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лингвистических исследованиях**

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OF APPLIED
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Stylistic and culturological approaches in modern linguistic research

Guest editor

A.I. Gorozhanov

Moscow

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INTRODUCTION TO ISSUE 1(41)

by guest editor

A.I. GOROZHANOV

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This special issue is dedicated to topical applied research in the field of linguistics, which uses stylistic and linguocultural approaches. Interest in research of this kind is due to the constant updating of the used linguistic material, which is represented very often by modern mass media texts. The proposed articles are also characterized by the fact that linguistic phenomena are mainly considered in comparison, using the example of a pair of languages: English and Russian, including American English and Belarusian Russian. The authors also do not ignore the features of communication in the era of the COVID-19 pandemic. Without considering these circumstances our special issue could not claim relevance. Here the important role of euphemisms is noted as one of the means of representing social reality. Another socially significant phenomenon that is reflected in our issue is the appeal to the idealized past, as evidenced by the high popularity of fiction works in retro style.

In a difficult time of the COVID-19 pandemic, our authors considered it necessary to focus on 'bright' linguistic phenomena and basic concepts, reflecting in this special issue a positive perception of the world, implicitly expressing it through the expressive tools of a foreign language and mother tongue discourse. We express our gratitude to the colleagues who have contributed to this publication, and we hope that our joint work will be useful both from professional and aesthetic points of view, and will serve as an incentive for our readers to create interesting works in the field of linguistics.

ГЕРМАНСКИЕ ЯЗЫКИ

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ЗВУКОВОЙ СИМВОЛИЗМ КАК ФОНЕТИЧЕСКОЕ ЯВЛЕНИЕ И СРЕДСТВО ХУДОЖЕСТВЕННОЙ ВЫРАЗИТЕЛЬНОСТИ

В статье рассматривается феномен звукового символизма в языке. Обсуждаются различные подходы к определению сущности явления, его статус в современной лингвистике. Особо подчеркивается кросс-модальный характер явления, образующего собой предметную область для исследований как в области языкознания, так и в области психологии. Кросс-модальное соответствие звуковой и смысловой составляющих звукосимволических слов представляется авторами одним из обоснований научной значимости теорий фоносемантики и дальнейших попыток обнаружения и изучения устойчивых произвольных связей в звукоизобразительной системе языка. Важной особенностью работы является, также, расширение подхода к классификации звукосимволических явлений на основе семантики и формальной фонетической структуры путем добавления прагматической составляющей в ряд учитываемых характеристик. Так, авторами самостоятельно выделяются и анализируются три типа звукового символизма на основе существующих общепринятых классификаций: звуковой символизм, содержащий фонестему (Phonaestheme-containing Sound Symbolism); партикуляристский (Particularistic Sound Symbolism); идеофоны (Ideophones). Отдельно рассматривается взаимосвязь звукового символизма и фонэстетики – неформализованного направления лингвистики о красоте звучания языка, суть техник которого впервые описал Дж. Р. Р. Толкин, комментируя процесс создания вселенной в “Хоббите” и “Властелине колец” (в особенности в части фонетических приемов написания художественного текста, таких как,

например использование определенной “контрастной” фонетики в языках разных рас). Авторами делается вывод о том, что фонэстетика способна расширить дуальную кросс-модальность звукового символизма, поскольку предполагает исследование субъективной категории красоты звука.

Ключевые слова: фоносемантика, звуковой символизм, фонестема, идеофон, ономотопея, фонэстетика

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S.N. Popova, A.R. Magsumov

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SOUND SYMBOLISM AS A PHONETIC PHENOMENON AND A MEANS OF ARTISTIC EXPRESSION

The research is devoted to the phenomenon of sound symbolism in the language. Various approaches to defining the essence of the phenomenon and its status in contemporary linguistics are discussed. The authors explain ‘crossmodal correspondence’ within sound symbolism, which may form a subject area for researches both in the field of linguistics and in the field of psychology. The cross-modal correspondence occurring between sound and semantic components of sound-symbolic words is presented by the authors as a justification factor for the scientific significance of the phonosemantic theories and further attempts to detect and to study non-arbitrary connections between sound and meaning of a linguistic sign. An important feature of the work lies in the expansion of the classification approach of sound-symbolic language units. It is suggested to add a pragmatic component to the analysis of units’ semantics and formal phonetic structure. Therefore, three types of sound symbolism are distinguished and analyzed in this work by the authors relying on the conventional classification approaches: Phonaestheme-containing Sound Symbolism; Particularistic Sound Symbolism; Ideophones. Finally, the authors emphasize heuristic potential of phonaesthetics – an unformalized direction of linguistics about the beauty of the sound of a language, which was first described by J.R.R. Tolkien in connection with the phonetic techniques applied in ‘Hobbit’ and ‘Lord of the

Rings', e.g., the use of certain phonetics in languages of different races. It is concluded that phonaesthetics may expand the dual cross-modality of sound symbolism, since it involves the study of the subjective category of the beauty of sound.

Keywords: phonosemantics, sound symbolism, phonaestheme, ideophone, onomatopoeia, phonaesthetics

Introduction

Are sounds incorporated with the meaning? This philosophical question can be easily transferred into the field of linguistics: is the meaning of a word related to the way it is pronounced? The common answer of modern science for that is negative. However, there have always been the opposite views, stating that some meaningful connection between sound and meaning in language can occur at least in some cases. Moreover, there are attempts to discover some basic principles of *phonosemantics* – the branch of linguistics which could make the studies of sound-and-meaning pair formalized and recognized.

We believe that the reliable studies are at least valid, as they are conducted with the use of scientific methods. At the same time, we do not insist on rejecting the majority views in contemporary linguistics in this research. However, we are to try to compile some examples of the observable regularities of sound-and-meaning interrelation as well as to explain the principles of its foundation.

We assume that sound symbolism is not only linguistic but psychological phenomenon at the same time – i.e., it is relevant to many cognitive activities including language. This kind of view implies the thesis that *specific phonetics is correspondent at least to specific perceptual response*. In other words, particular sounds linguistically expressed through the phonemes facilitate the specific type of brainwork and mind reaction. As for this thought, it is shared widely in modern psychology and stands out as the evidence of *crossmodal correspondence*, being actively studied by several authors (Spence, 2011; Parise, 2016). Within the framework of the current work, this thought additionally justifies further attempts to discover and to explain possible sound-and-semantics non-arbitrary relationships, even though it does not fully prove the verity of such studies' results.

Materials and methods

Material of the research is represented by the examples of phonosemantically marked language units derived from the texts of English-language media discourse. The study was conducted within the scope of phonosemantic field of linguistic studies. The mixed-method research approach was implemented by the deductive analysis of gathered data with its further comparison and classification.

Dealing with a variety of different techniques which relate to the use of sounds and language units together, we will observe two dimensions of this phenomenon separately:

- Forms and mechanisms of sound-and-meaning associations in language in general (sound symbolism in linguistics).
- Human mind reaction on phonetics (rules of pleasant sounds of language – phonaesthetics).

Theoretical background

Sound symbolism in language is understood as the apparent association between particular sound and/or its sequences and specific meanings in speech (Johansson et al., 2020). As we have already said, this concept is rather controversial in linguistics, as it raises the issue of arbitrariness or non-arbitrariness of sound-and-meaning interrelation (Malyuga, Ivanova & Orlova, 2017). The term itself and its determination are somehow derived from the works of one of the fathers of modern language studies Ferdinand de Saussure. Thus, Saussure's one of the most well-known contributions in linguistics is the internal structure of a *linguistic sign*, which is understood as any meaningful language unit – i.e., morpheme, word, phrase, sentence (Saussure, 1983). Saussure distinguished two components for the linguistic sign: *the signifier* is about the way unit sounds, and *the signified* incorporates unit's meaning. Saussure insisted that the connection between these two components is essentially arbitrary, with a few minor exceptions (Fitch, 2016).

Most linguists nowadays agree with that, however historically there are the examples of the opposite view on the problem (Cassidy, 2019). In the matter of fact, Socrates argues that although many words have arbitrary relations to their meaning, the sound of 'good' words somehow suites their meaning (Fitch, 2016).

Some kinds of sounds-and-ideas relationship are given in Wilhelm von Humboldt classic work written in 1836 'On Language. On the

Diversity of Human Language Construction and Its Influence on the Mental Development of the Human Species' (Humboldt, 1999). Humboldt established three kinds of sounds and ideas relationships, which laid the foundation for future phonosemantic studies: Onomatopoeia, Clustering, and Iconism.

Nevertheless, Saussure's view became dominant at some point. In European and American language studies this problem exists as a question of the presence (and the degree) of natural motivation in language. This topic has been of marginal interest in contemporary language studies, since the foundational assumption has been that there is not any natural connection between a linguistic form and its meaning (Kwon & Round, 2015). The principle of arbitrariness of the sign has been widely adopted in mainstream linguistic theory, including Chomsky's generative grammar (Chomsky & Halle, 1968). According to it, language's syntax, morphology, and phonology do not consist of linear associations. In Chomsky's view the universal grammar is not necessarily specific to the phenomenon of language but "to the general ways in which the human mind works across multiple domains" (Chomsky & Halle, 1968). Obviously, generative grammar has a huge potential as an explanatory power for the issue of languages' grammar differences and lexical variability – e.g., 'house' is *maison* in French, *casa* in Spanish, *dom* in Russian, *mazil* in Arabic, etc.

A considerable contribution to contemporary studies of sound symbolism was made by the researchers of Saint Petersburg school of phonosemantics in Russia in the second half of the 20th century. The scholars headed by S. V. Voronin have managed to widen the view on the phenomenon of sound symbolism by means of the following milestones of their school (Brodovich, 2016): (1) A linguistic sign has a twofold nature (it is non-arbitrary at the fundamental level, but it tends to obtain arbitrariness in the process of its evolution); (2) Creation of iconicity in language is an integral attribute of human thinking; (3) Sound-expressing (iconic) vocabulary is divided into onomatopoeic (acoustic imitation) and sound-symbolic (articulatory or acoustic-articulatory imitation).

Thus, the major achievement in phonosemantic field of research made by the representatives of Saint Petersburg school is that the unitary principle "the linguistic sign is arbitrary" is replaced by a principle of the duality of the linguistic sign in a synchronous aspect. A sign system

in synchronicity acts as a unity of arbitrary (conventional, secondary) elements and non-arbitrary (natural, primary) elements that are in a relationship of “complementarity”. At the same time, both, arbitrary and non-arbitrary elements can act as dominants, depending on the type of functional linguosemantic tasks being solved (Voronin, 2006).

Along with these milestones there are many more particular regularities in phonosemantics. These regularities are universal, and they make up a special section within the phonosemantic typology, which is called phonosemantic universology (Voronin, 2006). All the regularities are either absolute or relative.

Absolute phonosemantic regularities are multilingual and valid for all the languages. The following list contains the absolute regularities mentioned in S. S. Shlyahova and M. G. Vershinina work “Phonosemantic sound picture of the world” (Shlyahova & Vershinina, 2016): (1) Sound-expressive words form a system; (2) There are regular (constant) correspondences between sound-expressive word and its denotatum; (3) The emotive lexis is always sound-expressive; (4) The interlingual isomorphism of sound-expressive words is determined by the extralinguistic factor, which is the homomorphic relationships of sound-expressive words and designating objects; (5) The accuracy of the sound expressiveness is inversely related to the complexity of the denotatum; (6) Multiplying of the sound composition of sound-expressive word’s root is one of the means of intensifying the root’s core meaning; (7) If the nomination motive is known, then at least one phonotype of the sound-expressive word is predictable; (8) If the elements of the psychoacoustic structure of the denotatum’s sound and the general features of the structuring of onomatopoeic words in a given language are known, then the model of this onomatopoeic word is predictable; (9) At least one phonotype in the sound-expressive word has an entity being identical to the entity of denotatum; (10) All the phonemes in sound-expressive words are polyfunctional; (11) The element of the denotatum’s structure can be expressed in the sound-expressive word in more than one way.

Relative phonosemantic regularities may be observed in various languages as absolute regularities, however they are valid not for any language. They may be still found in most languages. The following examples, for instance, are the relative regularities that are valid for the most of Germanic languages (including English), though, they are

usually observed in other families too (Shlyahova & Vershinina, 2016): (1) The designations for the semantic category of ‘large’ contain an open wide intense vowel in their structure; (2) The designations for the semantic category of ‘small’ contain a closed narrow non-intensive vowel or palatal consonant in their structure; (3) The designations for the categories of ‘open’ and ‘wide’ contain an open wide intense vowel in their structure; (4) The designations for the semantic category of ‘flat’ contain an open vowel in their structure; (5) The designations for the categories of ‘slippery’ and ‘smooth’ contain smooth lateral consonant in their structure; (6) The designations for the categories of ‘dark’ and ‘sad’ contain a low-toned vowel in their structure; (7) ‘Pejorative’ meaning is associated with labiality.

Study and results

As we have already mentioned, there are several patterns of language units providing non-arbitrariness of sound-and-meaning interrelation. It is rather challenging to mention all of them and do it systematically, as they may be explored either from the acoustic (neuropsychological) or the semantic (linguistic) side, and at both the phonemic and the lexemic levels. Nevertheless, we will still mention the major examples from the relevant periodicals and media. Furthermore, we will attempt to divide them according to our own classification, basing on the accepted terminological grounds and the structure of units and their functions. Relying on this approach will allow us to avoid the drawbacks of ‘purely semantic’ and morphological classifications.

The first type of sound symbolism may be called *phonaesthemes-containing* sound symbolism. *Phonaesthemes* are represented by a particular sound or sound sequences of the word’s phonetic structure, which is related to a certain meaning. The term was coined by a British linguist John Rupert Firth (Firth, 1930). Firth first used it to refer to recurrent pairings of sound and meaning such as the English examples *sl-*, *tw-* and *-irl/url*:

- *sl-* (often expresses ‘pejorative’ meaning): slack, slouch, slush, sludge, slime, slosh, slash, sloppy, slug;
- *tw-* (often expresses ‘twisting’ meaning): twist, twirl, tweak, twill, tweed, tweezer, twiddle, twine, twinge;
- *-i/url* (often expresses ‘circular’ meaning): twirl, curl, furl, burl, knurl, whirl, hurl, swirl, purl.

It is clear from the definition that the concept of the phonaestheme

violates Saussure's principle of arbitrariness, which makes it potentially difficult to be widely accepted among the scientific community. In Saussure's view linguistic units start to possess meaning beginning with a morpheme, whereas phonaesthemes sometimes are closer to the phonemes in terms of its obtained features. Hence, the other matter of concern is the place of phonaestheme as a language unit in a hierarchy of elements. It stands out as something unique, obtaining characteristics from both – phoneme and morpheme. Phonaesthemes are to be seen as in-between units sharing certain sound forms and reflect potential meanings that can be found in a limited number of language's words (Mubarak, 2009). Besides, it is necessary to add that such parts of the words as described above become phonaesthemes only when they are provided with a respective meaning in a considerable number of cases – i.e., phonaesthemes' own meaning strength depends on the frequency of words in which it occurs. This fact may be seen as one more of the concept's 'weak spots'.

Undoubtedly, phonaesthemes are very important in the studies of sound symbolism. In fact, they comprise a major number of the examples of what is related to the sound symbolism phenomenon in literature and media. We are to mention a few quite commonly known ones compiled from online-guide by British linguist David Appleyard (Appleyard, 2020). All the respective interpretations and examples of use are from the Cambridge Dictionary:

– *gl-* (often indicates shiny visual phenomena): gloss (a smooth, shiny appearance on the surface of something: "Marble can be polished to a high gloss"), glare (unpleasantly bright or strong light: "Tinted windows will reduce the sun's glare"), gleam (to produce or reflect a small, bright light: "He polished the table until it gleamed"), glisten (to shine by reflecting light from a wet or smooth surface: "The grass glistened in the early-morning dew"), glitter (to produce a lot of small, bright flashes of reflected light: "Her diamond necklace glittered brilliantly under the spotlights"), glow (to produce a continuous light and sometimes heat: "A nightlight glowed dimly in the corner of the children's bedroom"), etc.

– *fl-* (often indicates a sense of movement): flap (to wave something, especially wings when or as if flying: "A small bird flapped its wings furiously and flew off"), flee (to escape by running away, especially because of danger or fear: "She fled (from) the room in

tears”), flex (to bend an arm, leg, etc. or tighten a muscle: “First, straighten your legs, then flex your feet”), flow ([especially of liquids, gases, or electricity] to move in one direction, especially continuously and easily: “Lava from the volcano was flowing down the hillside”), fly (When a bird, insect, or aircraft flies, it moves through the air: “The poor bird couldn’t fly because it had a broken wing”), etc.

– *sl-* (often expresses negative and ‘pejorative’ meaning): slam (to criticize: “Although the reviewers slammed the play, the audience loved it”), slap (an action that insults or upsets someone: “It was a real slap in the face for him when she refused to go out to dinner with him”), slave (a person who is legally owned by someone else and has to work for that person: “Black slaves used to work on the cotton plantations of the southern United States”), sloppy (very wet or liquid, often in a way that is unpleasant: “She covered his face with sloppy kisses”), slump (a period when an industry or the economy is in a bad state and there is a lot of unemployment: “The airline industry is currently in a slump”), slush (language or writing that is too emotional and romantic and does not have any real importance or meaning: “Have you read his early poems? They’re slush”), etc.

– *wh-* (often indicates a sound caused by rapid movements of or through air): whack (to hit someone or something noisily: “He whacked the tree trunk with his stick”), wham (used to suggest the sound of a sudden hit: “The boys in the cartoon were punching each other - wham, zap!”), whiz (to move or do something very fast: “A police car whizzed by, on its way to the accident”), whoosh (a soft sound made by something moving fast through the air or like that made when air is pushed out of something: “The train sped through the station with a whoosh”), etc.

– *-ump* (often refers to a rounded form): hump (a large, round raised area or part: “The car hit a hump in the road and swerved”), lump (a hard swelling found in or on the body, especially because of illness or injury: “She found a lump in her breast”), mumps (an infectious disease that causes painful swelling in the neck and slight fever: “Children are vaccinated against measles and mumps”), plump (having a pleasantly soft, rounded body or shape: “Wow, what a nice plump chicken”), etc.

Another form of sound symbolism may seem to be similar to the phonaesthemes. We will call it *particularistic sound symbolism*. It is

based on non-arbitrary association between the sound of a word's part and its meaning but does not meet the term of frequency in a language's corpora. That is why in this type of sound symbolism every single case is independent and cannot be directly related to the concept of phonaestheme. Common examples from the scientific observations include the use of different vowels to represent size, e.g., as the /i:/ in 'teeny' or 'weeny' symbolizes small size. Similarly, different consonants may represent different shape of the objects, as in the well-known 'bouba' and 'kiki' example. In a variety of experiments across different culture and age groups, participants were asked to choose a name from these two words for a rounded shape and for a sharp-edged shape in the picture. People consistently chose the rounded shape for bouba and associated the sharp-edged shape with kiki. Thus, it appeared that smooth and rounded shape is commonly associated with consonant 'b', and angular sharp shape is associated with 'k' (Fitch, 2016).

These results were further confirmed and developed in numerous researches. For instance, Bremner et al. (Bremner et al. 2013) confirmed both, interethnic nature of sound symbolism and the stability of sound-shape associations. In this study, speakers who have little exposure to Western culture – namely, people from the Himba of Northern Namibia, were asked to perform the same correspondence task as in 'bouba and kiki experiment'. However, there was an important feature in that case, as the participants did not have any non-verbal (written) forms of the language. Thus, they were asked to repeat the nonce words after the speaker and decide whether they are more suitable for the angular or for the rounded shapes. The answers of 82% of the participants were the same as the ones of majority in the initial experiment.

Furthermore, there are some free-choice tests with no articulated task of matching sounds with particular shapes. In Berlin's experiment (Berlin 2006) a group of English-speaking people was asked to create the names for two birds. One of the birds looked round, while the other looked angular. Once again, the results confirmed the universal pattern of sound symbolism: back vowels /u/ and /o/ were predominant in the names created for the 'rounded' bird, while front vowels /i/ and /e/, and voiceless stops /p/, /t/, and /k/ were predominant for the 'angular' bird.

Finally, the third form of sound symbolism is represented by *ideophones*. While the previous types of distinction were based upon the function of particular words' parts, the term 'ideophones' entitles the group of completed words themselves. Ideophones aim at corresponding to the sensory experience and depicting it in a written form, e.g., a comic-book word 'kapow' or 'zigzag'. They are created as attributes of some phenomena from the sensory world. Thus, they are implied to embody association and consequently to be a type of sound symbolism. While the association is created by means of the ideophone's sound, it imitates some other sense, e.g., shape, smell, or size. The ideophones being correspondent to the sounds are termed *onomatopoeias*. Onomatopoeias include a variety of words from fully imitating interjections-like 'beep' (a short, loud sound, especially made by something electronic: The voice on the answering machine said "Please leave a message after the beep."), 'quack' (to make the usual sound of a duck: "The ducks started quacking loudly when we threw them some bread."), 'meow' (the crying sound a cat makes: "My sister's cat will just sit at the sink and meow until you turn the tap on for her."), etc. to nouns 'cuckoo' (a grey bird with a two-note call that sounds similar to its name), 'roar' (to make a long, loud, deep sound: "We could hear the lions roaring at the other end of the zoo")., etc. (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020).

