

communication]. *Media Linguistics*, 6 (2), 164–179.
DOI: 10.21638/spbu22.2019.202

УДК 81`37

<https://doi.org/10.25076/vpl.41.06>

Е.П. Мурашова

Московский государственный лингвистический университет

**ДИНАМИКА СЕМАНТИЧЕСКИХ ИЗМЕНЕНИЙ ТЕРМИНА
«НОСТАЛЬГИЯ» КАК КЛЮЧЕВОГО КОМПОНЕНТА
РЕТРО**

Статья посвящена изучению динамики семантических изменений, которым подвергся термин «ностальгия» со времени своего появления в XVII в. до настоящего времени. На фоне процессов глобализации и информатизации общества большую популярность приобретает феномен ретро, имеющий целью вызвать у реципиента ностальгию. Лингвистического обоснования целесообразности того или иного определения ностальгии при разработке проблем ретро в гуманитарных науках, в том числе в лингвистике, до настоящего времени не представлено. Цель данной статьи – описать изменения, которые были привнесены в семантику термина «ностальгия» с XVII по XXI вв. с учетом его денотативного и коннотативного значений. Материалом исследования служат тексты Британского, Американского и Русского национальных корпусов, опубликованные в период с 1800 по 2020 гг. В результате анализа материала выявлен существенный сдвиг в значении термина «ностальгия». Во-первых, с течением времени было утрачено исходное медицинское значение «тоска по родине как заболевание», и термин стал обозначать тоску не только по месту, но и по времени. Во-вторых, в 1980-х гг. термин «ностальгия» потерял отрицательную коннотацию и приобрел положительную окраску. В-третьих, в XXI в. ввиду постмодернистской тенденции к номадизму, предполагающей сглаживание культурных границ, значение термина «ностальгия» было размыто, что в некоторых случаях преобразовало его в широкозначное существительное. В рамках статьи предлагается

определение ностальгии, приемлемое для изучения ретро в гуманитарных науках.

Ключевые слова: ностальгия, ретро, языковой корпус, широкозначная лексика, номадизм

UDC 81`37

<https://doi.org/10.25076/vpl.41.06>

E.P. Murashova

Moscow State Linguistic University

THE DYNAMICS OF THE SEMANTIC CHANGES OF THE TERM “NOSTALGIA” AS A KEY COMPONENT OF RETRO

The article is devoted to the dynamics of semantic changes that the term “nostalgia” has undergone over time. Due to globalization and informatization the phenomenon of retro is gaining popularity, its aim being to evoke nostalgia. There has still been no linguistic justification of the definition of nostalgia when studying retro in humanitarian sciences. The aim of the present paper is to describe changes introduced to the semantics of the term “nostalgia” since its appearance in the XVII c. till nowadays, including its denotative and connotative meanings. The material of the research is texts from the British, American and Russian national corpora published from 1800 to 2020. The analysis yielded a significant shift in the meaning of the term “nostalgia”. First, the term lost its original meaning of “disease” and came to denote a yearning not only for a place, but also time. Second, in the 1980s the term “nostalgia” lost its negative connotation and acquired a positive one. Third, in the XXI c. owing to the postmodern tendency towards nomadism the meaning of “nostalgia” was blurred and partially desemanticized. In the article a definition of “nostalgia” is suggested that can be used when studying retro in the humanities.

Keywords: nostalgia, retro, language corpus, vocabulary with a broad meaning, nomadism

Introduction

At present there is a great surge of interest in the past, taking place against the background of ongoing worldwide informatization and

digitalization. In various spheres of life like marketing, art, fashion, music, literature and others, the so-called retro style is gaining immense popularity.

Retro is most often defined as reproduction of objects, tendencies and motifs of bygone days with the aim of evoking a recipient's pleasant memories and positive past-related associations. In applied disciplines such as marketing or design, retro, as a rule, aims to persuade the target audience to do something, e.g. to buy a product, participate in an activity, vote for a certain candidate in an election, etc.

It is largely believed that retro is only effective when it serves as a memory trigger and evokes the emotion of nostalgia, or a strong longing for the past, hence nostalgia could be a measure of the effectiveness of retro. Though nostalgia is considered a key feature of retro and as such has been studied a lot in humanitarian sciences like anthropology, psychology, philosophy, sociology, marketing, journalism and cultural studies (Angé & Berliner, 2020; Batcho, Shikh, 2016; Baudrillard, 1994; Boym, 2001; Cervellon & Brown, 2018; Davis, 1979; Harper, 1966; Jacobsen, 2020; Niemeyer, 2014; Reynolds, 2011; Routledge, 2016; Sierra & McQuitty, 2007; Wilson, 2014), the semantics of the term "nostalgia", especially its diachronic dimension, remains understudied.

The research in question aims to reveal and describe the changes the term "nostalgia" has undergone through time since its first appearance in the XVII c. till nowadays. We proceed from the assumption that today's understanding of "nostalgia" differs a lot from the original one both in denotative and connotative meaning.

