contributed to the fact that a whole range of herding and cattle breeding terms were borrowed, while, as S. A. Myznikov points out, some of the borrowings transferred to the vocabulary of the Yaik Cossacks (Myznikov, 2018), and it could have been the way they were introduced to the speech of the migrant peasants. Therefore, while the non-equivalent vocabulary is mostly presented with the terms of camel husbandry *(илюк, бутакан, куспак, инген, etc.),* other terms of domestic animals for their age, colour type, breed and physical characteristics had equivalents in Russian sub-dialects, such as *'башмак, басмак' [a 1-year old calf],* *'башмачка, башмачина, тайка, тайчина, кошарка' [a 2-year old calf], (cf.* годушка, годовик, второгодница, второгодник, *etc.).*

We dare to assume that in this case the Turkic borrowings were initially used to differ-

entiate the cattle of local breeding, which was necessary to distinguish with terms, for example while trading (Bekasova, 2014). This idea is grounded not only by the fine semantic differentiation demanded by the dialects, which bordered with variability, coinciding with it later, but also by modern Orenburg contexts. This can be shown, for example, in how a Tatar person word their question, asking a strange woman about her child: *'Kyzymka [a little Asian girl, a daughter] or Russian?'.* For a Tatar person it was important to find out the black-eyed child's nationality, that's why the word 'kyzym' gets an additional connotation – not just a girl, but a Tatar girl.

The potential of borrowed words was also very important for the Orenburg sub-dialects. In this regard we can refer to the word 'куян' *[a hare],* which was recorded by V. I. Dahl (Dahl, 2000, v. II). In B. A. Moiseyev's dictionary is updated with a clarification – 'a hare, usually in word combinations like '**куян слепой**' [a blind hare]' (Moiseyev, 2010). Our research of native Orenburg nicknames shows that a *kuyan* is referred to a single middle-aged man, a bachelor or a widower, who lives at the edge of the settlement. As a rule, in those settlements, usually of mixed national population, the old residents believe that this Kazakh/Tatar word meant a sturdy male hare, a lone hare (Bekasova, 2020). This also demonstrates one more meaning of the word, which, in our opinion, allowed it to remain in the Russian language and fill in an important lexical gap as a nominative. The history of the word *'kuyan'* in the Orenburg sub-dialect makes it possible to justify reasons for borrowings: the borrowed word could have obtained a certain 'overtone' that were needed for the sub-dialect, which, in most semantically uneconomical manner described the world touching upon the smallest details.

However, a group of food terms is considered to be the most important among the Turkic borrowings in lingua-cultural regard. Existence of this group can be explained by the very tight connections between different ethnic groups and not only it supposed outside observation, but also it involved sharing meals as well as keeping to certain hospitality etiquette and having mutually relevant conver-

sations, for example: '*Чем только не угощали нас киргизы (*казахи*): варили бишбармак, готовили кувардак* [*The kirghiz treated us to a lot of food – they made bishbarmak and cooked kuvardak*]'; '*Здесь находится депутация от киргиз, которая хотела чествовать его (*русского священника*) самым почётным киргизским угощением – кумызом и кургашиной* [*There is a Kirghiz deputy that wanted to honour him (the local priest) with the most honorable treat – kumyz and kurgashina*]'. '*Раз пришли к ним, а они нас бижбармаком угостили* [*We visited them once and they treated us to bizhbarmak*]'. '*Бывало мать часто варила бижбармак, но мы ложками ели, а киргизы – руками: возьмут рукой лепёшечку и кусочек мяса, положат в рот, потом ладошкой черпают жижку и запивают* [*Mother used to make bizhbarmak, but we ate it with spoons, and the Kirghiz – with their hands; they would take a piece of flatbread, then a piece of meat and put it in their mouth, and then they'd scoop some broth with their palm and drink*]' (Moiseyev, 2019). [К'ирɤ'èзы (казахи) скат'ѐну ст'ер'åч' уйåхъл'и / кадà н'амнȋшкъ пъйад'àт', а патȋм в'åч'ъръм ч'ай п'йóт' памнȋɤъ / ръскатàйут' т'åстъ тȋнкъ, пар'åжут' клакàм'и (клочками), свàр'ут', рукàм'и б'арóт' и йед'àт' / а жȗшку ф ч'åшк'и нал'йóт' и ч'ир'ис крàй п'йóт' / к'ирɤ'èс н'и хл'абàйа, лȋжък н'ет у н'авȋ/] *(Moiseyev, 2016).* The example of '*Куда пропал наш хозяин, а он ушел к киргизам и там бижбармачит*' [*Where's our master? He went to the Kirghiz and he's bizhbarmaking there*]' (Moiseyev, 2019) is very illustrative. It shows that not only the traditional meals were introduced into the nutritive system of Russian migrants, which is proven by the fact that the verb is formed according to the Russian word derivation system from a borrowed root, but also that the relationship between the two different groups were quite friendly towards each other.

The names of foods and dishes compose the most significant group of borrowings both in quantity (more than 30 % of non-equivalent vocabulary) and in quality – the degree of their intactness and the frequency of being used in the speech of Orenburg residents. Dishes made of grains, meat and milk give a positive characteristic to the national cuisine of the Kazakhs, Bashkirs and Tatars, for example буурсак [*buursak*] (rich fried balls or small squares of dough); белиш (беляш) [*belish or belyash*] (a round pasty stuffed with meat); казы [*kazy*] (horsemeat sausage); каймак [*kaymak*] (cream of boiled milk); катык [*katyk*] (sour milk) and so on (here and further the examples are from Moiseyev, 2019).

Borrowing Turkic dishes, the migrants would often change the ingredients and adapted the recipes to their own possibilities and preferences, for example: '**Kuurdak** [куурдак*], or meat fried in fat is one of the Steppe Kirghiz's favourite delicacies*'. '**Kuurdak** – horsemeat or mutton chopped to small pieces and fried in melted fat*'.– 'It's the way we make **kuvardak** [кувардак*] – they chop potatoes, add liver and fry it with onions and fat*'; '*In Linyovka **kuvardak** is chopped boiled potatoes with onions and fat*'. '*All Tatars feed on **salma** [салма; a type of noodles], we make it too*' – '**Salma** is flour porridge, they call it 'zatirukha' in other places*'; '*During the whole war we ate salma (a dish of potatoes and flour)*'.

Names of dishes also undergo various processes of adaptation, such as '**бижбармак** < **бишбармак**, **бесбармак**'; '**кувардак** < **куурдак**'.

We must point out the transformation of the name of a Kazakh national dish '**коже** (куже*)*' [*kozhe (kuzhe)*] into Russian '**кузя**' [*kuzya*]: '*They made **kuzya** – millet and milk*'. '*Millet porridge made on sour milk is called **kuzya**'.

Some of the borrowed dishes were so firmly present in the nutritive culture of Orenburg residents, including Russians, that they became a sort of specialty for the local cuisine with the characteristics of family or territorial recipes. '*Bizhbarmak*' is especially popular, despite the fact that in V. I. Dahl's dictionary it has a rather negative description: '*Of a badly cooked meal one could say 'it's such a bizhbarmak, medley]*' (Dahl, 2000, v.1).

The findings collected by B. A. Moiseyev, convincingly demonstrate the processes of 'claiming' alien culinary culture, for example: '*All Tatars feed on **salma**, we make it too*',

*'During the whole war we ate **salma'**, '**Sarsa** is made by Russians and Kirghiz, it's sweet, tasty and goes with tea', 'No holiday happens without **belishes**, it's our first dish', 'the Bashkir like **zyurma**, Russians make it too', 'We would make **zyurma** in the evening', 'Today we had **salamata'**, 'We cooked so much **salamata** it lasted all day'* and so on. Moreover, for their love of salamata, the residents of Kuzminovka settlement got their nickname 'salamatniki' because once, while cooking their favourite dish they set their village on fire.

Lingua-cultural interaction of previously territorially segregated native population of Orenburg was clearly understood by the migrants, which was shown in their evaluation of interacting and establishing new communities. A respondent from the Saraktash region defines the settling process with a figural expression '**с ярку и с боярку**' *[from all around, everywhere]: 'Да как мы населялись: шли с ярку и с боярку всякие люди – и русские, и украинцы, и мордва'* [So we were settling, all peoples came from everywhere – Russians, Ukranians, Mordvins], (Moiseyev, 2019). It is most likely to mean that 'all peoples' arrived from rather obscure and distant places. V. I. Dahl describes those settlements as 'diverse' [in a bad way], (Dahl, 2000).

K. D. Zelenin also writes about geographical and social diversity in territories of later settling around Orenburg. Defining the sub-dialects of the residents of the Blagoslovennyi settlement, which was populated by the Orenburg and Samara Cossacks, the peasants from the right bank of the river Ural in Orenburg governorate, the newcomers from Tambov governorate, the Ukrainians from Kharkov and Cherkasy, the Mordvins, K. D. Zelenin concludes that in 80 years 'all this diverse rout', thanks to communal life and mutual family connections, '*resulted in a regular mass of descendants'* (Zelenin, 1905).

The same description was given to the new mixed population by a female resident of Gavrilovka settlement, founded in 1840 by migrants from Kharkov governorate, which later was also populated by the families from Voronezh and Ryazan governorates. In her story she points out that the Ukrainians never had banyas [Russian saunas] and they learnt to build and use

them from Russians. She concluded, 'there were Ukrainians, and now, after 140 years, we are neither Ukrainians, nor Russians, we are rootless…', (Moiseyev, 2016).

However, in our opinion, there are two articles in 'the dictionary of Orenburg oblast' (Moiseyev, 2019) that characterize Orenburg population especially well – 'нерусь' *['nerus', 'non-Russians']* and 'обрусеть' *['obruset', to be/become Russified']*. On the one hand, 'нерусь' (a collective noun for non-Russian people, or people of other nationalities) is clearly grounded with examples (e. g. 'All the nerus live in the Caucasus – the Georgians, the Armenians, the Ingush, the Chechen'), meaning peoples not common around the Orenburg region. We never encountered any contexts where this word was used to refer to any people that were present on the Orenburg lands, such as the Kazakh, the Tatar, the Bashkir, the Chuvash, the Mordvins, etc. On the other hand, the records that go along the verb 'обрусеть' allow us to define the process of '*nerus' [non-Russians]* becoming or being introduced to '*rus' [Russians]*, which is supposed to be regarded not as an ethnic metamorphosis, but as a sort of transformation of life as the essence of all the living things: 1) on wild animals or birds – to get domesticated or tamed ('Поймаешь зайца и домой, он обрусеет и живёт *[You catch a hare and bring it home, it becomes Russified and lives']*); 2) On people – to get used to new life conditions, to settle ('Когда приехали сюда, у нас *(*мужиков*)* отличка была с казаками, а сейчас уж мы обрусели *[When we came here we (the men) were different from the Cossacks, but now we have become Russified']*. 'Постепенно мы обрусели на новом месте. Киргизы обрусели и перестали топтать наши посевы *['Gradually we became Russified on our new place. The Kirghiz became Russified and stopped stomping our crops']*. 'Киргизы обрусели, стали ездить к нам на базар' *['The Kirghiz became Russified and began coming to our market']*) and so on. Ethnic and social differences do not matter while understanding the word *'obruset' (the men became Russified, the Kazakhs became Russified)*, but what is important is getting accustomed to new natural and householding

phenomena, ethnocultural environment and accepting them as one's own, rejecting any hostility towards the foreign or alien, which leads not only to diversity in life but also to the world communality, developed by human interaction of many centuries.

Conclusion / Results

Therefore, while acquiring new lands, the migrants not only take upon themselves some new material world, but they also get into various contacts with their new neighbours, who, as a rule, carry different traditional cultures. Being forced to contact, if it is not violent conquering, under the condition of going past the opposition 'friend-or-foe', results in 'neighbours' starting to exchange their everyday life cultural achievements, which, in our opinion, causes certain changes in the people's consciousness. A natural linguistic contacting gains lingua-cultural meaning, as it becomes

essential in the new historical and geographical conditions of developing the traditional national culture. As a result, the Orenburg region possesses a wide range of blending in dialectal features, inherited from geographically grounded differences in householding, customs, and culture.

The records of Orenburg's dialectal speech from 1950–1970s and up to the early XXI century provides the information about a varied and, as a rule, very friendly dialogue between the interacting people, which was caused by the type of contact that demanded to build up communal activities in householding and trading. Often it became personal friendly relationships, which was shown in the culinary culture, and later it resulted in establishing a tight community in a certain territory, despite the differences in the outlook and habitual traditions of householding, and against resentment and even hostility.

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The Linguistic Concept «Russians Are a Fighting Nation» as a Tool to Manage Chinese Social Consciousness

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Abstract. The study focuses on the concept of «Russians are a fighting nation» in the modern Chinese language, which emerged in 2013 and remains unknown to the vast majority of Russians. The concept has become a total synonym for the concept of «Russians» and has a positive connotation unusual for the Chinese language in the nomination of foreigners. The article is a comprehensive study of the «fighting nation» concept with consideration of its chronological, semantic and stylistic development as an instrument of influencing the worldview of the Chinese nation and the formation of its attitude towards other peoples. The study reveals that, initially, the concept of «the fighting nation» was artificially introduced and popularized by the Chinese authorities; then its internal structure was modified from the professional historical and cultural content to its further artificial transformation in 2016 into an Internet meme among the Chinese youth; and, finally, the loss of control over the dissemination of the concept led to the need for a campaign to discredit the «Russians are a fighting nation» concept, which has achieved only limited results. As a new and effective approach to managing the development of the concept, the Chinese authorities proposed to shift the positive features of the concept from the Russians to the Chinese and formulate a new postulate that «the Chinese are the real fighting nation», which has become the main development direction for the «fighting nation» concept for the next few years. The research findings can be applied in efficient international cultural communication, translation, as well as in a range of socio-cultural and linguistic studies.

Keywords: chinese language, mentality, concept, Russians, fighting nation, propaganda, lexical-semantic structure, connotation.

Research area: linguisctics.

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Языковой концепт «русские – боевая нация» как инструмент управления китайским общественным сознанием

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Аннотация. В статье исследуется внезапно возникшее в китайском языке в начале XXI века и получившее широчайшее распространение в китайской языковой картине мира на всех языковых и социальных уровнях (за исключением официальной дипломатической риторики) устойчивое выражение «боевая нация» (кит. 战斗民族, zhàndòu mínzú), используемое исключительно для номинации жителей Российской Федерации и ставшее общепринятым синонимом к понятию «русские».

На основе изучения китайских и российских источников авторами исследуется диахроническое и синхроническое лексико-семантическое значение концепта «боевая нация», его коннотативные изменения, вызванные воздействием целого ряда внешних факторов: пропагандистская деятельность, форсирование и дискредитация концепта и т. д.; подробно анализируется структура концепта «боевая нация», с выделением центральных и периферийных компонентов; рассматриваются особенности функционирования концепта в среде современной китайской молодежи.

Ключевые слова: китайский язык, ментальность, концепт, русские, боевая нация, пропаганда, лексико-семантическая структура, коннотация.

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Introduction

Particular attention of the Russian philological community involved in the Russian-Chinese communication was drawn by the nomination of the Russian nation as «zhàndòu mínzú» (fighting nation) that emerged in recent years and widely spread in the Chinese media space (Baidu search returns 53.3 million versatile results, both serious and not, as of 04.2021) and in the Chinese linguistic and mental picture of the world. The uniqueness of this phenomenon lies, firstly, in the use of this expression as a total synonym applied exclusively to the concept of «Russians»; thus, Russians are the only nation that have recently received their own new fully functional name in the Chinese language; and, secondly, this nomination, according to all Chinese sources, has an entirely positive connotation: in the article «Fighting Nation (Russians)» in the Chinese online encyclopedia Baidu, it is emphasized that this is a comic expression in relation to Russians,

which does not imply any humiliation or sarcasm (Fighting nation). Born in the Chinese linguistic consciousness and intended exclusively for internal use, the «fighting nation» concept remains unknown or unclear to the overwhelming majority of Russians; even specialists in Russian-Chinese relations do not always have a clear idea of the origin and meaning of this concept. For example, in an interview with the Russian state news agency RIA Novosti on October 02, 2019, Russian Ambassador to China Andrei Denisov said: «Let us have a look at how the Chinese perceive us, and how we perceive them. *Of course, there are still a lot of problems here. I will mention at least one. In the Chinese press – probably, they did not come up with it themselves, but rather picked it up somewhere in the West – there is a discourse about Russians as a warlike nation or warlike people. And our Chinese friends – I have a lot of them here – in some normal conversations, they ask questions such as: Is it true that you*

are a warlike nation? And why is it so? I keep on explaining, relentlessly, that we are by no means warlike, rather the opposite; it just simply because of the whirling of our historical fate, we were in such conditions, at least in the last few centuries, that we constantly had to defend ourselves from someone … We never attacked anyone, we did not start wars; instead, all kinds of dangers were constantly threatening us, and we had to defend ourselves. This is where, perhaps, this legend about us as some kind of warlike nation was born. This is what I tell our Chinese friends. This is but one example» (Andrei Denisov). It should be noted that, firstly, the West has nothing to do with the emergence of this concept in the Chinese language; secondly, the majority of Chinese specialists who speak Russian prefer to translate the expression «zhàndòu mínzú» into Russian as a «fighting» rather than «warlike nation», since the semantics of these definitions in Russian has a significant difference; and, thirdly, this name, possibly due to the use of the lexeme «warlike» in the translation, is perceived as somewhat unfair, offensive, and requiring explanations and even excuses.

Statement of the problem

At present, from the standpoint of effective international communication, it seems relevant to conduct a detailed comprehensive study of the «fighting nation» concept with due regard to its chronological and semantic development, namely:

1) to establish the time when it emerged;

2) to study modifications of its basic structure in the diachronic and synchronous aspects;

3) to single out the core and peripheral components of the concept;

4) to identify extralinguistic factors that had a direct impact on the formation of the concept;

5) to determine its impact on the mental picture of the world of the Chinese people;

6) and to clarify the semantic content of the concept at the time of the study.

Methods

The study used general research methods – comparative analysis, sampling method;

general philological methods – contextological and conceptual analysis; as well as a specific philological method of semantic and stylistic analysis.

The influence of Chinese culture in the modern world

With at least 5,000 years of history, as by far the majority of Chinese experts believe (or 3,500 years, as generally accepted in world science), the Chinese civilization is undoubtedly one of the most ancient and most important civilizations of our planet that have had an extremely important influence on the development of human history as a whole, and on the formation of our modern global multicultural community. It is difficult to overestimate the contribution of the Chinese civilization to the mankind's treasury of thought in science, technology, and humanities – including the four great inventions of the past (paper, typography, gunpowder, and compass); a tremendous corpus of philosophical, religious, and literary texts; actionable knowledge and skills in medicine and natural science, etc. Over the past decades, modern China has become one of the largest – and the largest in many industries – player on the political, economic, cultural and other arenas; it keeps on actively modernizing the face of our reality, offering the whole world the «new four great inventions of the Chinese civilization»: high-speed rail networks, e-commerce, mobile payment systems, and sharing economy. As we can see, unlike its previous forms, this iteration of the Chinese civilization is deeply integrated into the global structure and, as such, is no longer thought of apart from it. It is this massive impact on modern society and the leading position in many of its spheres that explains the keen interest in Chinese culture, mentality, philosophy, and science – an accurate and deep understanding of which is the key to successful, effective, and mutually beneficial communication between the Western and Eastern worlds. To achieve the goal mentioned above, it is particularly important to study the historical changes in the Chinese civilization that significantly or radically influenced the Chinese social consciousness, especially the Chinese cognitive and linguistic

perception of other peoples who have been in contact with China in different periods.

Two features of Chinese civilization and their impact on the Chinese worldview

Speaking of the Chinese civilization in general, we should mention its two unique features that define the Chinese mental picture of the world. First, it is cultural continuity throughout the history of the Chinese civilization: *«China is almost the only country that gives an example of cultural development without radical destruction of the past in the name of the present»* (Ezhov, 2004). Thus, many features of the Chinese mentality, psychology, and behavior determined in ancient times – for example, by philosophical views of great teachers of Taoism, Confucianism, Legalism, Buddhism, Mohism, natural philosophy, etc. – are fully present in modern Chinese consciousness, complementing and supporting the tenets of today's Chinese society expressed by the most prominent Chinese leaders and politicians of the second half of the 20th century– Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, and Xi Jinping.

Secondly, the Chinese civilization was historically formed on a particular geographically isolated territory: from the west, the nascent civilization was protected by massifs of impassable mountains and deserts and, from the east and southeast, the Chinese lands were surrounded by the seas of the Pacific Ocean, while the northern and northeastern lands represented by endless steppes and forests with a harsh inhospitable climate, were, for a long time, of no interest to the Chinese nation – there were enough territories on the south. Thus, all the ecumene known to the ancient Chinese, suitable for normal life, was already Chinese (Ul'ianenko). Until the 19th century, in the absence of competition with a strong rival, the Chinese civilization and Chinese empire will be the undeniable historical and cultural hegemon in the region. Starting from the era of the first Chinese states, the Chinese mindset reveals the idea of «zhōngguó» – the Middle State as the unconditional center of the universe, extending its power and cultural influence over all known neighboring peoples who were, just like in other great civilizations, contemptuously referred to as «barbarians», with a gradation from «semi-barbarians», i. e. those who were in the immediate sphere of Chinese influence, to «wild barbarians» – all other peoples. And *«certain negative properties were attributed to barbarians: a barbarian was always an inferior person»* (Smirnov, 2014). It was during the absolute domination of the Chinese state in all spheres over the neighbor countries and peoples that a clear sense of superiority was formed and consolidated in the Chinese mindset. It was a kind of «super-completeness» complex, which can be described as extremely persistent Chinese chauvinism, as far as all the history known to the Chinese before the 19th century only testified to the fact that the Chinese way of life, the Chinese worldview and the Chinese civilization in general were the only true and progressive path of development. Moreover, all the failures along this path, for example, the conquest of the Chinese territory by the less developed, in all respects, nomadic tribes of the Jurchen, Mongols, Manchus, etc., were considered by the Chinese only as exceptions proving the rule, since the conquerors experienced the strongest assimilating influence of Chinese culture and turned into the Chinese.

A colossal blow to the Chinese sense of superiority over other peoples was inflicted in the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries, when a powerful, technically well-developed and economically advanced, superior in all spheres Western civilization represented by the British, later the French, Germans, Americans, Russians, and the Japanese who adopted the Western civilizational model, reached the borders of the weakening Chinese empire. The Qing Empire could not challenge this pressure and admitted its complete defeat, which further led to the fall of the last Chinese dynasty. The occupation of Chinese territories, the defeat of the Chinese army and people's movements, the destruction of Chinese cultural sites, the extremely disdainful and even contemptuous attitude of the foreigners towards the Chinese population, towards the Chinese civilization itself, caused the Chinese nation to develop a persistent negative psychological fixation on these events, which continues to the present day. Particu-

lar rejection was caused by the fact that the interventionists included Japan, which, in a couple of decades, transformed from a medieval state into a powerful and active capitalist predator. Despite the victory of China in the «1937–1945 war against the Japanese invaders», the self-esteem of the Chinese nation was impossible to recover, since the end point in Japan's surrender was set by the WWII allies: the defeat of the Manchu Japanese forces by the Soviet Union and atomic bombing of Japanese cities by the United States.

It was not until October 1, 1949, the day of establishment of the People's Republic of China, when Mao Zedong announced a special Chinese path of development, the Chinese nation began to gradually return to the centuries-old Chinese-centric worldview. The successes of the Chinese reforms led to the restoration of chauvinistic sentiments, and the undoubted triumph of China in the modern world in almost all spheres of life, especially in the demonstratively successful solution of global challenges (for example, against Covid-19), raised the degree of Chinese chauvinism to the previous, old imperial, level.

Two mindsets
in the modern Chinese worldview

The world picture of the modern Chinese nation reveals a serious conflict between two mindsets that directly determine the attitude of the Chinese towards other peoples: on the one hand, a clear sense of superiority (antiquity and modernity) and, on the other, a persistent psychological fixation on a particular historical period when everything Chinese was going down (the events of the 19th – first half of the 20th centuries). This antithesis naturally led to a situation where many widespread nominations of foreigners, in particular Russians, in the Chinese language have a clearly expressed negative connotation in their semantic structure, with the exception of the term «wàiguórén» ('foreigner') – an absolutely neutral one and therefore intensively promoted by Chinese authorities. All nominations that can be used in Chinese to designate Russians (without mentioning the country of origin) can be divided into three lexico-semantic groups:

1) nomination by features of appearance: «dàbízi» ('big-nosed', 'nosed' ones), «lǎomáozi» ('hairy ones');

2) nomination by place of residence: «yángguǐzi» ('overseas devils');

3) nomination by behavioral characteristics: «lǎowēi» (1. 'Foreigner'; 2. 'Profane, inexperienced, ignorant, clumsy').

While the negative connotation of the components of the first lexico-semantic group seems obvious, the nominations of the second and third groups require some explanation. The use of the expression «yángguǐzi» ('overseas devils') in relation to Russians was recorded in diaries of the famous Russian traveler N. M. Przhevalsky who explained this name by the poverty of the Chinese language and the lack of other possible options (Ul'ianenko). The thesis about the poverty of the nominative base of the Chinese language during the expeditions of N. M. Przhevalsky raises doubts: it is most likely that the Russians who arrived by land were called «overseas devils» simply by analogy with other foreigners who really all arrived from overseas – in this case, the key was the general meaning of «outlander».

As for the lexeme «lǎowēi», there are conflicting viewpoints on its connotative completeness: Chinese linguists and philologists argue that this lexeme does not carry any negative assessment, while most international experts prove the presence of semes with negative connotation in the semantic structure of this word (Kisliuk). The author of the article adheres to the second point of view, because the presence of two lexemes («lǎowēi» and «wàiguórén») – originating from the same language, with absolutely the same meaning, identical connotative coloring, with absolutely identical spheres of use and compatibility, on which the Chinese experts insist, – in active speech use for about 40 years contradicts one of the main tendencies of human language as a whole – the tendency to shorten the lexical vocabulary. In addition, the spheres of use of these lexemes still have a clear differentiation: «wàiguórén» is used in official communication, while «lǎowēi» – in a low colloquial and vernacular style.

The emergence
of the «fighting nation» concept

According to the Chinese search engine Baidu, the earliest reference to the «fighting nation» is in the article «The Pride of a Fighting Nation: Russia's T-90 Main Battle Tank» in the December 2013 issue of *The Model World* magazine (The pride of a fighting nation). This definition might have existed before, but was somehow limited in its distribution and range of use. Nevertheless, this expression began to spread, firstly, with a sharp deterioration in Chinese-American relations and, secondly, with the intensification of fruitful cooperation between China and Russia in all, including military, spheres. The *South China: A Special View* online edition explicitly states that *«the 'fighting nation' meme was introduced by the Chinese propaganda as part of the image of the Russian-Chinese anti-American axis»* (Veselovskii, 2019). This idea has a right to exist, based on a number of inferences and facts. First, as mentioned above, the basis of the Chinese attitude towards foreigners is the mental confrontation between two antithetic complexes – superiority and inferiority. *«China has drawn exhaustive conclusions from its thousand-year history, and especially bitter ones from the history of the 19th and 20th centuries. A rich culture, advanced scientific thought, national pride, ideology that unites the nation – all this can be useless in conflict with the outside world if you do not have sufficient economic power behind you»* (Bavyrin, 2019). While the economy of the PRC provides the necessary level of security, successes in military affairs since the 19th century raise great doubts. In addition, since the Sino-Vietnamese war of 1979, the Chinese army has no longer participated in large-scale military operations, thus the real combat potential of the Chinese military forces are estimated very roughly, and this, again, makes the Chinese nation feel anxious based on negative examples from the past. At this moment, the Chinese people are offered a real «fighting nation» as their allies: *«Russia is one of the three strongest world powers, especially because of its terrifying military power and vast territory, so no one can ignore it»* (Sohu, 2019). Besides, it is Russia that is designated, in the Chinese publications, as the main opponent of the United States: *«Russia is the main adversary of the United States. The United States, while remaining the hegemon, will definitely put pressure on Russia»* (Sohu, 2019). Thus, according to D. Bavyrin, a columnist for the *Vzglyad* newspaper: *«It is extremely naive to expect that China, in the foreseeable future, will get involved in some kind of geopolitical war with the United States. Quite the opposite, it will prefer to sit out, including behind the Russian back»* (Bavyrin, 2019), which is fully consistent with both ancient Chinese stratagems and with the credo of the first chairman of the PRC Mao Zedong: *«A wise monkey sits on a mountain and watches two tigers fighting in the valley»* (Kortunov, 2020).

In the Chinese consciousness, the events of the «Crimean Spring» in 2014 have strengthened the idea of Russians as a «fighting nation» strongly defending its foreign policy interests not only through direct military conflict, but also capable of unexpected risky strategic and tactical decisions, challenging the existing world order and leading to an exponentially growing confrontation with the main opponents.

First studies of the «fighting nation» concept
in the Chinese linguistic environment

By 2015, the phenomenon of the «fighting nation» has gained significant popularity in the Chinese language and has been widely spread in everyday discourse. The Chinese media make first attempts to analyze this concept, to identify its basic elements, and to explain them to a wider audience. For example, in October 2015, the 20th issue of the Chinese edition of *World Vision* under the heading with the notable title «Hot Spot», indicating the relevance of this publication, includes an article by Ma Yao, a special researcher from the School of International and Public Relations at the Shanghai International Studies University; the article – «Why Russians are a 'Fighting Nation'?» – contains professional in-depth research based on the historical and cultural materials (Ma, 2015).

The Chinese author identifies five elements that form the «fighting nation» concept:

1. **Vast territory** conquered in the course of continuous military and economic expansion; it leads not only to the formation of a special national «temperament of extremes», but also instills a consciousness of the «great power», a sense of superiority over other peoples and the imposition of their own national interests.

2. **Cold climate** difficult to live and work in.

3. Continuous **wars for survival and independence**, which led to the complete subordination of the individual to the interests of the country, the introduction of a paramilitary and semi-nomadic system of life, as well as the ability to fight individually in complete isolation. All this ultimately led to the formation of a «strong military spirit» in the life of Russians: *«The difficulties and hardships of Russia, as well as the hard and fierce struggle with nature and foreign conquerors had an extremely deep influence on the formation of the enormous military power, military strategy and unique military culture of Russia»* (Ma, 2015).

4. **The idea of «spiritual mission and salvation»** of other peoples, introduced into the minds of Russians by the Orthodox Church, which has become an important ideological basis for expansion since the time of tsarist Russia.

5. **A strong physique, great physical strength** of the representatives of the Russian people, in which the blood of warlike Normans and Mongols is mixed*: «We can say that a strong physique makes a «fighting nation» worthy of this name»* (Ma, 2015).

It should be noted that the article is written in a friendly tone, the author really seeks to understand the origins of this concept, discussing with sympathy and understanding the peculiarities of Russian history and the life of the Russian nation, forming a positive connotation of the expression the «fighting nation» in Chinese readers as an ally of China in the possible confrontation with the United States: *«The unique geographic environment, history full of conquest, social culture of fighting skills and strong physique made the 'polar bears' famous for their bravery and courage. Recently, this «fighting nation» started a new*

battle by sending troops to Syria» (Ma, 2015). This quote contains another nomination of the Russian nation – «polar bears», which has a similar, albeit greatly simplified, semantic structure, also intended for internal use; development of this concept was brief, it thus never became so «memetic» in Chinese linguistic consciousness.

By 2016, the «fighting nation» concept under the influence of a targeted massive stream of Internet videos demonstrating very strange, unusual, bright, stupid, aggressive, and sometimes inadequate behavior of Russians, is undergoing a serious metamorphosis, suddenly becoming extremely popular among the Chinese youth. A number of events contributed to the popularity of this concept: TV series for young audience «How I Became Russian» – in Chinese the title is «How I Became a Fighting Nation»; the 2016 Soccer World Cup with fierce conflicts between Russian and British fans; and pilots of Russian airlines who made successful landings in the most difficult weather conditions, etc.

**The modern content
of the «fighting nation» concept**

In the Chinese social consciousness, the «fighting nation» concept has already acquired modern features. Its extreme popularity among Chinese youth is based on the principle of antithesis between the Russian and Chinese way of life, acting as a kind of very attractive «forbidden fruit»:

1. **A particular type of personality of Russians**: they are easily irritated and lose their temper, react to external actions as quickly and sharply as possible, often without taking into account the possible consequences. Chinese civilization cultivates a completely different type of personality and behavior: a deep reflection on the situation, taking into account the inevitable consequences, and exhibiting as little reaction as possible. The concern for the «keeping face» in any situation significantly limits the range of emotions displayed by the Chinese, and often forces them to suppress natural responses to stimuli. Thus, a Russian person, in the eyes of young Chinese, is much more free in the manifestation of his inner self.

2. **President V. Putin as a symbol of the «fighting nation»:** a strong charismatic leader, ready to take risks and to confront the opponents. The popularity of the Russian president in China can hardly be overestimated; in many respects, it is built on the contrast with the image of the Chinese leaders. The effective work of the press center and the PR department have created a remarkable «heroic» image of the Russian president: extreme and combat sports, driving all types of vehicles, activity holidays in remote corners of Russia, information about household preferences, etc. – while little is revealed about the Chinese leaders, so they remain, as in older times, 'closed' persons for the Chinese masses. In the Chinese mental and linguistic picture of the world, the image of the «fighting nation's» leader is based on two programmatic statements, one of them belongs to the President of the Russian Federation: *«We are going to pursue terrorists everywhere. If they are in the airport, we will pursue them in the airport. And if we capture them in the toilet, then we will waste them in the outhouse … The issue has been resolved once and for all»* (Putin). The other statement based on the ideas of P. A. Stolypin was attributed to V. Putin by the Chinese media: *«Give me 20 years and I will give you a strong Russia!»* (Russia, 2017).