It has been already mentioned above, there is a phenomenon of crossmodal correspondence, occurring between the phonetics of linguistic units (or the way they sound) and a type of human mind's reaction. The result of this kind of conglomerate is association. We can say that different types of sound symbolism found a physical part of its representation. But at the same time any association may be represented by the senses being experienced by a person through the process of observation. We are not to get deep into the spectrum of all the possible emotional perception of association within the framework of this study, however we will focus on the category of pleasantness and unpleasantness of association. A series of researches in this field makes up a foundation for a scientific direction called *phonaesthetics* – i.e., rules of euphonious phonetics. It is not commonly recognized as a full-fledged branch of linguistics, as it is considered to be overly affected by the subjective factor. Even though, it is still partly based upon the researches of human reactions on different sounds and sequences, being

incorporated within a word.

It is believed that the term 'phonaesthetics' was first used by John Ronald Reuel Tolkien, when he described the process of creation of his characters' names and verse (Holmes, 2010). Probably, one of the poets' and writers' major tasks in the creating process is to convey a variety of different sensations in a rather convincing and powerful way. Thus, some authors take seriously possible meanings communicated by sound – i.e., phonetic side of the language they use in their texts. Indeed, even in prose, while creating his high fantasy worlds, Tolkien did an outstanding amount of writer's work considering the organization of relationships between sound and meaning. He consciously followed the idea that sound carries its own sense, and therefore all the words need to be used in a certain way from the phonetic point of view. Such approach made possible the creation of universe fulfilled with the elements which bring to light volumes of strong associations: for instance, unique and recognizable language features for different races including the aspects of their phonetics, grammar, and pronunciation. Therefore, when creating the language of the Elves, it was important for Tolkien to make it sound pleasant; for the Black Speech, however, he used sounds that he felt to be unpleasant (Allan, 1978). We will not focus on the detailed analysis of Tolkien's novels, as this topic is rather broad and 'far-reaching'. However, it is necessary to state that Tolkien followed his own instincts and aesthetic preferences, while creating the authentic sound of his worlds and prose as a final result. In Susan Robbins study of Tolkien's phonaesthetics she writes (Robbins, 2013): "Tolkien was reluctant to explain in detail his phonetic preferences, considering them to be idiosyncratic and purely subjective. But phonetic analysis and immense popularity among the reading public show this not to be the case. It is shown in how Tolkien includes songs and poems, and invocations in both Elvish languages, sometimes without even translating them. Upon his arrival in Rivendell, Frodo hears an elf sing a song to Elbereth, the text of which is given without translation. Tolkien writes, "He stood still enchanted, while the sweet syllables of the elvish song fell like clear jewels of blended word and melody." Evidently the 'sweet syllables' of the song are meant to have the same effect on the reader seeing them in print. Translation isn't necessary for the apprehension of beauty."

Indeed, in various further researches it was shown that Tolkien came

very close to those objective results of psycholinguistics that were mentioned above (e.g., ‘bouba’ and ‘kiki’ effect, Berlin’s experiment ‘of birds’ names creation’). As for the contemporary linguistic studies, David Crystal is among the scientists using the concept of phonaesthetics in his works. Moreover, Tolkien’s ideas of what sounds in language are pleasurable correspond significantly with the results of Crystal’s studies. He defines phonaesthetics as “the study of the aesthetic properties of sound, especially the sound symbolism attributable to individual sounds, sound clusters or sound types.” (Crystal, 2001). Basing on this definition and Tolkien’s view on the concept, we may conclude that phonaesthetics both studies sound symbolism and is achieved by its means. Consequently, phonaesthetics is related to the concept of phonaestheme, as it may often include the latter as an object of study, even though not necessarily.

Therefore, phonaesthetics in language may be expressed through the words incorporated with the specific phonetic patterns, not being a well-established combination of particular letters as phonaesthemes. Consequently, the whole thing is not about the words’ parts and their meanings but about the rules of phonemes’ sequence. In his research, Crystal presents 112 English words, that were chosen as a result of a set of readers’ polls and surveys. These words constitute a matrix of phonaesthetic words. This matrix is further analyzed by the author to formulate some regularities of the words’ euphony. Obviously, the majority of such regularities simply note the presence or absence of particular sounds. Nevertheless, some of them deal with more complex pattern – e.g., the repetition of certain types of sounds, like the repetition of the nasal consonants in ‘murmur’, ‘harmony’ and ‘mignonette’. There are several examples listed below, which are extracted from D. Crystal’s paper “Phonaesthetically Speaking” (Crystal, 1995) where he contributes with the words, being commonly regarded to sound pleasantly according to the results of reader polls:

- Three or more syllables (e.g., *goss-a-mer* and *mel-o-dy*).
- Stress on the first syllable (e.g., *góssamer* and *mélody*).
- /l/ is the most common consonant phoneme, followed by /m, s, n, r, k, t, d/, then a huge drop-off before other consonants (e.g., *luminous* contains the first four).

– Short vowels (e.g., the schwa, followed in order by the vowels in *lid*, *led*, and *lad*) are favored over long vowels and diphthongs (e.g., as in *lied*, *load*, *loud*).

– Three or more manners of articulation (with approximant consonants the most common, followed by stop consonants, etc.; e.g., *tremulous* and *tremendous*).

We may conclude, that phonaesthetics has a potential to go beyond the framework of phonosemantic studies, as it allows to explore the interaction between linguistic phenomena and such subjective categories as pleasantness and unpleasantness. Thus, it will lead to extension of the dual crossmodality of sound symbolism.

Conclusion

In this paper we have studied some examples of the observable regularities of sound-and-meaning relationships. We also have explained the principles of this connection's foundation as well as analyzed different contemporary approaches, making an emphasize on the crossmodal nature of the phenomenon. The main results are formulated in theses below:

Sound symbolism as a linguistic concept remains to be not completely formalized due to its controversial status and critical attitude of scientific community to the ideas of non-arbitrary connection between sound and meaning as two sides of a linguistic unit.

Sound symbolism should be studied as both, linguistic and psychological phenomenon – i.e., it is an example of crossmodal correspondence, as particular sounds linguistically expressed through the phonemes facilitate the specific type of brainwork and mind reaction. This approach provides justification for linguistic studies in the field.

In own classification of sound-and-meaning associations in language in general we suggest implementing a pragmatic approach, dividing the observed units basing not only on their semantics or formal structure, but on the functions a part of word or a word itself performs:

– Phonaesthemes-containing sound symbolism includes the words with a particular sound or sound sequences related to a certain meaning in their phonetic structure – phonaesthemes. They indicate a certain meaning, being frequent in language's corpora (e.g., *fl*-indicating a sense of movement in 'flag', 'flap', 'flee', 'flex', 'flow', 'fly', etc.)

– Particularistic sound symbolism is based on association between the sound of a word's part and its meaning but does not meet the term of frequency in corpora. In this type, every case should be observed independently (e.g., the /i/ in 'teeny' or 'weeny' symbolizing small size).

– Ideophones (including onomatopoeias) aim at corresponding to the sensory experience (e.g., 'zigzag', 'meow', 'boom', etc.)

Phonaesthetics states rules of pleasant sounds of language. It is possible to be studied in a context of sound symbolism's crossmodality, as it deals with associations between sound and meaning. Furthermore, phonaesthetic studies can extend dual crossmodality of sound symbolism, as it goes beyond the framework of phonosemantic studies, allowing to explore the interaction between linguistic phenomena and such subjective categories as pleasantness and unpleasantness.

Any further attempts to explore language features at their crossmodal interrelations are likely to become widely used in practice by the speechwriters, diplomats, politicians, journalists, etc. All of these people can benefit from any science to be found in sound-symbolic words. In fact, this is a sphere of knowledge relating to any kind of occupation that implies some sort of public relations. Deeper understanding of possible influence that language will allow to invent and to implement new technologies of cognitive manipulation. They can be both good and evil. Thus, it is highly important to conventionalize these spheres of research not only through the prism of natural sciences, but through the humanitarian sciences as well. In this sense, phonosemantic studies in linguistics may become a good starting point of this 'expansion', as they obtain a relatively high level of systematicity and developed methodology.

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**МЕТАФОРИЧЕСКАЯ НОМИНАЦИЯ В
ТЕРМИНОСИСТЕМЕ АТОМНОЙ ЭНЕРГЕТИКИ
(НА МАТЕРИАЛЕ АНГЛИЙСКОГО ЯЗЫКА):
ОПЫТ КОРПУСНОГО И КОГНИТИВНОГО ОПИСАНИЯ**

В настоящей статье делается попытка рассмотрения проблемы номинации в терминотерминосистеме атомной энергетики и потенциал метафоры как средства номинации. Путем анализа конкретных терминов делается попытка реконструкции когнитивных механизмов номинации и предлагаются продуктивные когнитивные модели номинации в данной терминотерминосистеме.

Верификация результатов обеспечивается за счет применения корпусных методов исследования. Материал исследования позволяет утверждать, что метафора является продуктивным средством номинации объектов и явлений. Более того, такой механизм номинации образует устойчивые и в значительной степени упорядоченные метафорические комплексы.

Наличие таких комплексов позволяет утверждать, что лежащие в основе данных номинаций модели имеют

универсальные когнитивные основания, что существенно упрощает работу по разработке специальной терминологии, а также экспериментально подтверждает теоретические постулаты терминоведения. Основная масса номинаций основана на переосмыслении терминов родства, биологических процессов, названия частей тела, оппозиции «верх-низ» и иных сфер человеческой деятельности. Масштабность задачи в значительной степени определило методологическую базу исследования, которое было выполнено как корпусно-обусловленное.

Таким образом, анализу были подвергнуты именно статистически репрезентативные явления. Основным инструментом исследования послужил собранный и автоматически размеченный средствами специализированного программного обеспечения моноязычный корпус объемом 1,1 млн. токенов. Использование данных специализированного корпуса позволило также проанализировать характер бытования метафор в популярном и профессиональном дискурсе атомной энергетики. Материалом исследования послужили публикации на тему атомной энергетики в популярных электронных средствах массовой информации, а так же в специализированных профессиональных изданиях.

Ключевые слова: терминология, атомная энергетика, метафора, номинация, дискурс, корпусная лингвистика, лингвокультурология

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A COGNITIVE AND CORPUS PERSPECTIVE OF METAPHORICAL NOMINATION IN ENGLISH NUCLEAR TERMINOLOGY

This article attempts to address the problem of nomination in the terminology system of nuclear power and the potential of the metaphor as a means of nomination. By analyzing specific terms of nuclear

industry, the authors attempt to reconstruct the cognitive mechanisms of nomination and productive cognitive models of the nomination that are used in the terminology of nuclear industry.

The findings are verified using corpus-based methods. The data set used in this study allows to argue that metaphor is a productive means of nomination for the phenomena of nuclear industry. Moreover, such mechanism of nomination allows language users to create stable and consistent clusters terms which sometimes rely upon a single cognitive metaphor.

Arguably, the existence of such clusters means that the models underlying these nominations have universal cognitive foundations, which significantly simplifies the development of special terminologies and confirms a range of theoretical assumptions about the birth of new terms. Nominations in nuclear industry rely on the metaphorical potential of the terms of kinship, biological processes, names of body parts, 'up-down' opposition and other spheres of human activity.

Having compiled a custom corpus of nuclear English, we are able to analyze how these metaphorical nominations work in popular and professional nuclear discourse. The data for the corpus was retrieved from popular and specialized publications, as well as mainstream media.

Keywords: terminology, nuclear power, metaphor, nomination, discourse, corpus linguistics, language and culture studies

Introduction

It would be safe to say that metaphorical nomination in any language is a culture-dependent phenomenon, as not only does it reflect the way our mind structures the world around us, but also it shows how our culture affects the way we perceive the world. The seminal work of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson provided conclusive evidence for the assumption that mechanisms behind the naming of objects and phenomena in a natural language rely heavily on metaphor, namely cognitive metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). Having gone beyond what is arguably the 'classical' vision of metaphor as a stylistic device, they have looked at it as a method for conceptualizing the world. Thus, we think in metaphors, that is, we notice things around us, notice similarities between them and use these similarities to name new objects.

The concept of cognitive metaphor becomes particularly important for nominations in specialized subject areas. Any activity in virtually any field of human activity results in the formation of new objects, concepts or phenomena that did not exist before. To name such objects or phenomena the human brain cannot but rely on the proven mechanisms of nomination, i.e. – through cognitive metaphor. Moreover, relying on the images that already exist in our mind, we tend to use the ones that we conspire most fitting the purpose.

Recent studies of scientific discourse and language for professional communication tend to focus on the use and role of metaphor in scientific discourse (see Semino, 2021, Taylor et al. 2018, Leontyeva, 2016, Finatto, 2010, Livnat, 2010) and terminology (Cui, 2021, Bylina et al. 2020, Bucher, 2017, Drouin et al. 2017, Cabre, 1997). At the same time, there is an apparent lack of studies on terminology formation from cognitive perspective. Thus, the role of conceptual metaphor as a mechanism for term creation is often reduced to mere confirmation of its existence. Indeed, it is crucial that the terms, regardless of the subject field are formed consistently and rules behind term formation are observed. Here, as all terminologists know, we witness a constant struggle between terminological neology and linguistic stability. Every change in the system of knowledge requires a parallel change in the system of designation. As these, however, also have to serve the social function of facilitating multilevel communication, they cannot evolve with the same speed. Besides, every theory which needs its own conceptualisation should ideally also have a different terminology for each system of knowledge, even when the objects of knowledge are the same (McCarthy, 2017). This is the typical situation in philosophy and the human sciences, including linguistics and even terminology itself.

In short, scientific terminologies are always inadequate and too stable for reflecting the changing diversity of systems of knowledge. Besides, they are not neatly delimited, with the result that polysemy (one sign for several meanings; one term for several concepts) and synonymy (several terms for one and the same concept), which as a matter of principle should not exist in terminology, are, in fact, very common.

The problem is quite different for nomenclatures, especially in the natural sciences, where the conceptualisation is different in nature.

In technology the processes of knowledge are vitiated by their social application, their commercialisation, the types of discourse involved, especially that of publicity. Still, the connection between the processes of knowledge acquisition and designation remains primordial. But these processes are quite different. Inasmuch as it is the science of applications, technology is concerned with functional objects, that is to say concepts are not directed towards discovery but towards practical and theoretical usefulness. The special link between terminology and technology resides in the utilitarian relation between invention or technical progress and the systems of designations, all of which are equally — for better or worse — subordinate to this utilitarian purpose. This also applies to abstract techniques like statistics or applied linguistics, despite their close relationship to theoretical knowledge.

Thus, it becomes evident that there is a need to look at terminology creation and as a process of conceptualizing the world through metaphor. Arguably, terms created through the process of metaphorical nomination may have the inherent fallacy of being inconsistent with other terms in the system, yet they allow us to some extent reconstruct the cognitive mechanisms behind the process of nomination. This becomes possible, as term creation is for the most part a deliberate process and, what is important, a creative process. Indeed, looking at the problem from the perspective of linguistics and philosophy (Benz, 2011, Harris, 1988, Stenhouse, 1985) as well as from the perspective of cognitive neuroscience (Becker et al. 2020, Gero et al. 2020, Goel, 2014) we can argue that the process of creating names for new objects and phenomena, i.e. term creation is largely based on the metaphorical rethinking of existing terms or the worlds from everyday language. It is also worth noting that the words used as the sources of metaphor do not have to be explicitly linked to the subject filed. Rather, they may invoke the cultural experiences, which the creator of the term deems fitting.

At this point, it can be assumed that our culture in a very broad sense affects not only the way we describe the world using ordinary language, but also shapes our line of thinking when we use the language in specific, what might be called ‘controlled’ circumstances. Indeed, following K. Kageura (2002) we see that terms, as compared to the lexis of ordinary language, have more sharply delineated meanings identified as necessary within a particular domain by the complexity

and number of concepts that have to be clearly distinguished. From the angle of specialised discourse, we can state that some meanings of lexical units are consolidated by clarification and narrower determination in order to satisfy the degree of specification required by the domain in which they are used. However, our natural instinct to play with language and our ‘metaphorical’ brain often result in violation of this principle.

Thus, in the process of term creation, i.e. nomination of entities in a specific field we see the first basic constraint – the language means at our disposal. A notable example of this are color terms, which tend to vary significantly for the same color across languages (Roberson et al., 2006). Yet, the lack of a term does not mean the lack of concept. In this case metaphor becomes a viable solution, eg. *blue* vs *navy blue*. Another constraint is the culture. The sets of cultural phenomena that are essential for a given culture may predefine the image behind nomination. The fact that Greek and Roman mythology are deeply rooted in the culture of the English-speaking world can to an extent explain the naming conventions in the US space program: *Atlas* and *Saturn* as names for rockets, *Apollo*, *Gemini*, *Mercury* and *Artemis* as names for space missions. The choice of names can be explained by the reliance on the imagery and metaphor behind the name of the culturally significant phenomenon. Thus, following Celiešienė (2019) we believe that behind metaphorical nominations are both universal and language-specific mechanisms. A careful analysis of the existing nominations will allow us to disclose these mechanisms.

Materials and methods

The collection of the materials for this study presented a significant challenge of both ideological and technical kind. The rationale behind the data set was to create a corpus, which would contain the most common terminology of nuclear industry and at same time would give a consistent picture of the functioning of nuclear terminology in popular and professional discourse. Thus, we decided to rely on corpus linguistics methodology. At this point, we had to solve what may be called a conceptual problem. According to John Sinclair (2004), the ‘father’ of Corpus Linguistics, ‘small is not beautiful; it is simply a limitation’ (Sinclair, 2004, p.114). While he concedes that it may be possible, in some cases, to get valid results from a small corpus, he argues that these results will be limited. In a large corpus, on the other

hand, ‘underlying regularities have a better chance of showing through the superficial variations’. To illustrate this, Sinclair looked for the phrase *fit into place* in a two-million, twenty million and 200-million-word corpus respectively, and did not find any examples until he searched the largest 200-million-word corpus, and even then he only found half a dozen examples. Naturally, this anecdotal example leads to an important conclusion: how will the size of the corpus affect the findings and, more importantly, whether they would contain the examples of metaphorical nominations. Following O’Keeffe & McCarthy (2012) we argue a small custom corpus fit the purposes of our study as it was intended to be a collection of texts containing specific nuclear terminology, which statistically rare in such corpora of general English as for example Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) or British National Corpus (BNC). To create a dedicated corpus of ‘nuclear English’ we relied on the functionality of SketchEngine corpus manager. Using the white- and blacklist functionality of SketchEngine we, following the procedure described in Kunilovskaya & Koviagina (2017) compiled a corpus containing at least one of the following lexemes: *nuclear*, *atomic*, *radioactive*, as well as the typical collocations with the lexemes in question, e.g. *nuclear energy*, *atomic energy*, *nuclear weapons*, *nuclear waste*. The collocations were taken from EnglishWeb corpus 2015 (13 billion words), a General English corpus available in SketchEngine. This allowed us to ensure that the words and collocations that we have found in specialized glossaries, e.g. Hughes (1994) and selected for the whitelist really exist. For our corpus we retrieved the publication from such mainstream British and US media as *The Guardian*, *The Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Economist*, *The New York Times*, as well as specialized media, such as the publications of World Nuclear Association, International Atomic Energy Agency papers and publications of nuclear research facilities in the USA, UK and Canada. Thus, we collected a 1.1 million token corpus, which we deem sufficient for the purposes of our study.

The need to focus on the role of metaphor in term nomination we analyzed the example of nominations using descriptive, contextual, definitional and linguoculturological methods, as well as the method of component analysis. Particular attention was paid to the cognitive analysis, particularly in the case of cognitive metaphor.

Cultural analysis was employed when culture-bound elements were used for nomination of nuclear industry terms.

Results and discussion

Analysis of the corpus data showed that metaphorical nomination is indeed used to create the terms of nuclear industry, though such terms are not evenly distributed across the terminological subsets.

The first group of terms that we would like focus on was created using the metaphorical concept of FAMILY RELATIONS. This concept can safely be called one of the key ones, as it reflects the basic relations between people and the also the first formal hierarchy that people experience. It appears that the metaphor of ‘family’ is most productive for naming the phenomena of the group, which we for the sake of argument called ‘Radioactive materials’. Radioactive materials are chemical elements, which exhibit radioactivity that is emitting or relating to the emission of ionizing radiation or particles (IAEA 2007).

Here are the examples of these terms from our corpus:

*Mo-99 is the **parent isotope** of technetium-99m, which ANSTO says is used in about 85% of all nuclear medicine procedures in Australia.*

*Featuring a patent-pending neutron capture process, BWXT's technology produces Mo-99, the **parent isotope** of technetium-99m (Tc-99m), which is used globally in more than 30 million medical procedures each year.*

*BWXT's proprietary technology, which was announced in 2018, uses a neutron capture process to produce Mo-99, the **parent isotope** of Tc-99m, using natural molybdenum rather than enriched uranium targets **Parent isotopes** decay to daughter isotopes at a steady, exponential rate that is constant for each pair.*

According to Glossary of nuclear terms and phrases (2017) a parent isotope is the isotope that decays, forming the daughter isotope after releasing a decay particle. Note that the definition itself contains a complementary pair for the metaphorical nomination, i.e. *parent – daughter*. Data from the corpus confirms the existence of such pair:

*The isotope technetium-99m (which is the **daughter isotope** of Mo-99) is used in over 40,000 procedures in the USA per day.*

*Uranium can be separated from its **daughter isotope** thorium by dissolving a sample in acid and adding sodium iodide, which precipitates thorium(III) iodide.*

The decaying isotopes may themselves form stable or unstable

daughter isotopes .