To achieve the aim of the research a number of questions are to be answered:

- 1) Is nostalgia a yearning for a place or time?
- 2) Is nostalgia a positive or a negative emotion?
- 3) Is nostalgia collective or individual?
- 4) Is nostalgia triggered by a real experience or is it solely a product of our imagination?
- 5) What is the most accurate definition of "nostalgia" for research into retro in humanitarian sciences, including linguistics?

The practical value of the study consists in facilitating the right choice of communicative strategies by marketing, PR, journalism, arts and design practitioners. A better understanding of nostalgia could form

the basis of an effective retro-oriented marketing mix, thereby ensuring a company's competitive advantage.

Material and methods

The material for the present study is an extensive body of English- and Russian-language texts from the British National Corpus (BNC), the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) and the Russian National Corpus (RNC) published in the period from 1800 to 2020. The examples of the use of the term “nostalgia” have been retrieved from the general corpus and subject to statistical, comparative, definitional and contextual analysis. The material in Russian was translated by us.

The research was done in two stages. First, an overview of the history of the term “nostalgia” was given. Second, corpus data containing the term “nostalgia”/ «НОСТАЛЬГИЯ» were selected and analyzed from the point of view of frequency of occurrence and lexical combinability. We selected lexemes in any form related to “nostalgia”/ «НОСТАЛЬГИЯ» and then applied to them the search criterion of “positive/negative connotation” to find out if the context of use was positive or negative.

In the paper in question we only included the material published as early as the XIX c. till nowadays, as before the given period the interpretation of “nostalgia” had not changed. There was no limitation as to the source, topic, type of discourse or genre of the material. We also did not aim to compare the use of the term in different languages and across different cultures, though it could be a promising topic for further research.

Results and discussion

The term “nostalgia” was first coined by the Swiss medical student Johannes Hofer in his doctoral thesis, defended in 1688. As the form suggests, the original meaning of “nostalgia” (from Greek *nostos* “homecoming” and *algos* “pain”) is “homesickness”. Initially, the term referred to the severe homesickness of Swiss mercenaries who had to leave the Swiss Alps for the European plains to perform their military duty. J. Hofer described the numerous physical and psychological symptoms of nostalgia that included melancholy, weakness, insomnia, anorexia, etc.

Doctors believed the illness was curable and its symptoms could be treated with medicine, leeches or a return back home. The

understanding of nostalgia as a medical condition associated with separation from home continued well into the XIX c (Routledge, 2016, p. 4).

As for the connotation, at first nostalgia had a negative colouring. The disease was not centred in any part of the body and was largely neurological, which made it difficult to prevent, diagnose and treat the symptoms. Closer to the end of the XIX c. Charles Darwin pointed out the positive effects of nostalgia when writing about emotions triggered by recollection of the past: “The feelings which are called tender are difficult to analyse; they seem to be compounded of affection, joy, and especially of sympathy. These feelings are in themselves of a pleasurable nature, excepting when pity is too deep, or horror is aroused <...>” (Darwin, 1873, p. 216).

Being interested in the development of the term, first, we counted the frequency of its occurrence in the three corpora and checked if the earliest mentions of “nostalgia” differed from its original meaning of a negative medical condition.

The analysis of the frequency of the lexeme “nostalgia” and its related forms yielded the following results:

- BNC – 475 entries, the earliest use found in 1989;
- COCA – 4768 entries, the earliest use found in 1990;
- RNC – 1254 entries, the earliest use found in 1850.

Once again it is necessary to stress that we did not make any attempt to compare the use of the term in British English, American English and Russian.

The earliest mentions of “nostalgia” (the XIX c.) were registered in the Russian corpus and **each** of them contains the senses of the original meaning of nostalgia, i.e. “psychological disease”, “homesickness” and “negative feeling”. It is noteworthy that sometimes the definition of nostalgia is given in parenthesis (3), which goes to show the term still needed to be explained. The notion of “home” is extended to include “homeland”, “family” or “friends” (1), (2), (3). In most cases the meaning of “psychological disease” is supplemented by indications of “physical disease” (2), (4), (5). E.g.:

(1) *Отчего нашла на меня именно сегодня эта **ностальгия по отечеству**? [П.И. Чайковский. Письма Н. Ф. фон-Мекк (1879)]*

(«Why am I overwhelmed on this very day by this nostalgia for my homeland? [P.I. Tchaikovsky. Letters to N.F. Von Meck (1879)] » –

Е.М.)

(2) *Я выздоровела, медленно поправляясь, и, быть может от слабости, впала в ностальгию, – я только и думала о моей семье, о свидании с нею...* [Н.А. Тучкова-Огарева. Воспоминания (1890)]

(«I got well, recovering slowly, and maybe owing to my weakness I lapsed into nostalgia. I only thought about my family and meeting them... [N.A. Tuchkova-Ogareva. Memoirs (1890)] » – Е.М.)