3. **The fearless treatment of dangerous wild animals by ordinary Russian people**, in particular, with another generally recognized symbol of the Russian nation – the brown bear. It should be recalled that there are practically no large animals left in the wild in China, and an ordinary Chinese can meet a bear, tiger or wolf, etc. only in the zoo. That is why the behavior of Russians towards such extremely dangerous animals shocks the Chinese: *«The bear is a very ferocious animal, but there are photographs on the web in which it seems that Russians mistake bears for pets, forcing them to do such things after which the bears lose their status of wild and dangerous beasts»* (Russkie, 2018). All Chinese are well aware of the episode from the famous classic novel *The River Creek,* when the character Wu Song kills a ferocious tiger with his bare hands. After watching videos and photographs on the In-

ternet on Russians and wild animals, Chinese youth come to the conclusion that the great deed of the Chinese literary hero does not seem to be anything special for the «fighting nation». Under the influence of the mental concept of the «fighting nation», a photo of Putin riding a bear (created in a photo editor) was perceived by a significant part of the Chinese public as a fact of reality. The difference in the attitude of Russians and Chinese to their national symbols is especially noticeable: the bamboo panda bear is positioned in modern Chinese culture as an absolutely peaceful, calm, and cute animal under state protection, enjoying the reverent respect and love of the entire Chinese people.

4. **A Russian woman as a physically strong and morally independent person,** ready at any time, if necessary, to challenge a man and end up winning, to solve any problem on her own. In traditional Chinese culture, even in our emancipated time, a different, albeit not always realistic, image of a woman is cultivated – gentle, sweet, weak, with no intentions to directly confront men.

5. **Fearless Aeroflot pilots are the only ones who make successful landings in any, even extremely unfavorable weather conditions, while pilots from other countries are forced to change their route and go to airfields in other cities.** Two Moscow-Beijing flights by the Russian airline Aeroflot appear as real examples in all sources: 1) October 2014, flight SU-200 – an hour and a half waiting in the air for the dispersion of thick fog in the sky over Beijing and a successful landing; 2) December 2016 – the only flight that landed in extremely bad weather conditions (strong wind and hail). On the Chinese Internet, very popular jokes are built in contrast to the usual behavior of the pilots of Chinese airlines: *«Just getting on the plane of the «fighting nation», being two hours late with a flight and arriving an hour earlier is not a dream!»* (Russia, 2017). Besides, the story of the famous American actor Leonardo DiCaprio on The Ellen DeGeneres Show about his worst moment in life – an Aeroflot flight, during which one of the aircraft's engines caught fire, and about the amazing calmness of the Russian crew and passengers (Russkie, 2018).

6. **«Vodka instead of blood»**: a stereotypical view of Russians as people who barely get drunken even after drinking much. It should be noted that in Chinese culture, being on the street in a state of obvious alcoholic intoxication is strongly condemned and perceived as shameful.

7. **Full adaptation to a cold climate** and low temperatures – a stereotype based on a large stock of photo and video materials in the Chinese Internet, about the love of Russians of all ages, from kids to old people, for winter swimming, Epiphany bathing, and playing sports in the cold, working outside in low temperatures, etc. Although many Chinese live today in places with severe climate, the overwhelming majority of the PRC's population choose, as places of their residence, areas with a mild and temperate climate.

From 2016, all the Chinese media suddenly start referring to the Japanese comics manga «Dragon Ball», created by Akira Toriyama, and its numerous film adaptations very popular among modern Chinese teenagers, as to the origin of the concept of the «fighting nation». The humanoid alien race sayia-jin appears in the manga and TV series as the «fighting nation», and, although the manga was based on «Journey to the West» – classic Chinese novel popular in Japan, a number of specific characteristics of the Saiyan people made it possible to make a metaphorical transfer of the name the «fighting nation» to the representatives of the Russian nation: the Saiyan, like the Russians, 1) are a people with a culture alien to the Chinese; 2) have tremendous physical strength; 3) the harder they are beaten, the stronger they become in the end; and 4) because of constant wars, they are in a demographic hole.

Campaign to discredit
the «fighting nation» concept
in the Chinese media

Having compared the content of the «fighting nation» concept in the Chinese media in 2015 and 2016, we notice that there is a rapid change from a serious scientific approach to the study of the phenomenon, to its widest popularization as an Internet meme, which, in its turn, leads to a strong influence on the mindset of Chinese youth. Chinese high school students start revealing the behavior traits related to the concept of the «fighting nation»: they address to each other using the Russian word «comrade»; they choose «Russian» kvass over more usual cola or milk tea; and, as a stylistic alternative to vodka inaccessible for them, they shout the Russian «hooray» at sports competitions, demonstrating solidarity and a high level of the «fighting spirit»; as well as all sporting successes of the students studying the Russian language are explained, in a half-joking manner, by the influence of the «fighting nation's» language.

Such popularity of the meme, as well as the vivid reaction of Chinese youth who truly admire and slightly envy Russians living a bright, free, albeit quite a peculiar life, was a complete surprise for the Chinese authorities. The reason is that, for the first time in many years, the younger generation chose as their «heroes» not the characters from the national history but the contemporary citizens of albeit friendly but, still, another country. In the fight to influence minds of their youth, Chinese authorities started discrediting the concept of Russians as the «fighting nation». The first step is, as noticed by all Russian-speaking users of the Chinese Internet, an increase in the flow of Internet materials with a clear negative content in relation to Russians: *«These publications have a lot of video and photo materials where Russians engage in mass brawls, violate driving rules, play with weapons and drink liters of vodka. Rough humorous content, shocking and repulsive illustrations of Russian realities prevail. <...> all of this is drowning in an ocean of irony»* (Karateeva), which now permeates each of the above elements of the concept of the «fighting nation».

In May 2016, Chinese Military Network (zhōngguó jūnwǎng) – the military news portal of China, the only official Internet resource of the People's Liberation Army of China – published two articles that analyze how modern Russia and its people correlates with the concept of the «fighting nation». In the first article, «The unknown about Russia: is Russia really a 'fighting nation'», the authors openly admit that V. Putin never said the phrase «Give me 20

years and I will give you a strong Russia!» and that the phrase was attributed to the Russian president by the Chinese media. The authors suggest the following: *«Out of Putin's respect for Stolypin, combined with Putin's trajectory and thinking, it seems it is possible that Putin also has a «20-year complex»* (Unknown about Russia), transparently hinting that neither P. Stolypin, nor V. Putin were able to radically transform Russia in 20 years. In addition, there is a noticeable decline in the Russian economy, and the attitude of the Chinese people towards the concept of a the «fighting nation» is characterized as a «blind worship of compatriots»: *«It seems that only the Chinese speak this way,»* said Sun Li Zhou, Deputy Dean of the Institute of World and Chinese Agenda at the S*outhwest University of Political Science and Law; he has visited Russia many times, communicated with Russians from different social strata and has never heard of Russians calling themselves «a fighting nation»* (Unknown about Russia).

Second article (dated May 31, 2016), «A Different View of Russia Today», further discusses the issues the Russian economy is facing, noting that the stability of Russian society is based solely on the recently forced patriotism: *«It is precisely because the Russian people are imbued with a trustworthy patriotic spirit that Russian society remains stable even under such economic pressure»* (Inoi vzgliad na segodniashniuiu Rossiiu). In the second part of this article, «Is Russia a country of the 'fighting nation'?», the authors again criticize the enthusiastic reaction of the Chinese people, who do not understand the cultural differences between Russians and Chinese, and, after expressing several historical compliments to the Russian people, nevertheless declare that «it would be a mistake to label Russians as the «fighting nation» (Inoi vzgliad na segodniashniuiu Rossiiu). It should be noted that it is in this publication that the idea of a veiled transfer of the positive components of the «fighting nation» concept from the Russian to the Chinese people begins to manifest itself clearly. Thus, the authors of the article, characterizing the peculiarities of Russians as the «fighting nation», use the main ideas of modern Chinese propaganda about the Chinese people: *«First,*

patriotism is deep in the people's consciousness; second, the people is against unceremonious encroachment on the interests of national survival; and, third, there is a strong sense of national pride. <…> true traits <…> of the «fighting people»: brave, but not fierce; able to fight, but not aggressive; strong, but not coerced by force» (Inoi vzgliad na segodniashniuiu Rossiiu).

The article «Four Weaknesses of Russia» by Sohu, Chinese media agency, reveals even harsher rhetoric. The article does not mention the «fighting nation» concept, but it still continues the campaign to debunk this concept, using a hidden comparison in favor of the PRC and the Chinese people.

1. Thus, analyzing the first problem of Russia – the demographic one, the authors of the publication note a huge disproportion between its female and male population. With the words of Mao Zedong, they deny Russia's status as the world power: *«Mao Zedong once said: «The more people, the more strength.» <…> the population of 140 million people <…> does not suit to the status of the world power»* (Sohu, 2019).

2. The second problem, according to the Chinese side, is the multi-nationality of the Russian state: *«Russia is a multinational state. There are 194 nationalities in total, and Russians make up 80 %. This has created difficulties in leading the peoples inhabiting Russia; in other words, managing them is expensive»* (Sohu, 2019); with 96 nationalities and 92 % of the Han population, China seems to the authors a more stable formation.

3. Considering the third weakness – the economic one, the Chinese publication predicts a complete defeat for Russia on the world stage: *«Today, in a global stabilizing situation when the economy is becoming more important, Russia with its weak economic development is doomed to failure»* (Sohu, 2019), while the powerful economy of the PRC provides the necessary level of national security.

4. The fourth weakness is international relations, in which, as mentioned above, the Chinese authors assign Russia the position of the main enemy of the United States, and a lone enemy, since Russia does not have a single sig-

nificant ally: the countries of Western Europe «experienced the horror of the Soviet period», the countries of Eastern Europe «were subjected to Russia's aggression», and the countries of the Middle East are dissatisfied with Russia.

Let us note that, summing up the results of the publication, the authors still call Russia the world power, but the content of the article itself directly contradicts this conclusion: in 2021, it is not China that needs Russia with its «fighting nation» as an allies, but Russia needs China as a strong ally to survive, with real military and economic power and numerous equally strong and militant Chinese people.

The idea of transferring the content of the «fighting nation» concept to the Chinese people

The propaganda of «the Chinese are a real fighting nation» idea is actively and effectively carried out with the help of modern Chinese cinema and television: among the mass of inexpensive and uncomplicated film and television production, we note a number of high-budget ones produced recently and based on real events, albeit in a very embellished form, on military exploits, military skills, military spirit, patriotism, and self-sacrifice of Chinese soldiers of all eras, for example, Red Sea Operation (2018), The Eight Hundred (2020), Sacrifice (2020), etc.

It is likely that the impact of this idea manifests itself not only among ordinary citizens of the PRC, but also among the country's top leadership, representing China's interests in foreign policy. Thus, here is quite unexpected for the American side and the entire world diplomacy, instantaneous and extremely tough (which is absolutely not typical of the traditions of Chinese diplomacy) response of the Chinese delegation consisting of Foreign Minister and State Councilor Wang Yi and Director of the Central Commission on Foreign Affairs of the Chinese Communist Party Yang Jiechi to all the claims made by the United States during a bilateral meeting in Alaska on March 19, 2021: *«Yang Jiechi: ... Therefore, let me say here that in the presence of the Chinese side, the United States has no right to declare that it is going to speak with China from a position of strength ... And even 20 or 30 years ago, the Amer-*

ican side did not have the right to say that, because it is impossible to do things with the Chinese people in such a way» (CNBC, 2021).

Results

Taking into account the above facts, observations, and analysis findings, the author comes to the following conclusions:

1) with a high degree of probability, we can speak of not the natural linguistic development of the expression the «fighting nation» in relation to the Russian people, but of its artificial introduction and popularization at the initial stage in order to achieve certain political goals and the formation of mental attitudes of the Chinese nation towards Russians;

2) until 2016, the «fighting nation» concept had professional cultural and historical content and a clear positive connotation;

3) in 2016, the «fighting nation» concept undergoes a forced transformation into an Internet meme and is embedded as a constant in the modern worldview of the Chinese nation, mainly of the youth;

4) among the youth inclined to independently choosing an example to follow, the Chinese authorities lost, for some time, control over the functioning of the concept; this leads to taking measures against the popularity of the concept;

5) the campaign to discredit the concept of «Russians are a fighting nation», which has achieved only limited success, is an attempt to regain control over how the concept works and what it conveys;

6) a trend in this concept's development in the coming years is related to the transfer of positive features of the «fighting nation» from Russian to Chinese – an attractive thus efficient idea for the Chinese worldview.

Thus, after tracing the development of the linguistic concept of the «fighting nation» from its origin to the present, we have witnessed extensive transformations of the semantic structure of the concept, changes in its connotative assessment; we have examined its psychological impact on certain segments of the Chinese population, and also confirmed the possibility of using the «fighting nation» concept as a tool for influencing the Chinese social consciousness.

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Comparative Analysis of the Coronavirus Metaphorical Projections in the Chinese and Russian Mass Media

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Abstract. This research focuses on a comparative analysis of the coronavirus metaphorical image in the Chinese and Russian mass media. The discursive theory of metaphor serves as a theoretical basis for our study. Within the framework of this theory metaphor is referred to as a cognitive frame, which operates in the discursive space for a certain period of time. J. Charteris-Black's Metaphor Critical Analysis has been used for the practical part of this paper. Linguistic analysis is based upon headlines and leads of Chinese and Russian news reports on the coronavirus pandemic. A total of 750 units of analysis in Chinese and 1,000 units of analysis in Russian have been examined. The authors arrive at the conclusion that media projections of the coronavirus image in the PRC and Russia are similar. Among the most widespread metaphorical models are «Virus is Enemy/Antagonist,» «Virus is Natural Disaster/Phenomenon,» «Virus is Living Creature,» and «Virus is Cause of Fear.» Despite overall homogeneity of metaphorical images, quantitative indicators of the distribution of metaphors and metaphorical implications (entailments) show significant differences. Critical analysis of Chinese and Russian media metaphors has made it possible to scrutinize public opinion within two different political systems.

Keywords: coronavirus, military metaphor, media discourse, metaphorical model, representation.

Research area: linguisctics.

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Сопоставительный анализ метафорических проекций коронавируса в медийных пространствах Китая и России

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Аннотация. Целью данной статьи ставится сопоставительный анализ метафорического образа коронавируса в китайских и российских СМИ. Теоретической базой исследования послужила дискурсивная теория метафоры. В рамках названной теории под метафорой понимается некий когнитивный фрейм, органично вписанный и функционирующий в данном дискурсивном пространстве на протяжении определенного времени. В основу практической части исследования положена методология критического анализа метафоры Дж. Чартерис-Блэка (Metaphor Critical Analysis). Материалом исследования послужили заголовки и аннотации (лиды) китайских и российских новостных сообщений, посвященных пандемии. Суммарно обследовано 750 единиц анализа на китайском языке и 1000 единиц анализа на русском языке. Делается вывод о том, что медийные проекции образа коронавирусной инфекции в исследуемой языковой паре схожи. К наиболее частотным репрезентациям отнесем следующие метафорические модели: «ВИРУС – это ВРАГ/ПРОТИВНИК», «ВИРУС – это ПРИРОДНОЕ БЕДСТВИЕ/ЯВЛЕНИЕ», «ВИРУС – это ЖИВОЕ СУЩЕСТВО», «ВИРУС – это ПРИЧИНА СТРАХА». Несмотря на общую гомогенность метафорических образов, количественные показатели распределения метафор и метафорических импликаций свидетельствуют о значительных различиях. Критический анализ метафоры китайских и российских СМИ позволил сложить представление о моделях общественного мнения в рамках двух отличных политических систем.

Ключевые слова: коронавирус, метафора войны, медиадискурс, метафорическая модель, репрезентация.

Научная специальность: 10.02.00 – языкознание.

Introduction

The coronavirus infection outbreak has every reason to be considered one of the most significant global challenges of the year 2020. According to expert estimates, the infection was first registered in Wuhan, the capital of China's Hubei Province. In a matter of months, the epidemic spread worldwide, claiming hundreds of thousands of human lives. The pandemic is by no means narrowed to the field of health care alone. COVID-19 intoxicated international relations, «infected» the world economy, brought down stock markets and had a destructive impact on all areas of society. The pandemic crisis involves legal, political, financial, economic, ethical, and other aspects.

COVID-19 sparked a crisis of confidence in authority. Harvard University Professor D. Jo-

selit (Joselit, 2020) concludes that the spread of the new coronovirus in the United States and around the globe was made possible through «media of mass disinformation». The scholar argues that the real purpose of the media has nothing to do with informing the population. Instead, broadcasting fuels hysteria and fear. Unlike biological viruses infecting human cells, news agencies (governmental, public or private) seek to control viral forms of information. This is possible because, like any organic virus traveling from one host to another, the infovirus can no longer be curbed by any state measure. Opposed to social distancing, vacuum of information is almost unattainable.

There is little wonder the coronacrisis became a breeding ground for a number of conspiracy theories. The latter, in particular, question the effectiveness of mass vaccination against the background of the constantly mutating virus. Medical research reliability and preventive measures effectiveness face strong doubts. There exist numerous hypotheses that small and medium-sized businesses fell prey to key market players, namely transnational corporations, Internet giants, and pharmaceutical companies.

Every single social turmoil finds its reflection in the mirror of language. Mundane lexicon has been growing more and more medical. It registers a plethora of medical nominative units, namely *social distancing, strain, virus mortality rate*, *lockdown*, *PCR testing, respiratory disease*, *airborne contamination*, and a variety of others. The very perception of the term «pandemic» in layman's collective consciousness is changed. According to the Great Medical Encyclopedia, a pandemic (from Greek πᾶν (*pan*) – «all» and δῆμος (*demos*) – «local people,» «the crowd») is referred to as the highest degree of epidemic development. A pandemic is an extremely severe epidemic spreading across countries and continents. Humanity is familiar with deadly epidemics of plague, cholera, influenza, and smallpox. In the 20th century the «Spanish Plague» (1918–1920) killed 20 million people in Europe, Russia, America, China, and India. Among the important criteria of pandemics are the index of contagiousness, mode of transmission, incubation period, lev-

el of tension of collective immunity, and high mortality rate (GME, Vol. 18, Burgasov).

The virus devilry hides in its effects both on the body and mind. Under conditions of permanent information noise around COVID-19, the acuity of critical thinking is blunted. This happens because cognitive sphere suffers tremendous stress. Senses of anxiety and fear artificially induced in the target audience over a long period of time leave unhealed mental scars. Today words and viruses bear strong resemblance. Probably, the influenza virus was once a healthy lung cell. Later, that cell evolved into a parasitic organism that destroys the lungs. The same logic is applicable to verbal entities generated by the power of human thought. Probably, a word was produced by a healthy neural cell. Invading a healthy body, the verbal parasite affects the central nervous system (Burroughs, 1967).

Prescriptions of health care workers and recommendations of the authorities may protect you from an invisible and deadly disease. Nevertheless, protecting one's consciousness from information about the virus is out-of-the-reach. There is no denying the fact that mass media is the main information channel about the virus and its consequences. Broadcasting discourse creates the epidemic image in the mind of the population.

The development of cognitive science and methods of critical discourse analysis allowed to expand purely linguistic research to the medical field (Wodak, Meyer, 2001). J. Reisfield and J. Wilson (Reisfield, Wilson, 2004) argue that militarized metaphors of cancer patients, emphasizing their heroic status, have a beneficial effect on the mental state.

Fear, however, is not always a bad thing. Fear can be channelized to trigger internal resources. O. Kalinin's study (Kalinin, 2020) concludes that metaphorical projection in the media is a powerful means to combat COVID-19. China is a fine example of successful countering the global menace. This is largely due to the fact that «the coronavirus representation in mass media was part of the state measures to combat the epidemic» (Ibid.). Chinese media well-balanced and consistent policies helped greatly prevent panic among the population.

The scourge was portrayed as dangerous, but incapable of causing catastrophic consequences (Ibid.). Knitting the Chinese people together in the face of a killer virus, destructive and ubiquitous, was intended to do just that. Vivid metaphorical images of the national mass media became part of the state agenda. Metaphorical projections of «the PRC as a battlefield,» «medical workers' heroic confrontation,» and «the nationwide war on the natural disaster» are among striking examples.

The Russian Federation delivered less successful fight against the coronavirus. Faced with the disease in late spring 2020, Russia's government took a number of measures to stop COVID-19. Due to preventive measures the widespread invasion of the country was averted. National mass media played an important role in countering the pandemic. However, one has to admit that efforts of news outlets alone were not enough to mobilize the Russian people at the decisive moment.

Purpose and hypothesis of the study

The main purpose of this paper is to compare COVID-19 metaphorical projections in the Chinese and Russian media. This study explores a correlation between metaphorical images of the pandemic and extra-linguistic factors.

In line with our premise, the coronavirus metaphorical image in mass media is caused by (a) country's epidemiological situation, and (b) domestic political situation specifics. In this regard we put forward a hypothesis to be empirically tested. The media virus representation is an explicated discursive metaphor with the source domain of WAR. The content of the military metaphor is conditioned extra-linguistically, namely by the virus spread dynamics inside the country and its internal political environment.

To maintain our hypothesis empirically, a total of 750 headlines and leads of news reports in Chinese were brought for analysis. We studied 15 news items daily for 50 days from January 21 to March 10, 2020. The period specified was marked by the deadliest attack of COVID-19 on China. Illustrative material in Russian comprises 945 news reports from

April 12 to June 14, 2020. Our analysis relies upon a random sampling method. 15 news reports on countering the coronavirus infection were studied daily. As opposed to Chinese, a longer time interval was chosen for the Russian language. Given the virus had targeted Russia later, stabilization of the situation was also delayed in time.

To reach the goal of this study, we have consistently solved a number of tasks as follows:

• A content analysis of headlines and leads in Chinese and Russian has been conducted;

• Most frequent COVID-19 metaphorical models have been revealed;

• The metaphor of WAR and its entailments in Chinese and Russian media discourses have been studied;

• A comparative analysis of results obtained in Chinese and Russian mass media discourses has been set forth.

Theoretical foundations of the study

M. Foucault (Foucault, 2002) defines discourse as a space permeated by a common idea and given in a system of concepts. This cognitive field brings together various texts on a certain subject. Understanding a particular discourse is impossible unless a set of extra-linguistic factors of a particular chronotope is taken into consideration. This vital for our study idea merits special attention. Foucault argues that in relation to external factors, a language user personality plays a secondary role. Among an array of extra-linguistic factors are ideology, political conjuncture, social hierarchy of a particular society, etc.

The theoretical basis of this study comprises the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) (Lakoff, Johnson, 1980; Kövecses, 2016) and discourse theory of metaphor (Hülsse, 2003; Walter, Helmig, 2005). In addition, we have referred to works on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Weiss, Wodak, 2003; Wodak, Meyer, 2009; Simpson, Mayr, Statham, 2018a) and the Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) (Charteris-Black, 2004; Simpson, Mayr, Statham, 2018b).

CDA aims to identify and interpret metaphorical discourse patterns with respect to extra-linguistic factors. It is intended to exam-

ine the impact of metaphorical models on the target audience collective consciousness.

Theoretical and methodological foundations of Critical Metaphor Analysis have been developed by J. Charteris-Black (Charteris-Black, 2004). This method is applicable to different languages and allows revealing implicit information of discursive metaphorical models. CMA has both purely theoretical and applied aspects (Li, 2016; Simpson, Mayr, Statham, 2018b).

German linguists J. Walter, J. Helmig and R. Hülsse (Hülsse, 2003a; Hülsse, 2003b) have pioneered the idea that metaphor is not only a cognitive phenomenon, but also a social one. Categorization structures expressed implicitly in metaphor contribute to shaping social reality. Discursive metaphor is understood as a relatively stable metaphorical frame for a given type of discourse. A discursive metaphor exhibits a number of attributes, namely length, stability, frame character and belonging to a certain discourse (Zinken, Hellsten, Nerlich, 2008).

A metaphoric implication (entailment) is referred to as extra shades of meaning mapped from the source domain to the target domain. Additional accents of a conceptual metaphor go beyond its basic meaning (Kövecses, 2005).

In this study metaphor is defined as a cognitive and discursive phenomenon. Moreover, mass media metaphorical projections possess a powerful manipulative potential. Metaphors of the conceptual domain of WAR shape the image of the enemy. A locutionary target mindset is effected by persuasion and suggestion. V. Chernyavskaya (Chernyavskaya, 2006) argues that persuasion appeals to rational thinking and urges to commit or refuse to commit certain actions. Suggestion, in its turn, appeals to emotional sphere and can be characterized as a hidden psychological influence. Information-ideological confrontation implies (a) modeling and dehumanization of the external enemy's image; (b) persistent information support for the influence agent's positive image; (c) conquering and establishing hegemony over the enemy's information space (Romanov, 2020a).

COVID-19 information transmitted through mass media correlates with cognitive structures of the target audience's consciousness, acquires new conceptual features, and subject to categorization. In our opinion, a significant role in the virus media representation is attributed to metaphors.

When the author of an oral or written message (article or news report) transfers virus features (source domain) to other areas of human knowledge (target domain), he undoubtedly appeals to fundamental cognitive structures of his readers and exerts a powerful impact on the image creation. Here, we face two questions. What is the power of metaphor? And why does a stereotyped news report of factual details lose its persuasiveness?

In contrast to speech clichés and dry figure of statistics, metaphor shows vividness of the image. News stories repeated day after day lack creativity. The news media discourse subjects to the publicist style imperative, and therefore stereotypical. A stereotype is a simplified, rigid to new information, culturally determined and emotionally marked idea of a certain fragment of reality (subject, phenomenon or process), living both in individual and collective minds of entire social groups (Romanov, 2020a). Against the background of a faceless text, picturesque metaphorical images are intended to awaken the reader. Culturally determined stereotypes are embodied both in mental images-perceptions and verbal forms of these images (Romanov, 2020b).

Immersed in a standard news frame metaphor is an eye-catcher if its image is non-trivial. So called «dead metaphorical projections» with an erased inner form cannot do that. The opposite is true as well. Short of a stereotypical media message filled with statistics and clichéd formulas of journalism, metaphor loses its gloss. A focus on fundamental and universal social values (well-being, security, health or stability) and strong emotions multiplies metaphorical effect.

Results of the study

The analysis of 750 news reports in Chinese and 945 news articles in Russian reveals four most typical metaphorical models for the new coronavirus conceptualization: «Virus – is Enemy/Antagonist,» «Virus – is Living Crea-

ture,» « Virus – is Natural Disaster,» and «Virus – is Cause of Stress». A total number of media discourse metaphors in Chinese is 611 and 504 for Russia's media.

First of all, we conclude that the Russian language shows lower level of metaphorization. On average, in Chinese there are 0.814 metaphors per news report, while in Russian the index is merely 0.53. Figure 1 presents quantitative and percentage distribution of metaphorical models classified by source domain.

The percentage of identified metaphorical models for Chinese and Russian media discourses is set forth in Figure 2.

The composition of Chinese and English metaphorical models and the quantitative distribution of these models are quite similar. The distribution of WAR and FEAR metaphors displays obvious differences implicitly related to the sociocultural context. Let us consider the similarities and differences in more detail.

War metaphors are often used to describe various epidemics, pandemics, and diseases: cancer (Camus, 2009), AIDS (Sandahl, 2001), swine flu (Larson, Nerlich, Wallis, 2005), Ebola (Trčková, 2015), atypical pneumonia (Washer, 2004), and others. Using military terms, the fight against the plague in Manchuria is described in R. Kipling's «March of Spies» (Bogolyubov, 2020). War metaphors are widely used because in times of pandemic people seek to fight it and war is known to be the ultimate form of confrontation.

In case of China the metaphorical model with the source domain of WAR is the most frequent. This model accounts for 60.7 % of all metaphorical representations. Metaphors are verbalized through such military terms as 抗击kàngjī «to counterattack, to fight back»; 动员 dòngyuán «to mobilize»; 消灭xiāomiè «to destroy, eliminate»; 杀灭shāmiè «to destroy, exterminate»; 预防 yùfáng «to prevent»; 打击 dǎjī «to strike»; 打赢 dǎyíng «to win,» and others. It
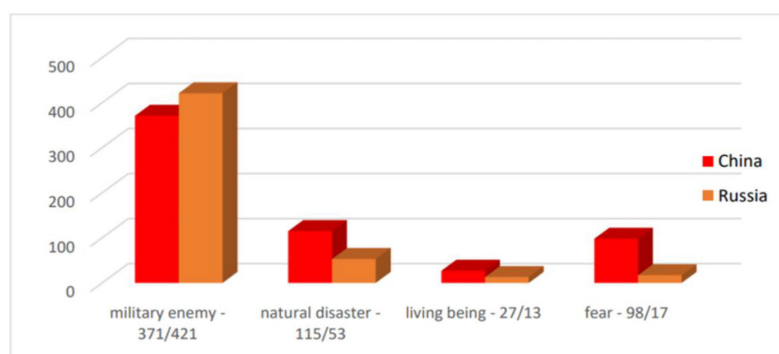

Fig. 1. Virus metaphorical models frequency in the Chinese and Russian online media discourses
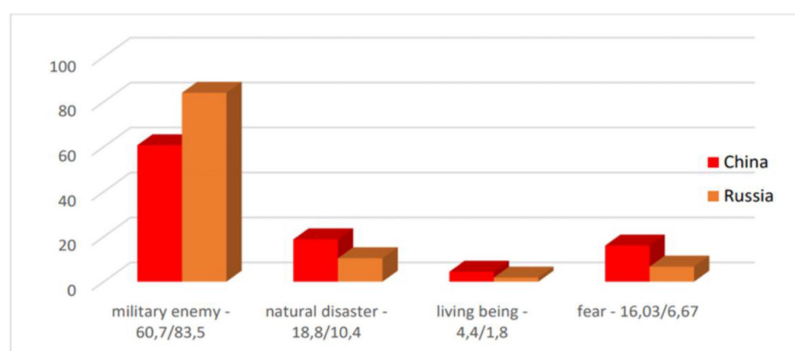
Fig. 2. Virus metaphorical models percentage ratio in the Chinese and Russian online media discourses

should be noted that the term 打赢 dǎyíng «defeat» began to prevail in news articles headlines from the middle of February. This period marks significant improvement of the epidemiological situation. Here, the neologism 战疫 zhànyì «war on the epidemic» (frequency rate – 27) is remarkable within this context.

«Fighting Virus is War» metaphor delivers six entailments. Their quantitative and percentage distribution is presented in Table 1.

Most war metaphors relate either to offensive or defensive hostilities. In quantitative terms metaphors of defense and attack are almost identical. The model «Medical Workers are War Heroes» is quite frequent, as opposed to the «Patients are Victims of War» metaphorical projection.

In Russian media discourse the metaphorical model with the source domain of WAR is even more popular. This model encounters 421 times out of 504 metaphors, which is 83.5 %. Leads and headlines use such military terms as «war,» «victory,» «enemy,» «attack,» «mobilization,» «strikes,» «to die,» «hero,» «frontline,» «battlefield,» «battle,» «attack,» and «fighting headquarters».

For Russia's media WAR terms are an obvious choice. Quite often military metaphors make part of news reports headlines. For example, «Medics are more important than generals in war,» «The market withstood the coronavirus attack». In most cases, the coronavirus is portrayed as an offensive enemy the Russian nation has to defend against. Allusions to reports from the Great Patriotic War front lines are not uncommon: «A 96-year-old veteran of the Great Patriotic War managed to defeat the coronavirus».

WAR metaphor entailments which describe fighting against the coronavirus in Russia are presented in Table 2.

The distribution of WAR metaphors entailments in Russia shows a little different picture. Slightly less than half of the metaphors relate to defensive activities against the enemy (45.3 %). There are much less metaphors of attack. This suggests that the virus is perceived as a suddenly attacked enemy. Medical heroes and victims of war on the virus metaphors demonstrate a fairly high percentage.

The Chinese media discourse makes use of a large number of metaphors belonging to

Table 1. The WAR metaphor entailments in the Chinese online media discourse

Entailmnet	Number	Proportion (%)
Fighting the virus is protecting against the enemy	117	31,53
Fighting the virus is attacking the enemy	105	28,30
Medical workers are war heroes	72	19,41
The fight against the virus is a common war	29	7,82
China is a battlefield	32	8,62
Patients are victims of war	5	4,31

Table 2. The WAR metaphor entailments in the Russian online media discourse

Entailmnet	Number	Proportion (%)
Fighting the virus is protecting against the enemy	168	45,28
Fighting the virus is attacking the enemy	53	14,28
Medical workers are war heroes	107	28,84
The fight against the virus is a common war	15	4,04
Russia is a battlefield	9	2,42
Patients are victims of war	69	18,59

the model «Virus is Natural Death». This figure is equal to 18 % of the total number of identified metaphors. In this case the virus is perceived as a kind of dangerous element or physical agent. Sometimes this metaphorical projection is associated with a hurricane (frequency rate – 3) or an earthquake (frequency rate – 4). Among the most widespread lexemes are 天灾 tiānzāi «natural disaster, irresistible force»; 灾害 zāihài «disaster, misfortune»; 灾难 zāinàn «disaster, calamity».

In the Russian media discourse this metaphorical model accounts for nearly 10 % of all metaphors. Disaster metaphors offer no national specific features. Most often these metaphorical projections are associated with the lexeme «disaster». For example, «no one discerned in the fog of things to come such a disaster as the coronavirus pandemic,» «the coronavirus epidemic hit the tourist market like a natural disaster».

The metaphorical projection «Virus is Cause of Fear» merits special attention. In this case, the basis for metaphorical mapping is fear though its source is not specified. In the Chinese media discourse such metaphors account for 16 % of all metaphorical models. The frequency rate is 98. For example, 担忧之时 «in times of anxiety,» 是人类最害怕最讨厌的病毒之一 «one of the most frightening and appalling viruses».

This metaphorical model plays a minor role in Russia's media discourse. We have identified only 17 such metaphors focused on lexemes «fear,» «anxiety,» «terrible dream,» and «terror.»