Thus, we can assume that the process of naming the process of new isotope creation is metaphorically linked in our brain with the process of giving birth to a child and thus creating descendants. The question remains though, if we assume that the metaphor behind the nomination is that of giving birth to a child, should not be the pair mother – daughter a more likely option, as it better fits the metaphor of parenthood and child birth? Corpus data shows that the option ‘mother isotope’ does indeed exist and is used in similar contexts, but is less frequent:

*The isotope 238 U represents the starting point (*mother isotope*) of a complex decay chain, finalising in stable 206 Pb.*

*Molybdenum-99 (Mo-99) is the *mother isotope* of Technetium-99 (Tc-99).*

*We, together with IRE, have obviously contributed significantly to the security of supply of medical radio-isotopes ever since, and particularly to the reliable supply by IRE of the 99 Mo, the *mother isotope* of 99m Tc, used in some 90000 imaging procedures per day in hospitals all over the world.*

Following this line of inquiry, we tested the ‘father isotope’ and ‘son isotope’ collocations as potentially fitting into the concept of family relations. These queries did not return any results which, paradoxically confirms the family imagery, as *daughter isotopes* can later become *parents* themselves, which could hardly be an option should they have been *sons*. It seems that the mother (parent) – daughter metaphor works for other terminologies, cf: *parent company* – *daughter company*.

The metaphor of family relations is further developed into what we may call the ‘metaphor of reproduction’, which is best illustrated with the terms ‘*breed*’ / ‘*breeder*’ and ‘*fertile*’.

The term ‘breeder’ refers to a reactor that produces more nuclear fuel than it consumes. This type of reactor is also called fast neutron reactor, which means that the neutrons in it are not ‘slowed down’ as compared with other reactor types. In the reactor of this type, neutrons hit the nuclei of the atoms thus creating new fuel, hence ‘breeding’

The word ‘*fertile*’ refers to a material, which is not itself fissile (fissionable by thermal neutrons), that can be converted into a fissile material by irradiation in a reactor. There are two basic fertile

materials: uranium-238 and thorium-232. When these fertile materials capture neutrons, they are converted into fissile plutonium-239 and uranium-233, respectively. Let us see how these examples of metaphorically nominated terms behave in context:

*The uranium is **bred** into plutonium, which undergoes fission, in a 'wave' that moves through the core at only one centimetre per year, in what has been likened to a 'candle reactor' as the wave 'burns' from one end of the reactor to the other.*

*Asked about this, Kingham said fusion will initially use tritium and deuterium as fuel, and the tritium **will be bred** from lithium within the tokamak device.*

*The core design of the original TWR concept envisages a moving region, or 'wave', in which the uranium **is bred** progressively into plutonium, which is the actual fuel that undergoes fission.*

*It also called for fast **breeder** reactors to be introduced commercially, but not until about 2050.*

*The reactor could be operated as a **breeder** or not.*

*The circulation speed of the fuel loop can be adjusted for various purposes such as maximum burn-up, transuranium element incineration, isotope production, **fertile material** conversion (aka **breeding**), specific deactivation of fission products, etc.*

*During operation the reactor breeds more fissile material from **fertile material**.*

*Uranium-238 is not fissile, but is a **fertile isotope**, because after neutron activation it can produce plutonium-239, another fissile isotope.*

*This can be conceptualized by considering that one of the neutrons must go on to cause another reaction, while yet another must be used to **breed a fertile isotope**.*

This set of examples provides an interesting insight into how the metaphor of reproduction is employed to create a consistent picture of the process inside a nuclear reactor. Let us start deconstructing the metaphorical nomination from the component 'fertile'. From the definition given earlier we know that a fertile isotope is the isotope which, if hit by a neutron can absorb it and thus become fissile, that is ready to split and release a particle and some energy. Thus we see that this process resembles that of impregnation, of which breeding is an essential stage. The co-existence of two synonymous terms for this

reactor type, i.e. ‘fast neutron reactor’ and ‘breeder reactor’ shows that the choice of metaphor behind the nomination is driven by the aspect of the reactor technology under discussion and functions as a limit, which means that the likelihood of co-occurrence of such term as *fertile isotope* is higher in the context with *breeder reactor* than with *fast neutron reactor*. Thus, we can say that the metaphor of family relations is used consistently for nomination of phenomena in nuclear industry and forms a whole cluster of interrelated terms. However, this consistency is to an extent challenged by the term ‘orphan source’. Following the definition from IAEA Safety Glossary, an ‘orphan source’ is a radioactive source which is not under regulatory control, either because it has never been under regulatory control or because it has been abandoned, lost, misplaced, stolen or otherwise transferred without proper authorization. From the first glance it may appear that this term does not fit into the metaphorical cluster of ‘family relations’, yet corpus data prove the opposite:

In this regard, NSAP is striving hard to locate, recover and provide "safe home" to such orphan sources.

It is not about leaving radioactive waste stranded at hospitals or the so-called orphan source problem where materials are lost or misplaced.

Orphan sources are defined as "sources not under regulatory control, either because they have never been under regulatory control or because they have been abandoned, lost, misplaced, stolen or transferred without proper authorization."

Even in advanced countries, every year administrative control is lost over many radioactive sources making them orphan sources.

As it can be seen from the examples from the corpus, the term ‘orphan source’ is often explained through the imagery of a lost child, cf: *find a safe home, lost, abandoned, stolen*. In this instance of metaphorical nomination we see how the periphery of the concept drives the process of term creation. The lack of control over radioactive material is conceptualized through the lack of what is arguably the most important type of relation for us as species, i.e. the lack of parental relations. The emotional coloring which the metaphor gives the term, provokes not only vivid imagery of a lost child, but also acts as an obfuscated call for action, i.e. to ‘recover’ the source and ‘bring it home’

As much as the metaphor of family relations, the metaphor of geography appears to be a productive source of terms for nuclear industry. Metaphors of geographical objects tend to be a very productive and commonly used methods of nomination cf: No man is an island entire of itself; // every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main (Donne, 1988), <...> Or to take arms against the sea of troubles (Shakespeare 2017). Here we cannot but ignore idioms, e.g. as old as the hills, to make a mountain of a molehill, to hit the rocks, the coast is clear etc. (Ayto, 2020).

Corpus data shows that the metaphor of island tends to be one of the most popular in the nuclear industry. The most typical instances of metaphorical nomination being the collocations ‘nuclear island’:

*First concrete was poured for the **nuclear island** of Fangchenggang unit 3 in December 2015, while that for unit 4 was poured a year later.*

*Decommissioning of the **nuclear island** of the Trino Vercellese nuclear power plant in Italy is now under way.*

*Construction of the 49,000-tonne concrete basemat for the **nuclear island** of the second unit at Hinkley Point C has been completed.*

*The RPV was lifted into its permanent location in Vogtle 4's **nuclear island** on 29 March, Georgia Power has announced.*

*Cold testing of the **nuclear island** of the unit was successfully completed in October 2012 and it achieved first criticality on 16 January.*

*Carried out before the loading of nuclear fuel, such testing simulates the thermal working conditions of the power plant and verifies that **nuclear island** and conventional equipment and systems meet design requirements.*

As well as ‘conventional island’:

*The **conventional island** suppliers are ZIPP for the civil works; Škoda Power and Modrany Power for the mechanical systems; and ČKD, PPA, Energo & Schneider, Brush SEM and Techimp for the electrical systems and equipment.*

*Contracts dealing with the engineering, construction and project management of the **conventional island** were signed with Italy's Enel Ingegneria & Innovazione*

*It was established in 2007 to offer comprehensive solutions for the **conventional island** of VVER plants.*

However, site preparations for the units are well advanced with the

pouring of concrete for the foundations of the first unit's conventional island having now begun.

The term 'nuclear island' refers to that part of a nuclear power plant which incorporates all equipment, systems, installation and control and other relevant hardware installed within the reactor and reactor auxiliary buildings. Thus, 'conventional island' is the part of the nuclear power plant which houses the key component which extracts thermal energy from pressurized steam generated by the nuclear reactor and converts it into electrical energy. The apparent abundance of the term *nuclear island* as compared to conventional island can be explained by the fact that the equipment located on the nuclear island is foreseeably more often discussed. In the process of nomination, such feature of an island as isolation is emphasized. Indeed, restricted access and physical barriers separating the 'nuclear' and the 'conventional' islands create this impression, and the green lawns, so very typical for nuclear power plants intensify the imagery of the 'sea' around islands.

The metaphor of an island in a sea is arguably best portrayed in the term '(nuclear) island of stability', which is commonly defined in nuclear physics as a predicted set of isotopes of superheavy elements that may have considerably longer half-lives than known isotopes of these elements. It is predicted to appear as an "island" in the chart of nuclides, separated from known stable and long-lived primordial radionuclides (Oganessian, 2015). As compared with what we may call more 'technical' terminology, where terminological rigor is more often observed, the terminology of nuclear science, including scientific publications for the general public tend to show a tendency for consistent use of geographical metaphor:

This interpretation of a new nuclear structure is of great importance, but it has significance far beyond itself because the theoretical method and other novel approaches to calculation of nuclear stability have been used to predict an island of stability beyond the point at which the peninsula in the Figure disappears into the sea of instability.

The researchers say that the discovery bolsters the idea of an 'island of stability' among still heavier elements.

Based on the ideas of the 1960s, we thought when we got to element 114 we would have reached the Island of Stability.

The discovery is a major step toward understanding how to explore

the long-sought **Island of Stability** , which is thought to lie in the vicinity of element 114 – and possibly beyond.

Information gained from the new isotopes will contribute to a better understanding of the theory of nuclear shell structure, which underlies predictions of an "**Island of Stability** ," a group of long-lasting isotopes thought to exist amidst **a sea** of much shorter-lived, intrinsically unstable isotopes of the superheavy elements.

A **beachhead** on the **island of stability** Recent experiments to synthesize the heaviest elements have dramatically expanded the periodic table and the Segrè chart of nuclides

As it can be seen from the examples from the corpus, the term *island* is used with the modifier (*stability*) which significantly affects the way metaphorical nomination works. This results of the consistent usage of the pairs of antonyms: *island of stability* vs *sea of instability*. The image of the island is further exploited as language users rethink the visual images used for data presentation. Thus, the area on the chart of superheavy isotopes where stable isotopes start to appear is termed ‘beachhead’ which invokes both geographical and war imagery, cf: ‘The battle secured the **beachheads** of the U.S. Sixth Army on Leyte against attack from the sea, broke the back of Japanese naval power and opened the way for an advance to the Ryukyu Islands in 1945.’ This, metaphorical nomination resulted in the emerging of a new conceptual metaphor: ‘research is a battle’. Thus, the metaphor used to nominate the search for superheavy elements invokes the imagery of navigating dangerous waters and and setting foot on hostile shores which are to be conquered.

Conclusion

Results of current research in the philosophy of language, cognitive linguistics and terminology show that metaphor is at the heart of the process of nomination. Indeed, its power to highlight granular aspects of meaning and use them for the purposes of nomination have not only been decisively proven, but also contributed to our understanding of the cognitive mechanisms behind the process of nomination. Data from neuroscience shows that even in very non-creative linguistic environments people tend to utilize the potential of metaphor as method of entity nomination and thus display significant linguistic creativity. These observations seem to contradict the principles that form the theoretical foundations of terminology and terminography, where

consistency and transparency of meaning are key. Yet, a closer look that the history and current state of terminology show, that metaphor has been part and parcel of term creation early on. Current studies in terminology, though not as numerous as we would expect, show that metaphor is still a power tool of term creation. Yet, most studies of metaphor in technical or scientific communication rarely go beyond mere stating of the fact that metaphor can be used for term creation. Thus, we attempted to show how a whole cluster of terms can spring out of one metaphor.

For our study, we chose the terminology of nuclear energy. The choice, apart from personal likings, was predetermined by the fact that terminology in nuclear industry comes from a very limited amount of sources, which to an extent reduces the factor of regional or ‘cross-corporate’ variation; overall tendency for consistency (Wells, 2018), driven by the need for unhindered communication within the professional community globally. An apparently small of studies in the terminology of nuclear energy also drew our ambition to chart this terminological space. To achieve consistent and verifiable results we decided to make our study corpus-based and corpus-driven, which meant that we took the examples for analysis from a dedicated corpus. At the same time, at the point of compilation we did not fine tune the data retrieval engine, which meant, that at the moment of making the first search query we did not know, whether the terms created through metaphorical nomination had been added to the corpus or not. The data for the corpus was retrieved from British and US mainstream quality media and publications from specialized professional media, public research institutions and IAEA. Thus, the corpus yielded balanced results.

The results of the study showed that the metaphor of kinship is widely used for the purposes of coining new terms, and is lined to the metaphor of procreation, which we did not initially assume to be popular. Another interesting case was the metaphor of island, which is used consistently across terminological sub-systems and brings about the conceptual metaphor RESEARCH IS A STRUGGLE. It can be assumed that corpus expansion may provide further examples of metaphorical nomination.

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ОБЩЕНИЕ В ЭПОХУ КОРОНАВИРУСА: ФУНКЦИОНИРОВАНИЕ ЭВФЕМИЗМОВ В МЕДИА- ДИСКУРСЕ

В статье анализируются эвфемизмы, которые используются в англоязычном масс-медийном дискурсе для описания пандемии коронавируса и связанных с ней общественных явлений. Эвфемизмы, являющиеся одним из способов отражения социальной реальности, используемых акторами, в то же время отмечают области культурного, социального или коммуникативного напряжения. В этом смысле изучение эвфемизмов в СМИ дает возможность охарактеризовать социальные, культурные и речевые предпочтения носителей языка, их аксиологические приоритеты. Эвфемизмы можно рассматривать как когнитивно-дискурсивный феномен: с одной стороны, они отражают концептуальные и ценностные предпочтения говорящих, а с другой – претерпевают жанрово-стилистические и модусные преобразования, вытесняются новыми словами, более актуальными для конкретного исторического периода. Для достижения цели исследования в работе применяются следующие методы: дефиниционный анализ, метод лингвистического описания, классификационный метод, метод количественного подсчета, структурный метод, метод контекстуального анализа, сравнительный метод. Эвфемизмы, которые используются для описательной характеристики пандемии коронавируса и социальных нововведений, классифицируются в соответствии со следующими критериями: 1) термины, применяемые для описания анализируемых явлений; 2) эмоциональная сфера носителей языка, отражающая современное положение дел; 3) общественная жизнь, изменившаяся в эпоху коронавируса. Авторы приходят к выводу, что основная лингвопрагматическая цель образования эвфемизмов заключается в снятии напряжения,

спровоцированного пандемией, и создании иллюзии контроля над ситуацией.

Ключевые слова: эвфемизм, коронавирус, масс-медийный дискурс, неологизм, аксиологические предпочтения, когнитивно-дискурсивный феномен

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COMMUNICATION DURING CORONAVIRUS: FUNCTIONING OF EUPHEMISMS IN MEDIA COVERAGE

The paper studies euphemisms which are employed in the English mass media to describe the coronavirus pandemic and the social events connected with it. Euphemisms being one of the modes of spotting the social reality chosen by the speaker at the same time mark areas of cultural, social, or communicative tension. In this sense the study of euphemisms in the media makes it possible to characterize the social, cultural and speech preferences of native speakers, their axiological priorities. To achieve the goal indicated in the study, the following methods were used: definitional method, the method of linguistic description, classification method, method of quantitative data processing, structural method, contextual method, the comparative method. The euphemisms which are used to disguise the coronavirus pandemic and the phenomena associated with it are categorized according to the following criteria: terms and terminology used to describe the facts under study, the emotional sphere of the native speakers which is connected with the social events, the reflection of the social life during the pandemic. It is considered that the main linguo-pragmatic aim of euphemisms' creating is to reduce the hardships and make the tension of the situation more manageable.

Keywords: euphemism, coronavirus, mass media discourse, coinage, axiological preferences, cognitive-discursive phenomenon

Introduction

Modern times which can be characterized as emotional ones

demonstrate the development of feelings and emotions of an individual and / or a social community in two directions. On the one hand, people are interested in the experiences of others, they are ready to share their own emotional impulses and moods, they are constantly looking for sympathy and emotional support from those around them, they look for genuine feelings. On the other hand, modern society is characterized by a tendency to rationalize everything that happens which is a kind of psychological defense against the expression and manifestation of feelings. In the contemporary society and in the mass media which reflect the social life there is a steady tendency towards the emergence of new thematic groups of euphemisms due to the appearance of new spheres and phenomena that are subject to disguise (Malyuga & McCarthy, 2018). Euphemisms which are used to describe the coronavirus pandemic are one of the most effective ways of camouflaging reality, as well as manipulating the consciousness of a potential recipient in order to create a picture of events that is beneficial for the mass media. The mass media are currently one of the most important forms of the social reality's reflection; they are a powerful means of shaping public opinion, providing regulatory influence and exercising social control. Euphemisms being one of the modes of spotting the social reality chosen by the speaker at the same time mark areas of cultural, social, or communicative tension. In this sense the study of euphemisms in the media makes it possible to characterize the social, cultural and speech preferences of native speakers, their axiological priorities.

At the present moment there is no generally accepted definition of the term "euphemism", a large number of definitions indicate the diversity of the phenomenon under study, they can often be characterized as synonymous, but with the only difference that researchers focus on various aspects of euphemism. The scholars use the term "euphemism" while characterizing various speech units: words, phrases, abbreviations, graphic skipping, etc. In our defining the euphemism we stick to the its interpretation by E.E. Tyurina when it is understood as a lexical unit that is meliorative in its form: "Euphemism is a soft and permissible, mitigating-allegorical, and sometimes just a more acceptable word for one reason or another, or an expression used instead of words or expressions that seem to the speaker to be forbidden, indecent, rude, tactless, unacceptable from the point of view

of the norms accepted in society morality, a thematically stigmatic incorrect antecedent” (Tyurina, 1998, p. 37).

Enrichment of the language vocabulary is a lengthy process. It begins with the formation of a new word or meaning of the word which exists in the language. Gradually, new words, like old ones, become polysemantic, a constant semantic connection is established between their meanings or the internal form is forgotten and, new roots and words are formed. Replacing the concepts in speech that are considered to be rude or inappropriate with mitigated words is one of the means of enriching the vocabulary of the language and the appearance of euphemisms.

Materials and methods

The aim of the present study is to examine the usage of euphemisms which are employed in the English mass media to describe the coronavirus pandemic and the social events connected with it. This goal is achieved if the following tasks are solved: revealing the linguistic attributes of euphemisms, their fundamental features; describing the typological components of newspapers that are essential for a pragma-linguistic analysis of euphemisms; analyzing the pragmatics and semantics of euphemisms in the texts of modern English mass media; revealing the peculiarities of euphemisms’ functioning in the mass media discourse; establishing extralinguistic factors in the usage of euphemisms in modern mass media discourse; identifying the functions of euphemisms in modern speech; singling out frequent ways of euphemization in modern English mass media. The object of the research is euphemisms in the texts of the English mass media newspapers since March, 2020 up to the present moment. The subject of the research is pragmatics, semantics, features of the functioning of euphemisms in the mass media discourse and the specifics of euphemisation in modern English mass media. The list of the English mass media includes both qualitative media and tabloids which makes it possible to create a more holistic picture of the attitude of the western society to the coronavirus pandemic and the social events connected with it.

To achieve the goal indicated in the study, the following methods were used: definitional method (clarification of the definitions of “mass-media discourse” and “euphemism”); the method of linguistic description (selection and systematization of language units);

classification method (highlighting thematic groups and types of euphemisms); method of quantitative data processing (determination of the frequency of use of units analyzed in the work); structural method (highlighting the derivational and structural features of euphemisms); contextual method (revealing the latent communicative intentions of the speaker in a certain context); the comparative method (analysis of communicative and pragmatic features, taking into account the cultural and linguistic characteristics of the phenomena under study).

The problem of euphemisms has always attracted the interest of language researchers. The study of euphemistic units was carried out on the material of various languages: Russian (Andreeva, 1999; Kochetkova, 1998; Krasnova, 2004; Krysin, 2000; Larin, 1961; Mechkovskaya, 1998; Moskvina, 1999, 2001; Pryadilnikova, 2007; Shmelev, 1973; Varbot, 1998), English (Baskova, 2006; Bushueva, 2005; Galperin, 1981; Glios, 2007; Katsev, 1977; Kovaleva, 2008; Kudryavtsev et.al., 2003; Potapova, 2008; Temirbaeva, 1991; Tyurina, 1998; Shakhzhuri, 1956; Adams, 1999; Burrige, 1996; Epstein, 1985; Holder, 1995; Lawrence, 1973; Neaman et.al., 1995), German (Berdova, 1981; Prudyvus, 2006), French (Turganbaeva, 1989; Vidlak, 1965). The scholars study euphemisms on the material of different types of discourse: economic (Malyuga & Orlova, 2018); medical (Taylor, 2016); political (Casaca et.al., 2017); social (Mattson, 2015). The above-mentioned studies touch on the emergence of euphemisms, their purpose, thematic classification, means of creation.