(3) *Овладевая душою Глинки все более и более, оно наконец приняло совершенный характер душевного недуга, известного под названием «ностальгии» (тоски по родине).* [С.А. Базунов. Михаил Глинка. Его жизнь и музыкальная деятельность (1892)]

(«Overwhelming Glinka's soul more and more, it finally took the form of a perfect mental ailment, known as "nostalgia" (a yearning for the homeland). [S.A. Bazunov. Mikhail Glinka. His Life and Musical Activity (1892)] » – Е.М.)

(4) *Не смотря на все удобства жизни в доме Казакевича, я начал физически слабеть во мне развилось чувство необъяснимой тоски и меланхолия, а за тем ностальгия.* [Б.К. Кукель. Из эпохи присоединения Приамурского края // «Исторический вестник», 1896] (The original text is reproduced unchanged. – Е.М.)

(«Despite all the conveniences of life in Kazakevich's house, I began to feel physically weak, I developed the feeling of an inexplicable yearning and melancholy, then nostalgia followed. [B.K. Kukel. From the Era of Accession of the Amur Region // "Historical Herald", 1896]» – Е.М.)

(5) *На море было постоянное волнение, и я, как новичок, сильно страдал от морской болезни, да к тому же, не видя долго берега, стал ощущать тоску, которая была последствием перенесенной мною в течение зимы ностальгии.* [Б.К. Кукель. Из эпохи присоединения Приамурского края // «Исторический вестник», 1896]

(«The sea was constantly rough, and I as a novice suffered greatly from seasickness, moreover, not seeing the shore for a long time, I began to feel a yearning which was an effect of the nostalgia I had been ill with in the winter. [B.K. Kukel. From the Era of Accession of the Amur Region // "Historical Herald", 1896] » – Е.М.)

As we can judge by the previous examples, the main meaning of

nostalgia in the XIX c. was “a longing for a **place**”, to be specific, for the homeland.

Since 1974 there have been more and more instances of the use of nostalgia in the meaning of “a longing for the past **time**”.

*Устали и поняли, что это всего лишь бессильная **ностальгия по невозвратимому прошлому**.* [А.С. Черняев. Дневник (1974)] (RNC)

(«They got tired and realized it was merely a helpless nostalgia for the non-returnable past. [A.S. Chernyaev. Diary (1974)] » – E.M.)

In the 1990s “nostalgia” came to be frequently used with particular time indicators like adverbial modifiers of time, numbers, precedent names and precedent situations typical of a certain era. The following example illustrates the use of time-related vocabulary, a date and a precedent name. All these means intend to evoke images of the past that must be familiar to the recipient:

*This mother-daughter comedy has all the trappings of **1963 nostalgia** -- the pop tunes, the cars and clothes, **the Kennedy assassination** -- plus another movie **anachronism**: a lot of **old-fashioned heart**. (“Critics’ Voices”. MAG: TIME, 1991) (COCA)*

*За всем этим – ностальгия по мифической **царской России с высоким культурным сообществом** <...>* [С. Г. Кара-Мурза. «Совок» вспоминает свою жизнь (1998)] (RNC)

(«Behind all this there is nostalgia for the mythical tsarist Russia with an elite cultural community <...> [S. G. Kara-Murza. «“Sovok” Remembers His Life» (1998)] » – E.M.)

Since 1981 “nostalgia” has been used in a positive meaning, though it is still occasionally called a disease:

*Ах, ностальгия – **прекрасная болезнь**, от которой невозможно и не нужно лечиться.* [Леонид Утесов. «Спасибо, сердце!» (1982)] (RNC)

(«Ah, nostalgia is a beautiful illness that one can’t and needn’t cure» [Leonid Utesov. “Thanks, Heart!” (1982)] » – E.M.)

The word “fit” (Russ. – «приступ») is often used in combination with “nostalgia” to denote both, a strong physical reaction and a strong emotion, which means that nostalgia like an illness is intense enough to produce visible physical effects:

*У него случилось что-то вроде **приступа ностальгии**.* [Аркадий Стругацкий, Борис Стругацкий. Град обреченный

(1972)] (RNC)

(«He had some kind of a fit of nostalgia. [Arkady Strugatsky, Boris Strugatsky. The Doomed City (1972)] » – E.M.)

<...> *a son she named Miguel in a **fit of nostalgia** for her firstborn.* (Arturo Islas «FIC: Migrant Souls», 1990) (COCA)

One can't but notice the numerous positively coloured adjectives, nouns and verbs used with the lexeme “nostalgia” in all the three corpora. There seems to be a dramatic rise in the number of examples of positively-coloured instances of the use in the 1990s.

RNC: *предавались ностальгии/ предаваться ностальгии* («to indulge in nostalgia» – E.M.) (1982, 1991-1994); *ностальгия по старым, хорошим, людским отношениям* («nostalgia for good old human relationships» – E.M.) (1987-1998); *с нежностью и ностальгией* («with tenderness and nostalgia» – E.M.) (1999).

BNC: *It was a **magical** evening of **pure nostalgia** **enjoyed** by an audience from nine to 90 years of age.* (1985-1994); *a mixture of fondness and nostalgia* (1990); *to indulge in the sheer nostalgia of days bygone* (1991).