The least frequent metaphorical model for both discourses is the metaphor «Virus is Living Being». In Chinese the number of such metaphors is 27 as compared to 13 in Russian. The percentage distribution is 4.4 % and 2.57 %, respectively. This group comprises all metaphorical models, associated with mechanisms of personification and comparison with humans or animals, real or mythological. For example, 疫情肆虐 – «the epidemic is rampant», 病毒虽然凶猛 – «although the virus is ferocious». The comprehension of viral infection as a living being largely reflects the mythological perception of nature, which is characteristic of

Chinese culture. Russia's media discourse features similar trends. Such metaphorical projections as «coronavirus coughs on the economy,» «coronavirus delivers a death sentence,» and «the rage of the coronavirus» clearly personify the plague.

Discussion

The image of the coronavirus in China's media is created through metaphors of war, natural disaster, and fear. The virus becomes an enemy, and the fight against it turns into hostilities. At the same time, the pandemic is a natural enemy sowing fear and anxiety. However, prevailing military metaphors contribute to figurative representation of the virus as a foe to be confronted and ultimately defeated. The collective conscience is instilled with the idea that the enemy is not so dangerous or fatally lethal, and probably will bring no serious consequences. Combating the plague, however, requires mobilization of the entire nation, which reflects Chinese traditional model of «meeting external challenges». Thus, the fight against COVID-19 implies active and coordinated actions both at the governmental and national levels. Under the media agenda, joint efforts should «strike» and «defeat» the virus.

The virus image representation in Russia's media is based on similar metaphorical models. The difference can be traced in the quantitative distribution of metaphors and their entailments. Russian mass media create an image of an unexpected adversary on the offensive, which is quite dangerous and claims multiple deaths. Much attention is paid to «viral attacks» on the economy, health care system, and international relations. Fighting the epidemic is portrayed as a «defensive war». The war consists in taking all necessary measures, however the question of how to win this confrontation has yet to be answered.

The use of the WAR metaphor differs in media discourses of the two countries. China sets forth a clear strategy. Defense comes first, followed by offensive leading to ultimate victory. The «war on the virus» is seen as a people's war with its own heroes. To avert panic among the population and prevent interfering

with the conduct of the war itself, the Chinese media deliberately do not report on war casualties.

Russia's media demonstrate a more vibrant militaristic tone of speech. Nevertheless, modeling of the enemy image implies no offensive operations on the virus. News reports resemble more a list of recommendations rather than a piercing call for action. It's noteworthy that a significant number of references to victims and low-profile representation of the «Country is Battlefield» model has resulted in negative consequences. Having realized the problem, the nation has underestimated its magnitude and ignored urges for national mobilization. The Russian media have failed to create an image of the virus as a foe to be defeated. Instead, national media have created the «attacking enemy» image. As a result, attempts for general mobilization have been implemented only partially.

Within the framework of two different cultural and political systems we deal with two models of shaping public opinion on countering threats to social prosperity. The Chinese political authorities possess necessary resources to conduct general mobilization, quickly form public opinion, and prevent panic mindset among the population. There should be emphasized that the PRC has successfully coordinated governmental anti-virus measures with the strategy of the media covering. Shaping the vi-

rus image has become one of the aspects of the anti-pandemic campaign.

Russia's media have also chosen to describe the epidemic in military terms. This corresponds to the national character, accustomed to unity in the face of the enemy. Due to the lack of a coordinated information agenda, the enemy image is incomplete and the Russian nation is still reluctant to wage a «people's war» against the plague. In contrast to China, Russia's authorities and its mass media have failed to present a united front.

Conclusion

The study of the coronavirus representation in the Chinese and Russian media has made it possible to juxtapose metaphorical models of the two countries. Among the reasons for differences identified are the domestic political situation and fundamental cultural differences. Extra-linguistic factors, such as the sick and recovered statistics are of great significance as well. Thus, the public opinion formation on the new virus in China has developed in parallel with measures taken by the authorities to combat COVID-19, which is not the case with Russia.

The results of our study confirm the role of metaphor in reflecting reality, as well as in shaping collective views of it. Metaphorical projections within media discourse have a significant impact on the public opinion.

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Where the Dialogue Ends:
Problems of Reception of Russian Literature in China

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Abstract. The article is devoted to the phenomenon of the conflict of interpretations in the perception of the text by a foreign recipient. The study explores reasons for the difficulty of understanding unrealistic works in the Chinese readership and proposes a variant of improving the commentary as an intermediary text. The research is based on the methodological approaches and provisions of the theory of intercultural communication, discourse theory, receptive aesthetics and hermeneutics. As a result of the analysis of the judgments and assessments of Chinese students and specialists in Russian, we identified their main receptive difficulties: difficult understanding of the tropes, omission of allusions, lack of mastery of the language of a particular literary phenomenon. The reason for the latter is the absence of interpretive reading models, which have not been formed due to the long-term ignorance in China of Russian modernist literature. As a result, even today there are conflicts of interpretations, attempts to interpret an unrealistic text in a realistic paradigm. The outdated, ideologically «correct» intermediary texts should be replaced by a new type of commentary. Its model, proposed by the authors of this article, includes the following structural elements: information about the cultural and literary context; clarification of the semantics of words that are important for understanding the text; designation of national stereotypes that can lead to false interpretation and assessment of the text; step-by-step algorithm for working with text; list of references. Such a commentary will allow not only to remove lexical difficulties, but also to form interpretation skills.

Keywords: hermeneutics, text reception, reception of Russian literature in China, Russian studies, interpretation.

Research area: philology, literature studies.

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Там, где заканчивается диалог: проблемы рецепции русской литературы в Китае

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Аннотация. Статья посвящена явлению конфликта интерпретаций в ситуации восприятия текста инокультурным реципиентом. Изучаются причины сложности понимания нереалистических произведений русских авторов в китайской читательской аудитории, предлагается вариант усовершенствования комментария как текста-посредника. Исследование опирается на методологические подходы и положения теории межкультурной коммуникации, теории дискурса, рецептивной эстетики и герменевтики. В результате анализа суждений и оценок китайских студентов и русистов были выявлены их главные рецептивные сложности: затрудненное понимание тропики, пропуск аллюзий и других форм отсылок к контексту, невладение языком (способом кодирования) того или иного литературного явления. Причиной последнего служит отсутствие интерпретационных читательских моделей, которые не сформировались из-за продолжительного игнорирования в Китае русской модернистской литературы, чуждой идейно и эстетически. В результате и сегодня имеются конфликты интерпретаций, попытки интерпретировать нереалистический текст в реалистической парадигме. На смену устаревшим, идеологически «правильным» текстам-посредникам должен прийти новый тип комментария. Его модель, предложенная авторами статьи, включает следующие структурные элементы: информацию о культурном и литературном контексте, отраженном в произведении; прояснение семантики слов, важных для понимания текста; обозначение национальных стереотипов, которые могут привести к ложной интерпретации и оценке текста; пошаговый алгоритм работы с текстом; список литературы. Такой комментарий позволит не только снять лексические трудности, но и сформировать интерпретационные навыки.

Ключевые слова: герменевтика, рецепция текста, рецепция русской литературы в Китае, русистика, интерпретация.

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Introduction

The time distance separating the writer and the text from the reader inevitably rises difficulties in reception. The new cultural background provokes the discovery of new meanings, actual context of the writer is not fully perceived, the allusions introduced are often indistinguishable. All that leads to a misunderstanding in significant aspects of the content. The situation is getting even more complicated in case of reception of foreign cultural texts. The difference in cultural contexts rises a conflict of interpretations.

Chinese students studying Russian language and literature often face difficulties in understanding fiction. Particular receptive difficulties happen when one gets acquainted with the works of the Silver Age and Russian postmodern literature. Some kind of intermediary texts that fill in the gaps in the understanding of Russian culture can help in solving this problem (on intercultural mediation discourse, see:

Kulikova, 2019; Kulikova, Prokhorova, 2016). The creation of an effective intermediary text, however, is impossible without understanding specific difficulties of interpretation, reasons of not understanding the works. All this makes the topic of this article actual with both theoretical and practical significance.

The purpose of the article is to identify conflicting aspects of Russian text reception in the Chinese readership, to study reasons of misunderstanding, and to model the intermediary text.

A certain difficulty in fulfilling the objective is due to the near absence of material that would record the facts of misunderstanding: mistakes made by students, judgments of non-professional readers. We used the statements of students who study Russian literature in the bachelor's and master's degrees at Sichuan University. The materials were collected by teachers from the Chinese university. In addition, we used critical and literary articles of Russianists, responses of Chinese teachers of Russian literature.

Theoretical framework

The research is based on the methodological approaches of the theory of intercultural communication, discourse theory, receptive aesthetics and hermeneutics. The empirical analysis phase applied pragmatic-cognitive discourse analysis as a method of research and potential resolution of interculturally complicated conflicts (Van Dijk, 1978, 1989, Karasik, 2002, Dijk, 1997).

We are based on the following theoretical and methodological guidelines:

– the text perceived by the reader is a non-static system of potential meanings that arise under the influence of various social and cultural factors; the text has sections of «communicative uncertainty», the filling (concretization) of which leads to the success or failure of interpretation (Ingarden, 1962);

– the work appears at the moment of «meeting» with the recipient, and this process depends on the horizon of expectation of the reader (Iauss, 1994, Gadamer, 1988);

– the process of reception is associated with a partial transformation of the text, which is also due to national cultural attitudes.

The hermeneutic aspect of the problem of text misunderstanding challenges some foundations of the theory of communication. If we accept the multiplicity of interpretation of a fiction text, how do we determine whether communication is (un)successful? The conflict of interpretations is not a deviation from the norm, it can be productive, capable of generating a plurality of meanings. At the same time, if the reception of a text by a foreign cultural reader is complicated, there may be no productive increment of meanings. Moreover, the difficulties of reception can develop into unwillingness to continue reading the work and rejection from Russian literature and culture.

Discussion

The teaching of Russian literature at foreign universities often uses linguistic and cultural commentaries. These intermediary texts clarify the vocabulary of the text, idioms, social and cultural context. They are, however, universal and don't consider the national mental attitudes that guide the interpretation of the foreign cultural recipient. An investigation into the causes of interpretive failures makes it possible to create commentaries for readers with certain national receptive attitudes that set interpretation models.

Perception of Russian texts
by the Chinese reader:
difficulties of reception and their reasons

A comparative typological analysis of the oral and written judgments of Chinese students revealed some types of difficulties in understanding Russian literary works:

1. Misunderstanding in words and phrases. There are mostly polysemantic words that the author uses in the main meaning, idioms, tropes.

2. Allusions and other forms of actualization of the social and cultural context, consciously included by the author, are not recognised.

3. Lack of knowledge of the specific language (coding method) inherent in a particular literary movement. An especially difficult receptive situation develops when reading the Silver Age and postmodernist works. The rea-

son is that Russian modernism as an aesthetic phenomenon was ignored in China during the 1950s and 1980s. The works of V. Bryusov, K. Bal'mont, F. Sologub, N. Gumiliov and others, which did not correlate with political attitudes and were aesthetically alien, have not been translated or studied. As a result, the Chinese reader has not mastered the specific modernist language of artistry. At the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, Chinese Russian studies began to actively fill blank spots in the idea about stages of development of Russian literature and, of course, faced difficulties in understanding modernist texts and the worldview of their authors. Chzhou Ch. in his work «Study of Russian Literature of the Silver Age» confesses that the Silver Age is a significant literary heritage, but its overall view is still vague for Chinese readers. He is convinced that it is necessary to full this lacuna (Chzhou, 2003: 2). Van Ts. identifies Russian formalism, M. Bakhtin's theory and the literature of the Silver Age as the main gaps in the history and theory of 20th-century Russian literature (Van, 2010: 25).

Reading modernist works, Chinese students and teachers face a lack of understanding of the specific imagery of the texts, religious and philosophical concepts. Typical questions of students: «What idea did the author put into this text?», «Is the value of the Silver Age literature really that great?», «Why did literature that is so different from realism suddenly emerge at the turn of the century?»

Another reason for the difficulty of reception of the Russian modernism is the insufficient number of academic hours provided for the study of the Silver Age (4 academic hours in bachelor's and master's programmes). Bachelor's studies do not provide for reading modernist texts in the original language (Sichuan University offers translations of Maiakovsky's works). The master's programme involves acquaintance with Russian texts at the choice of the teacher (these are usually the works of Bely, Maiakovsky, Gippius, Briusov, Merezhkovsky, Bal'mont).

Another reason for the conflict of interpretations is the lack of understanding of the worldview of modernists and people in general from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Setting to know the of Sologub's works, Chinese students fills confusion because of abundance of images of death, ask questions: «Why are the texts of the Silver Age so pessimistic?», «Why do decadents see the world this way?» For a long period of time (from 1930s to 1980s) Chinese Russianists estimated decadent literature, both Russian and Chinese, as depressive. For example, Chzhan Ch. in his monograph «Decadence in Chinese Literature of the end of 20th Century» (2005) describes decadent writers as dissatisfied with society but unable to change it and themselves, experiencing a spiritual crisis caused by the destruction of personal values and social ideals. At the same time, he notes that decadent writers have chosen the «wrong» aesthetic way of individualism and formalism. This view of decadence has turned into a disregard for the aesthetic finds of this literature.

Postmodernism is another phenomenon in Russian literature that is difficult to understand. The main reason for receptive difficulties, in our opinion, is a significant difference in cultural contexts. The lack of interpretive reading models leads to the confusion of Chinese students and teachers in the perception of game plots, a language game. They are looking for a perspective that would make it possible to rationally explain what is happening. For example, when reading Pelevin's novel «Chapaev and Emptiness», students required precision: when the hero is in a dream, and when he is in reality. Different forms of relativity cause confusion and misunderstanding.

The question about dialogue between postmodernism and the literary tradition is important for the Chinese reader. Another question is about the possible continuity that not only students, but also Russianists want to see. They have attitude to discovering productive forms of the tradition in modern literature and culture at the scale of the character and language of speaking about modernity. A clear break with tradition is estimated as a defeat, a dangerous tendency. For example, Li S. in his study «The Poetics of Russian Postmodern Literature» admits the importance of the effect of the deconstruction of ideology in postmodernism but points out that literature is being consumed by

play, experimentation, which can kill the beauty (Li, 2008: 14).

The value orientation towards tradition leads to the fact that the latest literary works are estimated in the aspect of a productive or unproductive deviation from the classics. As a result, postmodern works are studied almost only at the level of the specific form of texts, analysis of the content is carried out in a «realistic» way. The Russianist U Ts. admits: «The Russian realistic literary tradition will comprehensively permeate into postmodern literature; therefore, we often interpret postmodern texts taking into account the realistic form» (U, 2004: 56).

Continuity, not only in art but also in all of existence, is an important national attitude of the Chinese. This explains, for example, such errors in reading Tolstaia's novel «Kys'»: «Pushkin in the novel is a sign of a return to Russian literary tradition, to classics», «The writer worries about the problem of loss of many cultural traditions of the past, loss of the continuity of generations», «Tolstaia's novel is about the preservation of tradition, it has more tradition than deconstruction», «The titles of the novel chapters are designated by the letters of the Russian alphabet. This is because the author aims to support Russian traditional culture».

Russianists also tend to see a productive dialogue with tradition in Tolstaia's novel. Researcher Siui L. («The artistic features of the Tatiana Tolstaia's novel «Kys'»») is sure that the writer includes Pushkin in her text to reveal her lack of piety for the classics («classical things have only a shell, people do not care about the historical and cultural significance of the classics») and also to show that Pushkin must be firmly connected with modernity: «People cannot revive the country without understanding this person. Only by combining his concept of freedom, democracy, philanthropy with the postmodern impetuous life can the Russian tradition be reconstructed» (Siui, 2010: 22).

Chinese students hardly correlate such phenomena as modernism, avant-garde, postmodernism. Qualifying avant-garde literature as «very differing from traditional realism and conflicting with tradition», they classify postmodernism as an avant-garde. The reason for the lack of understanding, in our opinion, lies in the social, cultural and literary situation in China. Avant-garde literature appeared here only in the mid-to-late 1980s and was characterized as «postmodern» (Chen', 2015). By analogy with Chinese literature, students do not consider Russian postmodernism in association with modernism.

Obviously, the difficulties in perceiving Russian texts are explained not only by the level of language skills, but also by the idea of the social, cultural and literary context. They are associated with a lack of understanding of a particular aesthetic unrealistic language, with influence of national mental attitudes that guide the process of interpretation.

Commentaries in teaching Russian literature in China: reality and prospects

Russian studies are one of the actively developing areas in Chinese philology. Hundreds of thousands of students study Russian literature, but universities are unable to provide students with commentaries to works which make difficulties. The existing linguistic and cultural intermediary texts are outdated and represent an ideologically biased reading of the Russian literature. The textbook acts as a mediator. The most authoritative textbooks in China are the following.

Textbooks by Chinese authors: «History of the Russian Literature» (俄罗斯学史) Gen' G., Chzhan Ts., Iui I. (Beijing, 2003), «History of the Russian Literature» (俄国文学史) Chzhou M. (Shanghai, 1996), «History the of Russian Literature» (俄国文学史) Chzhen T. (Shanghai, 2019), «History of the Russian Literature of the 20th Century» (二十世纪俄罗斯文学史) Li Iu. (Beijing, 2000), «History of the Russian Literature of the 20th Century» (二十世纪俄罗斯文学 史) Li Kh., Chzhan Ts. (Chindang, 2004), «Russian Literature of the 20th Century: Ideological Currents and Directions» (二十世纪俄罗斯文学: 思潮 与流派) Chzhan Ts., Wan Ts., U Ts. (Beijing, 2012), «Literary Magic Square: Russian Literature of the 20th Century» (文学魔方—二十世纪的俄罗斯文学) Liu V. (Beijing, 2004).

Textbooks by Russian authors translated into Chinese: «History of the Russian Literature of the 20th Century (20–90s): Major Names» (二十世纪俄罗斯文学史), ed. S. I. Kormilova (translators: Chzhao D., Duan' L., Khu S., Nanjing, 2017); «History of the Russian Literature» (俄国文学史) Mirskii D. S. (translator Liu V., Beijing, 2020); «Russian literature of the XX century» (20 世纪俄罗斯文学) V. V. Agenosov (translator Lin' Ts., Beijing, 2001).

Translations of the Silver Age works with commentaries make the texts easier to understand and act as intermediaries. There are commentaries explaining mythological plots and symbols (Chzhen' T. «Selected Russian Modernist Poems» (1996)); commentaries clarifying religious images and plots (Su Kh. «Selected Tsvetaeva's essays» (2012); explaining real personalities, toponyms (for example, an explanation about James Cooper is added to the translation of «The Gnome» by Sologub (Liu K., Chzhou Ch. «Selected Works of Russian Symbolism» (2017)); commentaries on the specific realities of Russian life; commentaries explaining the essence of intertextual and verbal play (in translation of Tolstaia's novel «Kys'» (Chen' S., 2005), Pelevin's «Generation P» (Liu V., 2018).

These types of commentaries can remove some difficulties of text reception; however, they work only with the vocabulary: tropes, toponyms, anthroponyms, etc. Identified reasons of misunderstanding of unrealistic works allow us to conclude that comments can and should include interpretive models, hermeneutic «hints». Of course, there is no universal interpretation which could be imposed on any symbolist text, for example. It is possible, however, to set the perspective of vision of the text written by the language of symbolism or postmodernism.

Updated commentary model

Three subjects / objects participate in the process of interpreting a work: a writer, a work, a reader. The «author» assumes the presence of such text-generating moments as worldview, value and aesthetic attitudes, social and cultural context, which are manifest-ed in the fiction text and turn out to be meaningfully important. They often become the reason for the misunderstanding of the work by the reader. The phrase «I don't understand this text» implies «I don't know important values for the author», «I don't know the context», «I don't know the peculiarities of the language of particular time».

The element «reader» is represented by combination of components of the horizon of expectation, pre-understanding poses (cultural stereotypes, value attitudes), models of fiction work reception (the reading experience of the Chinese reader is dominated by the model of reception of realistic literature).

«Text» is not a static element of communication. It multiplies depending on the subject who «meets» it, as well as depending on the influence of intermediary texts (critical articles, textbooks, reviews of other readers).

Thus, this communication chain contains such units that can potentially cause a conflict of interpretations (significant discrepancy or contradiction between the pledged and the extracted meaning). It is these out-of-the-text elements that should underlie the model of an intermediary text, which would take a special place in the communication chain.

A commentary acting as an intermediary between a text and a foreign reader, a mediator commentary, must take into account the multi-context nature of communication, the difference in values in intercultural communication, be based on general presuppositions, enter new senses in the addressee's senses field, rebuild the senses fields, change semantic field, set interpretive models that could be applied to other texts of the same aesthetic tradition or the same author. It should be oriented towards the reader of a certain national culture with his stereotypes, expectations, and customary ideas about modelling the artistic world.

In our understanding, the updated commentary, the mediator commentary, should have the following structure.

The first part of the commentary contains information about the cultural and literary context reflected in the work. An important principle of compiling this part should not be the

completeness of the formed concept of the context but the relevance for this work.

The next part is to clarify the semantics of words which are important for understanding the text. When working on this part of the commentary, care should be taken to select the words to be explained. The use of a word in a figurative meaning recorded in the dictionary should not be a reason for inclusion in a commentary (determining actual meaning of the word in a dictionary is an important translation skill that does not require hints). At the same time, difficult tropes, uncommon idioms can cause difficulties and must be semantically refined.

The third part is the designation of national stereotypes that can lead to false interpretation and assessment. The work on this part is especially difficult, must rely on the existing incorrect interpretations of the texts, requires the skill of reconstructing national receptive attitudes and modelling the horizon of expectation of the reader.

The fourth element of the commentary is a step-by-step algorithm for working with text. This part of the commentary should be not «ready-made» interpretation of the work but a system of tasks, the implementation of which will lead to its understanding. As a result, a hermeneutic model will remain in the mind of the reader. It will make it possible to understand other texts created in a certain aesthetic system.

The final part of the commentary offers a list of references to help expand the understanding of the work.

The described model of the commentary is the result of a theoretical understanding of the problem of the Chinese recipient's misunderstanding of Russian unrealistic literature. The next stage of work is the creation of an experimental example, its approbation, and the study of its effectiveness.

Conclusion

Intercultural dialogue, the importance of which is discussed by politicians, scientists and artists (Nigmatullina, 2018), can be interrupted at points of various hermeneutic failures. One of them, connected with the conflict of interpretations of foreign cultural texts, can be resolved. A new type of commentary can perform a mediating function between a foreign reader and an author/book. It not only removes some difficulties in reception the vocabulary of the text, but also sets receptive (hermeneutic) models applicable to the texts of one «aesthetic language». The development of such a commentary requires an interdisciplinary approach, study of the difficulties of reception a foreign cultural text and its causes.

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Linguocognitive Conflict of Digital and Pre-Digital Thinking in Online Educational Discourse During the Pandemic: Social Danger or a New Challenge?

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Abstract. The authors analyze the problems of online educational discourse in the context of the linguocognitive conflict of the «pre-digital» and «digital generations» in connection with mediated communication during the COVID-19 pandemic. Today, society has actualized hidden socio-cultural conflicts that have increased the disharmonious influence on the implementation of online educational discourse in a situation of prolonged self-isolation and lockdowns. The authors distinguish a separate subtype of educational discourse-online educational discourse, it is the result of an interactive process of interaction of subjects in an indirect educational space of an online format, within which intercultural, interpersonal communication, a diverse verbal-paraverbal exchange of information using digital means of communication is carried out. At the same time, the possibilities of the language of the participants of educational communication are evaluated in the context of expressing their communicative intentions. The situation of the pandemic has updated the features in the decoding of information in the «digital generation». The specifics of the speech-thinking activity of the «digital generation» are a pseudo-psychopatholinguistic phenomenon, which requires new approaches to online educational discourse in the formation of competencies. The new situation requires the allocation of other parameters for the psychodiagnostics of norm and pathology in the work of the language and brain. Humanity is looking for compromises for the full-fledged formation of various competencies based on language, using online educational dialogue as optimal in terms of survival during a pandemic. The specifics of the language behavior of the «digital generation» reflect a different type

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of thinking than that of the representatives of the «pre-digital generation». The article reflects the results of an international study on the formation of students ' communicative competence using online educational discourse during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Лингвокогнитивный конфликт цифрового и доцифрового мышления в онлайн-учебном дискурсе в период пандемии: социальная опасность или новый вызов?

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Аннотация. Авторы анализируют проблемы онлайн-учебного дискурса в условиях лингвокогнитивного конфликта «доцифрового» и «цифрового поколений» в связи с опосредованной коммуникацией в период пандемии COVID-19. Сегодня общество актуализировало скрытые социокультурные конфликты, которые усилили дисгармоничное влияние на реализацию онлайн-учебного дискурса в ситуации длительной самоизоляции и локдаунов. Авторы выделяют отдельный подтип учебного дискурса – онлайн-учебный дискурс, он есть результат интерактивного процесса взаимодействия субъектов в опосредованном учебном пространстве онлайн-формата, в рамках которого осуществляется межкультурная, межличностная коммуникация,

разнообразный вербально-паравербальный обмен информацией с использованием цифровых средств коммуникации. Одномоментно оцениваются возможности языка участников учебной коммуникации в контексте выражения их коммуникативных намерений. Ситуация пандемии актуализировала особенности в декодировании информации у «цифрового поколения». Специфика речемыслительной деятельности «цифрового поколения» есть псевдопсихопатолингвистический феномен, что требует новых подходов к онлайн-учебному дискурсу при формировании компетенций. Новая ситуация требует выделения других параметров для психодиагностики нормы и патологии в работе языка и мозга. Человечество ищет компромиссы для полноценного формирования разнообразных компетенций на основе языка, используя онлайн-учебный диалог как оптимальный в условиях выживания в период пандемии. Специфика языкового поведения «цифрового поколения» отражает иной тип мышления, чем у представителей «доцифрового поколения». В статье отражены результаты международного исследования по формированию коммуникативной компетенции у студентов с помощью онлайн-учебного дискурса в период пандемии COVID-19.

Ключевые слова: языковое поведение, псевдопатопсихолингвистический феномен, коммуникативная компетенция, «цифровое поколение», Россия, Греция, Казахстан, Австралия, онлайн-учебный дискурс.

Introduction

Modern globalization, pandemic restrictions and intensification of migration processes have forced the world society to plunge into the problems of digital humanities, intercultural communication, ethnopsycholinguistics, ethnopedagogy, linguo-regional studies, linguodidactics, linguoculturology (Zamaletdinov et al., 2014). However, the situation of the COVID-19 pandemic (Druzhinin, Molchanova, 2021) has redistributed the emphasis in the educational and academic discourse (Karasik, 2016; Dronov, 2020), making the online learning format as the only possible, although controversial in methodological terms (Ukrainets, 2020). At the same time, we cannot but note the fact that the educational discourse itself in its online form is also undergoing a transformation in the selection of material, in its presentation and in communication, which is due to a greater extent to the transformation in the speech-thinking processes and cognitive operations of the language personality of the «digital generation».

The new situation in the global educational space has revealed the unpreparedness of the education system for the new realities and conditions of operating with information by «digital natives», revealing gaps in the linguistic and didactic aspects of psycholinguistics in the context of understanding the processes of interaction between language and thinking, both in the context of encoding and decoding information in natural language and in the language of neural networks.

Traditionally, the educational discourse focuses the audience's attention on the formation of ethnic and socio-cultural identity among representatives of the state-forming ethnic group. This idea began to be promoted through an ethnooriented educational discourse in the post-Soviet world (Aipova et al., 2021; Belbotayev, Bulanbayeva, 2007; Petukh, 2004; Shabambayeva et al., 2021), as a guarantee of the geopolitical stability of the state. At the same time, political scientists and sociologists emphasize that these countries are experiencing a power-

ful migration burden and the consequences of ethnic trauma due to a sense of infringement of national dignity and ignoring the efforts of the Soviet Union in terms of the formation of national elites in the Soviet republics (Ryazantsev et al., 2015; Osipov et al., 2016), without taking into account the transformations that occurred under the influence of the strategies of forming a person of communism. This inevitably led to cognitive distortions of various forms of identity (Lin, et al., 2021).

This attitude could not but affect the approaches to the educational discourse of intercultural communication in the post-Soviet and post-socialist space. However, in our opinion, it reflects an outdated paradigm of linguodidactics, focused primarily on the expert teaching staff of the generation of the pre-digital era with a characteristic linear type of thinking.

At the same time, we draw attention to the existing positive experience of forming the content of the educational discourse of intercultural communication in countries with a stable migration load and a higher level of proficiency in English as the language of modern science (Greece, Australia), despite the changes that occur with the speech-thinking processes of students when studying in an online format.

The choice of countries for this study (Australia, Greece, Kazakhstan, Russia) is due to historical ties and changes that occur in the process of language acquisition in the context of globalization and migration during the formation of intercultural communicative competence in universities based on the material of Russian, English, Greek and Kazakh languages.

Modern science pays priority attention to the study of English as the language of modern intercultural communication and scientific interaction, so the popularity of teaching English in different countries is significant, but the level of English proficiency shows a big difference across countries. Thus, in 2019, according to the English Proficiency Index, Kazakhstan ranked 93rd out of 100 in terms of the level of English language proficiency of the population (Informburo.kz, 5.11.2019, electronic resource), having advanced to the 92nd place by the end of 2020. Greece occupies the 21st position in

the same study, Russia-41st place (Ranking of countries by the level of English language proficiency, 2020, Electronic resource).

A special situation relates to Australia. On the one hand, the country was founded as a British colony with the involvement of aborigines. On the other hand, the mass filling of the country at the expense of assorted criminals and their family members transformed the originally British version of the English language, forming the Australian English language with an abundance of embedded jargon and the specifics of pronunciation (Agapova, Gorbunova, 2014; Baker Sidney, 1945).

The colonial aspirations of Great Britain (Sagimbayev, 2017) could not but affect the promotion of British English, which served and continues to serve as a socio-political marker, since native speakers of British English are positioned as carriers of an elite linguistic culture as opposed to uneducated social strata of the population both in the British Empire itself and abroad. Thus, the very possession of the British version of the English language becomes one of the conditions for information and psychological strategies of Great Britain in hybrid geopolitical wars (Tagiltseva, 2018). We see the same demonstration of the superiority of the British English language in global geopolitics in relation to the American English language (it is built on the principle of accessibility and comprehensibility to everyone) and to the Australian English language (it was built based on the principles of the argot of the thieves ' world). In this regard, we must consider these initial data when diving into the educational discourse based on the English language, since they also demonstrate the imbalance of attitude to the norms of intercultural communication in different English-speaking countries and countries where the English language is being comprehensively promoted.

Russian language online educational discourse also reveals difficulties, since the selection of material for studying Russian as a foreign language has not yet been regulated at the state level for migrants from the post-Soviet world and non-CIS countries (Khudorenko, 2020). As a result, we see a narrowing of the area of use of the Russian language. Thus, in

Kazakhstan, the priorities in the language policy have changed in the direction of strengthening the position of the Kazakh language, strengthening the English language, promoting the Chinese language with the weakening of the role of the Russian language due to the 4-language promoted and implemented in the country (Sultan, Sabirova, 2018).

Therefore, we can talk about social stigmatization in education (Pashkovsky, 2017) during the period of pandemic restrictions due to:

1) subjective perception of social isolation;

2) the priority of online educational discourse due to the pandemic;

3) students' experiences of their own ethno-linguistic and confessional affiliation;

4) transformations of speech-thinking cognitive abilities in the conditions of changed learning formats;

5) experiencing the consequences of COVID-19 for health, etc.

Additional pressure is exerted by the information policy of countries on mandatory vaccination of the population, which also acquires a mythologized aura of conspiracy, transforming the attitude to the educational process in the conditions of a pandemic (Galle et al., 2021). Sociologists emphasize that social stigmatization, regardless of the quality of the assessment of the perception of an event, phenomenon, or fact, actualizes the state of discomfort in individuals, forming appropriate behavioral and communicative-verbal stereotypes, which only increases the distance between a person and society (Pashkovsky, 2017). The natural increased interest in the topic of the pandemic also stigmatizes all the processes of society's life activity that are somehow related to COVID-19, including in the educational discourse.

In addition, particular issues of local geopolitics are superimposed on the global problems of contrasting generations of the pre-digital and digital eras, which changes not only the standard of education, but also the very understanding of the speech-thinking processes of modern man. At the same time, the speed of information acquisition and the level of perception of digital reality can also become a social stigma.

It should be noted that the dominance of the presentation of information through digital communication increases interest in foreign languages, linguoculturology, intercultural communication and linguistic and country studies.

In this regard, the analyzed countries are of interest from the point of view of mastering the communicative norms and standards of intercultural communication, taking into account the ethnic and socio-cultural specifics of the country. For example, Australia and Greece are known for their democratic foundations. Australia is a country of migrants with a very mobile mentality and a desire for equality, which is manifested in linguistic and pedagogical trends and speech research (Edwards, 2018). Russia, Kazakhstan, and Greece are quite conservative in terms of the stability of traditions and the degree of proficiency in English as the language of international communication (Galskova, Gez, 2009; Solontsova, 2015).

However, all the analyzed countries demonstrate a steady interest and an increase in demand for specialists who speak English, which is also provoked by the dominant position of the English language in the field of scientific knowledge, and above all, technical scientific knowledge.

Australian experts are concerned about the decline in the growth of educational migrants in the country due to the pandemic, emphasizing the importance of immersion in the realities of linguistic culture beyond online learning (Hurley, 2020). When analyzing the situation in Greek universities, we consider the specifics of the communicative competence of Greek students aimed at learning Russian, since Russia was and remains in the sphere of Greek interests due to its historical and confessional community, close socio-economic and cultural ties (Amiridou, 2017; Davtyan-Iokamidi, 2015). The educational discourse of the Russian language in the Greek audience has its own long history and traditions, which are based on the oral linear model of teaching in direct contact «teacher + student», which has developed since antiquity (Polychronidou, 2013), which transformed the format of communication in online educational discourse. At

the same time, there is an interesting trend in Kazakhstan in connection with the Kazakhization of the Russian-speaking part of the Kazakh society (Petuch, 2004; Belbotaev, Bulanbayeva, 2009), where there is a hybridization of linear and nonlinear learning models. The inclusion of Australia in our study is since Australia was previously part of Siberia and the Far East, which was described in the pre-revolutionary media (Kanevskaya, 2007; Govor, 2018). At one time, N. N. Miklukho-Maklay made every effort to arouse research interest in Australia in Russian society, having influenced the language and communication of aborigines (Martynov, Martynova, Valeev, 2018). The openness and activity of migration made the nonlinear learning model preferable.