Results

The investigation of euphemisms is one of the topical issues in modern linguistics due to the following reasons: 1) the existence of a wide range of areas and topics in which euphemisms are used; 2) the opportunity to avoid a direct rough nomination of something with the help of euphemisms; 3) the desire of the mass media to produce a certain speech impact, to manipulate the consciousness of the addressee, to create the desired emotional effect; 4) the dynamic character of words instead of which the euphemisms are used (what is perceived as a euphemism today may not be it after a while, or vice versa).

L.P. Krysin compiled lexical and semantic classification of euphemisms (Krysin, 2000). He subdivided the spheres of functioning of euphemisms into personal ones, concerning the life and personality

of the speaker, the addressee and third parties, and social, concerning the relationship of a person with other people, society, and power. M. Ryabova singles out the following functions of euphemisms: 1)changing exact names with terrifying or frightening connotations or meanings, e.g. *to pass away* or *to join the majority* instead of *to die*; 2)replacing words with unpleasant repulsive referential meaning, e.g. *louse, flea, bug* instead of *parasite, insect*; 3)naming things or phenomena which at this very epoch are considered impolite, indecent, and unsocial, e.g. *intercourse* instead of *sexual intercourse*; 4)avoiding using the direct name lest the speaker can offend the listener or the third person, e.g. *he will not invent the gun powder* instead of *silly*; 5)milding or masking the real nature of things, i.e. camouflaging the truth, e.g. *to borrow* instead of *to steal*; 6)naming non-prestigious professions and jobs to heighten their status, to elevate menial or unskilled jobs, e.g. *waste-reduction manager* instead of *garbage man* (Ryabova, 2013, p. 38-39).

The enumerated functions of euphemisms are realized to the fullest potential in the mass media discourse the definition of which was suggested by T.G. Dobrosklonskaya: “the repertoire of processes and products of speech activity in the field of mass communication in all the richness and complexity of their interaction” (Dobrosklonskaya, 2014, p. 182). A.V. Polonskiy enlarges on the definition of the mass media discourse and points out that it “represents a mechanism of current social-cognitive and value-ideological regulation, carried out through targeted selection (picking) of information, its formatting, status interpretation, commenting and value-ideological accompaniment, a mechanism that provides a corrective effect on public consciousness, on the nature of knowledge, values, psychological and social attitudes dominating in society” (Polonskiy, 2016, p. 107). Thus, the mass media discourse as the most vulnerable type of interaction which reflects all the current social changes can be viewed as the valid tool of studying axiological and speech preferences of the speakers.

The lexical level to the greatest extent reflects the axiological preferences of native speakers who invent and (or) borrow words to denote newly emerging realities. The euphemisms which are used to disguise the coronavirus pandemic and the events associated with it can be divided into three groups: 1) the name of the disease and the social

processes connected with it; 2) the words which are used by native speakers to express their own emotions and feelings about events that are currently taking place and human behavior related to it; 3) the words which denote everything connected with the coronavirus infection. Let us examine each group of euphemisms in detail.

The coronavirus pandemic is compared to the enemy whose image becomes more and more diffuse but not less formidable and dangerous. The coronavirus is attributed with such characteristics as *invisible, unseen, unknown*: “We face some real challenges. We need to defeat this **invisible enemy** that is COVID-19. We need to get our economy going again. We need to soberly address the state's budget. We need to overcome the scourge of addiction and meth”, Gianforte said (NPR, November 14, 2020). <...> *The current pandemic poses a unique challenge on how to continue advocating for vaccine confidence amidst the fear of contracting the virus when seeking medical consultation or going for a scheduled vaccination. While the world awaits for an effective COVID-19 vaccine to protect against the **unseen enemy**, the disease also induces vaccine hesitancy or fear in a person who is afraid to catch the virus during doctor or healthcare center visits* (Business Mirror, October 26, 2020). <...> *Dr. Julius M. Drilon, chief of Hospital of CLMMRH is readying his medical warriors to be courageous and equipped in dealing with the **unknown enemy** – the Covid-19* (Sun Star, April 3, 2020).

There are also cases of metaphorical shift in the meaning when denoting the coronavirus infection. It can be called *natural disaster, perfect storm, health emergency, sanitary crisis*: *In this respect, the COVID-19 pandemic is of the “same general nature or class as those specifically enumerated,” and thus is included, rather than excluded, as a type of “**natural disaster**”* (HFW, June 2020) <...> *The headline of a recent editorial published in the journal **Science** described the possibility of a collision between the impending influenza season and the novel coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic as a “**perfect storm**”* (Patient Care, September 20, 2020) <...> *FDA (Food and Drug Administration. – A.K.) is issuing this guidance to provide a policy to help accelerate the availability of novel coronavirus (COVID-19) tests developed by laboratories and commercial manufacturers for the duration of the **public health emergency*** (USA Food and Drug Administration, May 2020) <...> *For developing countries, we may*

address how the *sanitary crisis* unfolds in two ways (Sofrecom, April 29, 2020).

Boris Jonson described COVID-19 as a *physical assailant*, a *an unexpected and invisible mugger*: *If this virus were a physical assailant, an unexpected and invisible mugger – which I can tell you from personal experience, it is - then this is the moment when we have begun together to wrestle it to the floor... the moment when we can press home our advantage*. In this example we see that the virus is personified, it is attributed with the human characteristics, hence the usage of the martial metaphors while characterising the process of combating with it.

The very instance of coronavirus disease is called a *daily case*: *Cases of the coronavirus are spiking across the D.C. region, led by Maryland, which on Saturday logged its highest number of **daily cases** since the pandemic began* (The Washington Post, November 14, 2020). The sudden start of the coronavirus pandemic was called an *outbreak*, which is also an allusion to the 1995 American medical disaster film focusing on fictional viruses: *The State of Qatar has renewed the call to end the unjust and unlawful blockade imposed on it, stressing the disappointment of the accounts upon which the blockading countries relied on to undermine the State of Qatar and its sovereign decision, as well as the failure of the policies that relied on the separation of brotherly peoples. It stated that these policies have affected the solidarity and regional cooperation, which has become more necessary amid the outbreak of the corona pandemic (Covid-19)* (The Peninsula, May 24, 2020). The word *lockdown* has acquired additional meaning and instead of denoting restriction measures for a creating began to mean mass quarantines and stay-at-home orders: *The lockdown last spring led to the largest increase in redundancies on record, with about 150,000 jobs at risk of redundancy in June and July* (BBC News, February 21, 2021).

Doctors who sacrificed their lives during the coronavirus pandemic were called *corona warriors*: *A tribute to frontline corona warriors – Doctors who sacrificed their life while saving patients during the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic* (Indian Journal of Ophthalmology, May, 2020).

If at the beginning of the pandemic the new virus was called Chinese then now the usage of such an attribute is considered to be

politically incorrect and the name of the disease was substituted by *novel coronavirus*: *A second wave of the **novel coronavirus** has seen daily cases accelerate in both Germany and Britain among other European countries* (Times Live, October 8, 2020).

The lexical units *coronavirus* and *covid* form a group of terms to which also belong the words *self-isolation*, *quarantine*, and *social distancing*. The latter term is formed by adding the words *social* and *distancing* but at the same time there is a false actualization of the meaning of the word because the social one implies “communication with people, closer contact with them,” and social distancing, on the contrary, prescribes the limitation of such communication. There has been a shift in the meaning of the word *shelter* which used to denote ‘seeking safety during a circumscribed event, like a tornado or an active shooter attack’ and now refers to a prolonged period of social isolation. The term *quarantine* has again come into active use reflecting the processes taking place in society. Sometimes the period of staying inside one’s home, insulated from the perceived danger is called *cocooning* in analogy with the form of the natural cocoon. The word combination *elbow bump* has appeared to denote a safe way to greet another person. To *flatten the curve* means to slow the spread of a virus, for instance by social containment measures, so that fewer people need to seek treatment at any given time. The term is epidemiologist jargon, but has been criticized as being a euphemism.

The linguists also observe the national differences in nominating the coronavirus disease: the words *rona* (*the rona*) as slang variants of the usual word have been used in Australia and the USA. Australian English has also produced *quaz* for quarantine and *sanny* for sanitiser. There has been quite a lot of discussion online about whether *Covid-19* should be spelled with an initial capital or with full capitals, *COVID-19*, and different official bodies and news organizations follow different practices. In UK English there is a clear preference for the form *Covid-19*, while in the US the preference is for *COVID-19*, although with a very slight shift towards *Covid-19* in recent months.

The second group of words, i.e. the ones which are used by native speakers to express their own emotions and feelings about events that are currently taking place and human behavior related to it, are of special interest from the linguistic point of view. For example, the word *covidiot* is used to describe somebody who ignores public safety

recommendations. *Doomscrolling* means the state when you skim anxiety-inducing pandemic-related stories on your smartphone. The word *furlough* has widened its meaning due to the coronavirus pandemic. If in the twentieth century it was used to denote military personnel home on leave then in new social and economic circumstances it began to denote programmes which were aimed at supporting employers and workers who lost their jobs. By contaminating the two stems the word *infodemic* was formed – verified and unverified messages the purpose of which is to instill fear and panic in society. “Um, I never in a million years wanted to hurt anyone and, um, we're not bad people,” Charnas said. # But the blogger's decision to uproot her family after the positive diagnosis had the Internet seething at the **covidiot** (Page Six, June 28, 2020). <...> Over the weekend, scores of people who were browsing (or doomscrolling) through Twitter stumbled upon an explicit reminder of how important quality hiking boots really are: a photo of Joyce Carol Oates's agonizingly painful-looking foot after a hike she said she did in sandals (Self, August 17, 2020). <...> In response, the Treasury said it had supported the industry throughout the pandemic through grants, loans and the **furlough scheme** (City A.M, November 14, 2020). <...> Today the Prime Minister said the government's Coronavirus Job Retention Scheme (CJRS) - also known as the **Furlough scheme** - will remain open until December, with employees receiving 80% of their current salary for hours not worked, up to a maximum of £2,500 (British Government, October 31, 2020). <...> The World Health Organization (WHO) has previously said that the “**infodemic**” surrounding Covid-19 spread just as quickly as the virus itself, with conspiracy theories, rumours and cultural stigma all contributing to deaths and injuries. *False information costs lives* (BBC, August 19, 2020).

The second group of words also contains the expressions which are used to describe the people's disappointment by the government actions while fighting the coronavirus. The word *unprecedented* was used on the meaning ‘unpredicted’, the expression *the right decisions at the right time* suggests that the government does possess the omnipotence necessary at the present moment: *Today we are confronted with an unprecedented crisis world has never experienced before* (Tablish SA, 2020) <...> *Ministers were hit with a growing row today as they insisted the Government “took the right decisions at the right time”*

despite the Covid-19_death roll passing 100,000 in the UK (Evening Standard, January 27, 2021).

The third group contains the words which describe everything that is associated with coronavirus infection (some of them are formed according to the traditional word-formation model, to create others game methods are used). For example, the word *zoombombing* (an unwanted intrusion into a video conference call) was formed in analogy with the *photobombing*: *The issues with basic security practices culminated with “Zoombombing” in which trolls crashed people’s video meetings and bombarded them with inappropriate material like pornography* (The New York Times, April 8, 2020). *Covideo party* means online parties via Skype or Zoom: *Many of the newly popular terms relate to the socially distanced nature of human contact these days, such as ‘virtual happy hour’, “covideo party” and ‘quarantine and chill’* (BDNews24.com, June 15, 2020). The word *quaranteams* is used to describe online teams created to work during lockdown: *Finally, people need to actually follow the rules, comply with physical distancing outside of the **quaranteam** and be forthcoming if they think they may have been exposed* (The Conversation, June 17, 2020). This group of words show how digitally connected we are. Online connections to which we are restricted mostly at present makes it possible to create new means of expression new relations, new connections, new mode of life.

Conclusions

The euphemisms used to describe the coronavirus infection and the phenomena associated with it may be divided into three groups: 1) the name of the disease and the social processes connected with it; 2) the words which are used by native speakers to express their own emotions and feelings about events that are currently taking place and human behavior related to it; 3) the words which denote everything connected with the coronavirus infection. These words may be also called *coronacoinages* which are sometimes coinages in the direct sense of the words, and sometimes they are adaptations of the lexical units existing in the language. The aim of creating these coronacoinages is to reduce the hardships which people experience in their everyday life, to ask people to be more patient while they are getting used to the new circumstances, to describe the behavioral changes which have been introduced into the usual order of things. Some of these euphemisms

will be on vogue for a short period of time, some others will endure for much more. The greater chance of sticking around have got those words which describe the long-lasting changes. The ones which are connected only with the pandemic and its after-effects will most certainly disappear in post-pandemic period.

As it is seen from the analysis different means of derivation are used when creating euphemisms to denote the realities connected with the coronavirus: the extension of the lexical meaning of the word when it enlarges its dictionary definition and starts to denote something which was not inherent to its semantic field before (*unseen enemy, invisible enemy*); the use of metaphors with the aim of making the description more powerful (*natural disaster, perfect storm*); occasional derivation (*covidiot, infodemic*); compounding of two stems or words (*self-isolation, social distancing*). On the one hand, these words reflect the social processes taking place in the world at the present time, on the other hand, these lexical units are often individual author's neoplasms, or occasionalisms, characterized by a single, non-usual usage. The analyzed euphemisms are also the reflection of a language game when traditional language means are used by native speakers in a non-traditional manner.

The main conclusion which can be made as a result of examining the usage of euphemisms which are employed in the English mass media to describe the coronavirus pandemic and the social events connected with it is that the main linguo-pragmatic aim of their creating is to reduce the hardships and make the tension of the situation more manageable. Some of these linguistic innovations make people laugh at the situation which is also a remedy against a serious disease. A. Hepburn once said: *I love people who make me laugh. I honestly think it's the thing I like most, to laugh. It cures a multitude of ills. It's probably the most important thing in a person.* Thus, the above-considered euphemisms can be viewed as a cognitive-discursive phenomenon: on the one hand, they reflect the conceptual and axiological preferences of the speakers, and on the other hand, undergo genre and modus changes, and are supplanted by new words that are more relevant for a particular historical period.

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**СРАВНИТЕЛЬНО-ИСТОРИЧЕСКОЕ, ТИПОЛОГИЧЕСКОЕ
И СОПОСТАВИТЕЛЬНОЕ ЯЗЫКОЗНАНИЕ**

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**КОД КУЛЬТУРЫ КАК ОТРАЖЕНИЕ «НАИВНЫХ» ИДЕЙ
О ЕДИНСТВЕ В ЛИНГВОКУЛЬТУРОЛОГИИ**

В данной статье рассматриваются современные культурные коды в английском и русском языках. Лингвокультурологическое исследование предполагает выявление культурной информации, значимой для русского и английского социумов. Актуальность темы исследования обусловлена рядом факторов. Во-первых, фразеологические единицы, обозначающие эмоциональные состояния человека, представляют интерес не только в лингвистическом плане, но и в лингвокультурологическом, так как фразеологические единицы, обладающие высоким коннотативным потенциалом, являются хранителями культурной информации. Во-вторых, исследуемый в статье материал имеет непосредственное отношение к идее антропоцентризма в языке.

Для достижения поставленной цели необходимо решить следующие задачи:

· рассмотреть коды культуры как способ организации пространства культуры;

· исследовать механизм интерпретации фразеологизма через соотношение его компонентами с кодами культуры;

· описать в лингвокультурологическом аспекте фразеологические единицы, вербализующие эмоциональное состояние человека, в английском и русском языках.

В исследовании были применены различные методы анализа: сопоставительный (контрастивный) метод; метод компонентного анализа; описательно-аналитический метод; статистический метод.

Практическая значимость работы состоит в возможности применения ее результатов в разработке специальных курсов по фразеологии.

Научная новизна исследования заключается в том, что в статье рассматриваются фразеологические единицы, обозначающие эмоциональное состояние человека, в английском и русском языках в соматическом, биоморфном и мифологическом кодах культуры.

Основным методом исследования являлись отбор и сравнение фразеологических единиц. Результатами данного исследования являются определения соматических, биоморфных и мифологических кодов культур. Исследование может применяться на дисциплинах лингвокультурология, лингвистика и прикладная лингвистика.

Ключевые слова: лингвистика, лингвокультурология, язык, народ, код культуры, мифологический код культуры, фразеологические единицы

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**THE CODE OF CULTURE AS A REFLECTION OF
"NAIVE" IDEAS ABOUT THE UNITY IN
LINGUOCULTUROLOGY**

This article examines modern cultural codes in English and Russian. Linguocultural research involves identifying cultural information, meaningful to Russian and English societies. The relevance of the topic of research is due to a number of factors. First, the phraseological units denoting the emotional state of a person are of interest not only in the linguistic terms, but also in linguocultural, since phraseological units with high connotative potential are custodians of cultural information. Secondly, the material studied in the article is directly related to the idea of anthropocentrism in the language.

To achieve the goal, it is necessary to solve the following tasks:

- Consider cultural codes as a way to organize cultural space;*
- Study the mechanism of interpretation of phraseologism through the correlation of its components with cultural codes;*
- Describe the phraseological units, verbalizing the emotional state of a person, in English and Russian.*

In the study, various analysis methods were applied: comparative (contrast) method; component analysis method; description-analytical method; statistical method.

The practical significance of the work consists in the possibility of applying its results in the development of special courses on phraseology.

The scientific novelty of the study lies in the fact that the article discusses phraseological units denoting the emotional state of a person in English and Russian in somatic, biomorphic and mythological codes of culture.

The main method of the study was the selection and comparison of phraseological units. The results of this study are the definitions of somatic, biomorphic and mythological codes of cultures. The study can be applied on linguoculturology disciplines, linguistics and applied linguistics.

Keywords: linguistics, linvoculturology, language, people, culture code, mythological culture code, phraseological units

Introduction

One of the basic concepts of linguoculturology is the term “culture”. The word “culture” as a source has the Latin “Colere”, which means “cultivation, education, development, veneration, cult” (Dahl, 1955, p. 836). Since the XVIII century, culture has been understood as

everything that appeared due to human activity.

The roadside stone is not culture, but the same stone laid on the grave of an ancestor is culture. Thus, culture is all the ways of life and activity in the world peculiar to a given people, as well as relations between people (customs, rituals, features of communication, etc.) and ways of seeing, understanding and transforming the world.

Culture can change and have either a positive impact on people, or a negative one (McGee, 2020). It never stands still. Surprisingly, culture can preserve the traditions and customs of the people, as well as absorb new trends in the field of science and the life of humanity as a whole, acquiring and forming new traditions (Zamaletdinov, 2012, p. 49).

From a philosophical point of view, culture is understood not just as a certain sum of ideas and things that can be distinguished, separated from each other and described. The whole world of man is the world of his culture, and the problem of culture is the problem of man himself, of the human way of being, of the relationship to himself (Zamaletdinov, 2012, p. 49).

Culture is a kind of "rules" of the life of the people, which are stored and transmitted in the social memory of the collective. Cultural norms and concepts are not inherited at the genetic level. This is learned by making mental and physical efforts.

Each nation puts some meaning into each part of its culture, its heritage. This is his experience, a set of practices characteristic of a particular people in a particular geographic location at a particular time.

According to one of the fundamental theoretical propositions of the Tartu School of Semiotics, culture is a sign phenomenon consisting of a large number of codes. These codes are in constant interaction, and re-encoding from one code to another leads to the creation of new information. They are called cultural codes or cultural languages.

V. V. Krasnykh understands the cultural code as a "grid" that culture "draws on the surrounding world, divides, categorizes, structures and evaluates it" (Krasnykh, 2002, p. 232).

V. I. Shakhovsky believes that "the cultural code includes: an ethnic picture of the world, a linguistic and national worldview based on the history of society, its stereotypes, traditions, mores, rating scale, and cultural values. The units of the cultural code are determined by mental, linguistic, or object signs, since the cultural code is also a conglomerate of knowledge systems about the people, a given language, and the rules

for using it" (Shakhovsky, 2008, p. 118).

As a rule, in the codes of culture, societies encode information about objects, phenomena inherent in a given people. There are different types of codes. We will consider the most important codes of culture that best reflect the "naive" ideas about the universe.

The main cultural code, first, is universal, and, consequently, works in any cultural type and any historical time; secondly, it is self-sufficient for the formation and preservation of human culture; thirdly, it is open to change, self – generation of new cultural codes, as well as secondary ones-in their connection with the structures of social codes. The existence of the main cultural code is determined by three parameters, according to which the self-organization of culture in the country takes place. These are objectivity, signedness, and ideality (Bobrova, 2009, p. 24). The objectivity of the code implies non-natural objects.

Materials and methods

Various analysis methods were applied in the study: comparative (contrast) method; component analysis method; description-analytical method; statistical method.

The material of the study is the corpus of Russian and English phraseological units, objectifying the emotional state of a person selected from various phraseological sources using a continuous sampling.

Results and discussion

Humanity initially tried to imitate what was given to it by nature and tried to preserve the acquired skills. So, primitive people stored fire, then learned to produce it, while improving their skills and abilities to create objects that did not exist in nature (bow, spear). People learned to combine the naturalness and non-naturalness of objects. They already lacked natural communication. This served to create language as a way of cultural communication.

Each item was assigned its own names, signs. Signedness has become a prerequisite for some types of activities. One example is the ritual. This period is characterized by a mythological code that combines people's knowledge, objectivity, and their tools. Hence arose the belief of people that every object and every living being has a soul. People believed that every animal has a soul, in the body of which it was located; the human soul is able to leave the soul and enter into any

animal and object (Bobrova, 2009, p. 24).