COCA: *a fond nostalgia* (1990); *nostalgia for an idyllic past* (1992); *the magic of nostalgia* (1995); *A warm flood of nostalgia suffused him* (1996).

The frequent use of positively coloured epithets deserves special mention:

RNC: *талантливая ностальгия* («talented nostalgia» – E.M.) (1981); *Взволнованный столь **трогательной** формой ностальгии* («Worried by such a touching form of nostalgia» – E.M.) (1982); *сентиментальной ностальгии* («sentimental nostalgia» – E.M.) (1991-1994); *с мармеладной ностальгией вспоминаю <...>* («I remember with marmalade nostalgia <...>» – E.M.) (1997); *атмосферу рафинированной, хрупкой ностальгии по чему-то* («the atmosphere of a refined, fragile nostalgia for something» – E.M.) (1998).

BNC: *a mood of relaxed and optimistic nostalgia* (1984); *soft-headed nostalgia* (1985-1994); *with affectionate nostalgia* (1991); *the honeyed glow of nostalgia* (1993); *a romantic and utopian nostalgia* (1994).

COCA: *the warm nostalgia of those holidays* (1990); *romantic nostalgia* (1991); *a real honest-to-goodness nostalgia boom* (1992); *60s*

feel-good nostalgia (1993); *Golden-Years nostalgia* (1995).

The most frequently used word combination with “nostalgia” in all the three corpora seems to be “nostalgia for the good old days” (Russ. – «ностальгия по старым добрым временам») (at least 1 occurrence per 100 entries), which illustrates the semes of “time” and “positivity” in the meaning of the word.

As for the perception of nostalgia as a collective or individual emotion, it becomes clear that it can be both, but most frequently a reference is made to something in collective memory.

In the RNC there are numerous mentions of the nationality word “Russian” together with “nostalgia” or abundant use of “nostalgia” in combination with the different forms of the first-person plural personal pronoun, which goes to show that to the Russians nostalgia is a largely collective emotion:

А тоска, а русская, присущая только нам в сильной мере, непомерной мере – ностальгия! [Т.В. Доронина. Дневник актрисы (1984)] (RNC)

(«But a yearning, a Russian yearning, only characteristic of us in a strong form – nostalgia! [T.V. Doronina. Diary of an Actress (1984)] » – E.M.)

The use of the cultural symbols of Russia is also worth mentioning, e.g. in the following abstracts a reference is made to the Russian birch tree, the Russian traditional dish called “Siberian dumplings” and the landmarks of the typical Russian scenery:

<...> но ведь ностальгия – это что-то вроде березок, пельменей по-сибирски, маковок церквей на Пятницкой, заснеженных полей или желтого клена над могилой моего отца на Введенском кладбище в Москве. [Михаил Козаков. Актерская книга (1978-1995)] (RNC) («<...> but nostalgia is something like birch trees, Siberian dumplings, the domes of small churches in Pyatniskaya, snow-covered fields or the yellow maple above my father’s grave at Vvedenskoye Cemetery in Moscow [Mikhail Kozakov. Acting Book (1978-1995)] » – E.M.)

Шукишин в состоянии ностальгии обычно ходил целовать березки – русские в Париже идут кушать блинчики за 200 франков. [Игорь Мартынов. Париж - город контрастов // «Столица», 1997.06.10] (RNC)

(«Shukshin in the state of nostalgia usually went to kiss birch trees –

Russians in Paris go to eat pancakes for 200 francs [Igor Martynov. Paris: A City of Contrasts // “Capital”, 1997.06.10] » – E.M.)

As compared to the RNC, the BNC and the COCA do not seem to include many examples of “British/American nostalgia”. But we believe that it does not necessarily mean that nostalgia is only individual in English-speaking countries. It is also collective, but its “collectivism” is expressed in other ways, e.g. through references to some phenomena known to each target individual. The fact that a cultural phenomenon is well-known to all representatives of the target audience is illustrated by the absence of any explanations in the text, thus, the addresser relies on collective memory (Sibul, 2017). To decode the following message correctly, the recipient has to have some cultural background, especially knowledge of precedent names:

Best riot for teenagers: John Doyle's Sixties nostalgia version of The Sleeping Beauty, with arm-waving singalong and fast-forward time-travelling, at the Liverpool Everyman. [[Guardian, elect. edn. of 19891221]. London: Guardian Newspapers Ltd, 1989, Arts material, pp. ??, 921 s-units.] (BNC)

Nostalgia also gets a clear-cut individual “dimension”, e.g. a person can experience nostalgia for a period in their life (more often childhood or youth):

It had been an uncomfortable and disturbing sensation and he was still wondering whether it hadn't been only the incense, the spring evening, and nostalgia for his boyhood. (“An unsuitable attachment”. Pym, Barbara. London: Pan Macmillan Pubs, 1993, pp. 13-154. 2519 s-units.) (BNC)

In case nostalgia is individual, there is often a mention of a person's individual reminiscences of past experiences, especially related to their childhood, career or food:

Я испытываю настоящую ностальгию... хочу домой, хочу к Маме, хочу к детям, хочу ходить по своей квартире, хочу лежать в своей постели, не могу понять, как в ней может лежать на Маминых свадебных простынях кто-то другой, хочу музыку, хочу ливень, хочу слушать сказки, хочу бегать босиком по лужам <...>. [Татьяна Окуневская. Татьянин день (1998)] (RNC)

(«I feel a real nostalgia... I want to go home, I want to go to Mum, to the children, to walk around my flat, to lie in my bed, I can't

understand how somebody else could lie on Mum's wedding sheets, I want music, I want pouring rain, I want to listen to fairy tales, stomp barefoot in puddles <...> [Tatyana Okunevskaya. Tatyana's Day (1998)] » – E.M.)

*At the height of his fame and glory he **thinks with nostalgia of the rough country food of his childhood.*** (“An omelette and a glass of wine”. David, Elizabeth. London: Penguin Group, 1987, pp. 156-274. 1944 s-units.) (BNC)

Since the 2000s there has been no significant observable change in the understanding of “nostalgia” – it is still treated as a positive emotion and still refers to the past time rather than a past place, but the entries in the RNC are mainly limited to reminiscences of the Soviet times and in the BNC and the COCA reminiscences tend to include periods from the 60s to the 90s. Thus, nostalgia has been narrowed down to the time of a society's immediate past that are in the living memory of its members, e.g.:

*Китайские космическая и атомная корпорации также вызывали скорее **ностальгию по советскому прошлому**, чем восхищение последним словом техники.* [Евгений Огородников. Поднимется ли с колен «Уралмаш»? // «Эксперт», 2015] (RNC)

(«The Chinese space and atomic energy corporations also caused nostalgia for the Soviet past rather than admiration for state-of-the-art technology. [Evgeny Ogorodnikov. Will “Uralmash” Get Off Its Knees? // “Expert”, 2015] » – E.M.)

The 1980s nostalgia is finally paying off! (“Thank God, Someone Is Making a Documentary About Jackie Collins”, MAG: Jezebel, 2019) (COCA)

There are more examples (as compared to the previous periods) demonstrating that the meaning of nostalgia has broadened to refer not only to a specific period of time but also to the pre-digital age when life used to be closer to a human's biological self. Thus, nostalgia came to denote the real and authentic as opposed to the virtual and fake, e.g.:

One of the great sad lessons that, among the many diminishing returns of technology that we've learned over the last hundred years, is that the virtual really isn't an adequate substitute for the authentic. All that we've lost is just such a theme. And we see that in all the nostalgia stuff; there is an awareness on some level that's very widespread, that we've just lost so much. We're just cut off. As life

becomes more and more artificial and mediated and disembodied, and the techno culture it's just becoming very impoverished and cold and empty and perhaps it just is. (“Yu Koyo Peys”, 2006) (COCA)

Moreover, the meaning of nostalgia seems to have blurred so as to include not only the past but also the present and even the future:

I have nostalgia for something. It just hasn't happened yet. But it's gonna happen <...>. (“Women in Trouble”, 2009) (COCA)

In some cases, it becomes clear that nostalgia can occasionally be treated as a “shell noun”. The term “shell noun” was introduced by Hans-Jörg Schmid in 1997 to denote a class of abstract nouns that only get their meaning in context (Schmid, 2000). Like vague category markers, “shell nouns” help to deliberately de-focus some information and create “ad hoc, instancial categories relevant to the needs of the present discourse” (Malyuga, McCarthy, 2018, p. 40). For example, in the following abstract the word is used in the meaning of “expectations”:

Perhaps it's too much to expect a remake to live up to our nostalgia.

(«'Shadow of the Colossus' remake is missing something vital», MAG: Engadget, 2018) (COCA)

The meaning of “nostalgia” is now so broad that it has become possible to be “nostalgic for nostalgia”, which should probably be interpreted as “wanting to bring back something from the past”:

Colt hired this band and when he did he just kept screaming " it's gonna be 1998 all over again! " Poor guy, he's just, he's nostalgic for nostalgia. (“The Wedding Party”, 2016) (COCA)

Having analyzed the evolution of the term, let us move on to the way it is handled in today’s study of retro. Most definitions of nostalgia, as can be expected, revolve around its ability to conjure up images of the past and its positive connotation.

One of the most cited definitions of nostalgia was given by F. Davis: “A positively toned evocation of a lived past in the context of some negative feeling toward the present or impending circumstances” (Davis, 1979, p. 18). A similar definition was given by J.J. Sierra and S. McQuitty: “A yearning for the past, or a fondness for tangible or intangible possessions and activities linked with the past, and is experienced when individuals feel separated from an era to which they are attached” (Sierra, McQuitty, 2007, p. 99). Both of the definitions

bring out discontent with the present as the main reason for the appearance of nostalgia.