Thus, the four countries taken for analysis were conditioned by mutual geopolitical interests, but at the same time they became an illustration of different approaches to immersion in the educational discourse during the pandemic.

All four countries are of great interest as states focused on migration processes and intercultural communication, realizing the geopolitical aspirations of their countries in the context. We believe that the formation of professional competencies of future foreign language teachers in Russia, Australia, Kazakhstan and Greece goes through the prism of «ideological phantoms» of these countries (Beregovaya, Karlova, 2020) and cognitive distortions caused by extralinguistic factors of geopolitics, followed by changes in the behavioral and communicative matrix that fixes changes in the language picture of the world (Vassilenko et al., 2018; Ruan, Karabulatova, 2021; Karabulatova, Lagutkina et al., 2021).

This transformation of the behavioral and communicative matrix became the reason for the psychodiagnostic search for cognitive and other deviations in the «digital generation» (Semke, Bohan, 2008; Grekova, 2019).

Social restrictions due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the transformation of the rhythm of society's life, the dominance of the electronic-digital format of learning and communication have changed the requirements for the communicative matrix in the online educational discourse. However, the online educational discourse in connection with the COVID-19 pandemic has changed the paradigm of «student – teacher» communication to the «student – Internet – teacher» format, indicating the competitiveness of digital learning tools and pointing out the importance of ethno-socio-cultural and linguistic-pedagogical components in the process of teaching foreign languages (Karabulatova et al., 2021; Krotik, Morhun, 2021; Shehi et al., 2020; Ukrainets, 2020).

The variety and randomness of massed information using techniques of psycholinguistic influence on the audience makes teachers carefully consider both the ways of presenting information and its content in modern online educational discourse. A special place in this regard is occupied by the mythologization of the coronavirus in different countries, which affects both the communication itself and the nature of classes (Karabulatova, Lagutkina, Amiridou, 2021). This makes us turn to the historical experience of fighting epidemics and social rehabilitation after their completion (Marinenko et al., 2019; Kattsina, Karabulatova, 2019; Ruan, Karabulatova, 2021). However, in addition to these difficult conditions, we are faced with the problem of the peculiarities of the thinking of the «digital generation», which must be considered when online learning.

Materials and methods

The materials for the analysis were obtained by comparing the communicative activities of students in universities in Russia, Greece, Australia, and Kazakhstan during the implementation of an online educational discourse during the pandemic.

Communicative activity in the online educational discourse was regulated using case methods recommended by the authors of various textbooks (Arakin, 2016; Petuch, 2004). The online educational discourse allows us to detail the results obtained during online classes in Russian, Greek, Australian and Kazakh audiences, on the assimilation of ethno-cultural information that significantly differs from the culture of students' ethno-identity.

At the Thracian Democritus University (Komotini, Greece), the sample consisted of

80 Greek students studying Russian. At the Toraighyrov Kazakhstan University (Pavlodar, Kazakhstan), the sample consisted of 156 people studying the Kazakh language. The sample of students studying English as a non-native language in Australia was 144 people. The control group of students studying at the RUDN was 20 people. The team of authors conducted an empirical study in 2019–2021. We conducted a secondary comparative analysis of the data obtained by other researchers on the specifics of educational communication activities and ways of assimilating the materials of online educational discourse during the pandemic and beyond. Online educational discourse allows you to quickly fix the mistakes made by students, revealing hidden gaps in students' knowledge when learning another language.

The modern paradigm of the educational language discourse is aimed at forming a transcultural identity of a global type among students (Ebzeeva et al., 2018), thanks to which the norms and socio-cultural stereotypes of a foreign language are assimilated along with the ethno-socio-cultural complex of the rules of the native linguoculture. In this regard, we took as a hypothesis the statement about the specificity of the formation of linguistic and cultural consciousness among students-future teachers in the field of linguistics. At the same time, we took two important points: 1) the active use of integrative methods contributes to the harmonious development of multiculturalism and transcultural language personality among recipient students; 2) the methods of the linguoculturological approach are a priority in the online educational discourse for the formation of a harmonious transcultural language personality.

In this regard, we conducted ascertaining and forming experiments to measure changes in the ethno-linguistic behavior of students during the formation of linguistic and cultural communicative competencies. However, these experiments also revealed new results in changing cognitive functions in thinking among representatives of the pre-digital and digital eras.

In addition, we focused on the use of such methods as traditional theoretical analysis of scientific and methodological literature with a generalization of modern innovative methodological approaches to the development of linguistic and cultural communicative competence of students in the aspect of discursive practices, linguistic modeling of secondary language personality, discourse analysis, the principle of integrated subject-language learning and the principle of continuous learning in the context of the COVID-19 coronavirus pandemic.

Work on communication studies, ethnological pedagogy, linguistics, language teaching, psycholinguistics laid the theoretical foundation of the research work (Aipova, etc., 2021; Gervilla, Garcia, 2020; Grekova, 2019; Mattheoudakis, Alexiou, 2009; Petuch, 2004).

The focus was on the analysis of studies related to the development of a multicultural educational environment in the modern world linguodidactics (Peng and Wu, 2016; Rutskaya et al., 2021, etc.), especially considered works aimed at analyzing the development of language and communication abilities in conditions of isolation, stress, migration, etc. (Semke, Bohan, 2008).

Results

The results of the online educational discourse of the pandemic period (Agranovich et al., 2021; Ukrainets, 2020) will still require their scientific understanding in many aspects, revealing new facets of the implementation of educational discourse, which made it possible to designate this type of discourse as an «inverted» educational resource (Barkhatova et al., 2021).

An international team of authors conducted observations of student groups who are on distance learning to understand and refine the algorithm of learning another language in the conditions of the transition of a linear strategy of educational discourse to a nonlinear strategy of online educational discourse. Our observations have allowed us to understand new universals in the thinking of the modern digital generation, which will illustrate the difference between the generations of the pre-digital and digital era.

As a result, the online educational discourse makes it necessary to compress the educational material to microportions due to the use of additional digital educational formats of mobile applications, social networks and other new training services that use fast switching and multitasking of mental operations of a modern native speaker (Karabulatova, Ldokova, Bankozhitenko, Lazareva, 2021).

Today, psychologists talk about «digital aborigines», «digital generation» (Grekova, 2019; Alyokhin, Grekova, 2018), for whom it is necessary to develop new standards of psychodiagnostics, linguodidactics to differentiate them from the so-called pathopsycholinguistic (Pashkovsky, Piotrovskaya, Piotrovsky, 2015) and pseudo-pathopsycholinguistical phenomena of thinking in a digital environment (Grekova, 2019).

The complexity of the online educational discourse is since the teacher, as the author and creator of the course, is uncomfortable because of the difference in the assessments of the surrounding world with his students, who are representatives of digital reality and process incoming information differently.

As a rule, teachers using the traditional linear model of educational discourse find that the overwhelming number of students belong either to the ignoring part of the audience or to the passive part of the group, which is interpreted as an excessively negative influence of the Internet (Zaretskaya, 2017). The results of the observation are shown in Fig. 1.

The modern generation of teachers belongs to the generation of the pre-digital era, whose thinking is based on the generally accepted hierarchy of generic characteristics on the foundation of anthropocentrism (Kholodnaya, 2002). Indeed, the reference criterion for decoding information in the perception of the pre-digital generation in the humanities is an anthropocentric approach, in which the existing traditional «hierarchy of generic / specific features with a certain measure of the concrete/ abstract, like a filter, was superimposed on all concepts/phenomena of the surrounding world» (Grekova, 2019: 35).

However, modern students who are representatives of the» digital generation « perceive this approach as boring, not interesting, and not effective, because they otherwise build a system of selecting the significant and insignificant when evaluating incoming information. Based on this, they demonstrate passive and ignoring participation in the online educational discourse.

The observation method allowed us to establish that during classroom classes only 30 % of students actively participate in the educational process, while 50 % of students demonstrate passivity in communication. These students listen to the teacher, but are silent, slowly perform the tasks that are offered to them, and 20 % ignore and behave distantly. Groups of passives and ignoring students do not just go about their business during the lesson, but treat classes as a hypertext space under the influence of the organizational structure of the Network (this includes: listening to the lecturer, correspondence with other gadgets, simultaneous reading and viewing materials on the topic of
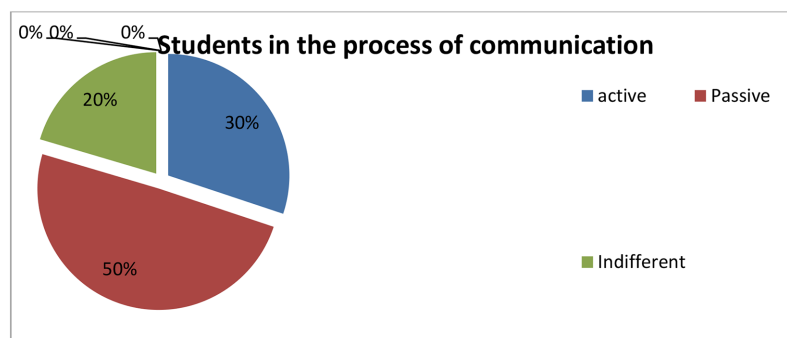

Fig. 1. Cumulative results of the method of monitoring the process of communication of students

the lesson and/or on the topic of another academic discipline, parallel preparation of a presentation for an educational/ scientific report, etc.).

At the same time, teachers evaluate the cognitive abilities of «digital students», focusing on the departure from the usual standard of response in the direction of strengthening pseudopsychopathology (Carr, 2012).

For example, the slip technique characterizes a change in a purposeful, logically conditioned train of thought, in which there is a deviation from the semantic connecting line within sentences, both with a change in the topic of the utterance and without a change in the topic of the utterance. The slip in the speech of the «digital generation» is due to the redundancy of the presence of hyperlinks in the text space. The so-called jumps of thoughts, the discontinuity of the message and the incompleteness of the utterance are also associated with this phenomenon.

Modern scientists pay attention to the growth of changes in the linguocognitive communicative matrix of the youth of the digital world, drawing parallels with pathopsycholinguistic processes (Sultanova, Ivanova, 2017) and the transformative nature of clip thinking of the modern young generation for human civilization (Karr, 2012; Barkhatova et al., 2021). We believe that it is more correct to talk about multitasking and switchability in connection with entropic processes in human civilization in terms of the priority of the digital data flow. Under the linguocognitive communicative matrix, we understand a set of verbal and paraverbal stable signs used in communication.

The modern «digital generation» clearly regulates the priority principles of selecting information for use in communication, shortening words, phrases, sentences, etc., since the thinking of students of the «digital generation» is strikingly different from the thinking of teachers, experts who were formed in the pre-

Table 1. Changes in the speech-thinking behavior of students of the digital era
(compiled by us based on the responses of respondents-I. K.)

№	The ratio of signs and values	Respondents' responses by country (%)			
		Greece	Australia	Russia	Kazakhstan
1	Narrowing the lexical meaning	25 %	37 %	20 %	18 %
2	Excessive detail	28 %	32 %	31 %	29 %
3	excessive abstraction and generalization	27,95 %	27,38 %	16,86 %	27,81 %
4	Priority of abstract vocabulary	30,24 %	31,18 %	30,71 %	30,71 %
5	Neologisms and new meanings	37,7 %	28,23 %	23,54 %	33,42 %
6	Superstructure of signs over other signs, the use of graphemes	42 %	50,9 %	49,4 %	44 %
7	Combining different characters	16,7 %	17,2 %	5,1 %	3,8 %
8	Excessive concretization of judgments	29,3 %	31,5 %	14,8 %	43,19 %
9	Pretentiousness of judgments	31,3 %	34,8 %	26,7 %	29,9 %
10	Paradoxical	41,1 %	43,4 %	34,7 %	36,8 %
11	Slipping off	27,3 %	46,23 %	33,12 %	32,18 %
12	Alogisms	14,3 %	13,32 %	12,78 %	11,91 %
13	Formalisms	9, 87 %	13,89 %	23,41 %	7,89 %
14	Superinclusions	7,35 %	11,81 %	12,58 %	22,71 %
15	Updating hidden values	14,51 %	17,33 %	21,22 %	21,38 %
16	Inadequacy	27,81 %	39,22 %	24,55 %	24,38 %
17	Reasonableness	29,31 %	35,3 %	28,26 %	21,34 %
18	Expressive syntax	31,81 %	49,6 %	37,35 %	29,82 %

digital era and perceive such a model as flawed, pathological, and non-normative (Carr, 2012). As a result, we are dealing with the pseudo-pathology of speech-thinking processes in the «digital generation» (Grekova, 2019).

At the same time, we observe a rather frivolous attitude to language rules and standards, spelling, orthoepy, grammar, since one of the most important dominants in the behavioral matrix of the «digital generation» is the attitude to time.

As we can see, speed and the desire to succeed become the leading motivators in the linguocognitive communicative matrix of «digital students», which inevitably entails a «train» of various mistakes. Thus, lexical, and grammatical errors occur in 83 % of cases when studying Russian in a Greek audience in an online educational discourse. Russian «digital students» studying the Kazakh language in Kazakhstan make 54 % of such mistakes when using online educational discourse. Students who have arrived in Australia to study English make fewer mistakes (34 %), which is due to the preliminary in-depth study of the English language and the selection of potential students by passing international-level English language proficiency exams. Russian language learners, a control group of educational migrants in Russia, also show a high percentage of such errors,

which is associated with the complexity of the initial study of the Russian language outside the language environment.

At the same time, a group of Russian-speaking students of Russia and Kazakhstan, specializing in English, shows 49 % of errors of this kind. At the same time, the conditions of the pandemic have made the training format more stereotypical and schematic, without the possibility of full immersion in the language environment of the studied country, which also exacerbates the difference in the perception and analysis of information from the point of view of «digital» and «pre-digital» generations.

In addition, the digital generation is characterized by an increased level of intactness in real communication with a predominance of involvement in communication in digital reality, and therefore written speech, rather than oral speech, becomes the leading method of communication. At the same time, written speech increasingly acquires the features of oral speech among representatives of the «digital generation» (the so-called «expressive syntax» – I. K.). Does this mean that the student's communicative competencies are not formed? Or are we dealing with the evolution of the communicative competence of the digital generation of students?

	errors in flexia	substitutions of words based in outside parametrs	sudstitutions of words based in semantic variants	reversions of letters in word	omissions and addition of letters	mixing of consonant letters	mixing of vowels letters	missing words	errors in the formulation of stress
o+Table	13%	17%	25%	12%	7%	7%	9%	3%	7%
CG	9%	14%	19%	8%	14%	9%	7%	9%	11%
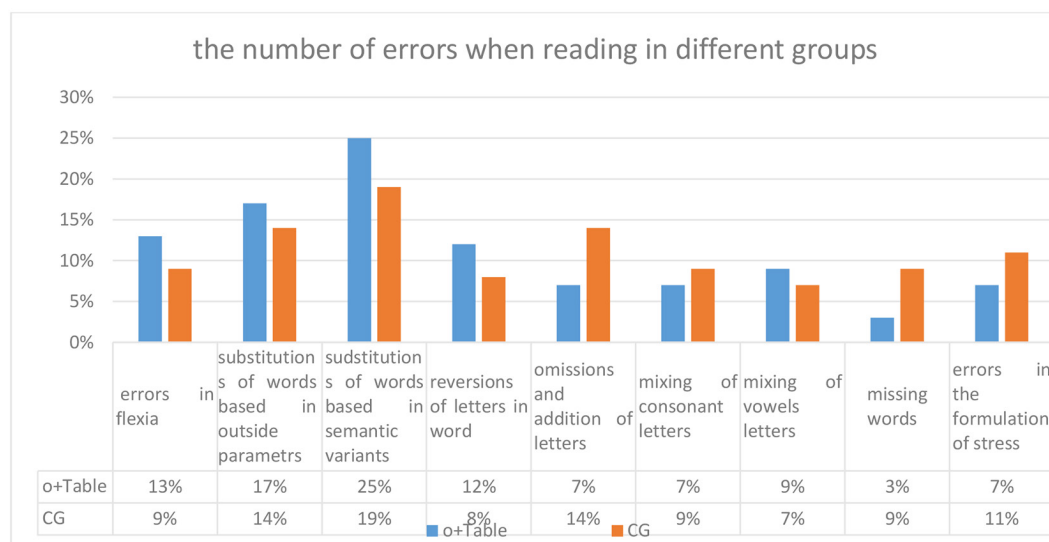
Fig. 2. The number of errors when reading the experimental and control groups (CG -control group)

The situation of the behavioral matrix of modern students is illustrated in Figure 3. Types of communication: The percentage ratio of the level of formation of the development of communicative competence by types of communication among the digital generation of students.

Students of the «digital generation» demonstrate the priority of the organization of thinking in the aspect of visualizing its form, which makes it possible to correlate the organization of thinking with the Network rather than with a linear hierarchy, reflecting the processes of «merging» natural speech-thinking activity with the artificial environment of the Internet.

The involvement of students of the «digital generation» in communication gives an understanding of the effectiveness of the main five types of communicative situations (Table 2).

At the same time, the speed of information processing in the «digital generation» increases significantly. Although 80 % of students in the online educational discourse are intact, but 60 % of them demonstrate a high level of formation of communicative competence, 30 % have an average level and 10 % have a low level. In addition, we believe that it is necessary to pay close attention to the following types of situations 2 and 3, and not to lose sight of types 4 and 5.

We consider the increase in the number of changes in the linguocognitive and behavioral-communicative matrix of the «digital generation» as an illustration of the invariant of the norm of speech-thinking processes.

The new type of thinking is characterized by plasticity, versatility, volume, polyvaritiveness. At the same time, the boundary between the sign and the meaning along the line «abstractness-concreteness» is very ambiguous and mobile, since the «digital generation» of native speakers perceives signs as
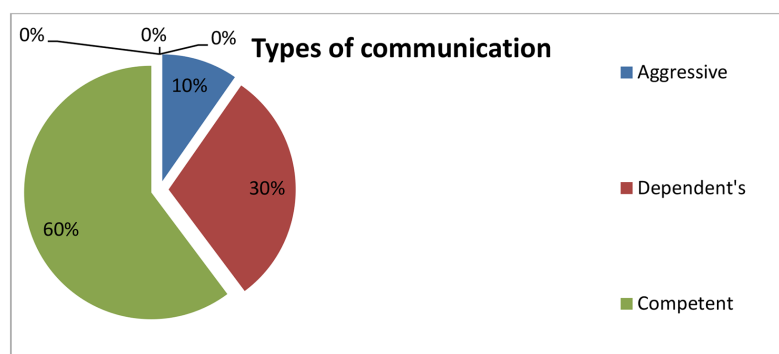
Fig. 3. Types of communication: The percentage ratio of the level of formation of the development of communicative competence by types of communication among the digital generation of students

Table 2. The level of formation of communicative competence in communicative situations in universities that participated in the experiment (number of students)

№	Situation's	Competent	Dependent's	Aggressive
1	– situations in which a reaction to the partner's positive statements is required	32	16	10
2	– situations in which there should be reactions to negative statements	46	21	26
3	– situations in which a request is made	52	27	14
4	– conversation situations	50	37	6
5	– situations in which empathy is required	52	32	9

the designation of a hyperlink, therefore, the architecture of the speech-thinking space itself is a hypertextual reality, where new signs are built on top of previous signs, but at the same time they (these new signs) string meanings on themselves.

At the same time, there is a need to distinguish with real pathopsycholinguistic phenomena, which were presented in sufficient detail in the fundamental work of the German researcher T. Spoerri (1964), which has not yet lost its theoretical and practical significance in the aspect of understanding speech features in various psychopathological and borderline states with them. For example, he points out that epileptics have a slow, unclear, «viscous» speech, in which perseverations (repetitions), stereotypical construction of constructions, macaronisms, priority use of words in a diminutive form are widely represented. At the same time, schizophrenia is characterized by reasonableness and thoroughness of speech. At the same time, the speech of a schizophrenic is distinguished by semantic discontinuity while preserving the grammatical integrity of the sentence, an abundance of complex syntactic constructions, substitutions of concrete words with abstract and vice versa, author's neologisms (Spoerri,1964). If we compare these pathopsychological characteristics of the speech of people of the pre-digital era with the features of the speech of the youth of the «digital generation» (see Table 1), we will clearly see some parallels.

In this regard, the online educational discourse is forced to reflect a new logic of thinking, therefore it has a different structural composition, and selects the content of the educational material and information content differently. For example, the training material is maximally compressed and visual, but at the same time it is built as a hyperspace with the possibility of including an extended version, in which the role of hyperlinks is performed by various detailed text explanations, as well as additional various multimedia subspaces (audio, video comments, screencasts, additional graphic and photo illustrations, short training videos created by the type of «viral» Tick-Tok clips).

The construction of an online educational discourse corresponds to the expressive syntax that is common in speech manipulation (Kopnina, 2012). As a rule, the syntactic strategies of online educational discourse are inversive: they go from the answer to a specific question, reaching up to general theories in an ascending line. The specifics of the thinking of the «digital generation» determines the strategy of emphasized visibility in the online educational discourse, which actualizes:

a) the preference of tasks for problematization; b) the use of specific examples; c) the priority of exercises- «challenges» that demonstrate to students the need to acquire skills, skills, and experience to solve problems.

Thus, the online educational discourse not only reflects the peculiarities of speech and thinking of students of the «digital generation», but also seeks to include in the linguocognitive metaparadigma of modern communicative-oriented linguodidactics a new emerging balance between language and man as an evolving social object of «digital reality», acting as an interactive linguistic, speech-thinking, and behavioral picture of the world.

Discussion

Modern linguodidactics is faced with the need to search for new scientific and methodological approaches to the development of online educational discourse under restrictions due to the COVID-19 pandemic (Agranovich et al., 2020; Hurley, 2020; Fedunova, 2021; Gallè et al., 2021) and the crisis of the educational system due to the breaking of the worldview paradigms of the pre-digital and digital society (Ebzeeva et al., 2018; Brodovskaya, 2019; Barkhatova et al., 2021; Milošević, Maksimovich, 2020), which affected the functioning of the speech-thinking mechanism of perception itself (Alefirenko et al., 2021; Arsaliev, Andrienko, 2021; Grishina, Abakumova, 2020; Karabulatova, Polivara, 2012).

Most modern training courses in a particular language are focused on the formation of ethno-linguistic and cultural and communicative competencies among students (Arakin, 2016; Petuch, 2004; Polychronidou, 2013; Belbotayev, Bulanbayeva, 2007). The very situa-

tion of online educational discourse requires a high level of emotional intelligence and professional competencies in the context of a pandemic (Aipova et al., 2021; Grishina, Abakumova, 2020; Lugovsky et al., 2018; Nijiati et al., 2020; Fedunova, 2021; Tleuzhanova et al., 2021).

However, the analysis of the proposed ethnopedagogical models of the formation of communicative competence (Krotik, Morhun, 2021; Martazanov et al., 2021) does not include, paradoxically, a linguistic component, implying that the language is included in the default structure. However, such an omission of the linguistic component in the structure of the educational language discourse devalues the language component itself in the linguodidactic process, sending the formation of the understanding of language as a system to the periphery.

At the same time, the model itself usually includes historical and regional components, cultural components (Krotik, Morkhun; 2021; Martazanov et al., 2021), etc. In this regard, we believe that such an implementation of educational discourse, especially online educational discourse, leads to the inevitable destruction of ethnopsycholinguistic norms (Karabulatova, Polivara, 2012), which are the foundation for the formation of all forms of human identity, starting from gender and ending with civil identity. I. S. Karabulatova, Z. V. Polivara introduced the term «ethnopsycholinguistic norm» as an indicator of the conformity of knowledge, understanding and application of the norms of language, culture, psychology, and history of the native and/or foreign language in the speaker's own speech (Karabulatova, Polivara, 2012).

However, the modern accelerated rhythm of human life «smears» the details of being, including in its verbal representation, focusing only on distinguishing the parameters «important/ unimportant», without observing the norms and rules of language. As a result, the polyphony of the online educational discourse is formed, which reflects the structural shifts in human consciousness under the influence of digital reality (Grishina, Abakumova, 2020; Zvezdina, 2015). We agree with

the opinion of researchers that virtual reality triggers the hypertextuality of modern human thinking (Zvezdina, 2015; Grekova, 2019). At the same time, such a complex organization inevitably affects the nature of speech-thinking processes among representatives of the «digital generation», becoming an occasion for scientific discussions about language, thinking and speech, about the possibilities of modern human evolution, about the prognostics of human civilization (Karasik, 2016; Kholodnaya, 2002; Karr, 2012).

In some cases, researchers write about apocalyptic signs of human civilization, which is moving towards dehumanization and death in an entropic dance of agony, fixing its every step in this direction in a communicative virtual space (Kolin, 2011; Vorontsova, 2016).

Modern scientists conclude that the speech of representatives of the «digital generation» reveals quite a lot of parallels with the pathopsychological characteristics of speech in people of the «pre-digital generation» (Alyokhin, Grekova, 2018; Grekova, 2019; Zaretskaya, 2017), which reflects the restructuring of the work of speech-thinking processes in the aspect of hypertextuality and associativity (Katrechko, 2004; Luchinkina, 2016).

Apparently, all this reflects the fact that the pace of modern life has surpassed the rate of generational change, and the pace of progress has surpassed the speed of evolution of the human brain, transforming the human worldview (Kurzweil, 2005; Emelianenko, 2017; Korotaev et al., 2010). A modern person of digital time operates in his consciousness not with concepts, not logos, but with eidos, emotions, pictures-images (Lysak, Belov, 2013), which allows him to perceive and evaluate information faster, but with a loss of the quality of evaluation.

In other words, we can say that the biological singularity has already occurred, because of which we observe the transition of the thinking algorithm from a linear type to a nonlinear type. The very essence of the singularity of Big History has been discussed by scientists very actively recently in the interpretation of the characteristics and signs of canonical milestones (Kurzweil, 2005; Korotaev, 2018, Naza-

retyan, 2013; Huebner, 2005), causing an ambiguous reaction in society.

At the same time, researchers point to the growth of autism spectrum disorders in the «digital era» (Khaustov, Shumsky, 2021), demonstrating that the main, dominant disorder leading to the appearance of other speech disorders is the lack of adequate feedback to the internal program from later stages of speech generation. This leads to the disintegration of the program itself, «hanging in the air», to the «blurring» of meanings that are not controlled by the context, the situation, objective, social meanings, which in turn leads to the disintegration of the laws of word choice, etc. (Leontiev et al., 1973; Golenkov, 2008).

This organization of speech-thinking activity increases the gap between the sign and the meaning, which characterizes the modern process of transition to a higher level of abstraction of signs as an illustrative component of the ongoing evolution of human civilization in terms of culture and thinking (Solomonik, 2012).

The effect of online educational discourse is correlated with the polycode impact of modern mass communication (Shehi et al., 2020), which manifests itself «in the totality of the consequences of influence: cognitive (attitudes, ideas, value orientations, «agenda»); affective (feelings of concern and fear, morale, social alienation); behavioral (activation of activity; direction of action)» (Brodovskaya et al., 2019: 233).

The clipping or fragmented thinking of modern youth is positioned in the scientific literature from the point of view of the generation of researchers of the pre-digital era, which is not quite correct (Carr, 2012; Mityagina, Dolgopolova, 2009; Popov, 2016). Apparently, we are dealing with an evolutionary step in the development of human neuropsycholinguistic abilities, which indicates the continued development of humans as a species (Ioileva, 2014; Zagidullina, 2012).

The linguocognitive conflict in the online educational discourse occurs due to the collision of basic concepts in the world pictures of the «pre-digital» and «digital» generations. At the same time, the conflict itself is aggravated

due to multiculturalist tendencies that seek to create a unified transnational identity, which is a provocative moment in the context of the crisis of local ethno-cultural and national identities, manifested in long-term interethnic conflicts not only on the world periphery, but also in highly developed countries (Mkrtumova et al., 2016).

An analytical approach to the comparison of extralinguistic and intralinguistic factors requires a special approach in the educational discourse in the era of social changes to form a value picture of the world for the younger generation (Kattsina, Karabulatova, 2020). At the same time, ignoring or suppressing these problems increases the degree of «social schizophrenia» in society, stigmatizing them in the public consciousness (Pashkovsky, 2017).

Unfortunately, most teachers of philology rely on the worldview paradigm of the «pre-digital generation», promoting the principles of ethnooriented teaching, which historically developed in the era of Tsarist Russia and was actively used on the outskirts of the Russian Empire (Degtyarev et al., 2021). However, the lack of ethno-pedagogical communicative competence and the transfer of the template to modern realities among students often play a «cruel joke» with teachers working with foreign students. For example, students who speak Arabic may belong to different peoples and even to different religions (Al-Nofaye, 2020; Dubinina, Kovyrshina, 2008). Chinese students may also belong to different peoples of China with different cultures. Students from Russia may ethnically belong to other ethnic groups, religions and cultures that are strikingly different from Russian culture. As a result, the teacher may get into a situation of «methodological confusion». All this only emphasizes the importance of considering the chronotope in the research of the linguistic cycle, which makes it possible to calculate the probability of transformation of language tiers and language consciousness during periods of tension.

At the same time, the restructuring of thinking in connection with the strengthening of digitalization processes has also exacerbated

the problem of socialization of students in the online educational discourse of the pandemic period (Ukrainian, 2020; Stoiljković, 2020). The researchers emphasize the cyclical nature of the occurrence of such situations and their coincidence in the chronotope with periods of social crisis (Kurzweil, 2005; Marinenko et al., 2019; Avdee, 2021; Korotaev et al., 2010), demonstrating the breakdown of the previous value worldview paradigm.

Conclusion

The linguistic and communicative register of online educational discourse acts as a model of speech educational activity, in which the trinity of «student-teacher-Internet space» interacts with their communicative intentions, a certain repertoire of ethno-cultural, linguistic-pedagogical, and pragmatic-communicative markers in combination with other verbal and non-verbal means.

Considering the communicative aspect of the analysis of the online educational discourse of the speech behavior of representatives of the «digital generation», it is necessary to consider the register to which the verbal marker or its accompanying word belongs, in order to distinguish it from psychopathological states and pseudopathopsycholinguistic phenomena of the speech of the «digital generation» (Grekova, 2019). Ignoring this important aspect of the transformation of the language organization of the «digital generation» entails a generational conflict and aggression towards each other, which is much more difficult to correct.

Online-educational discourse forms subspaces of:

A) differential units (discourses that are characterized by a direct and intentional collision of the subjects' communicative goals);

B) potential units (discourses that are characterized by an indirect and unintentional collision of the subjects' communicative goals).

The process of preparing an online educational discourse is based on the skills and abilities of working with information technologies (Fedunova, 2021), taking into account the specifics of the thinking of the generation of the «digital era», which allows updating existing knowledge, activating human research activities.

It is obvious that we are in the process of transforming the traditional social model of learning due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the dominant information and communication technologies due to the technological leap that caused global changes in the thinking model itself, bringing the evaluation model of natural language closer to the created artificial models of neural networks. This process of interaction is vividly illustrated by observations of the transformation of the speech-thinking skills of the «digital generation» when mastering a language (native / non-native), which tends to keep up with technological processes in speed, while losing the qualitative assessment and decoding of information. This is one of the evolutionary steps of human speech-thinking activity, so experts are extremely cautious about categorical assessments, suggesting that these phenomena of language reduction be designated as pseudo-psychopathological phenomena.

We assume that the next step will be associated not just with increasing the speed of assimilation and transmission of information but will be aimed at a qualitative selection of verbal and non-verbal means of communication that can convey a thought as accurately as possible. In the future, a clearly formulated algorithm of a particular case can help to identify hidden deviations, potential social dangers, preventing various kinds of provocations of ethnic and socio-cultural conflicts, contributing to the formation of multi-aspect communicative competence using machine learning technologies.

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The Semantics of Participation in the Russian Language as a Reflection of the Cultural Universal «Own/Foreign» Concept and the «West/East» Opposition

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Abstract. This paper deals with the issues of an important ethnic trait through the reflection in the Russian language and in the speech behavior of native speakers. This trait is focused around the need for actualization of «participation» or complicity in speech and social behavior as an invisible connection established in the inner world of the subject of the relationship of participation with other persons, animals, objects, spatial and social objects and even eras and ideas. The developed semantics of participation in the Russian language reflects the cultural universal concept of «own/foreign». L. Levy-Bruhl studied one member of that opposition theoretically and on the basis of extensive empirical material created the anthropological theory of participation. Russian linguists V. V. Ivanov, Yu. D. Apresyan, V. S. Khrakovsky and A. P. Volodin, I. I. Kovtunova studied concepts associated with the notion of participation in the mid-1980s using the material of Russian deixis and the category of possessiveness. In the Russian language, the semantics of participation is expressed by various linguistic means: the means of verbal and pronominal deixis, diminutives, possessive syntactic constructions and affixes, words with the semantics of emotional attitude and assistance.

Keywords: Own/Foreign, belonging, personal sphere of a person, diminutive, inclusive and exclusive, cultural universals, conceptual series.

Research area: linguistics.

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Семантика сопричастности в русском языке как отражение культурной универсалии «свое / чужое» и оппозиция «Запад / Восток»

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Аннотация. Данная статья посвящена особенностям отражения в русском языке и в речевом поведении носителей русского языка важной этнической черты – необходимости актуализации в речи и социальном поведении сопричастности, под которой понимается незримая связь, устанавливаемая во внутреннем мире субъекта отношения сопричастности с другими лицами, животными, предметами, пространственными и социальными объектами, даже эпохами и идеями. Развитая семантика сопричастности в русском языке отражает культурную универсалию «свое / чужое», один из членов которой теоретически и на обширном эмпирическом материале изучен в культурно-антропологической теории партиципации Л. Леви-Брюля. Независимо друг от друга понятия, связанные с сопричастностью, в середине 80-х гг. XX в. рассмотрены на материале русского дейксиса и категории посессивности виднейшими российскими лингвистами – Вяч. Вс. Ивановым, Ю. Д. Апресяном, В. С. Храковским и А. П. Володиным, И. И. Ковтуновой и др. Интерес к «лингвистике сопричастности» был остановлен политическими и социальными процессами конца 80–90-х гг., в результате чего ценность отношений человеческой близости была отодвинута в пользу индивидуализма. В русском языке чрезвычайно развита семантика сопричастности, которая выражается разнообразными языковыми средствами: средствами глагольного и местоименного дейксиса, диминутивами и другими средствами выражения оценки, посессивными синтаксическими конструкциями и аффиксами, лексикой со значением эмоционального отношения и содействия.