There are various cultural codes that affect a person's life in both material and spiritual terms. Cultural codes carry certain information that allows you to understand a person, his emotional state, depending on his culture, environment, geographical location, and so on.

Thus, knowledge about the culture of a linguistic community is structured and systematized using units of the cultural code that contain verbal (proper names and common names, phraseological units, quotations, aphorisms, etc.), nonverbal (natural and artifact), mental (stereotypes, mores, customs, traditions, rituals, value orientations, evaluation standards, typical representations, cultural scenarios, etc.) (Bryksina, 2014, p.35).

Linguoculturologists distinguish such cultural codes as spatial, temporal, somatic, biomorphic, subject, food and others, fixed in metaphorical signs that represent "the information that has already become a product of cultural and value processing" (Panina, 2011, p. 32).

This article presents somatic, biomorphic, and mythological codes. The somatic cultural code describes the surrounding world, a person and his emotions from the position of himself, his body. Using somatonyms, a person shows how important it is for him what he does and what he feels. The paper considers the most significant and frequent somatonyms that describe the emotional state of a person. It is interesting how, with the help of his observations and life experience, a person gives certain personal qualities and emotions to objects, plants and animals. Zoomorphisms, which will be considered in this paper, are of particular importance in the designation of emotions and feelings. Speaking about the sign of the surrounding world, it is impossible not to touch on the mythological code, which allows us to understand the nature of certain codes and their meanings. The main method of the study is the selection and comparison of phraseological units.

One of the oldest cultural codes is the somatic code. The carrier of this code is the human body. This is due to the fact that a person tries to describe himself and the world around him through himself, and therefore, first of all, through his body and his feelings. The man extrapolated the acquired knowledge about himself and his body to the surrounding reality, which is recorded in the somatic code of culture.

The term "somatic" is used in the sense of "connected with the

human body, bodily" and is contrasted with the concept of "mental".

In the lexical system, somatism is a means of denoting phenomena related to the sphere of corporeality.

In the modern world, there are some relative dimensions, positions that a person relates to the location of himself, that is, his body. Examples of such words can be: "close", "far", "high", "my" and others.

This group also includes the personal characteristics of a person that determine his physical health and condition. For example, the straw head. The image is associated with the custom of stuffing the head of a garden scarecrow with straw. And in relation to a stupid person, a comparison of his mental abilities with a straw head indicates extreme lack of intelligence, stupidity and empty-headedness (Asanova, 2013, p.129).

An interesting fact is that the phraseological units that characterize a person's physique are expressed in English using the words bones and skin. The bones form the skeleton of the human body, a kind of "skeleton", covered with an outer layer of skin that protects our body from the outside impacts. But without muscle mass, a person looks frighteningly painful and ugly. For example, *to be skin and bone / bones* - to be extremely thin; *a bag of bones* - a person or animal that is extremely thin. Often, mental data is also compared with physical ability. In the Russian language, everyone knows the proverb "Сила есть, ума не надо". In English, it can be proverbs, sayings, or somatic vocabulary such as brawn, which means "physical strength, especially in comparison with mental abilities and intelligence" (Macmillan English Dictionary, 2002, p. 39): Middle English, from the Anglo-French braon flesh, muscle, of Germanic origin; akin to Old English bræd flesh (Merriam Webster Dictionary Online); brains [often plural] "mental abilities and intelligence".

The somatic code of culture objectifies the expression of the *Achilles' heel*. This phraseology comes from an ancient Greek myth that tells about a brave and invincible warrior. According to legend, a mother dipped her child in the waters of the River Styx. But while dipping, she held his heel, making it vulnerable to opponents. Currently, this phraseology serves to indicate a weak point of a person.

A large number of phraseological units are associated with parts of the face. For example, *на лбу у него написано*. The history of the

origin of this phraseology literally. In the past, runaway peasants and thieves were branded with iron, leaving ugly traces, which made it clear from their faces that they were criminals (Bashkatova, 2013, p. 91).

A person is a zone of increased information activity, a constantly working receiving and transmitting information device. The face is the most individual part of the human body, it is by its holistic perception that the individual personality is identified (Bashkatova, 2013, p. 91).

In English, the phraseology *to be all ears* 'to be attentive, to listen carefully' is popular. This is due to the fact that the mentality of the people teaches their people to be more attentive to each other, there are more coaches and mental leaders who teach leadership issues to people in different fields of activity.

With the help of body parts, a person describes his emotional state. The Russian phraseological unit "nose hang" conveys a state of sadness; to describe anger, the phraseological unit "get under the hot hand" and others are used.

The somatonym *hand* in English is in the first place in terms of use. In the dictionary of phraseological units, there are 155 phraseological units using this word. In most cases, phraseological units with the word "hand" have a positive rating. For example, *an old hand* means 'expert', *to give a hand* means 'help', and others.

The hand is the part of the body that is most filled with symbolic content. With the help of hand gestures in Russia, many important ritual actions were performed: they blessed, repented, which was fixed in a number of phraseological units: *положа руку на сердце, ударить по рукам*.

A distinctive feature of the somatonym in the Russian language is the fact that the phraseological units with the word "hand" were used to describe the social status of a person, his position in society: *с барской руки, крестьянские руки, боксерские руки, рабочие руки*.

In second place in terms of frequency of use is the somatonym of the *eye*. The eyes are extremely mobile and expressive, and therefore can perform the functions of other elements of the human body (Magomedova, 2015, p. 92).

The biomorphic code of culture is primarily associated with living beings. It describes a person's understanding and understanding of the flora and fauna of the world. The biomorphic code of culture is divided into 2 types: phytomorphic, associated with plant images, and

zoomorphic, associated with animal images.

The zoomorphic cultural code activates the images of animals, birds, and insects in the consciousness, which, as part of the linguistic units, represent, first of all, the qualities and character traits of the person himself (Boyko, 2008, p. 94).

Plant images, being verbalized and metaphorically reinterpreted, are actively used as characteristics of the surrounding reality and the person. Such figurative uses of plant names in order to create a figurative characteristic of a person and related objects, concepts, and phenomena are called phytomorphisms.

Vivid examples of phraseological units in the Russian language are the expressions *wolf in sheep's clothing*, *something is gnawing at my heart*, *forbidden fruit*. In folk folklore, images of animals and plants are used to give qualitative characteristics of a person, to describe an emotional state. The well-known fairy-tale image of Fox Patrikeevna says that a person is cunning, wants to profit. Hence the expression sly as a fox. For American folklore, such images are also not alien. Everyone's favorite Winnie-The-Pooh, whom Christopher called "stupid bear", means a kind, simple, but sympathetic friend, loved by everyone and willing to help in any situation.

Phraseologism *scapegoat*, often used in speech, came from the biblical tradition, according to which, on the day of forgiveness, the priest laid his hands on the head of the goat, thereby transferring all the sins of his people to this animal, later the goat was driven into the desert. Speaking about the guilty peasants, one cannot fail to mention the phraseological unit *to teach smb a lesson*. In ancient times, when they wanted to punish disobedient peasants, they were sent to look for crayfish in the winter on the lakes. The crayfish are buried deep for the winter, which made it difficult for the peasants to find crayfish. They got wet to the skin and got sick for a long time after that.

In English, the image of a horse is not always positive. For example, *a dark horse* is used to mean an incomprehensible and secretive person. In modern colloquial speech, this turn is more inherent in politicians who have just come to power, and it is still unknown what should be expected from this person.

In Russian, the following characteristics can also be attributed to a horse: agility (to run like a horse); ignorance, rudeness (laugh like a horse); tiredness (like a driven horse); strength, endurance (like a

healthy mare) (Boyko, 2008, p. 97).

Affecting human activity, phytonyms can be used in order to show a person's employment or his idleness: *как семечки грызть*, *шишки сбивать*, *управляться как повар с картошкой* and others.

An interesting value in culture is also inherent in the *ladybug* insect. According to the Russian interpretation, this is the name of a harmless person who does not know how to stand up for himself. In English, the ladybird, literally translated as 'Lady Bird', was the symbol of the Virgin Mary. The red color of the insect was compared to the red cloak of the Virgin.

The Russian people have always had a joking attitude towards chicken. This is due to the fact that although a chicken and a bird, it does not build nests, does not fly and is afraid of water. From here arose phraseological units *мокрый как курица* (about a cowardly person), *нацарапал как курица лапой* (about a person with an illegible handwriting), *куриная память* (about a forgetful person), and so on.

In every culture, animals and plants are emphasized. Since ancient times, people have endowed the images of animals with certain qualities. These iconic animals could have both positive and negative traits.

The mythological code is the so-called secondary reality, which is an integral element of the cultural space: devils, angels, witches.

The mythological code includes characters who have some unearthly stereotypes. These stereotypes are inherent in all peoples and their cultures. The study of myths, mythological thinking is carried out by researchers in ethnography, folklore, ethnolinguistics and others (Bukina, 2009, p. 17).

In the 20th century, the concept of "myth" has acquired greater significance than just legends and stories that come to us from primitive people. The modern myth acquired a negative connotation and began to be used in the context of something false, conventional, fantastic. (Bukina, 2009, p. 17). However, at the same time, the myth arouses great interest from people as something mysterious, enigmatic.

The phraseological fund of the English and Russian languages is replete with expressions of a mythological nature. For example, devils are creatures that always and everywhere interfere in people's lives, do nasty things. Hence the expression *злой как черт*. Over time, the images of the Devil, Satan, witches and other evil spirits began to

change their meaning. In modern colloquial speech, these images are not always negative, and to some extent even arouse admiration. How is this reflected in the language? If earlier the image of Satan was given a tinge of deception, flattery, a trap, now, in addition to these meanings, we often find such meanings as "dexterity", "intelligence", "seduction", "intelligence". In English, the phraseological units be the devil's advocate, a devil of a time, lucky devil and others can serve as vivid examples.

It should be noted that many writers dealt with issues of mythology, wrote stories and novels. The well-known atheist Mark Twain wrote a wonderful work "The Mysterious Stranger". In his work, he presents the image of Satan, who ridicules humanity, prejudice and beliefs. The work describes a case when, during a lesson, everyone was surprised by the newcomer's unique ability to quickly read and absorb information from books. Is this skill a mythological code of culture? Indeed, in the modern world, this has become a reality thanks to speed reading, although even in those days it was unnatural.

It cannot be asserted with complete certainty that the culture code is a "naive" view of the universe. It is quite possible that many literary sources contain information that has not yet been fully disclosed and deciphered. And how this will be reflected in the language, the future will show (Bukina, 2009, p. 17). The efforts of modern researchers are aimed at studying the mechanisms of linguistic conceptualization and categorization of the world. Various fragments of linguistic pictures of the world are specific and are reflected in the concepts of culture (Belozeroва, 2013, p. 357).

The term "concept" appears within the framework of the Latin linguistic tradition in the writings of medieval philosophers. Pierre Abelard, John of Salisbury, Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus used this term in their works, offering in something their own, special understanding of it. From Latin, the term penetrates into English, French, German and Italian.

In the XX – XXI centuries, the idea of "concept" has gained great popularity among domestic linguists, despite the fact that the basis for this concept was laid back in the 70s by R. Pavilenis (Belyaev, 2012, p. 2). The scientist believed that trying to understand a word in his mind, a person uses some images that already exist in his mind.

The term "cultural concept" is used not only for words,

mythologemes, but also rituals, things and material objects, if they carry spiritual meaning and act as symbols.

A.S. Askoldov in the article "Concept and Word" gives the following definition of the concept: "The concept is a mental formation that replaces us in the process of thought an indefinite set of objects of the same kind" (Malkhazova, 2015, p. 139).

Most researchers agree that the concept is a heterogeneous formation "having a complex structure, expressed by different groups of features, implemented by various linguistic methods and means (Samsitova, 2012, p.1530).

A cultural concept is a collective meaningful mental formations that fix the originality of the corresponding culture. The concepts are divided into two groups: cosmic, philosophical categories, which he calls universal categories of culture (time, space, movement), and social categories (freedom, right, justice, labor, wealth, property) (Samsitova, 2011, p. 1046).

V.I. Karasik and S.G. Vorkachev introduced a new term - "linguocultural concept", which is recognized as a mental formation, objectified by linguocultural specifics and semantically representing some abstraction that can generalize meanings and correlates with the plan of expression of the lexical-semantic paradigm.

The connection between language and culture creates the connotation of the word. These are stable signs of the concept expressed by the lexeme. They reflect the ideas and traditions associated with the word.

The concept of connotation first appeared in the 19th century in English lexicography by foreign linguists A. Martinet, J. Molino, Russian linguists are L.G. Babenko, V.N. Telia.

V.N. Telia gave the following definition of the term. Connotation is that macro-component of meaning, which includes, along with the figurative-associative complex passing into an internal form, emotive modality and stylistic marking.

It is worth noting that in a changing language context, positive diminutive and playful connotations can be transformed into negative connotations of evil irony, ridicule and offensive disregard for the named person. For example, by means of modification suffixes: -ишк(а) (французишка, татаришка); -яшк (а) (итальяшка, япошка) and others.

The most active role in the emergence of the connotative zone in the nominative-derived meanings of ethnonyms is played by associative metaphorization. Negative and positive connotations of such nominations by nationality are determined only in the linguistic context, for example: *еврей* - "a calculating and hypocritical person", *негр* - "a person who doing hard, meaningless work" and others.

The cultural component carries cultural and value information in the units of the language system. Connotation is most evident in vocabulary and phraseology; it can be associated both with the semantics of the word and with the stylistic colouring.

Connotations often include figurative meanings of words (*ворона*), metaphors and comparisons (*нажраться как свинья*), derived words (*холостяцкий*), phraseological units, proverbs and sayings. There are positive and negative connotations. For example, German neatness, the word "*немецкий*" has a positive connotation, and the expression "*злой рок*" has a negative connotation.

A prime example is such words as *голый* and *нагой*. Nudity is associated with something beautiful, but nudity has always had a shade of indecency. Goddesses, nymphs in mythology, models in art are naked, and women and girls are naked.

Phraseological units constantly arise and have the ability stay in speech for a long time. This is due to the fact that using a small turn of speech, which has a certain inherent cultural information, we save time for explanation, while conveying the cultural spirit of the nation. Cultural information is embedded in a certain system of images that evoke certain associations.

In the English and American linguistic literature, there are few works devoted to the theory of phraseology, but even the most significant works (A. McKay, W. Weinreich, L.P. Smith) do not raise such fundamental questions as the criteria for identifying phraseological units, the ratio of phraseological units and words, phraseology, the method of studying phraseology and others. Also, English and American scientists do not raise the question of phraseology as a linguistic science.

Phraseologisms play a huge role in the language picture of the world of every ethnos. Phraseologisms are carriers of background information about life, history and culture of a particular ethnos in specific conditions. The phraseological units are always facing the

subject, arise in order to interpret, evaluate and express a subjective attitude towards it. This is the distinctive feature of a phraseologism.

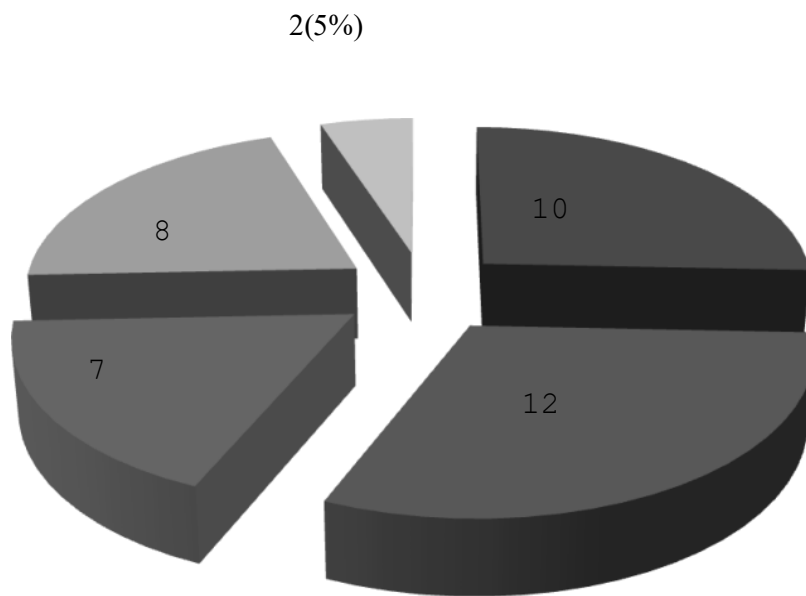
Phraseologisms actually impose on native speakers the perception of the world, the vision of their culture, a certain situation. A distinctive feature of phraseological units is imagery, which is so appreciated by writers and poets. Due to the imagery and picture, which give phraseological units, poets and writers manage to wake the imagination of the listening and make him experience the emotions that are experiencing their heroes, their soul, the people as a whole.

The formation of phraseologisms occurs when some situation arises corresponding to the literal value of phraseologism. For example, a man slipped away and sat down on the Kalos. The content is fixed behind it, and an image of a phraseological unit is formed on the basis of the primary meaning of words in the prototype situation. This forms the inner form of phraseological units, which contains basic cultural information.

From a linguistic point of view, phraseological units are of interest as a fixed structure with a certain lexico-grammatical composition. From a linguocultural point of view, phraseological units are distinguished by images and a value that attached to phraseological units. Researchers, studying the origin of phraseological units, disclose a special cultural code, laid down in expression, its significance, which means the nature of the nation itself. During the analysis of phraseological units with the Heart component, it was revealed that these phrase units are most often objective to negative emotional states such as: anger, anxiety, fear. Significantly less frequently phraseological units reflect a positive emotional state: joy.

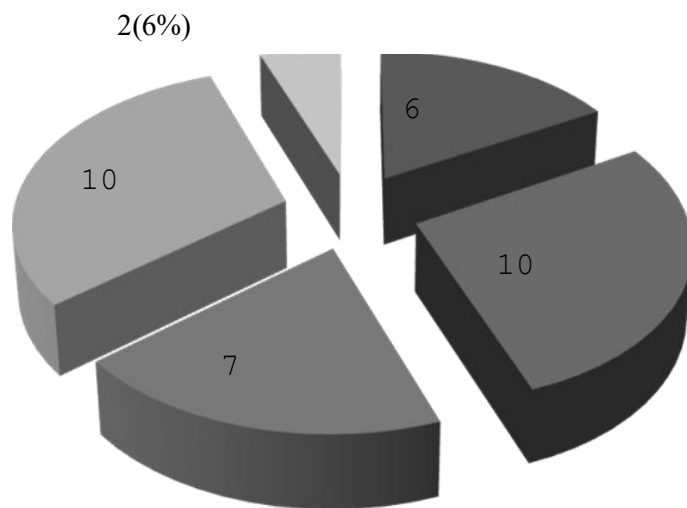
Physiologically, when feeling a feeling of fear, fright actively triggers the heart. In this regard, many phraseological units appeared, describing the condition of a person at the time of fright: the heart is bleeding, the heart knocks, the heart froze, the heart fell, the heart drops, with a fading of the heart.

The emotional state of sadness, sadness in English and Russian is expressed with the help of phraseological units: cats are scratching on the heart, break the heart; somebody's heart bleeds, to break one's heart. Heart as a source of moral qualities: a golden heart, a soft heart, a good heart, a stone heart.



● joy ● anger ● anxiety ● fear ● sadness

Chart 1. Fraseological units of the Russian language reflecting the emotional state in the somatic code of culture



● joy ● anger ● anxiety ● fear ● sadness

Chart 2. Phraseological units of English, reflecting the emotional state in the somatic cultural code

After analyzing phraseologisms with a wolf component, it was found that in Russian and English languages the number of phraseological units describing the emotional state of the person is the same. Emotional states of fear and despair in both Languages are transmitted to the greatest amount of phraseological units. This is primarily due to the characteristics of the animal itself, with which many people of the world connect a negative emotional state.

The most ancient turns with this component are the speech patterns of the wolf in the shepherd and a wolf in a sheep's clothing.

Some of the bright components of the mythological code of culture are the components of the Devil and Dam. According to the etymological dictionary, the devil means "Evil Spirit, A Devil, The Devil, False God, Diabolic Person" from the Latin word Diabolus.

In all peoples, the devil and the line are inherent negative traits of character. With the devil, all negative emotions are associated. However, in the modern world, an image of smart, cunning and

seductive creation is often configured, as evidenced by Full of the Devil phraseological units (very smart, energetic, dear), Like The Devil, The Devil Is No Match for Someone, The Devil Looks After His Own, The Devil's Own Luck; The devil himself crawled, damn himself.

The expression of admiration can be expressed using phraseologism "Damn it!", "Damn it." These phraseologisms can also be used when describing the emotional state of a person: surprise, amazement, irritation and annoyance.

Phraseological units with a component of the devil objective negative emotions as irritation and discontent: "The feature of a bald!", "Damn with two!", "Damn those that!", "What a damn?!", "Damn it is what it is!", Damn knows; The Devil Knows What!, The Devil A Bit, "What The Devil!", "Where the Devil Have You Been". Another emotional state objectified with the help of phraseological units with the devil component is fear. As a rule, this is a very strong fear that can be expressed using phraseological units: to be afraid of the features of Ladan 'BE AS AFRAID OF SOMETHING AS THE DEVIL IS OF INCENSE'. The devil is used in most cases in a negative value, although in recent decades both in the literature and on the screen you can meet the devil association with a positive assessment.