Other definitions include a broader understanding of nostalgia and bring out its contradictory nature. One of the earliest definitions demonstrating that nostalgia is woven of paradoxes was suggested by the theologian and philosopher R. Harper in 1966:

“Nostalgia combines bitterness and sweetness, the lost and the found, the far and near, the new and the familiar, absence and presence. The past which is over and gone, from which we have been or are being removed, by some magic becomes present again for a short while. But its realness seems even more familiar, because renewed, than it ever was, more enchanting and more lovely” (Harper, 1966, p. 120).

More recent definitions of nostalgia, like the abovementioned one, are broad and highlight its inherent paradoxicality, e.g. “a bittersweet longing for former times and spaces <...> private or public return to the past, and sometimes to an interlinking imagination of the future” (Niemeyer, 2014, p. 1).

The ambivalence of nostalgia appears to consist in the following features:

- 1) “bittersweetness”;
- 2) oldness and novelty;
- 3) the ability to evoke images of the past, the present and the future;
- 4) realness and unrealness.

Strictly speaking, nostalgia is not one emotion, but rather a combination of several polar opposite emotions, both positive and negative, hence its “bittersweetness”.

It is also stated that nostalgia is not always based on a person’s real experiences: it could include fantasies and assumptions or images that a person has not encountered themselves but is aware of because they possess the so-called collective memory. Nostalgia brings together knowledge about the past and the present and ideas about the future.

It is of interest that in psychology different forms of nostalgia are described. One of them is the so-called “anticipatory nostalgia” – “missing aspects of the present before they are lost in the future” (Batcho, Shikh, 2016, p. 75). Anticipatory nostalgia is opposed to personal nostalgia that looks back on the past. Unlike anticipatory nostalgia, personal nostalgia tends to be positive rather than negative.

The new perception of nostalgia as a yearning for the present can be

illustrated with the help of the recent language material of the end of the XX c. – the XXI c. In the following film description, we find the word combination “nostalgia for the present” which used to be perceived as an oxymoron back in the mid-1990s:

<...> *ONE OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF “MANHATTAN” IS THAT IT CREATES A NOSTALGIA FOR THE PRESENT.* (The font of the original text is unchanged. – E.M.) (“Woody Allen: A Documentary”, 2012) (COCA)

Moreover, the definitions make it clear that nostalgia can be both, individual and collective. Inasmuch as nostalgia pertains to the domain of the collective, it is possible to treat it as a component of retro.

Retro is a complex object of research that can’t be defined in one single way because it is understood differently depending on the field of knowledge. Retro is mostly studied in the humanities where it is treated as a multifaceted phenomenon of culture that can influence human mind and behaviour.

In linguistics retro is researched insufficiently and no single linguistic definition of retro has been worked out and justified. In our opinion, when trying to define retro it is necessary to bear in mind the reason for the popularity of retro. Retro must have emerged as a response to the postmodern challenges of the ongoing processes of informatization and digitalization which are believed to have put pressure on a human’s psychology. On the one hand, technology has greatly simplified our life enabling quick transportation, transmission of information and communication, but, on the other hand, it has made it more complicated in that we feel cut off from nature and lost in the technosphere. The acute conflict between a human as a biological creature (“natura naturata”) and a human as a creator (“natura naturans”) makes us turn to the past in search of simplicity and authenticity, hence the demand for old or old-fashioned artefacts, traditional means and forms of communication.

However, it is not simple to resolve the conflict by simply remembering the past because, as J. Baudrillard puts it, the main referential for reconstructing the past, i.e. history, has been lost and has become a “retro scenario” (Baudrillard, 1994). Feeling nostalgia for a lost referential, people have to create artificial substitutes called “simulacra” with the help of the code of their culture. Retro proves to be one of such simulacra: it manifests an attempt to resurrect history

through simulation or rather to create a new history based on knowledge of the past.

Being a man-made product, retro is largely a phenomenon of culture capable of storing and imparting cultural knowledge. Nostalgia can be considered a key component of retro as retro is initially triggered by nostalgia for the past and the latter, in its turn, is triggered by retro. It is worth mentioning that retro mainly manifests itself through mass culture, or pop culture (as opposed to the so-called high culture), because, just like real history, a “retro scenario” has to be created by the masses. At the same time the role of an individual can’t be underestimated. While pondering on the connection between nostalgia and retro, music journalist and author S. Reynolds points out that “the intersection between mass culture and personal memory is the zone that spawned retro” (Reynolds, 2011).

To our mind, retro in linguistics is to be defined as a linguo-cultural concept that imparts knowledge about the past, the present and the future with the aim of evoking nostalgia.

Having analyzed the development of the term “nostalgia”, we suppose that when studying retro researchers have to proceed from the idea that the key emotion of retro, that is nostalgia, has evolved over time from a term denoting “a disease” through “a positive emotion caused by images of the past” to a broader one dealing with the past, the present and the future, the individual and the collective. It has undergone a shift in meaning and semantic blurring and, as has been demonstrated above, occasionally can be treated as a “shell noun”.