Ключевые слова: свое-чужое, сопричастность, личная сфера человека, диминутив, инклюзив и эксклюзив, культурные универсалии, понятийный ряд.

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There is an important ethnic trait reflected in the Russian language, both in verbal and non-verbal behavior of native speakers. Specialists in ethnopsychology and linguistics have observed this trait many times and describe it as the need to mark a certain type of relationship between the author of the statement and the other subject or topic in the act of speech. I. I. Kovtunova calls this relationship as closeness, Yu. D. Apresyan believes that by doing so, the Russian person includes his communicative partner into his personal sphere. However, 'complicity' as suggested by V. S. Khrakovsky and A. P. Volodin would be a more appropriate term. Complicity is the «invisible», internal relationship that connects the speaker and the other items or topics with a varying level of sustainability, however the speaker is definitely aware of it and it has a verbal or other kind of manifestation that allows the external observer to define or assume its presence with a reliable level of certainty. For instance, in Russian everyday life, collaborative eating or even more so alcohol consumption is a mark of complicity.

It seems that the notion of complicity represents an important cultural universal «own/foreign» rule, however, its representation in the Russian language and in Russian social behavior is vividly idioethnic, manifesting the Russian mentality in a culture-ethnic opposition of «West – East».

In the first quarter of the 20th century, Charles Bally formulated an important cultural opposition of analytism and impressionism that characterizes horizontal distribution of leading national cultures of Europe, connected with four countries: United Kingdom, France, Germany and Russia (Bally, 2003). Analytism can be represented as perception of the world in a «deconstructed way», with accentuated and structural components. Impressionism is understood as a way of describing the world and its fragments as a whole. According to Bally, the level of analytism decreases as we move from West to East, while the level of impressionism increases (see Fig. 1). Impressionism and analytism, in Bally's opinion, spread across all layers of national culture, from basic (language, body and domestic behavior) to the «highest» (art, science, philosophy and religion).

In terms of cultural anthropology and ethnic psychology, there are more differentiated oppositions including the notion of perceptual (cognitive) style by H. A. Witkin (Cole, Scribner, 1977: 104). It is worthwhile to note that perceptual style connects two important contradistinctions that do not necessarily consistently correlate. H. Witkin believed that articulated style is often connected with egocentricity and globalism correlates with the value of society. Theoretically, however, other interrelations of these paired notions are possible, such as globalism with individualism or articulatedness with the idea of society dominating over the individual.

In relation to the opposing «West/East» views, a remarkable feature of Russian national culture is its borderline nature. Russia is situated on the border between the eastern and the western worlds. We can say that the tendency towards holistic perception of the world's phenomena and domination of society over an individual increases further, the more east one travels from the European part of Russia. Thus, concerning the «analytism/impressionism (articulatedness/globality)» opposites we can speak about a wider «West/East» contrapo-
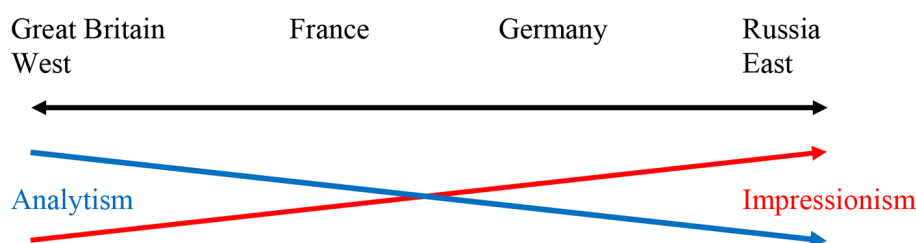

Fig. 1. Geographic distribution of analytism and impressionism

sition compared to the European and furthermore, it includes all the significant cultures of Eurasia.

Russia's borderline nature is manifested in the notion of «Eurasianism» that served as an alternative ideologem to communism at a certain stage of the country's existence; an ideology of the social democratic worker's party that won. Interestingly, famous linguist and phonologist N. S. Trubetskoy was the ideologist of Eurasianism. He actively rejected European values and considered Romano-Germanic states to be their source, mainly United Kingdom and France. From Trubetskoy's point of view, Romano-Germanic countries can be characterized as egocentric and chauvinistic (Trubetskoy, 1995: 55–104). Roman-Germanic culture is opposed by the Eurasian one, that can be in turn characterized with such an important trait as «symphonicity», manifested in the wholeness of the nation (Trubetskoy, 1995: 105). Trubetskoy considered the Russian nation to be the basic carrier and exponent of Eurasian culture.

Symphonicity of Russian culture in Trubetskoy's understanding is connected with the cultural universal «own/foreign» rule that can be seen as a notion-value opposition. It stems from societal psychology and the basic principles of human world perception.

Primarily it concerns the member of the «own» opposition that correlates with the notion of participation by Lévy-Bruhl.

L. Lévy-Bruhl, a French anthropologist from the first half of the 20th century, developed an original and universal anthropological theory that explains specific aspects of the world-perception and social behavior in traditional cultures that used to be called primitive.

In his polemic with the representatives of the British anthropological school that dominated in the beginning of the 20th century, L. Lévy-Bruhl based on the views of E. Durkheim and his understanding of the collective representations (Verstin, 2013: 206), formulated important points of his theory:

1. Beliefs and customs of traditional cultures are based on representations of the collective conscious rather than individual conscious (Lévy-Bruhl, 1994).

2. Primal mentality resides on the principal unsimilar to the principle of differentiation (contradiction), which forms a civilized culture. Difference and contradiction are the base of analytism in modern culture. Primal mentality is based on the principle of participation rather than contradiction (Lévy-Bruhl, 1994: 87–88), that has a more «impressionist» nature. Collective representations of the primitive man «instead of logical relations (inclusions and exclusions) imply more or less clearly defined, usually vividly experienced participations (communions)» (Lévy-Bruhl, 1994: 65).

The participation principal is connected with the fact that a human in traditional culture is not entirely an individual, meaning he is not entirely disconnected from nature and community. This unfinished separation is provided by participations, special mystical connections of the human with members of his ancestry, totemic animals or plants, place of living, its flora and fauna. These connections are invisible but real for a member of the traditional culture.

It seems that a person of traditional culture is not completely isolated from the environment, still being connected to it by invisible ties of participation. However, the elements of the environment, not only people, but also other realia of the surrounding world, in turn, are a continuation of the human: «The idea of the soul is absent in primitive people. It is replaced by the idea, generally a very emotional one, about one or several participations that coexist and cross (over) but do not yet merge into the clear consciousness of a truly single individuality. A member of a tribe, totem, clan feels his mystical unity with his social group, his mystical unity with an animal or plant species, that is his totem, with the soul of dreams, his mystical unity with the forest soul, etc.» (ibid, p. 73). Participations connect not only a person with the world around him, but also other elements of the world with each other.

According to L. Lévy-Bruhl, in order to establish or actualize the connection of participation, a traditional person performs magical actions. In order to not destroy this connection, he limits his behavior with the help of taboos. Violations of taboos lead to the destruction of

participation as well as undesirable or even catastrophic consequences.

L. Lévy-Bruhl's theory of participation was received with an active rejection in the anthropological community, primarily in its British part, which consisted of criticism from the standpoint of animism adopted in British anthropology (see, for example, (de Laguna, 1940)). In addition to the ideological rejection of theoretical attitudes of Lévy-Bruhl, the critics' argumentation concerned the empirical basis of his research. Eventually, a generational change took place in French anthropology, highlighting the structuralism of K. Levy-Strauss with his theory of myth, based on the metaphor of «bricolage», according to which mythological consciousness instead of constructing a concept for new reality uses a ready-made concept, at least somewhat applicable to reflect the needed essence, just as a player in «bricolage», to perform the required function, adapts the mechanism at hand with a completely different purpose (Levi-Strauss, 1994: 126–133).

L. Lévy-Bruhl's theory of participation did not receive further development, although, for instance, K. G. Jung recognized the presence of a system of participations in human thinking (Jung, 1997: 19; Jung, 1998).

Modern anthropology stems from the fact that a «civilized» person has a «layered», multilevel structure of consciousness, and the principle of participation, described by L. Lévy-Bruhl in relation to traditional cultures, operates at the ordinary, lower level (compare F. Bartlett's views on these phenomena (Cole, Scribner, 1977: 33–34)).

Participation, possessing a universal nature, forms an opposition with alienation, forming the value sequence «own/foreign». By limiting the circle of persons, animals and plants involved, a man of traditional culture limits «his» space, much like a modern civilized man, who separates his own world from the world around him, marking some of it as foreign. This foreign part is not only distanced from him, but also clearly rejected.

It is important to find out whether the Russian concept of complicity is the same notion as Lévy-Brul's participation concept. To prove this, it must be shown that participation is an important part of the non-verbal and verbal behavior of a Russian person where the Russian language and Russian culture contain a series of means that can be interpreted as means of actualizing participation.

The notion of complicity is extremely productive for describing the Russian mentality and the Russian «naive» (Yu. D. Apresyan's term) picture of the world. Participation is incorporated in the everyday existence of a Russian person; it forms the patterns and unwritten rules of their life, which in many respects contradict the written laws and norms.

Numerous facts of the presence and actualization of participation have been revealed in Russian culture, especially in everyday and ritual behavior, as well as in the Russian language, its grammar and vocabulary.

Participation is manifested and actualized in behavior and everyday rituals:

1. Spatial relationships are studied from a semiotic point of view by proxemics – «the science that studies the spatial parameters of human behavior» (Galichev, 1987: 8). The main proxemic regularities are based on the allocation of conditional spatial boundaries where a person is placed as a reference point. Each of the boundaries marks the area within which he can allow another person with whom he has some sort of relations of complicity with: an intimate zone (distance), a personal zone, a social zone, a public zone (Galichev, 1987: 12–13; Pease, 1992: 35–36). It is interesting to observe the intersection of terms: Yu. D. Apresyan and V. V. Ivanov use the term «personal sphere» in their works with a vivid spatial metaphor. From a proxemic point of view, the current widely popular term «social distancing» is extremely interesting, which must be observed in crowded places and is nominally equal to 1.5 m, which corresponds to the division, for example, of A. Pisa into communicative zones, however in reality it is significantly less than these 1.5 m and usually does not exceed this distance.

2. Gestures, postures and facial expressions are studied by kinesics – the semiotics of bodily movements (Galichev, 1987; Kreidlin, 2001; Molchanova, 2014: 18). A relaxed and open posture, turning and movement of the

body towards another person, opening gestures, relaxed facial expressions, a smile – all serve as signals of participation, while closing gestures, on the contrary, are associated with a break in complicity.

3. Positive touch as a manifestation of complicity through bodily contact is considered by takesics, or haptics, a semiotic discipline that studies touch (Molchanova, 2014: 15). A friendly pat on the shoulder or back, touching an arm or shoulder while talking, hugging and kissing[1] are clear signs of complicity.

4. A person who has a sense of complicity with another person can allow them to interact with their belongings. Similarly, a sense of complicity with another person gives the right, sometimes falsely so, to interact with the belongings without express permission. Handling the belongings of a person involved is often combined with another way of actualizing complicity – the liberty to enter their personal territory. Here is an example from Y. Trifonov, which describes both the moving of things and the entry into personal territory as a mutual manifestation of complicity: *The following day, Nyura suddenly appeared. <...> She felt very sorry for Rita: 'Oh, Margarita Nikolaevna, how are you getting by without any help?' Rita would reply that it was very difficult. 'Of course,' said Nyura. 'You need someone here.' And the fact that she mentioned this «someone» who would take her place so calmly and indifferently meant that she had accepted it all and there was no need to talk about anything. <...> After lunch, Nyura washed the dishes, and then Rita asked her to take out the trash* (Yu. Trifonov. Preliminary results).

5. Collaborative eating and alcohol consumption is also one of the means of actualization or a way of establishing complicity. Reception of guests, a friendly party, corporate event is all means of maintaining personal relationships. Performers, drivers, other people serving a festive event, according to custom, should receive food and/or drink «from the table». Large-scale and/or prolonged joint activities involve a final «banquet». Hiring, firing,

anniversaries, or funerals also involve eating together.

6. Joint actions and assistance to a close person or a mere acquaintance are also actualizers of complicity, and it is important to note that they can be performed contrary to the requirements of the law. One of the forms of corruption – nepotism (*kumovstvo*) – takes its name from the relationship of spiritual kinship: *kumovia* are a couple in which one person is the godfather or godmother for the other's child. For example, «godfather», a euphemism for the head of a mafia clan from the novel by M. Puzo «Godfather» and the film trilogy with the same title by F. F. Coppola. In fact, the mafia structure of society in some states exists as a parallel system of social relations, based not on the law, but on the ties of complicity.

7. The complicity of communicants is one of the important conditions for the success of communication. Establishment of complicity is achieved, in addition to linguistic means, by a wide range of non-verbal means, such as gestures, facial expressions, posture, touching, phonation means, in particular the use of timbre, raising and lowering the main tone, intonation, and others. For example: *'In the recent past an athlete, and now what do you do, Denis Ivanovich?' asked the journalist. Denis Ivanovich did not accept the friendly tone* (N. Leonov. Trap).

There are also numerous linguistic means associated with the actualization of ownership, such as:

1. The most understandable lexical means of expressing complicity are verbs, adjectives directly denoting complicity, as well as their derivatives. These include the adjectives *dear* (with the semantic component of a family connection in Russian), *close*, etc., as well as their derivatives, the verbs *to love, trust, sympathize, respect, befriend,* etc., as well as their derivatives, see, for example: *When you come to the Kremlin, go to the ancient walls, feel their **closeness**, feel the **blood connection** with them* (Trud, 11.08.1987. – National corpus of the Russian language).

2. Words and grammatical tools for possessiveness in direct and indirect meanings are used to indicate ownership. While describing

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[1] It is worth noting that a touch is a very intense intrusion in a person's private space and it is thus risky for it can lead to a negative reaction from the communicative partner.

the range of phenomena that fall into the personal sphere of the Indo-European proto-language speaker, V. V. Ivanov used the means of expressing inalienable belonging in the Hittite language (Ivanov, 1989: 11–14): 1) the terms of kinship, 2) names of body parts, 3) designation of a person's private space, 4) designations of a person's private property, 5) words denoting the duties and responsibilities of a person, 6) designation of hazardous conditions and properties, as well as actions preventing them, 7) designations of atmospheric phenomena, but only for God. Possessiveness, based on somatic semantics and belonging/possession semantics, often expresses relations that cannot be reduced to this type of semantics. Complicity may well be the semantic prototype for this wide range of relationships. Relational nouns with the meaning of a person are adjacent to the means of expressing possessiveness, such as the terms of kinship, properties and spiritual kinship (*father, sister, matchmaker, godfather,* etc.), territorial congruence (*compatriot, fellow countryman, neighbor,* etc.), emotional and social closeness (*friend, comrade, girlfriend, classmate,* etc.) (Arutyunova, 1980). Those relational nouns have the semantic valence of possessor to the possessive adjective or genitive form of a noun. Relational nouns are often used figuratively to denote participation that is not based on objective relationships of kinship, property or intimacy of another kind, for example: *'I have a very bad rope on the sled, you tie a new one.'. 'I got one. I'll surely do. And you, **brother**, give me a promise: don't cry anymore, okay? It's no good for you, and mom gets upset, and it's just not a manly thing to do. I don't like it … Promise you won't cry.'* (V. F. Panova. Seryozha (1955). – National corpus of the Russian language). The boy Seryozha and Korostelev talking to him are not related and belong to different generations. Korostelev used the allocution *brother* to actualize complicity.

3. Deictic pronouns and personal verb forms. Yu. D. Apresyan (1986) shows the distinction between *Vy* (*you* formal) and *ty* (*you* informal) and the corresponding forms of the verb, in addition to the social function of denoting official/unofficial communication and/ or relative social hierarchy, performing the function of including/withdrawing from the speaker's personal sphere. I. I. Kovtunova (1986) demonstrated how translation into the second person, into the position of a lyrical addressee, «brings» the character of a poetic text closer to the author, compare, for example: *Oh Volga!.. my cradle! Has anyone loved you (informal) as I do?* (N. A. Nekrasov. On the Volga).

The term pseudo-inclusive, introduced by Yu. D. Apresyan for the use of the first-person plural pronoun to designate a single addressee of speech (Apresyan, 1986), has been widely used in linguistics. There are several options for pseudo-inclusive and pseudo-exclusive. These are *we*: doctoral *(Well, how do we feel?)*, camera man's *(Let's look at the presenter!)*, policeman's *(Are we violating?)*, bus conductor's *(Let's not block the doors!)*, pseudo-exclusive maternal *(We are already teething!)*, etc.

4. The means of expressing evaluation make it possible to actualize the participation with the assessed reality and/or the addressee of the speech. At the same time, actualization is achieved with the very fact of using a value judgment, involving the person being assessed into the speaker's system of values; however, diminutives as an expressive evaluative means directly involving the designated reality or the addressee into the speaker's «personal sphere» (Spiridonova, 1997; see also Vezhbitskaya, 1997). For example, the use of diminutives in the speech of drivers and conductors of municipal buses in Krasnoyarsk (Kiseleva, 1997: 12): *Let's not release the **doors** (dim.), (People standing in the) **middle** (dim.) / let's go forward now, If we want to get off, let's press the **button** (dim.) in advance.* A large number of diminutives are used in the formation of «household names», for example: *Tatiana / Tania / Tan-**echk**-a / Tan-**iush**-a / Tan-**ius-echk**-a / N-**ius**-ia / N-**iush**-a*, etc. (Vezhbitskaya, 1997: 89–200).

5. Words and utterances with the meaning of certain social actions that include the idea of belonging. So, for example, the verbs *help, assist, contribute,* Griboyedov's *poradet'* (to take care of someone and assist in some way), expressing assistance, have a presupposition of complicity, for example: *And the only person who can **help** her now is Lyova, who has no*

idea how she, Natasha, feels about him. (N. Leonov. Repentance). In this case, there is a special register of narrative discourse – improperly direct speech, or free indirect discourse. The peculiarity of this proposal is that it reflects the point of view not of the author, but of the character Natasha, who asks another character, Lev Gurov, to help her in an important matter. Help is a manifestation of complicity. Therefore, in order to evoke a sense of belonging in the character, Natasha tries to show her own sense of belonging (*Lyova, who has no idea how she, Natasha, feels about him.*).

Immersed in verbal communication, linguistic means of actualizing complicity form ensembles with each other, as well as with non-verbal means. Consider the interaction of linguistic means in this short statement: *Poydem-ka my s toboy, druzhishche, vrezhem pivka*: 'Let's go (post-positive particle) you and me, buddy (aug.), let's grab some beers (dim.)' (Oleg Divov. Vybrakovka (1999). – National corpus of the Russian language). Despite the short nature of the statement, it uses a whole series of means of actualizing complicity:

1) a relational noun *druzh-ishch-e* 'buddy' is used as an address, denoting emotional closeness to the speaker; at the same time, an augmentative was used for the word *druzh-ishch-e* 'buddy', in this case it expresses not pejorativeness, but, on the contrary, hypochoricity;

2) the form of an inclusive *Poydem-ka (druzhishche,) vrezhem:* 'Let's go, let's grab' is used, denoting joint activities;

3) a post-positive particle is used (*–ka*), denoting a decrease in categoricality, which is typical for an unofficial communicative situation;

4) the speaker offers the listener a proposal for a joint drink of alcohol, which is a non-verbal means of actualizing complicity;

5) the speaker addresses the listener in the informal 'ty' (*you* informal), which is a means of actualizing complicity;

6) the form of the «gastronomic» diminutive of beer *piv-k-a* is used, which actualizes complicity;

7) the speaker uses the colloquial verb *vrezat':* 'to grab' to indicate drinking, which is an expressive designation of an action. This is evidence of an unofficial communicative situation.

In Russian speech, especially in casual personal communication, it is possible to use concentrated means of actualizing complicity, creating a special atmosphere of friendly communication.

The density of the use of verbal and non-verbal means of actualizing complicity in Russian unofficial communication suggests that the attitude of complicity in Russian society is an important factor in communication and social life. The *u-chast'-i-e* 'complicity' is the loan translation of the Latin *participatio, -onis* with the same root *-part-* / *-chast'-*. This, in turn, suggests that the cultural universal «own/foreign» rule plays a significant role in the life of the Russian people.

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On the History of the Vocabulary of the Thematic Group «Christian Virtues and Sins»: Based on the Translated Church Slavonic Hymnography

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Abstract. This study examines the formation and further evolution of the Church Slavonic and Russian vocabulary describing Christian virtues and sins. Our research was conducted on the available Church Slavonic translations of four Byzantine hymns (the Akathistos Hymn, the Great Canon of Repentance by St. Andrew of Crete, the Alphabetical Stichera from the Great Canon service, and the Great and Holy Friday Antiphons) found in Southern and Eastern Slavonic manuscripts of the 11th-16th century, as well as Russian editions dating back to the 17th – early 20th century. The textological study revealed five main stages in the evolution of these texts caused by systematic corrections in accordance with the Greek text. Based on these results, the linguistic textological method was applied in order to reveal the main differences between said stages in regard to conveying terms relevant to Christian virtues and sins. We examined a total of 110 Greek words and idiomatic expressions in this thematic field and classified them following the method suggested by E. M. Vereshchagin who focused on ways of terms creation. There were revealed main ways these terms were formed in the target language and the general tendencies in their translation during different stages in the history of Church Slavonic. The results of our research showcased the leading role of transposition in the formation of the terms, the negligible amount of lexical loans, as well as the growing role of calquing in the history of Church Slavonic. We also showed the ways in which the Church Slavonic and Russian languages adopted new linguistic and cultural realities and reinterpreted the system of Greek ethical terms, which helps us understand the mechanisms of intercultural transfer, as well as the linguistic factors that contribute to the identification of Russian culture in the general Orthodox context.

Keywords: linguistic textological method, historical lexicology, hymnography, Church Slavonic translations, Christian terminology, Greek-Slavonic linguistic relations.

Research area: linguisctics.

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К истории лексики тематических полей «христианские добродетели и пороки» в русском языке: на материале церковнославянской гимнографии

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Аннотация. В работе рассмотрено формирование и дальнейшее развитие церковнославянской и русской лексики, обозначающей христианские добродетели и пороки. Исследование проводилось на материале церковнославянских переводов четырех византийских гимнографических произведений (Акафиста Богоматери, Великого покаянного канона Андрея Критского, Алфавитных стихир из последования Великого канона и Антифонов Великой Пятницы), рассмотренных по южнославянским и восточнославянским рукописям XI–XVI веков и русским изданиям XVII – начала XX века. Предварительное текстологическое исследование выявило 5 основных стадий истории данных текстов, в основе которой лежали систематические справы славянского текста в соответствии с греческим оригиналом. Опираясь на данные результаты, мы применили лингвотекстологический метод с целью выявить основные различия между данными стадиями в передаче терминов, обозначающих христианские добродетели и пороки. Всего в рассмотренных текстах было обнаружено 110 лексем и устойчивых выражений данного тематического поля, проанализированных на основе классификации способов формирования терминологии, предложенной Е. М. Верещагиным. Были выявлены как основные пути создания терминов, так и тенденции в способах их перевода на разных стадиях истории церковнославянского языка. Результаты исследования показали ведущую роль транспозиции при создании терминологии, ничтожно малый процент лексических заимствований, а также возрастающую роль калькирования по мере развития языка. Кроме того, были рассмотрены процессы языковой адаптации и переосмысления греческой терминологии в системе принимающего языка, помогающие понять механизмы межкультурного взаимодействия, а также лингвистические факторы, способствующие поиску идентичности русской культуры в широком православном контексте.

Ключевые слова: лингвотекстологический метод, историческая лексикология, гимнография, церковнославянские переводы, христианская терминология, греческо-славянские языковые связи.

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Introduction

This study focuses on the phenomenon of interlingual communication based on the case study of the influence the Greek language had over the Russian language. This influence, although well-known, has mostly been mentioned by great Russian authors instead of linguists. At this point, it is useful to cite the words of two such authors, namely A. Pushkin, who wrote the following: «As material for verbal art, the Slavonic-Russian language has an indisputable advantage over all European languages: it has had an unusually fortunate course. In the 9th century, the Ancient Greek language suddenly opened its lexicon, the treasure of its harmony, donated the rules of its well-considered grammar, its beautiful constructions, its imposing stream of speech, in other words, it adopted it [the Russian language], freeing it in this way from slow time-consuming improvements. Sonorous and expressive on its own, it [the Russian language] henceforth borrows flexibility and correctness» (Pushkin, 1964: 27); as well as a fragment from the letter of V. Zhukovsky to I. Turgenev: «… I regard the Greek language with admiration, and I consider it necessary for the improvement of Russian, because our Russian language was brought up by Greek, from which our first books were translated…» (Zhukovsky, 1895: 70).

One can easily see that such an important influence as described by these great classic authors cannot simply be limited to loan words; there are much deeper and systematic processes at play. The Greek language was introduced to Slavs alongside Christianity and the Byzantine culture. A new system of ethical values was introduced to the Slavic world to be subsequently creatively adopted by Slavs and interpreted in the context of the Slavic culture and language. It was this mix that laid the foundations of the Russian language and culture described by the aforementioned classic authors. This cultural transfer was naturally bound to a concurrent linguistic transfer, with the new concepts that appeared in the cultural framework being followed by new words that described them in the linguistic framework. This article examines the process through which these words were formed, as well as the role of the Greek language in said process, based on thematic groups of words that denote Christian virtues and sins.

To a regular believer, Christianity first and foremost means a new ethical code. The adoption of this code should happen both on a cultural and linguistic level, the latter accompanied by the formation of new thematic vocabulary groups with corresponding positive or negative connotations. These could have changed during the transition from paganism to Christianity due to the new ethical evaluation of some character traits in the Christian ethical system.

The new vocabulary in the Church Slavonic and Russian languages was formed during the translation process, as well as through subsequent reviews of the most important texts of the Byzantine Christian culture and their later adaptation to the environment of the target language. It was formed by translators and reviewers who tried to find the best Slavonic counterparts with the maximum possible semantic equivalence, in order to describe the complex abstract concepts in the Greek language. The purpose of this was not only to translate and compose the sacred texts but to also render them comprehensible to the Slavonic audience. Among these texts, hymnography was of special importance, as it significantly facilitated the textual conveyance to the medieval man, regulated the usage of the language in the sphere of religious literacy, and formulated the ethical code of the believers. The role of Greek hymnography in Russian ethics, especially that of the Great Canon of Repentance by St. Andrew of Crete, was highlighted by F. Dostoyevsky, who wrote: «Humanity… Russian people don't need it from Europe. They know to forgive. It is enough for them to read the Great Canon by St. Andrew of Crete» (Dostoyevsky, 1971: 463). However, the available hymnographic material has not been sufficiently studied from the point of view of historical lexicology.

Statement of the problem

This research constitutes an attempt to analyze the formation of the vocabulary of the Church Slavonic language from a histor-

ical perspective, based on the Slavonic translations of four Byzantine texts of the Triodion cycle: the Akathistos Hymn; the Great Canon of Repentance by St. Andrew of Crete; the Alphabetical Stichera from the Great Canon service; and the Antiphons of the Great and Holy Friday, in both their manuscript and published versions dating from the 9th to the early 20th century. More specifically, we will examine how the lexemes denoting Christian virtues and sins in these Greek hymnographic texts were translated in Church Slavonic in the first translations (9th – early 10th century), as well as whether these translations have changed during the process of textual revision (Bobrik, 1990). The goal is to reveal the main ways the system of Russian terms describing the ethical categories of virtues and sins was formed, as well as the general tendencies in the formation of these words during different stages in Church Slavonic history.

Materials and methods

This research was conducted on Greek academic and church editions (Migne, 1860; Triodion, 1867; Trypanis, 1968), Church Slavonic manuscripts of the 11th – 16th century (Triodia; Pentecostaria; Kondakaria; and Sticheraria), which contain the abovementioned texts (Borisova, 2020: 537–544), as well as Slavonic editions of the 17th – 20th century (Postnaia Triod', 1663; Triod' Postnaia, 1912). The analysis of the material in the Church Slavonic language was based on the textological study of the abovementioned translated hymns (Borisova, 2020a) that we carried out in the past and which has helped distinguish the main versions (reductions) of said translations in the Church Slavonic tradition, as well as the main stages in its history. More specifically, the following stages were examined:

1. The early South Slavonic versions (late 9th – early 10th century), which reflect the first Slavonic translations made by the disciples of St. Cyril and Methodius (Borisova, 2020a: 50–62; 66–76). Two relatively independent translations connected to the Glagolitic and Cyrillic traditions were most likely completed in the South Slavic region at this stage. These versions have not been saved in their entirety and

can be reconstructed based on fragments from the South Slavonic manuscripts of the 12th – 13th century, hereinafter referred to as Stage 1.

2. The stage which began with the Preslav corrections in the mid-late 10th century (Borisova, 2020a: 62–66), a relatively large volume of text material was preserved in the East Slavonic manuscripts of the 11th – 14th century, as well as the Bulgarian manuscripts of the 13th century, hereinafter referred to as Stage 2.

3. The stage which began with a systematic correction of the liturgical books carried out on Mount Athos near the end of the 13th century (Borisova, 2020a: 94–102). The material was preserved in numerous South Slavonic manuscripts of the 14th – 16th century, as well as in East Slavonic manuscripts of the 15th – 16th century. This stage is hereinafter referred to as Stage 3.

4. The stage which refers to the correction of the liturgical books in Kiev in the first half of the 17th century followed by the new versions of the liturgical books that appeared as a result of the book revision carried out by Patriarch Nikon in the second half of the 17th century (Borisova, 2020b; Bobrik, 1990: 73–78), hereinafter referred to as Stage 4.

5. The stage which is connected to the editions of the Holy Synod (*Sinodalnaja*) in the beginning of the 20th century and corresponds to the contemporary Russian Orthodox liturgical practice, hereinafter referred to as Stage 5.

Detailed information regarding the versions of the texts corresponding to each stage, as well as the illustrative manuscripts through which the linguistic material from each stage was collected is provided in our earlier works (Borisova 2020a; Borisova 2020b).

The linguistic material was collected according to the linguistic textological method (Panin, 1995), while the subsequent analysis of the Greek and Church Slavonic material was carried out following the comparative etymological and semantic methods and the methods of cultural linguistics. The etymological and semantic analysis of the Greek and Slavonic lexemes was conducted on Greek and Russian lexicographic sources (Lampe, 1961; Stamatakos, 1972; Slovar' russkogo iazyka 11–17 vekov; Vasmer, 1987; Krylov, 2005).

Theoretical framework

The linguistic data analysis was based on the classification of the ways the aforementioned terms formed in the Old Slavonic (Church Slavonic) language, as suggested by E. M. Vereshchagin (Vereshchagin, 1988). More precisely, there are four main ways new vocabulary was formed with the purpose of translating terms in Greek texts unknown to Slavs:

1. Transposition – addition of new terminological meaning corresponding to the source language (Greek) to the lexeme that already existed in the target language (Church Slavonic);

2. Lexical loan – transfer of the lexeme from the source language to the target language;

3. Calquing – creation of a term in the target language based on the transfer of the morphological structure of the source language;

4. Mentalization – creation of a term in the target language based on the transfer of the semantics of the source language.

It should be stressed that lexemes that have already existed in the target language are used only in the case of the first method; in the other three methods, these are new words that appear in the target language.

Results and Discussion

When discussing the contexts examined below, the following indication system will be used, with the relevant numbers within brackets:

• Akathistos Hymn – hereinafter referred to as Ak (oikos number in the Greek tradition from 1 to 24);

• Great Canon of Repentance by St. Andrew of Crete – hereinafter referred to as GC (ode number: number of heirmos (only for odes 2 and 3 with two heirmoi): troparion number (excluding heirmos));

• Alphabetical Stichera from the Great Canon service – hereinafter referred to as AS (sticheron number);

• Antiphons of the Great and Holy Friday – hereinafter referred to as An (antiphone number: troparion number).

In the texts under research, we discovered a total of 110 Greek nouns and idiomatic expressions associated with the thematic field «Christian virtues and sins» in 224 different contexts. For comparative purposes, we also studied 24 adjectives and adverbs, as well as 12 verbs that cognate with the nouns under analysis. The number of Church Slavonic equivalents during Stage 1 and Stage 2 was much smaller (78), since scholars used the same have word to translate several Greek terms with a similar meaning. At early Stage 3 that number of Church Slavonic counterparts is practically the same as the corresponding Greek vocabulary due to the fact that the Athonite reviewers found a Slavonic equivalent for each Greek term. The translation work of the Athonite School scholars enriched the Church Slavonic vocabulary by approximately 20 % in this thematic field and, in combination with several additions from Nikon's and the Synod's corrections, they formed the system the Russian language has been using to this day.

One can observe the main tendencies in vocabulary formation through the example of some terms with the general meaning of *sin*. The term *грѣхъ*, which appeared during Stage 1 in the first Church Slavonic translations to transpose the Greek word *ἁμαρτία* (the Greek and Slavonic words had a similar history in their corresponding languages: from the common meaning of *failure, fault,* or *error*, to the Christian terminological meaning of *sin*), had also been used until the 13th century for the Greek nouns *ἔγκλημα, παράπτωμα,* and *πταίσμα*. It was only during Stage 3 when the derivatives *съгрѣшеніе, прѣгрѣшеніе,* and *грѣхопаденіе* appeared in the translation of the texts to provide Slavic equivalents to each of these Greek words (*ἁμαρτία* = грѣхъ, *ἔγκλημα* = съгрѣшеніе, *πταίσμα* = прѣгрѣшеніе, *παράπτωμα* = грѣхопаденіе). However, contrary to the Greek language, all the abovementioned Slavic terms are cognates with not only semantic but also etymological relations, which make the Slavic system different from the Greek system.