Conclusion

In the course of the study, it was found that the number of phraseological units with the components of the wolf, the heart, the devil / traits, the heart, objectifying negative emotions in English and Russian, significantly exceeds the number of phraseological units with the components under study, objectifying positive emotions in English and Russian. The number of negative emotional states transmitted by phraseological units with the analyzed components in English and Russian, includes anger, fear, anxiety and irritability.

In the English and Russian languages, phraseologisms describing the emotional state of a person objectify the negative emotional state of the person more often than positive, as evidenced by the analysis of phraseological scientists in 3 cultural codes.

Linguoculturological approach to the study of units of the language opens up great prospects for further research, since it is based on not only scientific interest, but also the spiritual need to know other peoples, their culture, national character and mentality.

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**ЯЗЫКОВЫЕ СРЕДСТВА АКТУАЛИЗАЦИИ
ЭКСПРЕССИВНОСТИ В ПРОФЕССИОНАЛЬНОМ
ДИСКУРСЕ ЖУРНАЛИСТОВ (НА МАТЕРИАЛЕ АНГЛО- И
РУССКОЯЗЫЧНЫХ ПЕРСОНАЛЬНЫХ ЖАНРОВ)**

В статье рассматриваются языковые средства актуализации категории экспрессивности в персональных жанрах американского и белорусского медийного дискурса. Категория экспрессивности является одной из наиболее значимых для адекватного понимания и интерпретации современных медиа в контексте технологической конвергенции, ускорения процессов обмена информацией, существенных преобразований жанровой системы, а также возрастающей субъективности.

С целью выявления тенденций языковой репрезентации упомянутой выше категории в американском и белорусском медиадискурсе тексты в жанрах «мнение», «блог» и «колонка» были подвергнуты лингвостилистическому, контекстуальному и сравнительному анализу. В результате обобщения результатов количественных подсчетов, полученных в ходе лингвостилистического анализа, было установлено, что персональные жанры, функционирующие в американском дискурсе, характеризуются примерно одинаковой экспрессивностью на лексическом и синтаксическом уровнях, в то время как персональные жанры медийного дискурса Беларуси демонстрируют более высокую степень экспрессивности на синтаксическом уровне, что свидетельствует о склонности белорусских авторов прибегать к менее явным проявлениям экспрессивности в сравнении с американскими коллегами.

При более широком спектре средств актуализации экспрессивности на уровне синтаксиса в жанрах на обоих языках, выявленные приемы выполняют две основные прагматические функции в дискурсе: функцию акцентуации и функцию диалогизации. Инвентарь лексико-стилистических приемов

является вдвое менее разнообразным, однако, реализует при этом в исследуемых жанрах в два раза больше прагматических функций (объяснительная, обобщающая, композиционная функция, а также функции сокращения дистанции, укрепления доверия и экономии языковых средств).

Ключевые слова: дискурсивная категория, медийный дискурс, персональные жанры, экспрессивность, стилистический прием, прагматическая функция, сравнительный анализ

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**EXPRESSIVE LANGUAGE MEANS IN PROFESSIONAL
DISCOURSE OF JOURNALISTS
(AS USED IN PERSONAL GENRES
IN ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN)**

The article deals with the language means of actualization of the category of expressiveness in personal genres of American and Belarusian media discourse. The category of expressiveness is one of the key categories for adequate understanding and interpretation of modern media and effective cross cultural communication in the context of technological convergence, increased information sharing, significant changes in genre system and accretive subjectivity.

To elucidate the trends in representation of the above-mentioned category in American and Belarusian media discourse recently published texts of different authorship belonging to different personal genres of modern media, to wit, opinion, blog, and column were subjected to linguo-stylistic, contextual and comparative analyses. As a result, it has been found out that while personal genres of American discourse are equally expressive at lexical and syntactical levels, personal genres in Belarusian discourse demonstrate a greater degree of expressiveness from syntactical point of view, which indicates the preference of Belarussian authors towards implicit means of expressiveness as compared with their American colleagues.

It has been noted that syntactical devices perform the dialogical

function and that of accentuation, whereas lexical devices perform explanatory, distance shortening, compositional, generalizing functions as well as those of enhanced credibility and economy of language.

Keywords: discourse category, media discourse, personal genres, expressiveness, stylistic device, pragmatic function, comparative analysis

Introduction

Despite the fact that the category of expressiveness (or expressivity) has been tackled in a plethora of scientific papers and monographs from multifarious perspectives and points of view, it is still in the focus of linguists' attention as a topical issue due to a number of reasons. First and foremost, expressiveness is an inherent feature of human communication which permeates practically all spheres of human activity and interaction bringing to light the attitude of the author of discourse and other communicants to the events, opinions, and actions reflected in the discourse. Apart from that, expressiveness proves to be a multifaceted complex phenomenon which can be studied from different angles, at different language levels, and with the help of various research methods: philosophy of language, semantics, pragmatics, stylistics, text linguistics, etc. In addition, rendering expressive inventory of one language with the means of another language in social practices, for example, in translation or interpreting, can turn out to be quite a predicament, thus pointing out the necessity for comparative linguistic studies of the category in question, the results of which could contribute to a better understanding of national character specificity and human nature in general as well as to more efficient cross-cultural communication in particular. All of the above-mentioned aspects are deemed to be absolutely indispensable nowadays in the context of the shift towards the anthropological research paradigm.

The aim of the given paper is to elucidate the culture specific features of rendering expressiveness in personal genres of Belarusian and American media space, thus bringing together and contrasting lexical and syntactical language means of expressiveness used in genres under analysis in the English (that of the USA) and Russian (that of Belarus) languages.

The role of expressiveness in media discourse

It could hardly be denied that these days modern media are gaining currency as a source of information, entertainment and knowledge about the world (Ivchenkov, 2019; Lassan, 2020; Vishnyakova & Polyakova, 2017). It is not surprising that modern media are frequently deemed to be the classical literature of the 21st century (Annenkova, 2008). The language of media has become high profile due to a number of reasons: the integration of information and communication technologies (also known as technological convergence), the increase in information sharing, a more important role of dialogization as a basic feature of modern media, a substantial change in genre system alongside a greater level of subjectivity (Elliot, 2000; Chicherina, 2007). A lot of recent studies corroborate the idea that “we are witnessing a shift from mass media logic to social media logic, and specifically that one of the ways in which this logic manifests is in the use of more subjective language” (Welbers & Opgenhaffen, 2019, p.45). Iu. S. Volkova, V.A. Mishlanov, V.A. Salimovskii argue that today one does not seek tenable explanation or upending of assumptions, but rather covets an opportunity for self-expression (Volkova, Mishlanov & Salimovskii, 2019). Within the framework of our research we accept the all encompassing character of expressiveness in modern media, but alongside this assumption we would like to conjecture and further validate that the means of its actualization in discourse will be different in different cultures, hence the novelty of the study.

Materials and methods

For this purpose, we selected 50 recently published texts (25 texts in each language) of different authorship belonging to different personal genres of modern media, to wit, opinion, blog, and column from the corresponding sections. The choice of genres was motivated by the fact that they are typically associated with personal discourse and therefore are likely to be highly saturated with expressive means in comparison with institutionalized genres, while also being quite popular with readers taking into account the trends of media content consumption discussed above.

The procedure of the analysis included five stages. At stage 1 the selected texts were subjected to linguo-stylistic analysis, in the result of which a list of lexical and syntactical stylistic devices used in the texts

under analysis was made up. In those cases when an expressive syntactical structure contained a lexical stylistic device (for instance, a rhetorical question containing a metaphor), both the syntactical structure and the lexical stylistic device were considered to be two different phenomena and they were further counted as such since they perform absolutely different functions, namely, those of emphasis and creating imagery. During stage 2 a quantitative analysis was carried out which made it possible to identify the most and the least frequently used expressive means in the genres under scrutiny. At stage 3 with the help of contextual analysis the functions of the afore-mentioned devices were specified, thus elucidating their pragmatic potential and shedding light on the reasons for their greater or lesser productivity in discourse. Stage 4 involved calculations of the degree of expressiveness of the genres under consideration at lexical and syntactical levels with index method. Stage 5 was based on a comparative study of the findings with the aim to point out the common and culture specific features of actualization of the category of expressiveness in personal genres of American and Belarusian media discourse.

Results and discussion

The result of linguo-stylistic analysis and quantitative analyses are presented in Table 1 below.

| Lexical Stylistic Devices | American Media Discourse | Belarusian Media Discourse | Syntactical Stylistic Devices | American Media Discourse | Belarusian Media Discourse |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| metaphor | 122 (54,2 %) | 82 (61,2 %) | enumeration | 66 (31,4 %) | 44 (22,8 %) |
| | | | insertions | 46 (22 %) | 21 (10,9 %) |
| epithet | 59 (26,2 %) | 24 (17,9 %) | repetition | 23 (11 %) | 6 (3,1 %) |
| | | | question-in-the-narrative | 22 (10,5 %) | 13 (6,7 %) |
| set expressions | 32 (14,2 %) | 21 (15,7 %) | parallelism | 17 (8,1 %) | 28 (14,5 %) |
| | | | rhetorical | 13 | 37 |

| | | | | | |
|----------|----------------|----------------|------------|----------------|----------------|
| | | | question | (6,1 %) | (19,1 %) |
| metonymy | 12 (5,4 %) | 7 (5,2 %) | detachment | 12 (5,7 %) | 23 (12 %) |
| | | | antithesis | 11 (5,2 %) | 21 (10,9 %) |
| Total | 225 (100 %) | 134 (100 %) | Total | 210 (100 %) | 193 (100 %) |

Table 1. Expressive language means in personal genres of American and Belarusian media discourse

As we can see, the spectrum of syntactical means in both the languages is wider and encompasses 8 devices, whereas the lexical group comprises only 4 devices. At the same time from a quantitative point of view in American discourse these two groups of expressive means are virtually equal (225 vs 210 units), while Belarusian authors tend to resort to syntactical means more often (193 vs 127 units).

If we look into the lexical group of expressive means, we will see that the American and Belarusian authors demonstrate similar preferences in terms of use of lexical stylistic means as the numbers decrease gradually and proportionally to the total. The metaphor turns out to have the leading position due to its great explanatory potential. Owing to the associative similarity between two or more heterogeneous objects or phenomena bound by the metaphor it becomes much easier for the author to communicate their message to the reader. The metaphor saves the author the trouble of breaking down a new complex idea for the reader by rerouting it through the sphere of common knowledge. For example: *I'd assumed that my desire to visit the same place every day was fairly idiosyncratic, so I was surprised by how enthusiastically people **embraced** this idea.* As we can see, in this sentence taken from the text «Is There a Place You'd Like to Visit Every Day?» Gretchen Rubin uses a verb metaphor *embrace* while pondering over her idea about visiting the same place for a year on a daily basis and the possibility of this experience to affect your perception of this place. What the author means is that this idea was accepted eagerly by her readers, but in lieu of this or any other expression with a similar meaning she opts for a one-word metaphor. On the one hand it is more economical, on the other hand it allows the

author to add an implicit emotive component to what she was meaning to say, insofar as *to embrace* stands for 'to put your arms around someone and hold them in a loving or friendly way'. In other words, not only did her readers accept her idea, but they did it in a very supportive and friendly way.

In the text «Почему макияж на лице парня – это круто?» German Klimenko is trying to address the issue of gender prejudices, namely, the issue of how appropriate it is today for a male to wear make-up in Belarus. The author starts off by casting his mind back and recollecting his school years when he got hurt while playing outside and became self-conscious enough about the bruise on his face to try make-up for the first time in his life: *Причиной моего первого макияжа стал снежок, угодивший в мой левый глаз. Помню, что это был снаряд размером с бильярдный шар: от удара я кувыркнулся на землю, уставился в декабрьское небо и заревел. Через десять минут я сидел на кухне, прижимая к лицу замороженную сосиску, она должна была унять боль. В принципе, сосиска со своей задачей справилась – боль ушла, а вот фиолетовая слива на моем глазу осталась.* Similarly to Gretchen Rubin, German Klimenko prefers a one-word metaphor over a descriptive phrase for the associative power of metaphor saves him the trouble of dwelling on the shape, colour, and other attributes of his trauma additionally. It helps to present this information in a compact way, but simultaneously it enables the reader to visualise the properties of the bruise, and by doing so to understand the author's motives better.

The epithet is a runner-up stylistic device in terms of its popularity with American and Belarusian authors. Partially it is due to the fact the metaphor and the epithet are based on the same mechanism of stylistic interplay of meanings. The difference between them lies in their distribution peculiarities, with the metaphor being more syntactically independent and the epithet being bound by its attributive function. The texts both in English and Russian are characterised by the use of simple epithets possessing different degrees of originality. Some of the epithets are indeed quite hackneyed and are bordering on clichés (*tough feedback, bustling hub, breathtaking destination; светлое будущее, цветущее здоровье*), while others are more creative and less predictable, and therefore are more emotionally charged (*bottomless brunch, inexhaustible place; отрезвляющий опыт*). Unlike texts in

Russian, English texts often contain phrase epithets – epithets that are constituted by word combinations or clauses. The grammatical properties of the English language make it possible to use phrases with their own predication as attributes, thus adding up to the overall expressiveness and reflecting the personal perception of certain phenomena.

For instance, in one of the texts in English on a popular practice to write New Year resolutions the author resorts to the following phrase epithet: *Often, we try to do something the "best" way, or the "right" way, or try to force ourselves to adopt a system that works well for someone else. But there's no magical, **one-size-fits-all**-solution for good habits or happiness.* The epithet *one-size-fit-all* is eye-catching as it is owing to its graphical formatting which additionally enhances the association between lifestyle tips and items of clothing pointing out that all people might have more or less similar measurements or at least they can be sorted out into groups in terms of sizes whereas when it comes to human mind it is virtually impossible to do the same.

It should be noted that on rare occasions phrase epithets can occur in Belarusian texts too. They function according to the same principles, but because of structural characteristics of the Russian language they seldom look the same as phrase epithets in English, to wit, they mostly occur in postposition to the main word: *Идти по жизни с принципом «моя хата с краю» очень легко: просто нужно внушать себе, что бездомные животные не пропадут, им обязательно помогут другие люди. Неважно, что «другие люди» пройдут мимо котов точно с такими же мыслями: фраза «**тут я ничего поделать не могу**» нивелирует самые **зубастые** угрызения совести.* As we can see from these examples, apart from their position in relation to the main word, Russian phrase epithets are not hyphenated, but are put in the inverted commas, which also prompts that they are associated not with other objects or phenomena, but rather with those people (or their collective image) who were the sources of these words.

The use of set expression in American and Belarusian discourse contributes to its general credibility and to shortening the distance between the author and the audience by making the author's language similar to that we use in our every day life (*to dig deeper, to wreak havoc, to flatter the curve; заводить шарманку, праведный гнев, опускать руки*). Having said that, it should be mentioned, that

American authors unlike their Belarusian counterparts tend to resort to experiments with set expressions by adding words or omitting words. For example, in the text «Reflectin on 2020 in NYC» Tracy Kaler prolongs the set expression *to see a light at the end of the tunnel* by adding the demonstrative pronoun *that* and the adjectives *long* and *dark* to it: *There is a light at the end of **that long, dark** tunnel, and with a vaccine here, recovery is in our future.* By doing so the author endows the statement with a note of her personal evaluation adapting it to the context of the epidemic situation in the USA. At the same time various acts of set expression decomposition testify to the flexibility of the language of modern media making it seem both colloquial and literary and enabling it to rip the benefits of both.

The metonymy has proved to be the least popular lexical stylistic device in the discourse of American and Belarusian journalists. In all the cases when the metonymy occurs it presents groups of people as a unity and therefore performs the generalizing function: *As NYC went on pause for three months, only essential businesses remained open; **Государство** не особо заинтересовано в защите бездомных питомцев.* In the former example the metonymic use of a noun stands for the inhabitants of New York City, in the latter – for the government representatives. But in both the cases the authors strive to present the corresponding people as a homogeneous group.

In contrast to lexical expressive means which come across as quite uniform in American and Belarusian discourse, expressive means of syntactical level show a different tendency in their use. As we can observe in the table the texts selected from American media contain far more lexical expressive means than the texts from Belarusian media discourse. At syntactical level though it can be seen that American and Belarusian texts have their peaks and lows.

The most favoured device at syntactical level in both media cultures turns out to be enumeration. As an expressive device the enumeration binds together a number of heterogeneous objects, notions, or phenomena which, as a rule, belong to absolutely different classes of things, hence the expressive potential of the device: *The day you arrived, you held fast to big dreams and the belief that this is a place where anything is possible. Now, you follow a daily routine that is far from exciting. Once fascinating – **the energy, people, and sounds** – have become annoyances; Но ведь совсем не страшно признать,*

что чаще всего виноват ты сам. **Недопридумал, недоделал, не раскрутил, устал по пути и потерял энтузиазм.** The extensive use of enumeration in the texts under analysis can be motivated by the authors' intention to get through to the reader. The authors suggest various alternatives as if they were angling for the readers' tastes, interests, and experiences or for a better explanation of the subject matter.

Apart from simple enumeration, there are also cases of gradation in which every consecutive item is more emotionally charged than the previous one or presents the development of a logical sequence: *For this challenge, I needed a place I could easily visit, day after day. A large place, a beautiful place, and an inexhaustible place; Поставить уже точку во всей этой истории взаимоотношений, понять и простить тех, кто когда-то обидел, и осознать, что даже самая вредная училка не желает тебе зла.* Apparently, unlike simple enumeration, gradation is geared to put across the author's feelings and attitude in more detail. Thus we can infer that simple enumeration is reader-oriented, whereas gradation is author-oriented.

In American media discourse enumeration can perform a compositional function, i.e. authors may utilize the device at different stages of their narrative, which creates an echo effect all through the text binding all the compositional blocks together. For instance, in the text «7 Quick, Easy Gestures I Use to Show Love to My Sweetheart» dedicated to Valentine's Day the author starts off by saying that for her social holidays serve as trackers of self-development: *Some people dismiss Valentine's Day as a consumerist holiday pushed by marketers, but I like seeing milestones throughout the year; they remind me to think about changes I might undertake to make myself happier, healthier, more productive, or more creative.* In this opening gambit an author-oriented gradation can be observed, the effect of which is intensified through the use of comparative forms of the adjectives *happy, healthy, productive, creative*. Later in the text the author writes about the ways she can show signs of caring to her husband. The text is structured as a list the subtitles of which form enumeration: *1. Snap attention. 2. Help with chores. 3. Send fun photos and updates* etc. And then each subtitle is followed by short explanations of what is meant by it and contains its own cases of enumeration: *1. Snap to attention. I find it hard to drag my attention away from my book, my phone, the*

newspaper, a TV show...but when Jamie talks to me, I remind myself to pay attention, and to show that I'm paying attention by putting down my book, muting the TV, or whatever.

Apart from enumeration, American and Belarusian media discourse have no other intersection points in terms of preferences of expressive syntactical means use. The next most popular syntactical stylistic device in American personal genres is insertions, whereas in Belarusian genres it is the fifth most popular device after rhetorical questions, parallelism and detachment.

Journalists resort to insertions in order to establish a dialogue with their readers which is why in this type of discourse insertions are usually expressed by side remarks, additions, addresses or questions to the readers (often of ironic nature): *For instance, when we travel (remember when people traveled?), he always wants to unpack right away; While it may seem like a good way to relax, the glare from those screens actually stimulates light receptors in our skin, which signals the brain to stay awake (the same way natural sunlight helps us wake up); And unbelievably, some level of normalcy (what's that?), as an end to this cataclysmic year and a virus that took too many too soon, is in view; Подчеркну, что создатели «Сна Гоголя» в своих заявлениях не высказывали обид на некультурных горожан, а просто приглашали прийти и купить книгу (до конца января магазин продолжает работать); Обижаться тоже. Лучшие радоваться победам и новым открытиям, которых – оглянитесь вокруг и вспомните, каким был Минск 8-10 лет назад – все равно больше.*

The same function of establishing a dialogue is performed by rhetorical questions (second most popular device in Belarusian texts and sixth most popular – in American ones): *Be honest – do you have a habit of watching TV, reading online articles, or scrolling through your phone in order to wind down before bedtime? И вот сидел я и думал: где же наша доблестная милиция?* It should be noted that rhetorical question frequently occur in the strong positions within a text – in the title and at the very end. For example, the text of Greg Giagrande is entitled «*Am I wrong in expecting a thank-you note after a job interview?*». A text from Masha Kirilchyk's column is entitled as «*Что не так с бодипозитивом?*». Later on in this very text we can see a series of rhetorical questions which serve the same compositional

function as enumeration in the text «7 Quick, Easy Gestures I Use to Show Love to My Sweetheart», namely, that of organizing the author's narrative: *Но если мы признаем красивым тело, которое отличается от общего «стандарта» красоты, то почему это тело подгоняется под требования к худому? Почему ретушируются складки, целлюлит, растяжки? Это мощный эволюционный механизм – люди стремятся стать лучше и получают образец для подражания. Почему это должно считаться чем-то плохим?*

One more powerful tool of establishing a dialogue between the author and the reader is question-in-the-narrative. Unlike rhetorical questions which give the reader food for thought, hold their attention, streamline their thoughts, questions-in-the-narrative also suggest possible answers to these questions. For example, in his text «How to Be Happy: 8 Ways to Be Happier Today» Joshua Becker while contemplating various definitions of happiness uses the following question-in-the-narrative: *Both definitions are understood to be correct and speak of different realities. **But are they really that different? I don't think so.*** The same device can be observed in the text by Alexey Gorbash dedicated to the situation in one of the most buzzed-about places of Minsk – Oktyabrskaya street: *Мы – аборигены Октябрьской последней пятилетки – потратили долгое время, чтобы возвести ее в культ: «Вот, у нас есть такая крутая улица, давай пойдём туда!» Так и получилось: туда стали ходить все. **Класс? Да, но нет: «все» – это слишком.*** Interestingly, in media discourse questions-in-the-narrative are nearly always built according to the same scenario: first the author gives a descriptive introduction into the subject matter, then asks a question which is followed by a negative answer: *When will New York be back to what it was pre-pandemic? I'm **not** sure; Does that mean every day is a great day with no trials, temptations, or downturns? **Certainly not;** Довольно безобидный сценарий? Да, но **нет:** все быстро выходит из-под контроля; Громкая колоночка или мощная аудиосистема в машине – это какой-то новый способ показать, что ты – класс? **Нет,** братан, получается, все немножечко наоборот.* Such an approach allows the author to spice up their narrative by introducing two contrasting opinions within one structure.