The complex process of the transformation of the meaning of “nostalgia” falls under the general cultural trend of **nomadism** that appeared as a reaction to the challenges of postmodernism and has recently become an interdisciplinary subject widely discussed in humanitarian sciences. Nomadism is one of the popular concepts of postmodern philosophy that refers to the extreme mobility and deterritorialization of culture. One of the most well-known interpretations of the nature of nomadism was suggested by the French philosophers G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, the founders of the so-called “nomadology” project (Deleuze, Guattari, 1986). They believe that nomadism is a strategy used to challenge and fight the rigidity and strictness imposed by the state, hence the methods “nomads” typically resort to – smoothing spaces, blurring borders and changing places.

Though nomadism is usually associated with travelling, it is not limited to the category of “place”. Nomadism could also manifest itself in the way of thinking – the “nomad thinking”: “<...> one should be able to think without borders, without limitations. Nomadism frees our thought, not simply in the sense that we can think whatever we want, but more so in that we can think in whatever way we want” (Kuperus, 2016). Nomad thinking involves travelling through space as well as time. The same can be said about nostalgia: it encapsulates all forms of displacement in that it helps to travel across time and space in one’s imagination. So, both nomadism and nostalgia break borders, enabling a person to think critically and broaden their mind.

Nomadism can be successfully used to explain the nature of many postmodern concepts including nostalgia and retro, as was demonstrated by I.A. Guseynova in her linguo-culturological study of retro (Guseynova, 2017).

Thus, we suggest that in retro-focused research nostalgia should be understood broadly as a positive emotion intentionally evoked by the real or imagined images of the past, the present and the future, pertaining to individual or collective knowledge, experiences and/or memory. It should be highlighted that, to our mind, nostalgia is conjured up intentionally with the help of retro means and, paradoxically, does not necessarily address a recipient’s memory, but rather involves cultural background knowledge or personal experiences gained through interaction with culture.

Conclusion

The conducted research shows that the term “nostalgia” has undergone a significant semantic shift since it was coined in the XVII c. to denote the disease of extreme homesickness. The changes in the meaning of the term are the following ones.

First, the term was demedicalized and since the 1970s has been used to denote not only a yearning for the past place, but also for the past time.

Second, in the 1980s “nostalgia” began to lose its negative connotation and acquired a positive colouring. It came to be treated as a sought-for condition.

Third, nostalgia does not necessarily belong to the realm of the individual. It could be both, individual and collective in that it appeals to both, personal knowledge, experiences and/or memory and collective

memory.

Fourth, as the term addresses the collective as well as the individual, one does not necessarily need to have experienced something first hand for nostalgia to be evoked in their mind. Cultural background knowledge could suffice to feel nostalgic for the places you have never been to and the times you have never lived in. Furthermore, nostalgia brings together knowledge of the past and the present and ideas or fantasies about the future, so nostalgia could be largely based on a person's imagination, but not on reality.

Last, it is important to highlight that the term "nostalgia" has the same nature as the phenomenon of retro. Just like retro, nostalgia demonstrates features typical of nomadism, a cultural trend that aims to address the challenges of postmodernism. In the XX c. the meaning of nostalgia was blurred and came to denote things and events of the pre-digital age. In certain cases, the meaning is so broad that "nostalgia" acquires the status of a "shell noun", which could be used to influence the recipient in a desired way, e.g. conveying either a positive or a negative emotion.

The main changes the term "nostalgia" has undergone over time are to be considered when doing research into retro in the humanities.

Литература

1. Гусейнова И. А. Роль феномена «ретро» в конструировании современного культурно-исторического пространства (на примере российских современных ретродетективов) // Вестник Московского государственного лингвистического университета. Гуманитарные науки. 2017. Т. 6. № 777. С. 308-315.
2. Angé O., Berliner D. Ecological Nostalgias: Memory, Affect and Creativity in Times of Ecological Upheavals. Berghahn Books, 2020.
3. Batcho K.I., Shikh S. Anticipatory nostalgia: Missing the present before it's gone // Personality and Individual Differences. 2016. № 98. Pp. 75-84.
4. Baudrillard J. Simulacra and Simulation. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994.
5. Boym S. The Future of Nostalgia. New York: Basic Books, 2001.

6. British National Corpus (BNC). URL: <https://www.english-corpora.org/bnc> (дата обращения: 02.11.2020)
7. Cervellon M.C., Brown S. *Revolutionary Nostalgia: Retromania, Neo-Burlesque, and Consumer Culture*. Emerald Publishing Limited, 2018.
8. Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA). URL: <https://www.english-corpora.org/coca> (дата обращения: 02.11.2020)
9. Darwin Ch. *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1873.
10. Davis F. *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia*. New York: Free Press, 1979.
11. Deleuze G., Guattari F. *Nomadology: The War Machine*. 1986.
12. Harper R. *Nostalgia: An Existential Exploration of Longing and Fulfillment in the Modern Age*. Cleveland: Press of Western Reserve University, 1966.
13. Jacobsen M.H. *Nostalgia Now: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on the Past in the Present*. New York: Routledge, 2020.
14. Kuperus G. *Ecopolitical Homelessness: Defining Place in an Unsettled World*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
15. Malyuga E., McCarthy M. English and Russian vague category markers in business discourse: linguistic identity aspects // *Journal of Pragmatics*. 2018. № 135. С. 39-52.
16. Niemeyer K. Yearning for the Past, Present and Future / K. Niemeyer // *Introduction: Media and Nostalgia*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. P. 1-26
17. Reynolds S. *Retromania: Pop Culture's Addiction to Its Own Past*. New York: Faber and Faber, 2011.
18. Routledge C. *Nostalgia: A Psychological Resource*. New York: Taylor & Francis, 2016.
19. Sibul V. Psycholinguistic analysis of lexical-semantic structure in linguistic consciousness of Russian, English and German native speakers // *Training, Language and Culture*. 2017. №1(2). Pp. 54-70. Doi: 10.29366/2017tlc.1.2.4