As far as the abovementioned methods of vocabulary formation are concerned, the lexical material studied is divided as follows:

1. Transposition was the most popular method of terminology composition in the beginning of the history of Church Slavonic

(Stage 1: 72 Greek lexemes and idiomatic expressions), and has kept this significant role in the thematic group under analysis to this day (Stage 5: 60 Greek lexemes and idiomatic expressions). Some highlights are as follows: ἀγάπη = любы / любовь (An 4: 5), πίστις = вѣра (Ak 7; GC5:18; 9:17; AS11), ἐλπὶς = надѣжда (Ak 13), συγχώρησις = прощеніе (Ak 13), μετάνοια = покаѧніе (GC1:2; 2:1:25 and so on; AS6; 12), φόβος = страхъ (AS7), ἀγνεία = чистота (GC5:3; 9:4; Ak 2; 19), σωτηρία = спасеніе (Ak 4; 19; 23), φθόνος = зависть (AS21), ὀργῆ = гнѣвъ (GC2:2:4; 7:7), κακία = зълоба (Gc 4:4: 5:4; 8:6), φόνος = оубииство (GC7:4; 7:5), πάθος = страсть (Ak 9; As 15; GC2:1:7; 6:9), δόλος = льсть/ лесть (An 3:4; 4:2), ἀσωτία = блѫдъ / блуд (GC1:21), ἡδονή = сласть (GC 2:1:7; 4:12), ψεῦδος = лъжа / ложь (Ak 11).

It should be noted that sometimes the Slavonic counterpart suggested by the first translators remained throughout the history of Church Slavonic despite the differences in etymological meaning. A typical example is the term *μετάνοια* which represents an important concept in Christian ethics and, according to its etymology, means the transformation of the mind (μετά+νοια). The Slavic word *покаѧніе/ покаяние* has quite a different etymology; it originates from the verb *каятъ* which means *swear* with the reflexive suffix *–ся*. However, it was this specific word that was used in all Church Slavonic versions from the very first one to this day.

2. Contrary to the previous method, linguistic loans were practically nonexistent throughout the subsequent stages of Church Slavonic history. Only one such case was found in the words under analysis. Moreover, the certain loan word was not from the source language of the cultural transfer (Greek), but from the Old High German language. The lexeme *постъ* = *fast* (from the Old High German *fasto*), used to translate the Greek word νηστεία (GC9:4; 9:8), appeared at Stage 2 during the Preslav corrections. Earlier, that same Greek word was translated via transposition: *алъканіе = hunger*. The rejection of loans as a method of language expansion could be explained as an attempt to provide the Slavs with ethical terminology that

was easy for them to perceive and comprehend, thanks to its clear etymology.

3. Calquing was used for Greek derivatives as well as composites. At the early stages, it was not a very common practice, with the total lexemes in the thematic group under analysis being only 18 at Stage 1. The most typical examples are: ἐγκράτεια = въздрьжаніе (Ak 13); φιλαδελφία = братолюбіе (An 4:5); παρθενία = дѣвьство (Ak 19); θεοσέβεια = богочьстіе (An 4:2); συνείδησις = съвѣсть (Ak 21); ἀνομία = безаконіе (GC2:2:9); ἀδηφαγία = объѧденіе (GC6:6). Starting from Stage 3 and leading up to Stage 5, the number and the percentage of these words gradually increased, reaching 38. More information regarding this process along with more examples will be provided below.

4. Mentalization as a word formation process in the target language is especially interesting. Similar to calquing, the new words or idiomatic expressions are formed using components that arise from the target language copying the structures of the source language. Contrary to calquing, however, what is copied is semantics and not a morpheme structure. One can observe this process through the example of the general term ἀρετή and the corresponding Slavonic word *добродѣтель*. Etymological dictionaries (Krylov, 2005: 115) state that the Slavonic term appeared as a calque of the Greek εὐεργέτης, which is incorrect. The word εὐεργέτης in the first Slavonic translations was translated using another calque – *благодѣтель* (An 8:2). The Greek ἀρετή had a pre-Christian history. Before becoming a Christian ethical term, it had the general meaning of *goodness, excellence, kindness*. Therefore, unsurprisingly, at Stage 1, the transposition *добро* was used to translate it. However, later reviewers found the meaning of the word not specific enough to describe this Christian virtue and, at Stage 2 (Preslav correction), the Slavonic term *добродѣтель* was suggested (GC8:2; 8:13). The new word was influenced by the Greek language, though it did not copy the structure of the non-derivative Greek word, but rather its semantics with the use of Slavonic roots.

Other examples of this mentalization process were the words *благодѣть* (Stage 1) / *благодать = grace* (Stages 2–5) for the Greek

χάρις (Ak 7; GC8:3), and *любодѣиство / прѣлюбодѣиство = adultery* for the Greek μοιχεία (GC7:4; 7:5). Although the total number of words and idiomatic expressions with mentalization is relatively small and gradually decreasing (20 at Stage 1 and 9 at Stage 5), the words formed this way played an important role in the linguistic culture of Orthodox Slavs.

Let us now denote and discuss two main tendencies in the formation of the words under analysis during the history of Church Slavonic: from transposition to calquing and from mentalization to calquing. The first is depicted in the translation of the Greek ἀνδρεία (GC4:13) first as доблесть = *courage* (transposition) and, later, starting from Stage 3, as мѫжьство/ мужество = *manhood* (calque). Another similar example are the Slavonic equivalents to the Greek σωφροσύνη (GC5:3; 5:8; see also the translation of the cognate verb in GC9:16 and adjective in Ac 6) from the transposition мѫдрость = *wisdom* at Stage 1, to the calque цѣломѫдрie/ целомудрие = *chastity* in subsequent stages.

The transition from mentalization to calquing is illustrated by the history of the Slavonic term *добродѣтель* as described above, as well as by the formation of the word *отчаѧнie* instead of *нечаѧнie* in the first translations of the Greek derivative ἀπόγνωσις (GC6:13; 9:17), *златолюбie* instead of *сребролюбie* for the Greek composite φιλαργυρία (GC8:6, An 2:2; 4:1; 4:2), *благочестie* instead of *благовѣрie* for the Greek εὐσέβεια (GC3:2:12). The most striking example, however, is the history of the Slavonic counterparts to the Greek term εὐσπλαγχνία (GC2:1:5; 8:10; AS4), which were gradually formed by copying not only the semantics but also the morpheme structure of the Greek noun. In Stages 1–3, it was translated as *милосрьдie* (mentalization) with the use of the composite morpheme structure of the corresponding Latin term *misericordia*. Later, the term *благосрьдie* (calque of the first Greek root and mentalization of the second one) appeared in the Russian tradition, which at Stages 4–5 resulted in the full calque *благоутробie*. Nevertheless, this calque was not adopted in the Russian language, which contrary to Church Slavonic, keeps using the word *милосердие* to

mean *mercy*, connecting this Christian virtue with the heart instead of the womb.

More examples that illustrate the intensive search of Slavic scholars for the best Slavonic equivalents to the complex concepts of the Greek language and culture are presented below:

- θηλυμανία (GC4:12) → блѫдъ (Stage 1) → тиннолюбие (Stage 2) → женонеистовьство (Stage 3–5);
- ἡδυπαθεία (GC7:11) → наслаждение страстеи (Stage 1) → сласть (Stage 2) → сладострасть (Stage 3–5);
- ἀνεξίκακος (AS10, 24) → не памѧть зълымь (Stage 1) → незлобивъ (Stage 2) → безлобывъ (Stage 3) → незлобивыи (Stage 4–5);
- εὐλαβής (Ak 23) → говѣѫщии (Stage 1) → благобоязньныи (Stage 2) → благоговѣиныи (Stage 3–5).

In the lexical material discussed above, one can easily observe how the Church Slavonic and Russian languages provide new connotations, language relations, and etymological semantics to the Christian terms borrowed from Greek culture. In order to further explain this process, we should examine another example, the multifunctional and polysemic Russian root *-люб-*. As it has already been shown, that same root was used to translate the core Christian virtue ἀγάπη (любовь) alongside a number of sins, both via calquing the Greek root φιλ- (e. g. φιλαργυρία / златолюбие) and via mentalization (e. g. μοιχεία / прѣлюбодѣиство). The use of this root in words with a negative connotation, which is impossible for the Greek concept of ἀγάπη, forms the language basis of the ambivalent attitude towards the concept of love in Russian culture, which is perceived as a virtue and a sin simultaneously. Concepts that are at opposite poles in the Greek ethical code are now etymologically and semantically connected, with this linguistic association of vice and virtue forming a unique modus in Russian culture, where the most ignoble feelings also contain a reflection of Divine light.

Conclusion

To summarize the results of our research, it is important to state the effectiveness of the

linguistic textological method in the study of comparative lexicology and cultural linguistics. Analyzing the evolution of the language in these particular translated texts with a wide historical perspective provides the researcher with objective statistic data and a more precise picture of the Greek-Slavonic interlingual communication.

The four Greek hymnographic texts studied through their Slavonic translations dating from the 9th until the early 20th century provided us with 110 words and idiomatic expressions in the thematic field «Christian virtues and sins». Among the methods for translation of these terms into Church Slavonic, lexical loans were almost not used at all, while the most frequent method observed was transposition, i. e. the use of words that pre-existed in the target language and Slavic pagan culture to create new Christian terminology meanings. In this way, the Christian religion became connected to the pagan substrate of the target culture.

The new words for the new concepts of Christian ethics were formed in two ways: calquing, i. e. copying the morphological structure of the source language lexeme; and mentalization, i. e. copying its semantic structure. The main tendency observed in the material under analysis was a transition from semantic description to morpheme correlation (calquing). We also observed a gradual increase in the number of Slavonic lexemes in this particular thematic field, due to Slavic scholars attempting to find Slavonic counterparts to every Greek word, as well as different Slavonic equivalents to similar but not exactly the same Greek notions. It was this aspiration for an exact reproduction of the Greek texts at all levels – grammatical, conceptual, symbolic, that defined the essence of the work of generations of Slavic scholars, along with the development of Church Slavonic as the language capable of the most adequate transfer of the Greek Orthodox culture into the Slavic world. This was the «search for Byzantium» which defined the core tendency of Russian spirituality for many centuries. Grammar and vocabulary morphed into theology and ethics, and text revisions became milestones in the history of Russian culture. On the other hand, a transfer to the system of another language can form other correlations between words and key concepts of culture, balancing between the common Orthodox Byzantine elements and the original Slavic elements and searching for an identity and unique place in global culture. Comparing the linguistic data of the Greek, Church Slavonic, and Russian languages at different times, one can better understand both the linguistic features of the latter and the basic concepts of Orthodox Slavic culture. These were formed on the basis of the interlingual interpretation of the Byzantine heritage, as well as an original linguistic and cultural components that determined the special place of Russian culture among other Orthodox cultures.

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Analyzing Social Meaning:
How Words Matter in Social Contexts
(Based on German Communicative Practice)

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Abstract. The paper discusses the notion of social meaning that has become a central one in sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, metapragmatics. The study was informed by these research directions and the main outcomes. The term social meaning pinpoints what linguistic forms convey about the social identity of the users, about their personality, social features and ideologically, value-based orientations. We presume that this is a category of meaning that a linguistic unit (an utterance) obtains as a result of its usage in a certain context. Social meanings are fixed by social practice. It acts as an index to the context in which the linguistic unit is expected to be used and relevant. Indexical relations are open for re-evaluations that are mediated by speakers ideological views. The study is based on German socio-cultural practice and reveals how indexical relations arise between a linguistic unit and the socio-cultural environment, the social occasion of its usage. The analysis is conducted as corpus-assisted discourse analysis, based on the «Digital dictionary of the German language» / «Das Digitale Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache».

Keywords: sociolinguistics, social meaning, indexicality, corpus-based discourse analysis.

Research area: linguisctics.

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Социальное значение: что значат слова в социальных контекстах (на материале немецкой коммуникативной практики)

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Аннотация. В статье обсуждается понятие социального значения и социальной индексальности языкового знака, ставшее центральным в социолингвистике третьей волны, лингвистической антропологии, метапрагматике. Теоретико-методологические основания проведенного исследования заданы этими направлениями. Термин «социальное значение» отражает, как изучение языковой вариативности становится инструментом, активно используемым человеком/социальной группой для выражения и конструирования социального мира и идентичности. Мы исходим из того, что это особый тип значения, которое языковая единица (высказывание) получает в результате своего использования в определенном контексте. Социальные значения фиксируются социальной практикой. Социальное значение индексально, указывает на контекст, в котором предполагается использовать лингвистическую единицу. Индексальные отношения динамичны, открыты для переоценки, опосредованной идеологическими взглядами говорящего. Исследование проведено на материале немецкой социокультурной практики и показывает, как возникают индексальные отношения между языковой единицей и социокультурной средой, социальным поводом ее использования. Анализ проведен как корпусно-ориентированный дискурсивный анализ на основе «Цифрового словаря немецкого языка» / «Das Digitale Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache».

Ключевые слова: социолингвистика, социальное значение, индексальность, корпусно-ориентированный дискурсивный анализ.

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Introduction

The point of departure for the suggested analysis is that «language use is a key element of social practice, but it is practices that generate the meanings that we take to define our social lives» (Coupland, Jaworski, 2009: 9). The paper aims at 'language-in-society', at social nature of discourse, that reflects all meaningful aspects of socio-cultural, political, ideological environment. The notion of social meaning has become a central one in the undertaken analysis. By a social meaning we mean a category of meaning that a linguistic unit (or an utterance) obtains as a result of its usage in a certain context. Social meanings are fixed by social practice. It is defined as an index, marker of the context in which the linguistic unit is expected to be used and relevant. The term *social meaning* pinpoints what linguistic forms convey about the social identity of the users, about their personality, social features and ideologically, value-based orientations. What is of importance is the ideological load that the linguistic unit gains due to its previous usage contexts and existing evaluative angles. A social meaning / social index of a word and «its» context generate

stable frames of perception and interpretation. Thus indexicality deals with meaning that we do not say or write, but express by indexing at the contexts where they fit.

We presume that the word is the most sensitive index of any social change, as Voloshinov put it. The word is social by nature. Its meaning construction comes to life in the transition from one context to another context, from one generation to another generation. At the same time, the word cannot completely free itself from the power of those specific contexts into which it entered. In this sense, the word comes from another context, fueled with other people's intentions. That is why the orientation of a word among words, a different feeling of someone else's word are, perhaps, the most essential problems of the sociology of the word (Voloshinov, 2000 [1926]: 77–78).

Many linguistic forms become socially meaningful. Indexical relations are open for being reevaluated and such reevaluations are mediated by speakers ideological-based views. Therefore language users may vary in their interpretation of the social significance of linguistic forms. Over time, indexical links go through further evaluation in the social practice, adopting another specific features ideologically related to the original association.

Significant cases in this framework come from the German language and communicative practice that convey socially meaningful differences in using language before and after reunification Germany in 1990. German was spoken on both sides of the wall. But there were linguistic peculiarities. The language of the former GDR had its own markedness in terms of social collective identity of the users. In the present investigation we take the social networking of the German word *Kollektiv* and social effects of its usage in the current sociocultural practice compared with the past communicative practice the German Democratic Republic before 1990.

Theoretical Background of the Study

The concepts of culture and context are regarded as crucial in the present study. The definition of culture rests on a methodological alternative suggested for the meaning of this notion. There are research directions which offer Humboldt's approach and related linguocultural conceptions which consider language as an ethnic (national) language and culture as an ethnic (national) phenomenon. Another research direction, namely a discourse sensitive approach to the notion of culture is to be discussed. According to this explanatory approach culture is defined as a discourse practice, as a process of social construction. In this process the existent systems of knowledge, meanings and ideas contribute to social interaction only when they set transpersonal markers and construct identities, see e. g. (Gasparyan, Cherniavskaia, 2014; Tcherniavskaia 2014). The present investigation draws on the discourse sensitive approach. We rely on the four crucial aspects:

culture reflects forms of human's material and spiritual life and ways of their regulating; it means a set of rules which prescribe and at the same time limit ideas about what is considered as norm and as accepted behaviour in a society; culture manifests itself in a social context; culture takes some shape relying on semiotic tools for its expression.

Ideas about cultural specificity of human's communicative-speech activity are closely related to the notions of context and contextualization. As Halliday, Hasan put it, «there was a theory of context before there was a theory of text» (Halliday, Hasan, 1985: 5). A pioneering approach to language and context was developed by British anthropologist B. Malinowski, who studied the culture and language of indigenous population of Australia and New Guinea in the 1920s. He initiated the debate about context embeddedness of a linguistic unit: to understand a meaning of a word in a language which does not have a writing system one should learn about its function in the context which this word is pronounced in. It is important to investigate usage contexts of the word to be able to understand its meanings. Later Malinowski developed his own approach to language in general: cf. «the real understanding of words is always ultimately derived from active experience of those aspects of reality to which the words belong» (Malinowski, 1935: 58). Actually, Malinowski introduced the discourse

sensitive approach in its current interpretation, in a way it is developed in sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, culturological linguistics, see e. g. (Blommaert, 2005; Bucholtz, Hall, 2008; Bucholtz, Hall, 2011; Collins, 2011; Eckert, 2018).

A particular interest to the concepts of social indexicality and social meaning as an analytical tool has led to significant results in sociolinguistic studies of American and Western European scientific schools, in linguistic anthropology and metapragmatics. Contemporary schools of thought are represented by Michael Silverstein, Penelope Eckert, and Asif Agha in the USA, by Mary Bucholtz, Kira Hall, Nikolas Coupland in the UK, by Jan Blommaert in the Netherlands, and by Jürgen Spitzmüller, Barbara Soukup in Austria. There has emerged a new research trend oriented towards studying implicit latent meanings in contrast with other analytical approaches to investigating a language in a society.

Thus, pragmatically-oriented linguistics, stylistics, text linguistic have formed a functional approach to communication. They describe communication as a result of exercised choice of a number of options, as deliberate planning of communicative actions. From a strategic perspective, communication is analysed as linguistic choices made following a certain strategy. Therefore linguistic choices are defined as resources or tools for achieving communicators' strategic goals. In this respect theoretical background was established by pragmatically-led linguistics and its branches such as functional stylistics, pragmatic stylistics, text stylistics and text linguistics. There developed diverse conceptions of argumentation, neorhetoric, persuasive communication, direct and indirect communication, explanatory methods of linguistic persuasion and manipulation. In this perspective the explanatory approach is based on a pragmatic, related meaning of a linguistic unit, namely, a connotation which is firmly associated with its core meaning in the communicators' minds. According to this approach nomination (the choice of a word to name some referent) reflects a subjective, ideologically-charged meaning, whereas alternative nomination (re-nomination, labelling) can be regarded as a persuasive tool. Choosing alternative nomination enables to form preferred evaluation and predicted addressee's response. About debate and outcomes see in (Kulikova, 2011; Nefedov, 2019; Nefedov, 2021; Nefedov, Chernyavskaya, 2020; Chernyavskaya, 2020).

'Function' and 'functional perspective' is a broad concept. It has become central in sociolinguistics in different dimensions. One of it is *social meaning*, as introduced above. Ideas about social meaning as an index are not related only to pragmatic meaning as a connotation. Social meaning describes not only linguistic variations in language use, but also provides explanations in relation to the significance of a linguistic resource for speakers/listeners. Speakers are seen as social agents, who are able functionally to achieve certain senses when using linguistic resources or, in other words, making choice between them.

The conception of social indexicality is seen as a different research angle which has also resulted from a pragmatic shift in linguistics. This new perspective has put a major emphasis on context dependence of a meaning and reflection on language usage. Theoretical framework of linguistic indexicality was established by R. Jakobson who included a metalingual function and an active user/observer in the communication model (Jaconson, 1980 [1957]). This idea was then reinterpreted in American anthropology by M. Silverstein (Silverstein, 1979; 2003). Studying language pragmatic function has led to understanding that numerous meanings of a linguistic form arise from indexical relationships between a linguistic sign and its usage context. Silverstein underlined that conscious and critical attitude of the user to linguistic resources became a central factor of language development and functioning. He also claimed that meanings of linguistic signs were interrelated with situational context of their usage as well as with culturally specific conceptions and norms. Thus, when a linguistic sign is indexically connected with its context, the frame of perception appears. In this case reflection of a person who realizes how and why he/she uses some linguistic means generates stable frames of perception

and interpretation. To quote Blommaert, «referential or denotational, 'pure' meaning is only one part of the effects of language use. Apart from referential meaning, acts of communication produce indexical meaning: social meaning, interpretive leads between what is said and the social occasion in which it is being produced (…) Every utterance also tells us something about the utterance itself. Is it serious or banter? Is this an anecdote, a joke, an order, a request? Is the speaker sure/sincere/confident of what s/he says? What kind of relationship between the speaker and the hearer is articulated in this utterance – is this a friendly or a hostile utterance? And every utterance tells us something about the social context in which it is being produced… Are things such as social class, gender, ethnicity, or professional status played out in the utterance? Are social roles reinforced or put up for negotiation? Are social rules being followed or broken? And so on. Indexical meaning is what anchors language usage firmly into social and cultural patterns» (Blommaert, 2005: 11–12).

The following point should be particularly stressed. Focus on indexicality and the introduced notion of social index/ social meaning neither contrast nor offer an alternative to other types of signs as it was described in Ch. Peirce's semiotic sign model – icons, symbols and indices.

What is important in the light of the undertaken analysis is that the linguistic form used by an individual in a certain situation (in discourse) is indexically connected with the person's social characteristics and elements of the context. In this respect it is notable that in existing English research term *languaging* has been preferably used as an alternative to term *language* to describe dynamic usage of language resources. The term of *languaging* has been used to mean practice of using a language focussing on the action of an individual using a language, his/her ability to choose a linguistic means appropriate to a particular situation.

It has become important, that indexicality appears to operate in the intertextual environment within an archive, «a historical 'system of the formation and transformation of statements' in Foucault's terms, and they should be seen as the empirical side of such a system. The system operates at the lowest level by imposing 'conventional', normative indexical meanings to utterances and communicative events, a task usually fulfilled by centring institutions such as the state, schools, role models, peer groups, cultural icons… The main advantage of the concept of an archive, however, is that it reminds us of the limits within which discourse operates, of the constraints on choice and creativity in discourse» (Blommaert, 2005: 103). This implies that meaning is not only context-based but also context-determined.

Methodology

We analyze the social meaning of the word *Kollektiv* and its usage in the socio-cultural practice. These will illustrate how social effects marking the use of a linguistic unit in a certain social environment arise and become indexical. The analysis is conducted as corpus-assisted discourse analysis, based on the «Digital dictionary of the German language» / «Das Digitale Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache». It is a lexical-semantic system of words and their text occurrences (27 billion tokens) global for German sociocultural space. Corpus-based tools allow to observe dynamic processes of contextualization of a certain linguistic unit and to describe a social meaning which it acquires resulting from interaction of the conventional meaning of a lexeme with a context (Chernyavskaya, 2019). Initially, dictionary data about the lexeme of *Kollektiv* given in «Digital dictionary of the German language» were collected. This stage revealed how a typical structure of the lexical meaning of the given lexeme and meaning of the notion it names are reflected in the language usage. To conduct this part of the research the search-analytical tool of OpenThesaurus integrated in the «Digital dictionary of the German language» was used. Then we studied the dynamic of the word usage in the corpus and marked the 'return' of lexeme *Kollektiv* in active usage in 2020 in coronavirus pandemic. The next step included use of special corpus of electronic texts on coronavirus pandemic (das Corona-Korpus). It contains over 71,000 texts. The corpus includes three major text corpora: weekly online

German newspapers and magazines, medical online newspapers and news reports, personal sites and blogs of well-known sociologists, politicians, people of science and art.

The procedure of the corpora analysis consisted of two stages. At the first stage the search engine of Dialing Concordancer (DCC) (integrated in «Digital dictionary of the German language») was used to set a maximum possible format of extracted verbal component of the lexeme under discussion, namely, a text set of a three-sentence size measured from full-stop to full-stop irrespective of its structural integrity. At the second stage 250 contexts of key word *Kollektiv* occurrences were extracted by the search tools of the engine. This meant that the word under consideration was part of the coronavirus pandemic corpus. Each text set was analysed using pragma-semantic methods.

Data and Interpretation

To observe social effects of language use we have addressed the word *Kollektiv* in the German language. The core of concept *Kollektiv* (its archiseme) contains such semantic items as numerous and antroponymic, i. e. uniting of separate individuals in a group. Lexeme *Kollektiv* is used to define a social group of people as well as a social model of people's behaviour within this group and the relationships that arise between the people.

Kollektiv belongs to a set of words and notions which have become most socially sensitive and reflecting evaluative concepts. This attitude to this linguistic unit was shaped after the unification of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic into a single state in 1990. Researchers claim that word *Kollektiv* refers to the group of words which are interpreted as a sign of social practice characteristic of East Germany during the socialist period (Keßler, 1997; Keßler, 2004; Reiher, 2000). It serves as an index referring to the period of the German Democratic Republic. Its usage activates links with Germany of the socialist epoch and practice of the past. In socialist Germany *Kollektiv* was one of the key words which was spread and fixed in people's minds and was emotionally appealing and was perceived uncritically. Use of noun *Kollektiv*

and collocations with adjective *kollektiv* was stereotypized and related to social identification. This can be clearly traced in such collocations as *to hold strong positions in a collective; to be a respectable member of a collective; to have a positive impact on a collective.* In this light assumptions about social and group identity, about what means to be a 'member of a collective' rely on positive connotations such as *to be helpful, to give solidarity support, to be generous.* Thus, the notion of collective enters the list of interrelated concepts like equality, help and support, a feeling of security, solidarity (Keßler, 2004).

Notably, after reunification of Germany in one state in 1990, using a word *Kollektiv* in the meaning of «collectively; affecting all parties involved» has become pejoratively framed. It causes a pejorative impression and negative associations. These include forced uniting of people in a team, controlled by the government; a vigilant watch; government practice of setting general boundaries for an individual; invasion of privacy, cf. in German: *Einengung des persönlichen Handlungsspielraums, Unselbständigkeit, Zwang sich anpassen zu müssen, Unterdrückung.* As social surveys showed and discourse research indicated, such concepts as *autonomy, identity, self-reliance* are focused as semantically opposed to the notions of a collective, solidarity. So, word *Kollektiv* has become one of the controversial concepts.

In explaining the changed communicative practice, Keßler presented the results of the social survey in an authoritative German newspaper «Zeit» dated 29.12.1999. It had been conducted in federated states of pre-unified Germany since 1976 and federated states being part of the German Democratic Republic before the unification process since 1990. The central aim of the survey was to reveal emotions which the words as well as concepts and values that they express evoke in German people. Among the words under consideration were the following: labour, communism, feminism, a collective and others. The 1999 survey results show that 55 % of the respondents (federated states of pre-unified Germany) reacted negatively to word *Kollektiv* referring to the word as «unpleasant». Sixty-six per cent of the

respondents (Eastern federated states) referred to this word as «pleasant» whereas 24 % of the respondents associated it with something unpleasant (Keßler, 2004).

Preferred synonym to define a group or a team of people in modern German is an English borrowing *team*. As Reiher put it, «the «collective» has said goodbye to the «team» in German public discourse (Reiher, 2000). Word *team* seems to have completely replaced lexeme *Kollektiv* when referring to a social community. The latter is occasionally used to name sports teams, small professional groups, musical bands. It appeared to be clearly ideologically marked as it provides a reference to social practice of the German society in the past and it is evaluated as unwanted, unattractive, emotionally unpleasant. A prevailing attitude to the notion expressed by lexeme *Kollektiv* is primarily as follows: forced uniting of people, controlled by the government.

To explore the real life of this word in the current practice and the contexts of meaning we used the «Digital dictionary of the German language» / «Das Digitale Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache (DWDS)». According to the «Digital dictionary», after 1990 there was a dramatic fall in its usage rate, relative frequency of the lexeme usage fell dramatically since 1990 (Digital dictionary of the German language https://www.dwds.de/r/plot/?view=1&corpus=zeitungen&norm=-date%2Bclass&smooth=spline&genres=0&grand=1&slice=1&prune=0&window=3&wbase=0&logavg=0&logscale=0&x-range=1946 %3A2021&ql=Kollektiv; access date 01.08.2021). Currently, however, there is a gradual rise in the word usage in the corpus. Year 2000 showed 3.74 occurrences of the lexeme under consideration in relation to 1 mln word occurrences. This number increased to 4.01 in 2010. It is notable that year 2020 considered as the year when the pandemic began marked the return of lexeme *Kollektiv* in active usage. Moreover, in 2021 there has been twice as many occurrences of this word compared to 2000: 7.07 word occurrences (Digital dictionary of the German language https://www.dwds.de/r/plot/?view=1&corpus=zeitungen&norm=-date%2Bclass&smooth=spline&genres

=0&grand=1&slice=1&prune=0&window=3&wbase=0&logavg=0&logscale=0&x-range=1946 %3A2021&ql=Kollektiv;   access date 01.08.2021).

Indexical connection of word *Kollektiv* with a certain social practice of its usage, namely forced uniting of people, has become increasingly apparent in a new social practice in the coronavirus pandemic. The pandemic opened up a wide range of opportunities for the government to invade people's privacy. What can be observed now is the practice of infringing people's personal liberties as well as return of word *Kollektiv* in communication. Lexeme *das Kollektiv* has begun to be used again to reflect a changing social practice and life in the German society. Neoliberal, hedonistic values rooted in the minds of the majority of Germans faced opposition to harsh objective reality reminding the people of collective responsibility and need for government control. As known, people's opinions divided on the matter of coronavirus restrictions. Some people completely rejected collective coronavirus restrictions and organized protests against attack on the rights and liberties of individuals, whereas others called for prudence to collectively overcome the global threat.

The declared analysis procedure established, firstly, that the notion, that lexeme Kollektiv refers (denotes) to, has divers content. And, secondly, it is used in the communication acts in a different semantic status. In most of the extracted contexts the lexeme is used in a denotative meaning without additional evaluative meanings. One hundred and sixty contexts in the «Corona-Corpus» reveal the use of *das Kollektiv* to refer to groups of patients infected by coronavirus as well as the use in a neutral meaning to refer to sports teams and musical bands.

In 87 contexts in the «Corona-Corpus» this lexical form is used in the semantic oppositions «individual – society», «liberalism/ individualism – collectivism». When using this form, social actors mark a critical discussion or ideological dispute about the current pandemic situation. At the same time, the value-based nature of the concept of *Kollektiv* transfers it to the ideological orientation of the social actors

and expresses their evaluative attitude to what is communicated in the course of communication. In terms of logical semantics, these types of linguistic implementation of the *Kollektiv* lexeme correspond to two different semantic statuses: description (nomination) and assessment (qualification).

Fifty-one contexts indicate the use of lexeme *das Kollektiv* to mean «forced uniting of people during self-isolation period». In these cases the lexeme under analysis occurs in the right and left environment of positively-charged linguistic units, such as *protection, right decision*. In the corpus such examples are typically met in the printed press and personal web-pages of left-wing parties calling for people to sacrifice their neoliberal values for the sake of prudence. The following examples can serve as an illustration[1].

(1) Es sind ja gerade die weniger drakonischen Maßnahmen der deutschen Politik, die uns hierzulande eine Freizügigkeit mitten im Ausnahmezustand ermöglichen.Voraussetzung für diese gefühlte Leichtigkeit des Seins war in den vergangenen Wochen der Konsens, dass jeder Einzelne in dieser Krise nicht nur eigenverantwortlich handelt, sondern sich auch als Teil eines **Kollektivs** *der Gleichgesinnten begreift: Ich trage die Gesichtsmaske nicht nur zu meinem* **Schutz** *und halte Abstand, ich tue das auch, um* **die anderen zu schützen**. *(Andreas Borcholte. Debatte um Corona-Lockerungen: Neue Normalität? Leider ganz die alte – DER SPIEGEL – Kultur https://www.spiegel.de, 02.05.2020).*

It is precisely less draconian measures of German politics that enable us in this country to move freely in the middle of a state of emergency. The prerequisite for this felt lightness of our life was in the past few weeks the consensus that each individual in this crisis would not only act independently, but also would see himself as part of a collective of like-minded people: I don't just wear the face mask for my protection and keep my distance, I also do that **to protect the others**. *(Andreas Borcholte. Debate about corona easing: new normality? DER SPIEGEL – Kultur https://www.spiegel.de, 02.05.2020).*

(2) In der Krise richten sich alle Erwartungen auf das **Kollektiv**, *dabei lassen sich Notlagen nur bewältigen, wenn Individuen* **die richtigen Entscheidungen treffen**. *In Bergamo, dem europäischen Epizentrum der Seuche, gaben Ärzte und Ärztinnen, Krankenschwestern und Pfleger trotz Infektionsrisiko und Erschöpfung nicht auf (Eric Gujer. Coronavirus: Nach der Corona-Krise braucht es weniger Staat. Neue Zürcher Zeitung, https://www.nzz.ch, 17.04.2020).*

In a crisis, all expectations are directed towards the collective, but emergencies can only be coped with when individuals make **the right decisions**. *In Bergamo, the European epicenter of the disease, doctors and nurses did not give up despite the risk of infection and exhaustion (Eric Gujer. Coronavirus: After the corona crisis, less government is needed. Neue Zürcher Zeitung, https://www.nzz.ch, 17.04.2020).*

Thirty-six contexts with the evaluative use of the lexeme Kollektiv reveal open confrontation and disagreement of social actors with the official policy of the authorities. The lexeme *Kollektiv* is used to name a historically discredited model of social life. This lexeme in a pejorative aspect is surrounded by linguistic units with semantics of unwanted, forced uniting of people into a community: *threat, control, restriction*. The linguistic form of *Kollektiv* focuses the opposition and, moreover, the split between the forced uniting of people, made by the state, and individual rights and freedoms. For example:

(3) Mit konkretem Leid können wir umgehen. Das abstrakte aber stellt unsere Menschlichkeit ganz anders auf die Probe. Wenn man das Unglück aus der Nähe erlebt hat, dann wusste man, um wen und um was es geht. In den jetzigen Zeiten nehmen wir Anteil am Leben von Menschen, die nur Zahlen sind. Wo sollen wir da hin mit unserem Mitleid und unserer Menschenfreundlichkeit? In der großen Krise **wird alles zum Kollektiv**. *Wir sind Quarantänepersonal und Statisten von Vorgängen, die der Gesundheit aller dienen sollen … (Paul Jandl. In der Corona-Krise wird jeder zu einer Dunkelziffer. Neue Zürcher Zeitung. 18.05.2020. https://www.nzz.ch/feuilleton/in-der-corona-krise-wird-jeder-zu-*

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[1] translation made by the authors

einer-dunkelziffer-ld.1556786?reduced=true; access date 28.03.2021).