The rest of the syntactical devices – repetition, parallelism,

detachment, and antithesis – can be grouped according to the function they perform in discourse, to wit, accentuation. Repetition presupposes reoccurrence of words or word combinations in close proximity in discourse. Repetition can be unstructured in which case it can be traced in any part of the sentence emphasizing the most significant words in a sentence: *New York will always be **great**. It's a city that exemplifies **greatness**. Yes, even in its darkest hour, New York is the **greatest** city in the world; Никто не заберет у меня **право** любить свое тело каким угодно [...]. Но никто не дает мне **право** и даже возможность навязать другому человеку, [...]. Уважать человека – значит оставить за ним **право** субъектности. **Право** самому решить, что ему нужно, а что нет. Я оставляю за собой **право** делать со своим телом все, что хочу, как и оставляю такое же **право** за другим человеком.* In these examples both authors endeavour to accentuate those words which communicate their message. In the first case it is the greatness of New York, in the other – the author's recognition of other people's right to treat their bodies as they find fit.

Alternatively, repetitions can be structured according to an anaphoric or epiphoric pattern and occur at the beginning or at the end of a clause: *But when we **change**, a relationship **changes**, and when we **change**, the atmosphere of our household **changes**; Все **тот же** потертый пол, **те же** зеленые темные коридоры, **то же** растение в деревянном горшке у кабинета директора.* As we can see in the examples the writers are trying to focus our attention on the relevant attributes of the situations described – mutability and immutability accordingly.

Syntactical parallelism enables the author to make their text more rhythmical and wrap up in this rhythm a multitude of possible alternatives, suggest numerous solutions, reveal the multi-faceted character of life. For instance, in his text «Find a Rational Minimalism that Works For You» Joshua Becker promotes the philosophy of minimalism. To be more persuasive the author utilizes the device of parallelism to prove that this type of lifestyle can be suitable for everyone: *After all, you live a different life than everyone else. You may have a large family, small family, or no family. You may live on a farm, in a house, or in a studio apartment. You may collect antiques, stamps, or bottle caps. You may love music, movies, sports, or books. You may cherish old photographs, family*

heirlooms, or romantic letters from a lover. Similarly, Anton Kashlikov while dwelling on the reasons for some places in Minsk to be more popular than others resorts to parallelism to exemplify a typical way of passing the buck: *Соблазн свалить все на плечи какой-то не такой публики – слишком велик и так многим подходит. На концерт не купили билеты – виноваты глупые зрители, которым подавай попсу. В кафе не пришли посетители – ах, вы не поняли нашу концепцию. Мы делали наш подкаст, но его никто не слушал – аудитория не доросла.*

In contrast to parallelism, which is hard to spot in the text visually, detachment is quite prominent in this respect. Not only that, detachment endows written discourse with a note colloquial speech: *But I think what has left me saddest is the part of the city that's missing – the lifeblood of New York and its beating heart. **Broadway. The Ballet. The Opera. Classical music. Jazz. Standup comedy;** И пройти в любую минскую тусовку можно только через секретный обряд инициации. **Назвать три признака фейковых лабутенов, к примеру. Или процитировать Акудовича. Смотря куда хочешь попасть.*** Unlike enumeration, which makes its items look like equally important endless alternatives, detachment puts every single item in the limelight.

Antithesis binds together sets of opposite notions within one syntactical structure which gives writers an opportunity to tap into its potential of bring out controversies, discrepancies, or paradoxes of life and therefore to stimulate readers' interest: *Transit ridership is down, but subway crime is up; Но в мире, где красивы все, – не красив никто. В мире, где все гении, – никто не гений. В мире, где все равны, всегда будет тот, кто ровнее. В соревнованиях, где все победители, – никто не победитель.* As a rule, all antitheses add a philosophical note to any text since they elucidate causative-consecutive dialectic interdependencies in life.

Based on the results of quantitative analysis, the index of general E(g), lexical E(l) and syntactical E(s) expressiveness for American and Belarusian personal media genres has been worked out using the formula $E = S / T$, where E is the expressiveness index, S — the total number of lexical and / or syntactical devices, and T — the number of texts analysed. The results are summarized in Table 2.

| Index of Expressiveness Type of Discourse | E(g) | E(l) | E(s) |
|--|-------|------|------|
| American | 17.4 | 9 | 8.4 |
| Belarusian | 13.08 | 5.36 | 7.72 |

Table 2. Index of expressiveness in American and Belarusian personal genres

It has been found out that the index of general expressiveness is higher in American media genres (17.4) in comparison to Belarusian ones. Lexical expressiveness of texts in English (9) is higher than that of Belarusian ones (5.36). The same can be said about syntactical expressiveness too – 8.4 vs 7.72 accordingly. While lexical and syntactical expressiveness of texts in English is relatively balanced (9 and 8.4), we can see obvious predominance of syntactical expressive means over lexical ones in the texts by Belarusian authors (5.36 and 7.72).

Conclusion

The results of the analysis allow us to make the following conclusions. Being an inherent feature of modern media, the category of expressiveness is actualized in American and Belarusian media discourse not only at lexical, but also at syntactical level. The texts in English turn out to be more saturated with expressive means in comparison to the texts in Russian. While personal genres of American discourse are equally expressive at lexical and syntactical levels (although the number of lexical means is marginally higher), personal genres in Belarusian discourse demonstrate an obvious predominance of syntactical means over lexical ones. This might be a ground for us to put forward a conjecture about a more explicit expressive character of personal media genres in American discourse and a more implicit approach towards formulation one's opinion in personal genres of Belarusian media.

At the same time, the results being discussed can't but draw our attention to the fact that the spectrum of syntactical stylistic means of

expressiveness is much wider than that of lexical stylistic means (8 designations vs 4 accordingly). Interestingly, it has been noted that 8 syntactical devices perform 2 pragmatic functions in discourse (the dialogical function and that of accentuation), whereas 4 lexical devices perform 6 different pragmatic functions in the same genres (explanatory, distance shortening, compositional, generalizing functions as well as those of enhanced credibility and economy of language).

It seems to be rather promising to persevere in this line of research and bring to light the language means of representation of other categories in personal discourse of American and Belarusian media.

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**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

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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 desemantized. 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.

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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

воздействия в современном публицистическом дискурсе ввиду усиления воздействия на читателя. Новизна заключается в том, что в настоящее время коммуникативно-прагматический аспект эмотивной функции недостаточно раскрыт в публицистическом дискурсе, а также отсутствует достаточное количество современных работ и исследований, связанных с лингвистическим анализом итальянских и английских газет. Исследование проводилось на основе анализа экономических статей из наиболее авторитетных газет Италии *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della Sera*, *La Stampa*, *the Guardian* и *the Telegraph*. В работе использовался коммуникативно-прагматический подход и дискурс-анализ с использованием качественных и количественных методов обработки данных. Были исследованы контекст употребления эмотивных средств языка, частота их употребления в итальянских и английских статьях и их способность осуществлять воздействие на читателя. Приводятся доводы о том, что рассматриваемые лингвистические единицы имеют сильное воздействие на сознание. Итоги исследования расширяют познания о способах воздействия публицистического дискурса на читателя, а также о национальном своеобразии итальянской и английской газеты. В своих выводах авторы подчеркивают, что воздействующий потенциал дискурса реализуется с помощью экспрессивности языковых средств.

Ключевые слова: публицистический дискурс, журналистика, анализ дискурса, семантика, прагматический подход, коммуникативно-прагматический аспект, эмотивная функция, эмотивность, итальянская статья, английская статья, эмотивные средства языка.

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**EMOTIVE MEANS OF LANGUAGE AS A WAY OF
INFLUENCE IN ITALIAN AND ENGLISH PUBLICISTIC
DISCOURSE**

The article examines the features of the emotive function of language in publicistic discourse, and also demonstrates what language means can be used for the author's influence on the reader. The aim of this paper is to identify the communicative and pragmatic aspects of emotive function implemented in the framework of Italian and English publicistic discourse. The relevance of this study is due to the wide spread of linguistic influence in modern publicistic discourse in order to increase impact on the reader. The novelty lies in the fact that at present the communicative and pragmatic aspect of the emotive function is not sufficiently disclosed in publicistic discourse, and one can also observe an insufficient number of works and research related to the linguistic analysis of Italian and English newspapers. The research was carried out on the basis of an analysis of economic articles from the most authoritative Italian and English newspapers La Repubblica, Corriere della Sera and La Stampa, the Guardian and the Telegraph . The research was conducted on the basis of communicative and pragmatic approach and discourse analysis using qualitative and quantitative methods of data processing. The context of the use of emotive language means, the frequency of their use in Italian and English articles and their ability to influence the reader were investigated. Arguments are given that the linguistic units under consideration have a strong effect on consciousness. The results of the study expand knowledge about the ways in which publicistic discourse affects the reader, as well as about the national identity of the Italian and English newspaper. In conclusion the author emphasizes that the influencing potential of discourse is realised through the expressiveness of linguistic means.

Keywords: publicistic discourse, journalism, discourse analysis, semantics, pragmatic approach, communicative and pragmatic aspect, emotive function, emotivity, Italian article, English article, emotive expressive means

Введение

Публицистический стиль, являясь одним из функциональных стилей речи, используется для написания статей, отчетов, интервью, очерков и т.д. на различные социальные и политические

темы. Его основные функции - информационная и воздействующая, которые используются вместе, поскольку автор обращается к публицистическому стилю, когда перед ним стоит задача не только донести информацию до читателя, но тем или иным образом повлиять на него (Malyuga & Orlova, 2017). Данная задача осуществляется автором при помощи использования различных лингвистических средств, таких как многозначность слов, словообразовательные ресурсы (авторские неологизмы), эмоционально-экспрессивная лексика (наиболее часто используемые - эпитеты и метафоры), синтаксические средства выражения эмотивности (риторические вопросы и восклицания, повторы, эллипсис, инверсия, парцелляция, антитеза, градация и т.д.) (). Публицистический стиль позволяет убедить читателя в обоснованности выдвинутой инициативы автора и вызвать желаемую реакцию на сказанное при помощи логических рассуждений и эмоциональной напряженности высказывания, демонстрируя те особенности явления, которые можно наиболее эффективно использовать для достижения цели.

Для публицистического стиля характерны как черты научного стиля, то есть логика и последовательность изложения, так и образность и эмоциональность, присущие художественному стилю, поскольку он находится на стыке этих двух стилей.

Публицистический дискурс кажется монологом, но по своей природе он диалогичен. Автор текста стремится не столько проявить свои способности в области языковых навыков и теоретической лингвистики, сколько оказать необходимое воздействие на адресата, незаметно убедить его в чем-то выгодном для самого автора. Следовательно, используемые языковые средства должны успешно воздействовать на представителей всех слоев населения.

Шаховский В.И. придерживался мнения, что эмотивность текста формируется на всех уровнях языка и способствует созданию общей выразительности, которая реализует функцию влияния (Шаховский, 2009). Эмотивность, по его мнению, выступает как лингвистическая категория, означающая способность языковых единиц отражать субъективно индивидуальные переживания определенных эмоций человека.

В рамках данной статьи эмотивность трактуется как

лингвистическая характеристика сочетания языковых средств, способных произвести эмоциональный эффект, то есть вызвать определенные эмоции у адресата.

Выразительность можно отнести к прагматическим категориям, «это сознательное воздействие на слушателя с точки зрения впечатляющей силы высказывания, выразительности, его эстетической характеристики» (Пиотровская, 1993). Таким образом, выразительность – категория, направленная на адресата, то есть она имеет прагматическое значение.

Эмотивность – это компонент выразительности, отражающий влияние текста на эмоциональную, неинтеллектуальную сферу человеческой психики. Она выступает средством выражения эмоций, чувств, аффектов и настроения адресата, передает его отношение к предметам и явлениям объективной реальности, а также влияет на чувства окружающих.

Шаховский В.И. пишет о взаимосвязи между эмотивной и воздействующей функциями: «Эмотивность является наиболее важным компонентом прагматики языка, поскольку наиболее ярко воплощает в себе ее воздействующую функцию» (Шаховский, 2009, с. 5).

Материалы и методы исследования

Материалом исследования являются статьи в электронном формате таких известных итальянских и английских газет, как *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della Sera* и *La Stampa*, *the Guardian*, *the Telegraph*.

Метод выбора статей обусловлен тем, что в работе было важно представить современную прессу, поэтому выборка статей производилась из изданий 2019-2020 гг., при этом выбранные темы в основном касаются влияния и формирования общественного мнения, поэтому используемый в статьях язык является подходящим для изучения явлений формирования речевого воздействия.

Изначально авторы планировали сосредоточиться только на монотипическом подходе, выбирая темы, посвященные экономике, политике или экологии. Однако при подготовке материала было обнаружено, что выбор статей разных тематических групп позволяет увидеть то, как функция влияния используется в работе с общественным мнением.

Таким образом, авторами были отобраны статьи преимущественно на следующие тематики: хроники, политика, наука, технологии.

Авторы использовали следующие методы лингвистических исследований:

- описательный метод, используемый при анализе и изучении форм, структур и процессов на всех уровнях языковой структуры: фонологии, морфологии, синтаксисе, лексике, семантике и прагматике;

- сопоставительный метод сосредоточен на функционировании лингвистической структуры. При использовании этого метода важно соотносить как некоторые элементы языка, так и целые области структуры;

- контекстологический анализ заключается в изучении языковой единицы в контексте. Только принимая во внимание биографический, социально-исторический, литературный, культурный и лингвистический контекст, мы можем полностью судить о содержании текста;

- метод количественного анализа, выявляющий вероятностные статистические данные, а также наиболее частотные, центральные элементы текста. Этот метод важен для определения стилистического признака текста, для изучения отличительных языковых особенностей, характерных тому или иному автору.

Современные итальянские газеты

Среди самых популярных итальянских газет необходимо выделить такие, как *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della Sera* и *La Stampa*.

Стоит отметить, что с момента зарождения журналистской профессии окончание Второй мировой войны стало деликатным и решающим историческим моментом для итальянской газеты. После устранения фашистской политики в стране необходимо было освободиться от той риторики, которая разрушала выразительность газетных статей, содержание которых касалось только пропаганды и подвергалось цензуре.

Другими словами, произошло то, что газеты перешли от одной проблемы к другой. Статьи были подготовлены в соответствии с правилами традиционной грамматики и совсем не были открыты для нововведений, более того, присутствовали сложные синтаксические конструкции и сложная терминология, которую

нелегко расшифровать. Только газета Il Giorno попыталась выйти из этой логики, открывшись наиболее популярному стилю. Но это был единичный случай.

В середине 1970-х эта удушающая выразительность начала уходить со страниц газет после тридцати лет безмятежного господства. Изменения произошли с момента основания газеты La Repubblica в 1976 году Эудженио Скальфари, которая сообщала о новинках не только с точки зрения содержания, но также на политическом и лингвистическом уровне. Ему удалось создать модель, которая вышла за рамки назойливой газетной лексики, в пользу коммуникации, далекой от однообразия и неясности смысла. Это новое отношение не осталось в пределах La Repubblica, а расширилось, находя все больше и больше сообщников с итальянской точки зрения. Направление публицистического стиля в Италии стало смесью общих элементов повседневной речи с культурными и востребованными отсылками. Непосредственно в результатах исследования изложены и обоснованы примеры употребления разговорных фраз в статьях.

В основе изменения высказываний лежали причины иного характера, которые не могли быть связаны только с языком. Станет яснее, если мы обратимся к современному построению газеты La Repubblica: основное внимание уделяется политике по сравнению с новостями, и, помимо представления новостей, газета имеет тенденцию их комментировать. Можно судить о том, что это является прогрессивным шагом авторов, сумевших дать газете еще больше оригинальности и влияния на конкурентном рынке. Таким образом, именно общество, исторический и политический контекст повлияли на формирование языка газет.

В этом смешении балансов время было благоприятным для того, чтобы приветствовать даже языковые метаморфозы, и литературный итальянский язык больше не был тем единственным, чему нужно было следовать и чего нужно было преследовать любой ценой. Таким образом, письменная и устная речь слились в разновидность, которая была признана и обозначена как *Italiano neostandard* (неостандартный итальянский). Именно из-за этого явления в газетах стали появляться две пересекающиеся линии: открытость речи и желание восстановить письменность. С одной стороны, старые

стилистические элементы, которые обрекали письмо на неестественное окаменение, отбрасываются, в результате чего в печати появляется более упрощенный синтаксис и лексикон, состоящий из разговорных фраз; с другой стороны, возникает намерение сопровождать публицистический дискурс формами, которые оглашаются в речи, мало контролируемые конструкциями и прямой речью.

Остановимся подробнее на описании итальянских газет. Как было сказано ранее, *La Repubblica* была основана в 1976 году Эудженио Скальфари. Из источника с сайта *La Repubblica*, миссией газеты является создание информированной, активной публики, поощряемой к участию в общественной жизни благодаря лучшему и более глубокому пониманию событий, идей и культуры в Италии и в мире. С этой целью *La Repubblica* собирает, проверяет, производит и распространяет информацию и другое содержимое, которое служит общественным интересам и помогает поддерживать здоровую коллективную среду. У газеты есть ряд этических принципов, основанных на максимальной прозрачности и ответственности, которым придерживаются ее работники. Основа работы ее журналистов – независимость, отказ от конфликта интересов, внимание к самым спорным точкам зрения, соблюдение прав человека и Конституции Италии. *La Repubblica* ссылается на ценности европейского единства, это многонациональная международная газета.

La Stampa была основана в Турине 9 февраля 1867 года. Опираясь на 150-летнюю историю, *La Stampa* стремится интерпретировать ценности светской, беспристрастной и независимой газеты. Как сказал Арриго Леви, «благодаря широте информации газета способствует росту просвещенного и зрелого итальянского общества». Сохраняя свою историческую идентичность как газета, прочно укоренившаяся на Северо-Западе, но имеющая международный охват, *La Stampa* продвигает ценности европейской культуры, прозрачность и эффективность государственного управления, инновации с чувством ответственности за будущее поколение. Отношения между газетой и ее читателями основаны на доверии к публикациям. В газете четко разделены общие стандарты и ценности, руководящие принципы, касающиеся как журналистской работы, так и всех

сотрудников газеты.

Corriere della Sera была основана в 1876 году и по традиции является ведущей национальной газетой. Благодаря своему авторитету она веками находится в центре национальной жизни, собирая и анализируя социальную, культурную, политическую и экономическую динамику. Благодаря простому и ясному стилю, эффективному, но умеренному языку и чистой и увлекательной графике, она становится все более современной, доступной и приятной для чтения, не теряя при этом серьезности и объективности. Ежедневно Corriere исчерпывающе удовлетворяет потребности читателя в информации и развлечениях: наряду с текущими событиями, политикой и новостными статьями, редактируемыми самыми известными именами в итальянской и международной журналистике; в ней также размещаются статьи о культуре, развлечениях и досуге.

Теоретические основания

По мере того, как публицистический дискурс и общество меняются, эмоции становятся гораздо более важной динамикой в том, как создаются и потребляются новости. Акцентирование внимания на эмоциях как на ключевом элементе переопределяет классическую идею журналистской объективности – на самом деле это меняет саму идею новостей. Это важно, поскольку публицистический дискурс играет все более ключевую роль в нашей жизни, так как информация, сведения и социальные сети становятся все более повсеместными и авторитетными. Ежедневный поток новостей в Интернете в сочетании с традиционными СМИ стал больше, чем когда-либо прежде. Потребители новостей имеют более широкий доступ к большему количеству журналистских материалов, чем прежде (Russell, 2011).

В настоящее время существует три фактора, побуждающих журналистов использовать эмоции в качестве инструмента. Первый фактор – экономический, поскольку конкуренция в сфере журналистики огромна. Как пишет Крис Петерс в своей работе, новости всегда были эмоциональными – разница сегодня заключается в растущем разнообразии эмоциональных стилей, возросшей приемлемости участия журналистов и в том, что попытки вовлечь аудиторию стали более явными (Peters, 2011).