References

Angé, O., & Berliner, D. (eds.) (2020). *Ecological Nostalgias: Memory, Affect and Creativity in Times of Ecological Upheavals*.

- Berghahn Books.
- Batcho, K.I., & Shikh, S. (2016). Anticipatory nostalgia: Missing the present before it's gone. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 98, 75-84.
- Baudrillard, J. (1994). *Simulacra and Simulation*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Boym, S. (2001). *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books.
- British National Corpus (BNC). Retrieved from: <https://www.english-corpora.org/bnc> (accessed: 02.11.2020)
- Cervellon, M.-C., & Brown, S. (2018). *Revolutionary Nostalgia: Retromania, Neo-Burlesque, and Consumer Culture*. Emerald Publishing Limited.
- Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA). Retrieved from: <https://www.english-corpora.org/coca> (accessed: 02.11.2020)
- Darwin, Ch. (1873). *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street.
- Davis, F. (1979). *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia*. New York: Free Press.
- Deleuze, G. & Guattari, F. (1986). *Nomadology: The War Machine*.
- Guseynova, I.A. (2017). Rol' fenomena «retro» v konstruirovanii sovremennogo kul'turno-istoricheskogo prostranstva (na primere rossijskikh sovremennykh retrodetektivov) [The role of retro in constructing the modern cultural and historical space (an analysis of contemporary retro-detective prose)]. *MSLU scientific newsletter. Series "Humanitarian Sciences"*, 6 (777), 308-315.
- Harper, R. (1966). *Nostalgia: An Existential Exploration of Longing and Fulfillment in the Modern Age*. Cleveland: Press of Western Reserve University.
- Jacobsen, M.H. (Ed.). (2020). *Nostalgia Now: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on the Past in the Present*. New York: Routledge.
- Kuperus, G. (2016). *Ecopolitical Homelessness: Defining Place in an Unsettled World*. New York: Routledge.
- Malyuga, E., & McCarthy, M. (2018). English and Russian vague category markers in business discourse: linguistic identity aspects. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 135, 39-52.
- Niemeyer, K. (2014). Introduction: Media and Nostalgia. In Niemeyer, K. (Ed.) *Media and Nostalgia: Yearning for the Past, Present and Future*, (pp. 1-26). Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Reynolds, S. (2011). *Retromania: Pop Culture's Addiction to Its Own Past*. New York: Faber and Faber, Inc.
- Routledge, C. (2016). *Nostalgia: A Psychological Resource*. New York: Taylor & Francis.
- Russian National Corpus (RNC). Retrieved from: <https://ruscorpora.ru/new/en/index.html> (accessed: 02.11.2020)
- Schmid, H.-J. (2000). *English Abstract Nouns as Conceptual Shells: From Corpus to Cognition*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Sibul, V. (2017). Psycholinguistic analysis of lexical-semantic structure in linguistic consciousness of Russian, English and German native speakers. *Training, Language and Culture*, 1(2), 54-70. Doi: 10.29366/2017tlc.1.2.4
- Sierra, J.J., & McQuitty, S. (2007). Attitudes and Emotions as Determinants of Nostalgia Purchases: An Application of Social Identity Theory. In *Journal of Marketing Theory and Practice*, 15(2), 99-112.
- Wilson, J.L. (2014). *Nostalgia: Sanctuary of Meaning*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Publishing.

УДК 811.131.1

<https://doi.org/10.25076/vpl.41.07>

С.Н. Орлова

А.А. Конькова

Российский университет дружбы народов

ЭМОТИВНЫЕ СРЕДСТВА ЯЗЫКА КАК СПОСОБ ВОЗДЕЙСТВИЯ В ИТАЛЬЯНСКОМ И АНГЛИЙСКОМ ПУБЛИЦИСТИЧЕСКОМ ДИСКУРСЕ

В статье через призму сопоставительного анализа рассматриваются особенности эмотивной функции языка в публицистическом дискурсе, а также демонстрируется, какие средства языка могут быть использованы для воздействия на читателя. Целью данной статьи является выявление коммуникативно-прагматических аспектов эмотивной функции, реализуемой в рамках итальянского и английского публицистического дискурса. Актуальность данного исследования обуславливается широким распространением языкового