*We are able to relieve a particular pain. However, abstract pain checks for our humanity in a different way. When you personally suffer some tragedy, you know exactly who or what it is about. Currently we deal with people who are mere numbers. Where should we address our sympathy and love for our neighbour? During the global crises **everything becomes a collective. All of us are quarantined and are the crowd of extras at the event who have to sacrifice for the sake of people's health.** (Paul Jandl. Neue Zürcher Zeitung. 18.05.2020. https://www.nzz.ch/feuilleton/in-der-corona-krise-wird-jeder-zu-einer-dunkelziffer-ld.1556786?reduced=true; access date 28.03.2021).*

*(4) An der Verwendung des Solidaritätsbegriffs lässt sich also detailliert nachvollziehen, wie Sicherheit diskursiv, aber auch politisch funktioniert: als Generator imaginierter bedrohter **Kollektive**, als **Technik des Regierens und als Rhetorik der Drohung**. Dies ist angesichts der begrifflichen Prägung der «Solidarität» bemerkenswert, tauchte der Begriff in tradierten Kontexten vor allem doch als Inklusions- und Kampfbegriff auf. ...Sie setzt eine Vergangenheit voraus und muss in der Gegenwart zu einem greifbaren Faktor zusammenzufassen sein: der Übereinkunft, dem deutlich ausgesprochenen Wunsch, das gemeinsame Leben fortzusetzen. Zum anderen evoziert der Appell an Solidarität auch die Vorstellung eines **Kollektivs**, **in dessen Namen Verzicht** geübt werden soll. Praktiken des Verzichts gelten dann zugleich als Beweise der Zugehörigkeit. (Thorsten Bonacker. Solidarität als Sicherheitsformel. Soziopolis, 08.04.2020. https://www.soziopolis.de/solidaritaet-als-sicherheitsformel.html).*

*The notion of solidarity may help to illustrate how the meaning of security functions at the discourse and political levels, namely, as the creator of virtual collectives subject to danger, as a **control tactics and as threat rhetoric**. This seems to be much more remarkable due to stable character of the meaning of solidarity concept as this notion occurred mainly in the contexts of cooperation and struggle. This no-*

*tion refers to the past and should be conceived as a real factor in the present: as agreement, as a strong will to continue collective life. However, call for solidarity evokes ideas of the collective for the sake of which **restrictions** should be imposed. In this case placing **restrictions** refers to the collective belonging. (Thorsten Bonacker. Solidarität als Sicherheitsformel. Soziopolis, 08.04.2020. https://www.soziopolis.de/solidaritaet-als-sicherheitsformel.html).*

*(5) Von höchster Brisanz ist die faktische Verschiebung der gesellschaftlichen Zentralperspektive, des – sozusagen – gesellschaftsphilosophischen Primats: Für gewöhnlich stellt dies – der feste Fokus auf den Einzelnen – ein Fundament liberaler, freiheitlicher, humaner, demokratischer Gesellschaften dar, einen höchst sensiblen Indikator für gesellschaftliche Verhältnisse. Er ist, hat sich historisch gezeigt, ein verlässliches Gegengift gegen alle autoritären und totalitären Doktrinen, die das «Allgemeine», **das Kollektiv** – das «Volk», die «Volksgemeinschaft» etc. – als vorrangigen Gesichtspunkt installieren und den Einzelnen nichten, das widerliche Verfahren ist bekannt. (Jörg Bong. Corona-Exit-Debatte: Impft Euch gegen das Virus der Barbarei! DER SPIEGEL – Kultur. 03.04.2020. https://www.spiegel.de/kultur/corona-exit-debatte-impft-euch-gegen-das-virus-der-barbarei-a-f2661b58–775b-4ec3-a421–7917c9abe3f2).*

*In everyday life focus on an individual provides a solid foundation for a liberal, free, humane and democratic society being a highly sensitive indicator of social relationships. It has acted (history proves it) as a reliable antidote to all authoritative and totalitarian doctrines which have relied on ideas of common, **collective** or people, nationhood, etc, as a central view without rejecting the notion of identity. Such a disgusting approach is well-known. (Jörg Bong. Corona-Exit-Debatte: Impft Euch gegen das Virus der Barbarei! DER SPIEGEL – Kultur. 03.04.2020. https://www.spiegel.de/kultur/corona-exit-debatte-impft-euch-gegen-das-virus-der-barbarei-a-f2661b58–775b-4ec3-a421–7917c9abe3f2).*

*(6) Darüber hinaus traf es auch eins der höchsten **Freiheiten** unseres Staates – die Glaubensfreiheit. Für einen möglichen Schutz*

*des **Kollektivs** wurden **individuelle Interessen zurückgestuft** und **dem Bürger die Entscheidungsgewalt entzogen** – der Staat entscheidet in der aktuellen Krise für und über die Bürger. Das Staatswesen tritt dabei als Vertretung der Öffentlichkeit auf – es diktiert die Meinung und stuft Interessen ein. (Die Coronakrise stellt den Staat auf eine harte Probe. The European, 31.03.2020. https://www.theeuropean.de/ marc-jacob/die-coronakrise-stellt-den-staat-auf-eine-harte-probe/).*

*Moreover, this concerned one of the top priority **liberties** of our country – religious liberty. To protect the **collective**, importance **of personal interests was reduced** and **people were deprived of the right to make decisions**. In the present-day crisis **the government decides for the people and without people**. It acts as a representative of a civil society, it imposes its opinion and decides what values are important. (Die Coronakrise stellt den Staat auf eine harte Probe. The European, 31.03.2020. https://www.theeuropean.de/marc-jacob/die-coronakrise-stellt-den-staat-auf-eine-harte-probe/).*

Conclusion

The pandemic has given great impetus to discussion of the society readiness for global control. It encouraged the society to reconsider many crucial principles of social communication, relationships between the government and the citizens. The new reality and the new social practice enabled us to observe language in its social contexts and in its social embeddedness. A linguistic form, once shaped as an index of a unwanted social practice of the past, comes back, because a re-launched, re-instituted practice comes back. By studying the indexical function of language it is possible to see the connection between the linguistic unit (its linguistic form) and the context that this unit acquires its social voice in. This means it becomes easily predictable, recognizable and typical due to the established opinions, presuppositions, communicators' background. Based on observations about the way in which our language is incorporated in social change and reflect it, the linguistics becomes a social science of language-in-society.

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Conflict-Generating Factors of Doctor-Patient Communication in Russian-Language Discursive Practices

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Abstract. The article studies the causes of conflict situations between a doctor and a patient in the communication, associated with the problems of using the language code and the compliance of communicative and ethical norms. The research focuses on conflict-generating factors caused by the violation of the patient's right to information about the state of health, which include, in particular, the volume and details of such information, as well as the forms it was provided. Methods of verbalizing the information about the patient's health are discussed, taking into account the requirements of accessibility and sensitivity. The author examines problematic situations caused by the «non-linguistic» nature of legal regulation in the field of doctor-patient communication. The aim of the study is to identify conflict-generating factors of communication in the medical field, which lead to a violation of not only ethical, but also legal norms of communication between doctors and patients. The empirical base was formed by questioning the patients. The study also used blogosphere, social media materials, and personal interviews with patients. The analysis of sociolinguistic data made it possible to identify 4 conflict-generating factors: 1) the availability of information; 2) volume (details) of information, 3) delicacy / indelicacy; 4) the quality of the doctor's feedback for the patient.

As a result of the study, conclusions were drawn that allow to linguistically interpret the communicative failure that arose in the process of communicating with the doctor. This gives reason to develop criteria for communicative violations that are potentially conflict ones and have legal effect.

Keywords: medical discourse, conflict-generating factor, doctor-patient communication, medical ethics, availability of information, delicacy, discursive practices, communicative failure.

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Конфликтогенные факторы общения врача с пациентом в русскоязычных дискурсивных практиках

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Аннотация. В статье обсуждаются причины конфликтных ситуаций в общении врача и пациента, связанные с проблемами использования языкового кода и соблюдением коммуникативных и этических норм. В фокусе исследования находятся конфликтогенные факторы, обусловленные нарушением права пациента на информацию о состоянии здоровья, которые включают, в частности, объем и состав такой информации, а также формы ее предоставления. Обсуждаются приемы вербализации информации о состоянии здоровья пациента с учетом требований доступности и деликатности. Автор рассматривает проблемные ситуации, обусловленные «нелингвистическим» характером правового регулирования в сфере общения врача с пациентом. Цель исследования – выявление конфликтогенных факторов общения в медицинской сфере, которые приводят к нарушению не только этических, но и правовых норм коммуникации врача с пациентом.

Эмпирическая база сформирована путем анкетирования пациентов. В исследовании также использованы материалы блогосферы и социальных сетей и личные интервью с пациентами. Анализ социолингвистических данных позволил выявить 4 конфликтогенных фактора: 1) доступность информации; 2) объем (состав) информации, 3) деликатность / неделикатность; 4) качество обратной связи врача с пациентом.

В результате исследования сделаны выводы, позволяющие лингвистически интерпретировать коммуникативную неудачу, возникшую в процессе общения с врачом. Это дает основания для разработки критериев коммуникативных нарушений, потенциально конфликтогенных и имеющих правовые последствия.

Ключевые слова: медицинский дискурс, конфликтогенный фактор, общение врача с пациентом, деонтология, доступность информации, деликатность, дискурсивные практики, коммуникативная неудача.

Научная специальность: 10.00.00 – филологические науки.

Introduction

Communication in the medical field is an essential element of social experience of a healthy as well as an unhealthy person. Health itself ranks among vital values due to the fact that all aspects of a man's social existence are determined by the health level. That is why effective communication with doctors and other medical staff is of importance for everyone because it provides productive and healthy life to the fullest extent.

Besides qualifications, medical communication is controlled by ethic standards and norms of law. Ethical aspect of this communication implies shaping verbal and non-verbal communication in view of deontology basics (empathy and tolerance) on the basis of humanism and benevolence as well as adhering to three conditions such as acceptance, optimism, and dignity strengthening (Matveeva, 2014: 120). Medical ethics issues, various aspects of medical staff communication, communicative barriers in doctor-patient communication are viewed in the frame of biomedical ethics (Biomedical ethics and communication in health care, 2018). Besides, ethical aspect of communication is closely connected to observance of linguistic and communicative regulations as the part of the given lingoculture (Matveeva, 2014).

Legal aspect of doctor-patient interaction is subject to Russian legislation and the Constitution of the Russian Federation, which entrenches each Russian citizen's right to healthcare maintenance and medical care (Art. 41). The patient's right to information is the most important type of rights. Here are such rights as the rights to medical aid provision (including the cases of choosing a doctor or a healthcare organisation), information on factors influencing health, information on physical condition and the data protection right (Art. 13, para. 1, 5 и 7 of Part 5 Art, 19, Part 7 Art. 21, art. 22 и 23 Federal Law No. 323-FZ «On fundamental healthcare principles» of 21.11.2011)[1].

The right to information guarantees that a patient can take own decisions on health issues. Information of health condition gives the

choice for a patient: whether to get medical intervention or not[2]. The necessary circumstance of accepting any medical intervention is Informed Voluntary Consents of a patient (IVC). Refusal from medical operation shall also be followed by providing the preliminary information on any possible consequences of it. This means that a patient's right to information is the reflection of constitutional rights including dignity right, human inviolability, private life, and personal and family confidentiality (see in (Issers, Fedorova, 2020)).

True accomplishment of this right is closely and firmly interrelated to the aspects of linguistics and communication, which are not so fully regulated in accordance with law. It is thereof the reason and case of communication failures and in some particular cases even lawsuits, which are the subject of unaccounted conflict-generating factors in doctor-patient communication.

Statement of the problem

When considering conflict situations in doctor-patient communication a number of questions requiring linguistic competence arise. In most cases they are related to problems with the use of language code and communicative norms compliance. As a rule, they do not go beyond the reflection of this communication act participants (doctors and patients). However, transition of conflict situations in the legal sphere and their consideration within the framework of linguistic forensic examination are not excluded.

In many cases conflictogenic factors are the cases of violation of the patient's right to information on the physical condition, the volume and composition of such information as well as the way it is given. Thus, the law provides for the composition of information on a citizen's physical condition (defined in Part 1, Art. 22, Federal Law «On fundamental healthcare principles») according to which everyone has the right to get information available in a healthcare organisation about physi-

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[1] Collection of Laws of the Russian Federation. 2011. No. 48. Art. 6724. Available at: https://base.garant.ru/74710282/

[2] Federal Law N323-FZ «On fundamental healthcare principles» of 21.11.2011 (ed. 02.07.2021) (as amended and supplemented, entered into force on 13.07.2021). Available at: http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_121895/

cal condition, medical tests results, diseases, diagnosis, prognosis, methods of providing medical care, the related risks, possible types of medical intervention, its consequences and results (Federal Law, 2011). The above list is not limiting and it contains the most significant information. Therefore, if the healthcare organisation has more information on a patient's health status, it is also to be provided when requested.

Problematic situations also concern the way a doctor verbalizes information on a patient's physical condition. Legal regulation of this issue implies two requirements. One of them is general and the other one is formally given a special nature. The general one is that information about physical condition must be provided in an accessible form. The special one goes for cases of unfavourable prognosis of a disease progression when the information must be given in a delicate form (with respect for its accessibility to whom it is addressed). As referred to in (Issers, Fedorova, 2020), the terms «accessible» and «delicate» are evaluative. They do not lend themselves to the full formalization. In addition, it should be noted that the requirements mentioned are not limited to cases of an unfavourable prognosis of a disease progression and they relate to the entire process of doctor-patient interaction.

Among the most common problematic situations stipulated by non-linguistic character of legal regulation in the sphere of doctor-patient communication are the following ones:

1. A question on accessible form raises the linguistic problem of qualifying the chosen verbalization mode of medical information with respect to a patient's knowledge and linguistic competence. One more topical question here is that on information exhaustiveness. Thus, prescribing some treatment and medications, a doctor chooses the information scope. Using regulations determining the information to give in different cases are not common for Russian medical practice.

2. A question on delicacy refers to Art. 22 of the Federal Law No. 323-FZ «On fundamental healthcare principles» of 21.11.2011, which demands a delicate way of providing information. This requirement preconditions eth-

ical and linguistic definitions of delicacy notion and gradation of its favourable prognosis of the disease progression euphemization.

3. A question on a patient's will («Information on physical condition is not to be given against a patient's will») is not legally regulated. How can it be possible to identify the fact that a patient doesn't want to go into own health details?

4. The way a doctor renders verbal anamnesis in written form involves decoding (terminological compression and transformation of data given by a patient), which raises a question on original and written texts equivalents.

5. Doctor-patient communication tonality implies the way to establish a violation of ethical norms like sarcasm/irony, overfamiliarity, being thuggish etc.

So, the purpose of the study is to find out conflict-generating factors of doctor-patient communication which lead to ethical and legal norms of this communication. This calls for identifying the sources and generating the evidence base of the study.

Methods

The core problem of establishing the facts of ethical, communicative, and legal waiver consists in verbalization of communication and absence of inspectors. The data collection by means of overt observation is in practice of linguistic studies on medical communication (Akaeva, 2007; Barsukova, 2006, 2007; Maiboroda, 2017, 2021). However, it is questionable by two reasons. Communication ethics excludes the third party that is not the part of medical staff. Practically speaking, it is unlikely to generate a representative selection in all respects under tight deadlines. Thus, the material analysis involves interview and questionnaire methods as well as flashback notes in question. It is understood that these notes are not authentic due to the interpretation modes and additional pieces going beyond original texts, abstracts. (It is exemplified in psychological and legal books, for example, in researches by A. Loftus on witness flashbacks remodelling (Hawk, 2008: 193–205)). Moreover, this method helps to identify the key points for the study.

The results of first-time material collection make it possible to 1) give a linguistic interpretation of the communicative failure arisen in doctor-patient communication; 2) develop the criteria of communication violations that are potentially conflict-generating and implying the legal effects; 3) develop a linguo-expert analyzing technique that helps to identify the linguistic marks of communication violations which can be afterwards adjudicated as offence.

Thus, the study points out linguistically relevant recommendations about what a doctor should not say meaningfully and in which way he should provide potentially traumatic content to the patient. In cases of conflict this will allow using the citizens' official statements in trial, linguistic expertise if what was said to them is reflected literally, as well as different types of notes which were made during an appointment.

Based on the above-mentioned conditions of the research framework formation, a questionnaire was developed for the patients. Its purpose is to find out the main conflict-generating factors which directly or indirectly violate human rights to information. The respondents to the questionnaire used Google forms which suggested questions on communication situations, in which they performed as patients and were not satisfied with the content of communication or its form (sometimes both factors were noted). More than 50 questionnaires of the respondents aged 18–60+ were processed.

Besides the questionnaire data, healthcare materials found in forums, groups and other social media as well as the author's private interviews with the patients were analyzed in the given study. As well as in questionnaire, the material is a flashback and often contains estimated comments.

Discussion

The questions of the questionnaire related to communicative problems of communication in the medical field were formulated in such a way as to establish which patients' expectations for the volume of information, its content and form of presentation were not satisfied, which ethical and legal requirements were not met. The survey touched upon 4 main aspects: 1) the availability of information; 2) the volume of information; 3) the delicacy; 4) the quality of a doctor's feedback to a patient.

Accessibility of information
as a communicative problem
of medical communication

The availability of the given information to the addressee is one of the main conditions for successful communication and is determined by the proportion between the new, the original, and the well-known. According to the French researcher A. Mol, accessibility is achieved due to the abundance of information – «full or partial repetition of a message, an explanation that serves to check and correct the adequate perception of the message» (cit. ex: (Vikulova, Sharunov, 2008: 71)).

The problem of information accessibility is the subject for discussion from the perspective of both patients and doctors. Particularly, it is related to the form of Informed Voluntary Consent which is signed by a patient in Russia and other countries. D. Sarkisyan, the journalist, considers this form to be a formality, stating that «a person, giving a voluntary consent to get medical interventions, doesn't estimate properly what operations a doctor is going to perform. This problem exists all over the world, and it negatively affects the results of treatment. However, it is real to cope with it» (Sarkisyan, 2021). The pediatrician who responded to the journalist's request expresses his opinion that the text of the Informed Voluntary Consent contains many incomprehensible words: «And even if it is hard to imagine complications from spirography or electroencephalography, a person has the right to at least know what this means!» The head physician of the clinic, the ENT specialist, Vladimir Korshok notes that «the text of the Informed Voluntary Consent, offered to the patient, is a complex document, full of legal and medical terms, containing tricks which appear herein after 'corrections by a lawyer'» (Ibid.).

To find out the influence of the accessibility factor on the effectiveness of communication with a doctor, question 1 was included in the questionnaire.

Give, if you can, the examples when the information received from the doctor about your disease and treatment was incomprehensible due to the use of certain terms and general misunderstanding.

More than half of the respondents noted that they did not face such situations. At the same time, they note that the request for information in case of misunderstanding is the area of the patient's responsibility.

I have never had that because I have the habit of clarifying and asking again about the things that are not clear at once. I reread all the conclusions and discuss them with the doctor. And I communicate with a constant circle of professional doctors[3].

The child was diagnosed with stenosis. I had never heard of such a disease, so I demanded an explanation.

However, the answers also contain critical assessments of the language code chosen by a doctor. But this is not the only problem that can occur. Accessibility is closely related to the volume of information: if there is not enough information, some of what has been said remains incomprehensible.

Sometimes a doctor can bombard you with terms without explaining their meaning, but I rarely faced this. Once a doctor didn't explain whether my disease will stop after taking some medicine. I wasn't sure if I face this again. And I found that quite incompetent.

The doctor told about the advantages of injections over pills using rather incomprehensible terms.

This is a case of occlusion, a common thing. You can take or not something for the vessels. The case is not that serious.

There is a special communicative issue between a doctor and a patient on the doctor's choice of a role strategy in relation to a patient who ranges from «ignorant» to «enlightened», almost a specialist. The doctor's strategies range from a disregard for the patient's knowledge and experience («mind your own business») to an educational enthusiasm aimed at providing maximum information along with irrelevant detailing of the disease and treatment.

Doctors do not like to talk about diseases and diagnoses with patients who are then surprised by the alphanumeric designations of the type of HHD or hypertensive heart disease, EH or essential hypertension (not only the abbreviation is not clear, but also what it is, what special type of hypertension is meant, how it arises and how to treat it) in my case.

Once I could not immediately say if my mother had COPD (Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease). It was not at all clear what it really was: a disease or some kind of medical device.

Such situations constantly arose at the dentist, a candidate of sciences, university teacher. She spoke to me as a senior student who understands terminology. And she did not try to put that into simple language as ordinary doctors from clinics do. Everyone else always tried to reformulate[4], if they saw a misunderstanding. It is impossible to give examples, since the text remained incomprehensible and, accordingly, unreproducible.

An example of overestimated role expectations in relation to an «enlightened» patient is the desire to give a complete picture of the disease with comments, for example, on X-ray results.

At an appointment with an orthopedist with an ankle ligament injury the doctor showed a picture and explained how the joint works and what happened for about 10 minutes, naming all the bones and tendons, as in a lecture on anatomy. In this case, there is a discrepancy between a doctor's intention and a patient's expectations: it is more important to know what the prognosis of treatment is and when a patient will begin to walk without pain than the ankle structure.

A popular method of explanation in the medical field is metaphorization. Thanks to television, this rhetorical device has become very popular in health education. However, being infatuated with it, as noted by one of the informants, can also lead to communication failure:

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[3] Hereinafter, the answers are given in the normative spelling and punctuation format. The style has been retained by the author.

[4] The informant notes that there is an effective strategy for increasing information availability.

It is annoying when doctors start using metaphors.

Apparently, the metaphorical form used in a doctor's explanations is presented to well-educated patients as a signal of unequal relations. The relevance of this technique is easily revealed through the request: *Do you want me to explain figuratively or scientifically?*

Thus, it is possible to identify the linguistic markers of information availability, the absence of which can cause a conflict. These are constructions of explanation and clarification accompanying the use of medical terms, as well as taking into account the addressee's factor from the point of view of awareness in medicine. The latter is found in the corresponding requests: *Do you know what it is? You know ...? Should I explain it to you? Do you want me to comment on the X-ray picture? etc.*

Composition and volume of information as a factor of successful communication

One of the key factors of successful doctor-patient communication is the volume of information received by the patient. In this regard, the following question was included in the questionnaire (2).

2. Give, if you can, the examples when the volume of information was not enough (it was not explained how to take medications, what the restrictions are, what possible side effects can be there, what the prognosis of the disease is, etc.).

80 % of the responses prove that a patient did not receive the required amount of information. This primarily concerns side effects and possible complications.

Once my ENT specialist prescribed IRS19 (Immune Rehabilitation Spray), a contraindication to which was autoimmune thyroiditis indicated in my medical card. The doctor did not ask if I have any diseases that may be a contraindication. ***Not a single doctor speaks about side effects and prognosis, according to my observations.***

Information about the restrictions and side effects of taking medications was not explained in any of the visits to a doctor.

The doctor prescribed me a medicine for blood pressure and did not warn me that a cough could be a side effect. And I have bronchial asthma. When I visited this doctor again, I said that I was choking when coughing, and he replaced the medicine with another one ... Not even apologizing.

Professional doctors sometimes prescribe too many different medications and examinations without explaining their meaning. Doctors almost do not talk about the side effects of drugs, you have to read about them in the instructions and be horrified.

During pregnancy I was diagnosed with oligohydramnios and insufficiently large size of the child. They sent me to get IV without explaining its effectiveness and exact need, what side effects might be there and how it would affect the child.

Further, in terms of relevance, there is incomplete information about the need for additional examinations, for example, in case of an unfavorable prognosis:

When I was given the results of histology at the First State Academy named after I. P. Pavlov, they did not mention that the removed polyp is adenomatous and it was worth visiting oncologists and show the tests. If there was someone who did not understand what was said, this could be a problem.

The informants' responses repeatedly indicate the lack of clarification about the prescribed drugs, procedures, and correct medication intake.

Doctors' explanations about taking statins, threats to health in case of refusal to take them, justification of the dose and the qualification of this dose against the background of possible ones are not enough.

When prescribing statins, the doctor did not talk about possible side effects. The same is with drugs for pressure, some are not allowed with metabolic syndrome, which a relative has. ***They never say anything. You have to read everything and look for information by yourself.***

The mother-in-law was prescribed medication, but nothing was explained (perhaps she did not remember) that one drug should be taken 30 minutes before meals, and the other during meals. She took all the medicines after eating.

As a rule, this applies to prescriptions. Doctors indicate, for example, that the medicine should be taken once a day, but they do not indicate after or before meals or during that. Or if two drugs are interchangeable – which is the first to take?

At one of the last appointments the doctor wrote out prescriptions without explaining that the dosage needed to be adjusted, and also prescribed medications, without specifying that this was only for one part of the treatment.

It was said to dilute ceftriaxone with distilled water. Nothing more was said. Pharmacists gave lidocaine and said nothing. The first injection was very painful. Then the understanding came.

*The gynecologist did not warn that a certain drug in a certain dose would bring the menopause closer. **Fortunately, the pharmacist at the pharmacy said this!***

Any patient is interested, first of all, in terms of treatment and its result. The lack of relevant information is considered by patients as a communicative miscalculation.

Almost always general practitioners, when you apply to them for compulsory medical insurance, do not explain how and when the disease will stop.

The problem of the absence or incomplete information about the procedures is also revealed in situations when the examination of the patient or his/her treatment is carried out without explanations / comments from the doctor.

The doctor asked if my eye pressure had been measured before. I had previously been at a preventive appointment with a doctor, but I was not aware of which examinations the doctor conducted by means of certain manipulations. The doctor did not comment on what tasks he solved during the examination. I had to answer: I don't know …

The doctor in the day hospital states, «We are going to give you Milgamma injections» (Not explaining what it is or why).

Lack of necessary information is not always perceived by the patients as a violation of their legal right. More often they turn to other sources, such as the Internet.

If a similar problem arises, I find all the missing information on the Internet.

A number of informants are of the opinion that the request for missing information is the responsibility of the patient him/herself:

In case of insufficient information, the patient always asks again and again and receives information then! Disease prognosis is more often used so that the patient can feel the seriousness of the situation, i. e. to achieve maximum compliance.

However, in our opinion, this does not disclaim the doctor's responsibility: a request for information is possible only in a situation where the patient has at least some knowledge about the disease.

Clarification of the details is the responsibility of the patient himself. If he does not know anything about targeted therapy and so on, then he will not be able to ask questions.

At the same time, there are often cases when the patient's awareness or desire to obtain additional information is perceived negatively by the doctors:

The doctor rudely interrupted if I had a need to clarify some points during the discussion of treatment details. The doctor's intonation indicated his extreme irritation.

Thus, in modern conditions of medical communication, the determination of the degree of information completeness and its availability depends entirely on the doctor's professional competence. At the same time, the lack of information specified in part 1 of Art. 22 of the Federal Law «On the Fundamental healthcare principles» as a citizen's right to information, may have a conflict-generating nature and serve as a basis for legal proceedings. The problem is that the list of information provided to a patient is not mandatory for doctor-patient interaction (there are no scripts prescribing the verbalization of the information listed in the law) and, therefore, not mentioning the aspects of treatment and prognosis of the disease may be motivated by the absence of a patient's request.

Delicacy in doctor-patient communication

The problem of delicacy is one of the key ones in the aspect of communication effectiveness and it is considered within the framework of the categories of politeness and tact (Sternin,

2003; Larina, 2009; Kharchenko, 2010; Issers, 2019). In medical communication, empathy and respect for a patient's dignity is a requirement of biomedical ethics. Delicacy takes on particular importance in case of an unfavorable prognosis of the disease (this is regulated by Art. 22 of the Federal Law «On fundamental healthcare principles»), but it is by no means limited to such situations ethically.

From a linguistic perspective, delicacy is formed due to the general communicative strategy of a doctor (a drive to «soft» communication with a patient), as well as specific tactics that require him to choose language means appropriate for communicating with a patient (a doctor's strategies can be studied in (Barsukova, 2006, 2007; Akaeva, 2007; Maiboroda, 2021)). A special role in this case is played by the choice of direct or indirect speech acts, as well as the preference for direct or euphemistic nominations.

To identify indelicacy signs (tactlessness, disrespectful attitude), a number of questions were included in the questionnaire, the purpose of which is to establish in which situations a patient feels dignity infringement.

3. Give, if you can, an example when a doctor's communication was disrespectful, indelicate. How was this expressed?

4. Give, if you can, the examples of when you didn't want to know something that a doctor told you, or would like him to tell you about it, but indirectly, in a softer, more gentle form.

5. Give, if you can, the examples when a doctor's tone seemed inappropriate to you (emphasized familiarity, sarcasm / irony / mockery etc.)

The informants give numerous examples of situations where, in their opinion, the doctor's communicative behaviour did not correspond to the principles of politeness and delicacy. The analysis of the survey data allows us to identify the linguistically relevant markers of indelicate speech behaviour.

One of the most common markers of disrespect is **a patient's presumption of guilt** and the implications of dishonesty and ignorance:

After a severe form of pneumonia (75 % of lung damage), a pulmonologist at the district clinic, extending the sick leave, said that I hadn't got better for too long. It was spoken in such a tone and was accompanied by such a look that I had the feeling that I was a malicious simulator who only wants to extend the sick leave, and I did not come with the hope to get medical help. At the same time, CT scans showed 25–20 % of lung damage. The pulmonologist said with irritation that she did not agree with the conclusion that the CT doctor wrote. To my words that a CT scan is not like an X-ray, but 3D, volumetric, the percentages are automatically calculated there, blackouts are visible with the naked eye, she replied, «You do not understand anything, so mind your own business».

There was a case: I came to an appointment with an endocrinologist with the question of how to stop weight gain. What I got was rough, I was told to eat less. And to the printed food diary, which proved that I was «eating» 1200–1500 calories in the corridor in a balanced mode, the doctor reacted briefly, «It's nonsense».

I came down with coronavirus. After recovering, I came to the doctor for referrals for control tests. In response to all the complaints about feeling unwell, the doctor said, «everything is fine, everyone is the same». I got the necessary referrals only after a complaint to the head of department.

A tactless question can serve as a marker of **the patient's presumption of guilt**:

Here is an example of an appointment with an epileptologist:

A patient says, «My relative has been suffering from epilepsy since the age of 21». A doctor replies, «Did you drink yesterday?» Seeing the anamnesis and looking through the documents (CT of the brain, EEG (electroencephalography), MRI), this question is incorrect (a relative has been suffering from hydrocephalus since childhood).

At the appointment with a gastroenterologist: «How did you grow such a stone?! It looks as if it has been specially cultivated» (stone in the gallbladder).

We are seeing an endocrinologist. The problem is the child's overweight. The doctor says, «What have you come with again (we visited this doctor 2 years ago)?».

I replied, «We are overweight … will you prescribe anything or ask to do tests?»

The doctor says, «… you were there 2 years ago. What have you come for? You haven't lost weight, why have you come? What do you want from me?»

And I say, «Perhaps you will ask to have the tests done to establish the cause and prescribe some drugs?»

Explication of a patient's age or other characteristics in the context of treatment prospects can be inherently offensive:

My mother (80 years old) told me that last week she finally received a card to a cardiologist, who, only seeing her, an elderly woman, said, «Well … they go here all the time … It's natural for you to feel like that. How old are you? This is outrageous! Old people are annoying».

The case with the mother-in-law. Last year she fell just slipping on the ice and broke her hip. She was 82 years old. The granddaughter took her to the emergency room. A doctor examined her and said, «Nothing can be done at your age, go home and stay in bed. The pain will pass, but you will not walk. At your age, such operations are no longer performed. And if they are, then they are usually unsuccessful. Our relatives went home crying and suffering from an unbearable pain in the pelvis and leg. Thank God, we found a doctor who successfully performed the osteosynthesis operation, and after 2 months the mother-in-law ran on her own two feet, without a hook, into the apartment located on the third floor.

A gynecologist says, «You don't have to worry about «women's problems» anymore, that's it for people of your age».

Such a disappointing prognosis can be possible in relation to patients of different ages, but they are especially traumatic for the elderly.

Offensive statements that lower the status of a patient in general and in relation to the doctor in particular are not uncommon in the situation when the patient is accompanied by his relatives. In this case, indelicacy can be due to both disregard for a patient and those who accompany him or her.

The doctor turns to the accompanying one, «Why are you here? A patient could have come alone». This was incomprehensible to us, because my relative with epilepsy does not remember his seizures. What is more, the same doctor asks about seizures, «What seizures do you have? With a fall or with an aura?» My relative is not so well prepared for such a talk and does not understand what he is being asked about, not knowing this terminology, not being able to know about own attacks as if those can be seen from the outside!

Ambulance on call. The husband is lying, feeling bad. I am explaining the situation instead of him. An ambulance doctor (not a paramedic) suggests, «Maybe he will say that?»

When a doctor communicates with a very elderly, deaf people, a doctor completely switches to communicating with the accompanying relative, ignoring the presence of an old man, without addressing him in any way.

At an appointment with an epileptologist when a doctor directly addresses a patient with epilepsy and hydrocephalus, «Yes, YOU (highlighted by the informant – O.I) no longer have any brain, it's only water instead of it».

The doctor wonders, «Do you have such a problem in your family (overweight)?» I reply, «Yes, we are all overweight: grandmother, father, and I myself have gained many kilos after giving birth to a child». The doctor says, «Well, she hasn't given birth yet (a daughter, who is 14 years old, is here too)».

The issue of the delicate form can be considered in the context of the choice of **euphemization / dysphemisation tactics**. In addition, a patient's dissatisfaction can be caused by a doctor's tone, which a patient perceives as familiar, ironic and even sarcastic, derisive. Question 5 (see above) was motivated by the clarification of these circumstances of medical communication.

The therapist says, «So why are you so obese? Do you just want to lie down and not get up at all? You need to eat less!»

Indelicacy at a doctor's appointment may be due to discussions with relatives in the presence of a minor patient on taboo topics in Russian linguoculture.

My daughter sprained her ankle while riding a scooter. We visited a private traumatologist after going to a trauma center. There

was no traumatologist at the local polyclinic that day. The doctor writes an anamnesis and says, «When did you become overweight?» I said that we had come because of a different problem, my daughter had sprained her ankle, jumping on a scooter on a bump. The daughter needs to have a fixation bandage. The doctor concludes, «So, obesity (my daughter is sitting at the reception…). How did you give birth to a child?» (This is a question for me, in the sense of this being difficult or not).

Problems of indelicate communication may be associated with the fact that a doctor does not take into account **the interpretive potential** of what is said. A patient tends to seek a subtext and interpret a doctor's words, usually with a negative prognosis.

After taking the drug you will go for an MRI of the head, you do not need to see me, immediately sign up for a gamma knife (the doctor implies a negative prognosis of the examination).

The doctor examined the cervical spine by computed tomography and said, «Well, now you are tired, go home and rest. We'll discuss it tomorrow». (The doctor appeared to be in a hurry, and the patient considered the situation so serious that it warrants discussion the next day. The patient survived a terrible night while awaiting for the diagnosis).

The doctor's speech behavior in critical situations deserves a certain consideration:

There was a case with grandfather. He had bronchial asthma. During the next attack I had to call an ambulance. The ambulance doctor, seeing the grandfather, began to shout, «He's dying! He is dying!» Grandpa died.

One of the factors that traumatize the patients and their loved ones is **a negative prognosis**, which does not have sufficient grounds, but it is motivated by the medical workers' marketing tasks.

At an appointment with a children's cardiologist, they came to the next ultrasound procedure of the heart (observations about an open oval window). We had an ultrasound of the heart, an ECG (electrocardiogram) done for our daughter.

When we came for scoring, the doctor said, «She's in big trouble». I asked, «What

trouble?» The doctor frightens me saying, «We urgently need to watch blood electrolytes: ions of calcium, magnesium, potassium! Urgently! Look at her! She's obese!» (my 13 year old daughter is here). I ask, «What's happened? Are there any abnormalities in the ultrasound scan? ECG? We were told that everything was fine (the doctor who did the ultrasound scan and the one who has the appointment were different) Why should we take these tests? We have come for a different reason. As far as I know, electrolytes are monitored if patients are under intensive care». The doctor replies, «You don't know anything. She has big problems. Do you think that she will always be with you all her life?! No, she will soon leave you, being a typical teenager. It's lucky for you that she's here with you for now, but soon it will be over. I understand that you work, she is overweight, and you have no time for her. Where have you been all this time?» As a result, the doctor did not explain to me what the problem was. Since the center was private, and the doctor was the director of this center, she wanted to intimidate me so that I would agree to have a bunch of unnecessary tests done, which show nothing. The daughter was observed by various cardiologists about the congenital open oval window, and the window is very small, which did not affect the functional state of the child's heart.

Thus, indelicacy in the medical field has many manifestations, but in certain cases it can be established in the presence of typical linguistic markers. These include the presumption of the patient's guilt and its implications, tactless questions, explication of a patient's age and other characteristics as grounds for an unfavorable prognosis of treatment, offensive statements that lower the status of a patient accompanied by the relatives. These semantic indicators should be attributed to signals of indelicate communication with the patients in the medical field.

«I Hear You»: a patient's feedback as a factor of successful medical communication

Situations of receiving / not receiving a feedback from a doctor, when there are discrepancies between a patient's expectations and a doctor's reactions, are conflict-generating

by nature. In this regard, question 6 was included in the questionnaire.

6. Have you encountered a situation when the information you provided was ignored by a doctor, but you thought it was important for the diagnosis? How did you find out that a doctor did not take this information into account?

The informants' responses provide the examples where the information they had provided was not perceived as relevant for the diagnosis and treatment and, as a result, was ignored.

A doctor prescribed the drug «Dona» for the treatment of joints. I warned about an allergy to Lidocaine, so I bought a pack of ampoules without reading the instructions, but it was good that I read it before the injection: it included Lidocaine!

I can't take cough syrups that contain alcohol. I told the doctor about it. I was prescribed such a medicine.

In certain situations, the conflict is due to the difference in professional and non-professional perception / experience of the disease: everything that happens seems to be relevant to establish the cause of the disease for a patient, therefore he or she provides all the details of its course, while for a doctor this information may not have any significance for the right diagnosis.

My dad had a microstroke. The ultrasound of the brain vessels showed there was a blood clot. The doctors in our city hospital, which is also a vascular center! did not pay attention to this, they prescribed him an exercise bike (a blood clot in the head and a microstroke!). After the first lesson, the father's blood pressure rose to 220/120, a second stroke occurred (within 5 days from the moment of admission to the hospital). The information about the thrombus according to the ultrasound examination was unimportant for them.

A conflict-generating factor can be the discrepancy between the intentions of a patient and a doctor, when a doctor does not respond to a patient's request, but implements own version of diagnosis and treatment.

My husband and I are at a cardiologist's appointment (blood pressure). Having measured the pressure (and it was 140/90, pulse 98), the doctor says, «What drugs are you taking?» I explain that my husband is taking this and that, but we want to find a different drug, as this one causes drowsiness. The doctor says, «Of course, it is because of the age... weight. You need to go in for sports, you need to lose weight. How much do you weigh?» My husband answers, «105 kg». The doctor replies, «This is too much, you must weigh 80 for your height». I say, «Yes, yes, that's a problem. But we would like to choose a drug, since we are not going to lose weight now». The doctor concludes, «I have recently had a group of athletes, basketball players. Do you know what their pulse is? It is 30–40 beats per minute».

Thus, the effectiveness of communication with a doctor is determined, along with other things, by his professional skills of listening and interpreting a patient's intentions. Conflict situations arise both due to inattention to the information provided by a patient or those accompanying ones, and due to the lack of communication skills of feedback and checking the recipient's understanding of what the doctor said.

Conclusion

Communicative success and communication failure have peculiar manifestations in different types of discourse. The general principles of cooperative communication, presented in the concept of P. Grice and other researchers, require concretization in relation to the specifics of interaction in a particular social sphere.

For communication in the medical field, the effectiveness of doctor-patient interaction is determined by a patient's right to information enshrined in Russian legislation (Federal Law «On fundamental healthcare principles»), professional ethics and adherence to communicative norms inherent in a particular linguistic culture. However, in real medical practice determination of the degree of information completeness, its availability and the strategy choice for verbalizing the diagnosis and the prospects for treatment depends entirely on the professional competence of a doctor. Due to insufficient linguistic study of these aspects, there are often conflict situations that can serve as a basis for legal proceedings.

As a result of the study, four conflict-generating factors were established, due to the choice of the language code and the communicative strategy of a doctor in communicating with a patient: 1) availability of information; 2) volume of information; 3) delicacy / indelicacy; 4) the quality of a doctor's feedback to a patient. They make it possible to linguistically interpret the main reasons for communicative failures that arise in the process of communicating with a doctor, and provide grounds for the development of criteria for communicative violations, potentially conflict-generating and having legal consequences.

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Code-Switching (Russian – English)
in the Discourse of IT-Specialists from Moscow

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Abstract. The paper proposes a linguistic approach to studying code-switching in IT discourse of Moscovian IT specialists. The topic is of special interest since nowadays code-switching dominates in a number of professional spheres such as informational technologies, marketing and telecommunications. It also becomes a new language for the modern generation and moreover, a necessary tool for establishing contacts and demonstrating community affiliation. This new code exists not only within workplaces but also beyond them, that is why the aim of the article is to present an in-depth research into how IT discourse shapes Russian digital language on the whole. The methodology used for research is the Matrix Language Frame Model by C. Myers-Scotton (1993). The language units, which are represented by code-switches, are also analyzed in terms of their syntactic, morphological features and pragmatic functions. The research carried among more than 200 IT-specialists provided a thorough understanding of linguistic features and pragmatic functions of the collected code-switches and what is more, proved the impact of the sociolect on the Russian digital language.

Keywords: code-switching, Russian language, English language, digital discourse, runglish, professional discourse.

Research area: linguistics.

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Переключение кодов между английским и русским языками в дискурсе московских IT-специалистов

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Аннотация. В статье рассматривается переключение кода с русского на английский язык в дискурсе IT-специалистов. Известно, что русско-английское переключение кода имеет место во многих профессиональных сферах, таких как маркетинг, бизнес аналитика, телекоммуникации и в других. Образуемый социолект интересен тем, что, развиваясь, он выходит за пределы профессиональных сообществ, тем самым формируя русскоязычный цифровой дискурс, присущий не только представителям перечисленных профессий. В статье объясняется механизм этого распространения профессионального языка в массы: так, исследование, проведенное среди более чем 200 представителей сферы информационных технологий, показало, что рассматриваемый социолект действительно оказывает влияние на развитие русского языка. Отобранные языковые единицы, представленные переключениями кода, анализируются с помощью Матричной Модели Языка К. Майерс-Скоттон (1993) и описываются с точки зрения их синтаксических, морфологических особенностей.

Ключевые слова: переключение кода, русский язык, английский язык, цифровой дискурс, рунглиш, профессиональный дискурс.

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Introduction
Current linguistic situation among Russian speakers: causes and views

Nowadays in terms of globalization the social aspects of the language functioning seem to become more important than it used to be before this moment of time. More Russian people regard the English language as a tool of crucial importance – both for communication and work. Spheres that use English on a regular basis become more popular – such as IT, marketing, financial analysis, which is followed by an increase in English usage among the speakers of Russian.

Now IT is considered to prevail on the market due to the fact that every enterprise of life-supporting value (banks, online stores, construction companies) obtains an IT department. Specialists who work there in most cases use English as a second language on a daily basis. It happens so because foremost, IT evolves predominantly in the Western where English is a native language for most speakers. Also, some specialists publish their research on the international platforms such as medium.com (URL: https://medium.com/) and participate in the annual international conferences and workshops, for instance, «Holy JS», «Tech week», «International conference on research challenges in information science».

Regarding the value of English, some companies («EPAM Systems», «Luxoft») offer their specialists on-site courses to keep up their language skills or at least discounts on such ones. It is worth mentioning that «EPAM Systems» was established in 1993 and now has offices in over 30 countries and in 14 Russian cities, whereas «Luxoft» – in over than 19 states and 5 Russian cities, and English is a key point in all the offices.

This situation entails some transformation in the Russian language. A big number of

scholars consider the current linguistic situation in Russia to be a result of language contacts (Kazkenova, 2013; Krongauz, 2013, 2017; Kuzmina, Abrosimova, 2013; Levontina, 2010). Most scholars regard the changes to Russian as a natural process which occurs due to the cultural-economic situation; others (Krongauz, 2013, 2017) call for leaving out lexical units of foreign origin and view the current process as language contamination.

Russian-English code-switching
as a linguistic issue

As a result of the ongoing situation, numerous lexical units and grammatical constructions of foreign origin occur in the Russian language these days. This situation has always taken place, that is why there are such a lot of Latin, French, Greek loan words. The only difference is that they were borrowed long time ago and cannot be considered occasional insertions anymore. Therefore they are more a part of the Russian language rather than code-switches.

According to C. Myers-Scotton (1993, 2002), these two sites constitute a continuum, where some foreign lexical units can be already included into dictionaries, whereas other ones occur only in oral speech and limited number of domains. For instance, such units as *kontent (контент), pattern (паттерн), pleil-ist (плейлист)* can be regarded as loan words because they trace back to the period of 2000–2010 when they first occurred, now they are used frequently in both oral and written speech and can even be found in dictionaries. However, there are units of recent origin, such as *hai-laitit' (хайлатить), menedzhit' (менеджить), tolk (толк)*, which are not that popular and fixed.

These units constitute a certain code or sociolect which is represented by a mix of Russian and English, and more precisely, switching from Russian into English. The host language (or the dominant one) is Russian because it creates a morphological (prepositions, endings), whereas English is the so-called guest language which provides root morphemes and affixes.

This linguistic phenomenon can be viewed from different perspectives: one the one hand,

it is connected with psycholinguistics if we look at how the mindset of speakers functions when they opt for this sociolect. On the other hand, this code can be analyzed in terms of linguistic characteristics and sociolinguistic ones.

Foremost, IT specialists themselves are those who are concerned with the language they use. Therefore, they make attempts to unify and classify IT sociolect by creating various glossaries (URL: https://ru.hexlet.io/blog/posts/ponimaem-sleng-programmistov-mini-slovar-dlya-nachinayuschih-razrabotchikov). They define word accents, spellings and meanings, which, in their opinion, can assist beginners in the sphere of IT. Moreover, as it was found out during interviews, IT specialists frequently raise questions pertaining to normativity of their speech, so they encourage co-workers to pronounce words correctly and use set phrases properly.

A key point is that speakers of this sociolect use it not only at workplaces but also in colloquial everyday speech and a number of various domains, for instance, at homes. As a result, they create what can be called «Russian digital language» which goes far beyond online communication, because these days borders between online and offline communication are fading out. Eventually, a new code is formed, represented by extending discourse practices and semiotic means (Jones, Chik, Hafner, 2015: 190).

Previous research and aims

A major aim of the research is to take a closer look at how Russian and English come into contact with each other in IT discourse and prove that this sociolect extends to a number of domains apart from work. In order to fully describe IT discourse, the following points should be analyzed in detail:

• justification of using the term «code-switching» for IT language practices;

• classification of the collected lexical units according to their syntactic, morphological and pragmatical functions;

• discussion of the domains where the digital language is used;

• identification of the speakers' attitude toward the vocabulary they use.

Earlier this issue was analyzed by foreign linguists such as C. Myers-Scotton (1993, 2002), R. Skiba (1997), M. Clyne (2003), by Russian linguist A. Zhiganova (2014), who looked at the Russian-English code-switching in marketing in particular; and M. Isaeva (2009) analyzed Runglish in terms of media texts. There is a number of papers which examine the so-called «Russian computer discourse». However, they are rather outdated being concerned with the linguistic units that are actively used in the modern Russian language (*avatar – аватар, gifka – гифка, smail – смайл.* g*uglit' – гуглить, fastfud – фастфуд, brend – бренд, trend – тренд,* etc.) and are not considered to be something of an original kind anymore. Thus, they are not regarded as code-switches anymore (nevertheless, they might be in the past).

Contemporary computer discourse (digital language) is being developed at the moment, which comprises words and collocations which are not seen in our speech on a daily basis. So what precisely is this new code is a topical issue.

Content of the article and hypothesis

Initially, the article discusses the notion of Runglish and its origin. It also focuses on C. Myers-Scotton's (1993) language frame model and argues that the lexical units found in IT discourse can be regarded as code-switching. Thus, language frame model is applied to various units in order to test whether they correspond to all the key points of this framework:

• root morphemes originate from the guest language and all the other morphemes are taken from the host language;

• all the units are grammatically correct in Russian;

• doubled morphemes are frequently used as a part of code-switches.

The next stage includes a description of some syntactic and morphological features of the collected code-switches and major linguistic tendencies are presented; which is followed by pragmatical functions of code-switching in IT discourse.

Also, 200 individuals participated in the survey on how and why they code-switch and 20 interviews were conducted with IT spe-

cialists. The article gives an overview on their opinions and demonstrates how communication of IT specialists forms a contemporary Russian digital language.

It is also supposed in the article that IT specialists' usage of digital language extends beyond the major domain, which is a workplace. Thus, the **hypothesis** is that IT industry and other connected spheres of studies transform the Russian language and create contemporary digital language, which spreads even among those who are not connected with informational technologies.

**Contribution of the research
to Russian linguistics**

Research pertaining to online or digital language dates back predominantly to 2000–2010, when the Internet communication was a relevantly new concept and the type of discourse used there was evolving. If we take a closer look at the research of that period, it is clear that at that time this kind communication was frequently called «computer discourse» due to the fact that the Internet used to be strongly associated with a device – computer itself (Podgornaya, 2008, Lepsheeva, 2009, Kasumova, 2009).

Consequently, lexical units analyzed by scholars were more related to computers and first means of online communication; the concepts which were novel ten years ago. Nevertheless, they are not new to us at present: *chat (чат), messadzh (мессадж), yuzer (юзер), imho (имхо).*

It was not until 2010 when linguists started referring to online discourse as «Internet language» or «digital language» (Fedorova, 2014, Gorina, 2016).

Most scholars who research digital discourse look at it in general (Samaricheva, 2001: Podgornaya, 2008: Lepsheeva, 2009: Kasumova, 2008: Chirsheva, 2015) without analyzing the origin of digital discourse, where it comes from and how it is formed. However, current research focuses on the sociolect which could, hypothetically, impact contemporary Russian digital language.

Also, this type of discourse is sometimes analyzed either in terms of language contam-

ination (Krongauz, 2013, 2017) or in terms of «Internet discourse» without paying attention to its code-switching origin (Fedorova, 2014: Chirsheva, 2015: Gorina, 2016), whereas this research concentrates on code-switching.

Eventually, the research has been conducted for several years already, which helps to assess the process of language changes in time within a year or two; and it is of crucial importance because some of the collected lexical units (code-switches) remain in IT only, some of them go beyond to other domains and sometimes they even change their meanings.

Data collection
and research process

The research is being conducted in Moscow, among IT specialists. This very group of Runglish (that is how this new code is sometimes called) users was chosen at the outset of research, because their language is the most abundant in terms of English loan words.

Moreover, Runglish is a developing language: lexical units have a potential to be transformed there; its users often tried to codify it and compile a standardized glossary. Unfortunately, it seems to be a rather tough issue due to the fact that the language enhances every day and its users cannot update the glossaries in time.

The data (phrases which include code-switches) is collected in the following way:
• listening to the job interviews;
• observing negotiations and meet-ups;
• communication with IT specialists both in formal and informal surrounding (workplaces and homes, meet-ups with friends respectively);
• listening to Russian podcasts for programmers, such as «Frontend Weekend», «Фротенд Юность», «uWebDesign»;
• watching IT conferences, such as «HolyJS»;
• reading position descriptions on the vacancies sites (URL: hh.ru);
• observing programmers' chats and online communities: «Love Frontend» (URL:
• https://vk.com/love_frontend), «Frontend Racoon» (URL: https://vk.com/jsraccoon);

• taking interviews with IT specialists (20 interviews), programmers' attitude towards code-switching is discussed alongside with in which types of extralinguistic situations they tend to code-switch;
• conducting a survey (200 respondents).

If any lexical units of non-Russian origin occur in the process of research, the phrases with them are included into the list of switches. Special attention is paid to memoing the units according to various tokens. Thus, the units are collected in the table where each unit is classified in terms of certain characteristics:
• speech part they belong to;
• morphological and phonetic variations (whether the units are always spelled in the same way or not; how they can be pronounced; whether they either have differences in meaning depending on the context or their meaning changes over time);
• frequency of usage;
• pragmatical functions (where they were used; whether they denoted some professional concepts or were used to express humour; what programmers themselves think of the reasons for using non-Russians words, etc.);
• stylistic features (colloquial, neutral, sophisticated).

On the whole, about 900 code-switches are collected at the moment, and the research is still in progress.

Limitations of data representation
in the article

Only those code-switches will be presented as examples which follow the same pattern of formation (such as verbs, for instance, because they have a limited number of possible suffixes in Russian (such as -*at' (–ать)*, -*it' (–ить)*, -*yat' (–ять)*, etc.) and thus, can be comprehended more easily not only by Russians but also by non-Russian readers. Originally, the research is full of all speech parts examples and collocations with them, nevertheless, it would be incomprehensible for the speakers of other languages due to a number of various patterns of formation.

Another limitation is connected with the frequency of certain words usage: in fact, it

is far more difficult to measure frequency because I target predominantly phrases with code-switches and after collecting them, I can find out how many times a lexical unit occurs in the sampling. So it is worth examining a unit within a larger context: on the Internet on the whole (for instance, among Google enquiries) and in larger texts.

**Theoretical framework
and discussion**

One of the major points to discuss is Runglish (mix of Russian and English) and which language concept it can be considered to belong to – whether Runglish operates loan words or code switches.

Some Runglish words can be regarded as the English loan words, especially words that every Russian individual uses in their every-day speech. I mean such lexical units as *to google (гуглить), marketing (маркетинг), make up (мейкап), image (имидж)* in Russian. Most of the Runglish words cannot be considered loan words because they are not included in the Russian dictionaries and they are used far less frequently – mostly by the certain social and working groups and there are Russian analogues for most of them. Thus, they can be replaced by Russian words, however, speakers opt for English root morphemes due to numerous reasons which will be described later. There can be the following lexical units among the examples of Runglish: *redirektit' (to redirect – перенаправлять), fichi (features – особенности), rezolvit' tasku (to resolve a task – решать задачу)*, etc. As it is clearly seen, despite the fact that there are Russian equivalents, occasionally Russian speakers prefer English forms.

Some scholars consider Runglish to be slang or jargon and that is, to some extent, true; however, this is more about stylistics than the nature, the origin of the Runglish itself.

By the way, the term «Runglish» was first coined by a cosmonaut – he called a language like that because cosmonaut's jargon contained words such as *yuzer (user – пользователь), kopipast (copy paste – копировать и вставить)*, which have been already added to some Russian dictionaries; so they shifted from being code-switches to more regular and usual vocabulary of Russians and became loan words or the so-called «anglicisms».

To clear up the point, there will be some more examples given of the Russian-English verbs used in IT: *fiksit' (to fix – фиксить), sabmitit' (to submit – сабмитить), hailaitit' (to highlight – хайлатить), mitigirivat' (to mitigate – митигировать), revjuit' (to review – ревьюить).*

As we see and hear, they have a Russian ending of the verb (it' – ить) and also the English root which gives these words a meaning. All of them cannot be loan words because they are not fixed as such ones in the dictionaries, that is the main reason not to apply this name for the concept. At the same time, Myers-Scotton tends to support the idea that loan words and code-switching is a kind of continuum (1993). The units that used to be code-switches, sooner can become loan words after being fully accepted in the host language.

In fact, at this moment, the aforementioned words are more likely to be code-switching: according to Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame Model (1993), one or two-word switches can be regarded as code-switching when the root morpheme originates from the guest language and all the other morphemes (affixes and endings) are taken from the host language – otherwise, if a word lost its host language essence, it would be difficult to insert it into the Russian sentence. As a result, communication could fail.

Runglish cannot be considered the so-called «interference» (when two languages are mixed up in the speech process) because of the fact that «interference» is usually seen as something negative – when there are mistakes in one of the languages because of the impact of the other language. Russian-English code-switching in IT cannot be regarded as a mistake because all the collocations are grammatically correct for Russians: for example, we can add Russian prefixes to the English words if needed and if it adds the certain shades of the meaning:

Chekat' – prochekat' (to check – чекать – прочекать), rezolvit' – prorezolvit' (to resolve – резолвить – прорезолвить), parsit' – rasparsit' (to parse – парсить – распарсить).

In fact, all these words sound correct in Russian and they are formed and written according to the rules of the Russian language. So, there are prefixes like *ras- (рас-) and raz (раз-)* and according to grammatical rules of Russian, *ras-* is chosen if there is a voiceless consonant after it (for example, in *raSparsit'*); we choose *raz-* when it is followed by a voiced consonant. Thus, even spelling rules for code-switches are taken from the host language.

Apart from the verbs, there are also a big number of nouns such as *kinouti (keynotes – киноуты)*, with the Russian plural ending *(–ы, -и)*; *taski (tasks – таски), gaidi (guide – гайды); manuali (manual – мануалы)*. Also, all of the mentioned words are used in the sentence as if they were originally Russian words, so there is a typical Russian word order, which is also in compliance with the Matrix Language Frame Model.

Having paid attention to two key points of the Matrix Language Frame Model, I am moving on to its third principle: according to Myers-Scotton, in some words a speaker can use the so-called doubled morphemes – it happens when two morphemes have the same meaning both in the host language and the guest one (1993). It often happens with the code-switches that come from the English nouns in the plural form. So, as a result, a noun has two plural endings simultaneously: one is taken from English, another one is from Russian: f*ichizi (features – фичизы)* in Russian (English -*s* remains, however, there is also a Russian plural ending -*ы*), *ishjuzi (issues – ишьюзы), tulzi (tools – тулзы)*.

Talking about collocations, prepositions are usually of the Russian origin, too; the reason for this is that a preposition makes a collocation grammatically correct because it influences the case of the following word – and the Russian language has cases – that is why we can't use English prepositions, for example, in the phrase *bit' v prodakshene (to be in production – быть В продакшене)*. Thus, the main morphemes that give the phases their meanings, are again taken from the host language, which also corresponds with the Matrix Language Frame Model points.

However, there are some rare cases when English prepositions are used, and it happens especially with the idiomatic phrases which Russian speakers (IT speakers in particular), view as a unit rather than something separate. This occurs in the phrase *zadacha v in progrese (the task is in progress – задача в ин прогрессе)* and *in progress* is a type of a task status for people who work in different IT spheres. Moreover, *zadacha V IN progrese* is an example of doubled morphemes due to the fact that both the Russian preposition *v (в)* and the English one – *in* are used there.

Therefore, it is clearly seen that all the English words used in Russian speech are in compliance with Matrix Language Frame Model, that is why the aforementioned examples can be regarded as code-switching.

Results
Syntactic features
of the Russian-English code-switches in IT

One of the research aims is to find the most frequent syntactic patterns of code-switches which occur in IT discourse. The collected switches were classified in terms of their length and sentence placement. Grosjean (1982: 145) divided code-switches into

• words or insertions: *sozdat' pul (to create a pull – создать пул)*;

• collocations: *developer tulz (developer tools – девелопер тулз)*;

• sentences: *Poehal v Skandinaviyu? Right choice! (Have you gone to Scandinavia? Right choice! – Поехал в Скандивию? Верный выбор!)*

The rarest ones are the last ones on the list – the so-called «islands of the guest language» which sometimes occur in the speech of Russian IT specialists: *extent of complexity этой задачи зависит от…*

They were rather rare compared to one-word switches (or insertions) which dominated in the research (about 90 % of the sampling). One of the reasons for this is that programmers use the English language more as a tool for Russian communication and explanation of the IT concepts rather than a language for speaking. Thus, they kind of decompose English into the small units and then insert these units into Russian. Also, specialists predominantly need nominative units which describe concepts and

processes (and in most cases, in English these words are shorter than in Russian, which is also convenient for speakers). Once a process is given a name, there is no need to tread any more information in English. That is the reason why one-word code-switches are the most frequent ones in Runglish.

In terms of placement in the sentences, most of the collected code-switches are intrasentential (or insertion) which takes place inside the structure of one word (they constitite 96 per cent of the sampling). Some of the lexical units are tag units. The later ones usually occur between parts of one and the same sentence. They can be linking words or vocatives such as *meibi (maybe – мэйби)*, *gaiz (guys – гайз)*. Tag units constitute 3 per cent of the collected data.

Morphological features
of the Russian-English code-switches in IT

The syntactic features that have just been described gradually shift out focus on the morphological ones. As it was mentioned, nominative units prevail in IT discourse. That is why about 68 per cent of the sampling consists of the nouns: *prod (production – прод)*, *mitap (meetup – митап)*, *reliz (release – релиз)*, *asesment (assessment – ассессмент)*, *komit (commit – коммит)*. In fact, they are least creative ones because they fully repeat the form of the same English word (the only difference is the Russian phonetic assimilation). In fact, more sophisticated lexical units occur sometimes. For instance, the ones that apply Russian diminutive suffixes: *notifikashki (notifications – нотификашки)*.

Most of the noun-switches tend to be transformed into verbs such as *relizit' (to release – релизить), komitit' (to commit – коммитить), asesit' (to assess – ассессить)*, which comprise about 20 per cent of the sampling. It is worth mentioning that all the Russian rules work in this cases. For instance, the so-called «interchange of the consonants» takes place when some consonants may change in one and the same root depending on the following sound. So, it happens to the verbs formed from the word *bag (bug – баг)*. It is typical of Russian to interchange [g] sound to [3] (zh) sound in some cases, so if we form the verb from *bug*, we get

the word *debazhit' (to debug – дебажить)* with [3] sound. Thus, the root «ba» remains, but one sound is changed in it according to the host language phonetic rules which again corresponds with Matrix Language Frame Model principles.

There are only 5 per cent of adjectives in the code-switching sampling: *oftopniy (offtop – оффтопный)*; *kiling ficha (killing feature – киллинг фича)*; *famil'yarnie zadaniya (familiar tasks – фамильярные задания)*. The last one can considered to be a loan translation.

Adverbs constitute 2 per cent of the collected data, and are usually among the most creative ones: *asap (ASAP – as soon as possible – как можно скорее)*; *po defoltu (by default – по дефолту)*; *laitovo (light – легко, лайтово)*. Also, adverbial code-switches are so rare because of the fact that it is more difficult to transform them so that they could be appropriate for Russian sentences. That is why speakers borrow roots for nouns, verbs, adjectives and add Russian suffixes and endings to them, whereas adverbs in Russian have a lot of patterns of formation (there various suffixes and endings exist). Therefore, making an adverb out of an English word takes more time and seems to be a creative process rather than a natural way of word borrowing.

Pragmatical functions
of the Russian-English code-switches in IT

Most of the code-switches obtain several pragmatical functions, that is why some functions can overlap one another.

The most frequent function of the collected code-switches is an informational function (80 per cent) – both in oral and written speech.

In a big number of cases English words are used for economy of the communicative means, due to the fact that in most cases English words and collocations are shorter. What is more, specialists who use English on daily basis save time and cognitive effort if they do not try to remember a Russian equivalent for a unit which they mostly hear in English rather than in their native language. Thus, 50 per cent of the sampling is related to the economy function.

Humouristic function also takes place, especially in everyday oral communication and in most cases aims at the rarest cases of switching (hyperbolised forms or units that sound ridiculous for the Russian language). Function of emotions expression blends with humouristic one and both the constitute about 30 per cent of the code-switches.

Another point to mention is a self-identification function: so, when a speaker uses both Russian and English and mixes them, they show their affiliation to the certain group or workplace. In case of programmers it demonstrates the workplace and the status, whereas when young people working in some other spheres code-switch in such a way, they represent their connection with the modern digital world.

Metalinguistic function occurs in the dialogues of IT specialists when they discuss language rules, pronunciations and collocations where certain lexical units may be used or not.

In terms of stylistic features of code-switching, in most cases it is neutral (93 per cent), whereas some switches are used in highly colloquial contexts (4 per cent) and in the elevated speeches (3 per cent).

Respondents' views
and digital language formation

A survey was conducted pertaining to programmers' usage of English insertions in speech. 202 individuals took part in the survey. Also, 20 people were interviewed. It was discussed when and for what reasons IT specialists code-switch.

The data shows that digital language is predominantly influenced by Internet discourse. However, the term «digital language» entails not only online interaction. The authors of «Discourse and Digital Practices: Doing Discourse Analysis in the Digital Era» (Jones, Chik, Hafner, 2015: 190) regard digital language as a concept which borders are vague, because it exists in several dimensions, both in real and online communication.

Also the rise in the number of IT companies and professions impacts Russian digital language, which is a hypothesis of the current research.

In order to define whether the hypothesis is true, interviewees were asked:
• Why do you use English insertions?;
• When do you use them most frequently?;
• Do you spot the moments when you use an insertion?;
• Would you like to stop using English words in Russian?

The age of the youngest respondent was 16, and the oldest one – 45 years old. The group 25–35 years old prevailed in the research.

95 per cent of the interviewees claim that insertions occur in their speech. 70 per cent of them were somehow professionally connected with IT. It turned out that 85 per cent of people consider English words shorter and that is the reason why they use them. 42 per cent of the interviewees state that they tend to repeat some lexical patterns after some of their acquaintances. 27 per cent of individuals suppose that loan words make our speech more emotional and influential. About 8 per cent confirm that English vocabulary is trendy and make us sound smarter.

What is for the domains where insertions are used, more than 67 per cent of interviewees code-switch on a regular basis, either at work or in the family and among friends, which increases spread of IT discourse. Some of them state that there are situations when they forget a certain Russian word and use an English one instead.

Those interviewees who have families cite cases when their family members start repeating certain insertions after them. They also claim that they usually spot English words in their speech (80 per cent of individuals). It implies that their language choices are marked according to Myers-Scotton markedness model (1993). That means that they are predominantly used on purpose to create a certain impression.

Only 7 per cent of individuals would like to stop code-switching and speak Russian purely, whereas the rest regard English insertions as a natural process of language development.

Conclusion

Nowadays the topic seems to be a rather controversial subject. Nevertheless, most re-

spondents see it as an essential part of the Russian language development.

English insertions that occur in IT discourse and those ones which evolve into digital Russian language can be considered to be code-switches according to the Matrix Language Frame Model because they comply with all the model's principles.

IT companies grow fast in Russia and more digital professions appear every year. That creates new concepts and therefore, words. Later, they are gradually leaking into a big number of spheres and workplaces and even into daily interaction. Thus, they become loan words: some of them can already be found in Russian dictionaries. There are also lexical units which obtain new meanings within a year or two. Thus, they become polysemantic. It confirms that code-switching in IT discourse is evolving.

Most of the interviewees accepted that they frequently code-switch among friends and relatives. Therefore, IT discourse spreads among those who are not connected with IT. Consequently, a common Russian digital language is formed which is used both online and offline. This data corresponds with the hypothesis of the research.

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