Второй фактор заключается в технологии. Существуют четкие доказательства того, что использование эмотивных средств помогает привлечь внимание читателей и продлить взаимодействие с ними. Источник с эмоционально захватывающими изображениями / карикатурами привлекает больше внимания. Текст, написанный на разговорном языке, как правило, увеличивает реакцию у потребителя информации. Следует отметить, что информация все чаще распространяется не через газетные киоски, а посредством социальных сетей. На журналистов возложена ответственность не только за презентацию и представление актуальной информации, но и за публикацию и популяризацию своей работы в сетях. Очень важно убедить людей распространять информацию, а эмоциональное воздействие имеет решающее значение для того, чтобы это произошло.

В-третьих, речь идет о лучшем понимании поведения людей, а также о культурологии и нейропсихологии, стоящих за этим. Понимание того, как люди относятся к новостям как на личном, так и на общественном уровне, жизненно важно для любого, кто хочет привлечь их к тому или иному источнику информации.

С теоретической точки зрения дискурс представляет собой сложное образование, отличающееся рядом элементов. С практической точки зрения дискурс и дискурс-анализ могут предоставить огромное количество лингвистической и экстралингвистической информации, которая может быть использована в различных исследованиях (социология, коммуникативные исследования, психология, экономика и т.д.).

Остановимся на слове «публицистический», чтобы подчеркнуть его современный смысл. Согласно В. Н. Левиной и С. В. Гуськовой, «понятие публицистического текста является синонимом концепции публицистического текста в современной научной парадигме. Существует определенный набор лингвистических критериев, по которым можно определить оригинальность любого текста, в том числе публицистического» (Левина, Гуськова, 2016, <http://>). Фактически критерии развивают идею дискурса как особого текста, который является частью конкретной ситуации, происходящей в данном классе / обществе / культуре.

Понятие публицистического дискурса особенно интересно,

когда мы анализируем его с точки зрения различных культур. Итальянская культура имеет очень давние и богатые традиции публицистического дискурса, риторика дискурса менялась с течением времени.

Коммуникативные особенности дискурса довольно широки, и они исходят от понятия общения как речевого акта производства текстовой информации. В зависимости от коммуникативной единицы дискурс может различаться и иметь определенные особенности.

Прагматические особенности дискурса можно описать как возможность применять дискурс в реальной жизни, поэтому он должен иметь все необходимые качества, чтобы быть полезным и, таким образом, соотноситься с реальностью и обществом. Лингвист Кобозева И.М. описала прагматический подход как прямое исследование условий речевого общения, поскольку они отражены в языковых выражениях.

Прагматический аспект играет очень важную роль и тесно связан с лингвистическим аспектом формирования текста: единицы текста составляются особым образом, от фонетического и фонологического до лексического уровней, чтобы привлечь аудиторию и поддерживать ее интерес к предмету. Более того, текст должен выполнять очень специфическую роль: недостаточно произвести впечатление, он должен предоставлять медиа-информацию, создавать конкретное видение обсуждаемого предмета, другими словами, иметь влияние на аудиторию. Таким образом, рассматривая единицы медиа-текста, мы можем сосредоточиться на двух аспектах, таких как «аспект привлечения внимания» и «аспект убеждения», которые оба очень важны в анализе данной работы.

Результаты и обсуждение

Эмотивный язык с точки зрения аргументации – это такой язык, вызывающий определенные эмоции у собеседника (у читателя, если речь идет о бумажном источнике), приводящие его к определенным заключениям. Метафоры или эвфемизмы используются для того, чтобы скрыть определенные понятия. Эвфемизмы в таких случаях принимают точное условное значение. Однако они также могут быть использованы и для сокрытия некоторых аспектов реальности, побуждая собеседника

сделать вывод, основанный только на частичном представлении ситуации.

Открытость речи, внимание к реализму для достижения объективности, являются важными и центральными в итальянском публицистическом дискурсе. В семидесятые годы появление выразительности в итальянском публицистическом дискурсе принесло с собой прямую речь, которая заняла все более важные части текста. Факт включения прямой речи в текст ограничивает роль писателя, или, по крайней мере, только внешне. Таким образом теряются синтез и переформулирование новостей, а вместе с ними и специфика традиционного публицистического дискурса. От чрезмерного скопления и плохой читаемости, из-за нераспространенной лексики статей начала двадцатого века сегодня мы движемся к противоположному направлению, которое разбавляет и фрагментирует содержание статей сериями вопросов и ответов. Краткость изложения и упрощение текста произвели революцию в выразительности публицистического стиля, изменив традиционные логико-синтаксические связи.

Типов прямой речи, которые можно встретить в газетах, существует два – интервью и цитата. Не будем углубляться в первый тип, однако про цитирование скажем, что это самый распространенный прием в новостных статьях. С помощью цитаты создается впечатление спора, описания и рассказа о каком-то событии, она вводится в косвенную речь, перемежаясь с ней, граница между ними почти размывается. Следующий пример из итальянской газеты демонстрирует это:

«... Marinella si è poi scusato. «La persona ha insistito, gli abbiamo detto che vendiamo online ma poi abbiamo accettato che venisse - si è difeso, cercando di spiegare e giustificare quanto accaduto...»

«...Потом Маринелла извинилась: «Человек настоял, мы сказали ему, что продаем онлайн, но потом согласились, чтобы он пришел – он защищался, пытаясь объяснить и оправдать то, что произошло...»

Читатель должен очень внимательно относиться к непрерывным переходам от цитат к косвенной речи, так как есть риск потери нити повествования. Это также происходит из-за отсутствия передачи сигналов прямой речи, так как обычно глаголы, демонстрирующие это, отсутствуют (такие как *сказать*,

добавить, спросить, указать, пояснить и т.д.), а стоят только кавычки. Следующий пример это демонстрирует:

«...«La mia passione per l'astronomia nasce a 22 anni mentre frequentavo la facoltà di Giurisprudenza». Paolo Zampolini ora di anni ne ha 33 e fa l'avvocato, vive a Viterbo e insieme a cinque amici ha fondato il Gruppo astrofili Galileo Galilei a Tarquinia...»

«...«Моя страсть к астрономии родилась в 22 года, когда я учился на юридическом факультете». Паоло Замполини сейчас 33 года, он работает юристом, живет в Витербо и вместе с пятью друзьями основал любительскую группу астрономов Galileo Galilei в Тарквинии...»

Писатели могут сократить цитату или дополнить ее своим мнением, представить и освятить ее в наиболее благоприятном для них положении. Таким образом, прямая речь является одним из эффективных способов воздействия на читателя.

Далее приведены примеры прямой речи из газеты The Guardian:

«...The driver of our car, a white woman, looked at the lone black man surrounded by police officers with their guns drawn and said: "It's good they've got so many on him. You never know what they'll do."»

«...Водитель нашей машины, белая женщина, посмотрела на чернокожего мужчину, окруженного сотрудниками полиции с оружием, и сказала: "Хорошо, что у них так много оружия. Никогда не знаешь, что сделают эти чернокожие."»

Следующий пример:

«...A party spokesman said: "All reportable donations to the Conservative party are correctly declared to the Electoral Commission, published by them and comply fully with the law..."»

«...Пресс-секретарь партии сказал: "Все отчитываемые пожертвования в консервативную партию правильно объявлены в избирательной комиссии, опубликованной ею и полностью соответствуют закону..."»

Существует два ведущих способа использования эмотивных средств: слова могут использоваться для возбуждения эмоций, посредством представления ситуации, отличной от реальности; или термины, обычно связанные с отрицательным или положительным представлением ситуации, могут употребляться для изменения оценки уже известной ситуации. Это различие

имеет решающее значение для понимания связи между значением слова и эмоциями, которые оно вызывает.

Лексические средства находятся на главенствующей позиции среди эмотивных средств языка. На данный момент выделяется следующая тенденция в изучении лексических средств: а) исследование отдельных эмотивных лексем; б) изучение лексико-семантических групп эмотивной лексики; в) исследование синонимов / антонимов, относящихся к эмотивным средствам; г) исследование роли метафоры в смысловой репрезентации эмоций.

Кажется, что разговорные выражения представляют собой наиболее существенный лексический пласт публицистического дискурса, в соответствии с тенденцией употреблять простой язык, который используется в повседневной жизни читателей, хотя и с должными оговорками. В большом количестве разговорных фраз Бономи признает языковой выбор, который частично является преднамеренным, а частично – признаком пренебрежения при составлении текстов. Однако следует иметь в виду, что выбор наиболее употребительного слова вместо более сложных его синонимов может соответствовать поиску определенной выразительности, из чего можно заключить, что разговорные фразы – потенциально эмотивные. Их можно назвать «ключевыми» компонентами, «фундаментальными частями», находящимися в рамках суждения, а также всего текста (Bonomi, 2016).

Было проанализировано наличие разговорной лексики в статьях итальянских газет. Получился следующий набор слов, который мы выбрали для нашего исследования:

- именные и словесные фразы, наделенные большой выразительностью, как *vederci chiaro* / ясно видеть, *santa vittoria* / поет победу, *picchia/picchiano duro* / бьет/бьют сильно, *montagna di quattrini* / гора денег;
- *smetterla* / прекратить;
- *stavolta* / на этот раз;
- *infatti* / на самом деле
- *strombazza* / шумно рекламирует;
- *perdere la faccia* / потерять лицо (потерять честь).

Единственное уточнение, которое мы можем сделать, это то, что есть более распространенные выражения и без определенной

функции, такие как *smetterla, stavolta, vederci chiaro*, которые отличаются от других разговорных фраз, принадлежащих к определенным областям, таким как *girare / переключать* (компьютерную программу) в отношении того, как это работает.

В следующем примере, взятом из газеты *La Stampa*, разберем разговорную фразу *perdere la faccia*.

«...*Una maniera per non «perdere la faccia», letteralmente, in tempi di pandemia...*»

«...*Способ не «потерять лицо» буквально во время пандемии...*»

«Потерять лицо (потерять честь)» – типичное словосочетание в разговорной речи итальянского языка, используемое для описания ситуации, в которой человек теряет репутацию, престиж или достоинство. То есть, выражение «потерять лицо» означает, что человек больше не имеет смелости показать, какой он есть, из-за обстоятельств, в которых была потеряна его честь. Однако в данной ситуации фраза теряет свой первоначальный смысл; автор статьи намеренно использует фразу «потерять лицо», чтобы рассказать читателю про изобретение новой маски во время пандемии, изображающей лицо носящего ее. Таким образом, такая неоднозначная фраза привлекает внимание читателя и заинтересовывает его в прочтении статьи.

В данном примере присутствует слово, используемое в разговорной речи, *infatti / на самом деле*.

«...*Il fedele e affezionato compratore infatti è stato sanzionato perché si trovava al di fuori dal proprio Comune di residenza...*»

«...*На верного и преданного покупателя на самом деле были наложены санкции, потому что он находился за пределами своего муниципального проживания...*»

Из этой же статьи *La Stampa* мы видим еще одно разговорное слово *stavolta / на этот раз*.

«...*Abbiamo sbagliato, io cerco sempre di essere corretto ma stavolta abbiamo avuto una debolezza...*»

«...*Мы ошиблись, я всегда стараюсь поступать правильно, но на этот раз на нас была минутная слабость...*»

Stavolta – наречие, которое встречается в письменной форме с 1950 года и употребляется в основном в разговорной речи, происходит от фразы «*questa volta*», которая подверглась афферезе

(фонетическое явление, при котором происходит выпадение начального звука в слове), и два элемента слились в один. Такой же процесс произошел и с другими наречиями времени, такими как «*stamattina* / сегодня утром» и «*stanotte* / сегодня вечером», широкое распространение и использование которых, в особенности в письменной форме, не позволяет задуматься, что они являются разговорными. Неудивительно, что у слова *stavolta* / на этот раз такое большое количество случаев употребления, которые уже проникли как в устную, так и в письменную речь.

Мы не можем отрицать того, что, исключая список выбранных слов, в газетах широко распространена блестящая выразительность и использование только стандартной лексики, более или менее подчеркнутой в соответствии с редакционными направлениями газет. Отходя от нашего исследования, следует сделать некоторые пояснения: выразительность языка превалирует в газетах во всех ее сферах, проявляя себя в качестве инструмента для сближения автора с читателем, а также в соответствии с тенденцией к упрощению информации и желанием привлечь читателя к покупке газет в период распространения информации по большей части в социальных сетях. С другой стороны, часто встречаются нецензурные выражения в газетах, вдохновленных ярко выраженной и радикальной политической линией, например, «*Fatto Quotidiano*» или «*Libero*» нередко используют экспрессивный и оскорбительный язык (Bonomi, 2016). Хотя мы не можем сделать оценочное суждение, с другой стороны, следует отметить, что желание произвести впечатление на отличительную модель в письменной форме часто приводит к созданию текста, в котором игнорируется информативный аспект, а все усилия автора сосредоточены на попытке «ослепить читателя». Однако из нашего анализа выявляется довольно ограниченный тип такой разновидности.

В ходе нашего исследования также были проанализированы английские статьи на наличие разговорной лексики и проведен сравнительный анализ.

Далее пример из газеты *The Telegraph*:

«...*Feels pretty much like a Cold War to me...*» «...По ощущениям для меня очень даже как холодная война..»

Фраза *pretty much* является неофициальной, однако мы видим

ее в статье на политическую тематику.

Далее пример неформального слова *freak*:

«...*This was not a freak policy of Dave and George...*» «... *Эта политика Дейва и Джорджа не была странной...*»

В ходе сравнения итальянского и английского публицистического дискурса было выяснено, в обоих языках используются разговорные фразы и выражения.

Зачастую в газетах встречаются политические и журналистские термины, благодаря которым у читателя складывается определенное впечатление и умозаключение (Sokolova, 2020). Представители той или иной культуры как правило понимают значения большинства политических и социально-политических терминов.

Мы также подчеркиваем потенциальную роль коммуникативной компетенции и мотивов использования политического выражения в публицистическом дискурсе. Коммуникативная компетентность определяется как воспринимаемая эффективность и целесообразность, которые, по мнению людей, связаны с необходимостью достижения целей межличностного общения (Canary, Spitzberg, 1987). В контексте цифровых медиа восприятие компетенции может отличаться по мере изменения коммуникативных практик людей (Spitzberg, 2006).

Мы понимаем выражение политических взглядов как сообщение, которое представляет определенное мнение о текущих событиях или политических процессах, или распространяет информацию, имеющую отношение к интерпретации этих событий или процессов. Политическое выражение – это политическое поведение, с которым также связаны факторы и динамика межличностного общения. В этом смысле представления людей о том, насколько они компетентны в своих межличностных коммуникационных взаимодействиях также имеют значение, при изучении выражения мнений прослеживаются в публицистических статьях.

По направленности эмотивности общественно-политическую лексику можно разделить на три группы:

- 1) имеющую позитивную оценку;
- 2) имеющую отрицательную оценку;

3) имеющую нейтральную оценку.

В следующем отрывке из статьи можно увидеть журналистский термин *spaccarsi*.

«...Ora su Mario Draghi i gruppi pentastellati rischiano di spaccarsi...»

«...Теперь на Марио Драги группы 5 звезд (итальянская политическая партия «Движение пяти звезд») находятся под угрозой разделения...»

Изначально термин имеет значение что-то сломать, действуя намеренно и используя физическую силу, однако в последнее время имеет также значение журналистское и политическое, а именно создать внутри партии, движения или собрания разделение, восприимчивое к серьезным последствиям. Таким образом, используя негативнооценочное слово, автор вызывает определенные эмоции у читателя.

Ниже приведен отрывок из статьи, взятой из газеты *La Stampa* (24 февраля 2020 г.), где было рассмотрено такое выразительное средство синтаксиса как риторический вопрос.

«Ma Quanta gente dovete sfamare con tutto questo cibo?...»

«Но сколько людей нужно накормить всей этой едой?...» (*La Stampa, Cronicles*)

Риторические фигуры являются имитацией диалогических отношений в монологической речи автора, представляющей собой обмен репликами с аудиторией. Одна из особенностей риторических фигур – использование вопросительной и восклицательной интонации, за счет чего высказывание приобретает эмоциональную окраску.

С помощью вопросительной конструкции кажется, что автор создает эффект диалога, но на самом деле он снижает категоричность побудительного высказывания. Коммуникативное намерение можно определить в желании автора убедить адресата в том, что не было необходимости покупать товары в огромных количествах и создавать ажиотаж в супермаркетах.

Следующий фрагмент статьи взят из газеты *Coggiere della Sera*, где также продемонстрирован риторический вопрос. Статья посвящена эволюционному развитию человека, отличиям в стадиях развития человека разумного от млекопитающих, в особенности в сравнении с шимпанзе.

«...ma se guardiamo la testa rotonda, gli occhioni e la faccia piatta di un cucciolo di scimpanzé ci sembrerà umano in un modo quasi inquietante. Siamo scimmie bambine, dunque fragili. Ma come è possibile? Non ha senso, dovremmo già essere estinti...»

«...но, если мы посмотрим на круглую голову, большие глаза и плоское лицо детеныша шимпанзе, оно почти жутким образом будет казаться человеческим. Мы – обезьяны детеныши, поэтому мы уязвимы. Как это возможно? В этом нет смысла, тогда мы должны были бы вымереть...»

Автор статьи употребляет риторический вопрос для того, чтобы направить внимание читателя на ранее сказанную фразу, подчеркнуть ее значимость и с помощью вопроса задержать внимание читателя на проблеме. Кроме того, мы встречаем стилистически окрашенную лексику в данном отрывке, *in un modo quasi inquietante / почти жутким образом*, что делает акцент на усилении схожести именно ребенка шимпанзе с человеком, а также внимание читателя сосредотачивается на парадоксальности того, что люди до сих пор живы, несмотря на то что лицо человека больше схоже с лицом детеныша обезьяны, чем взрослой особи.

Нередко автор начинает статью именно с риторического вопроса, чтобы сильнее приковать читателя к той или иной проблеме. При использовании вопроса в начале статьи, у автора больше шансов на то, что читатель продолжит ее читать.

Далее начало статьи из газеты the Telegraph:

«What is so funny about patriotism?...»

«Что такого смешного в патриотизме?...»

Следующий пример взят из газеты the Guardian:

«...Some may want to call the events of June 2020 a “racial reckoning”, but in a country in which there was a civil war and a civil rights movement 100 years apart, at some point it would be useful to ask how long a reckoning need take. When, if ever, will we have reckoned?»

«...Некоторые назовут события в июне 2020 года «расовой расплатой», однако в стране, в которой была гражданская война и движение за гражданские права 100 лет назад, было бы полезно спросить в какой-то момент, как долго потребуется расплата. Когда, если вообще когда-то, мы рассчитаемся?»

Таким образом, употребление риторического вопроса в статье

усиливает эмоциональность, выразительность и яркость речи, возбуждает у читателя интерес к тому или иному явлению, задерживает внимание читателя.

Обращаясь вновь к итальянским газетам, следует упомянуть такое достаточно частое явление, как заимствования. На данный момент в итальянских газетах наблюдается тенденция использования писателями английских терминов, фраз и слов для усиления значения написанного или сказанного. С психологической точки зрения использование заимствований, как кажется, придает итальянскому языку авторитет и статус. Именно английский язык выступает в качестве предпочитаемого языка-донора итальянцев и показывает то, что современные писатели готовы к повсеместному заимствованию иностранных слов в свой родной.

Эта колоритная и выразительная техника называется переключением кода (switching of codes). Переход с одного языка на другой всегда можно отметить на границах предложений, а в особых условиях языкового контакта билингвы не могут соотнести все предложение (иногда фразу) с точки зрения грамматики к тому или иному языку.

Далее дан отрывок статьи из газеты Corriere Della Sera / Coronavirus News из раздела Новости.

«...A essere pericolosi sono dunque più che altro «superspreading events», ovvero eventi di supercontagio. Sebbene qualsiasi persona infetta possa diffondere il virus ci sono circostanze in cui i contagi possono diventare incontrollabili...»

«...Следовательно, быть опасным – это больше, чем что-либо еще, «сверхраспространение событий» или события сверхзаражения. Хотя любой инфицированный человек может распространить вирус, существуют обстоятельства, при которых инфекции могут стать неконтролируемыми...»

Так, можно сделать вывод, что современные авторы регулярно обращаются к иностранным словам при написании статей для ведущих итальянских газет. Необходимо упомянуть, что авторы прибегают не только к иностранным словам из английского, но и из других языков. С точки зрения выражения категории эмотивности прежде всего именно заимствования употребляются для придания достоверности повествуемого, для передачи

образности и выразительности фразы.

Выводы

В результате проведенного исследования можно заключить, что эмотивные средства в итальянском и английском публицистическом дискурсе используются для воздействия на читателя, для передачи отношения автора к обсуждаемой проблеме. Анализ материала показал, что самая выразительная риторическая фигура с наибольшей частотой упоминаний в итальянском, а также английском публицистическом дискурсе – это риторический вопрос. Он подчеркивает эмоциональную функцию и представляет реакцию автора на сообщение, содержащееся в предыдущих отрывках текста. Риторический вопрос направляет внимание читателя на ранее сказанную фразу, подчеркивает ее значимость; с помощью вопроса автор задерживает внимание читателя на описываемой проблеме.

Анализ использования в публикациях цитат показал, что цитирование – наиболее распространенное явление в английских статьях, нежели в итальянских, в особенности широко используется в разделах «бизнес» и «политика».

Достаточно заметной тенденцией в итальянских статьях является использование заимствований, в частности английских терминов, фраз и слов, которые вводятся для усиления значения написанного. С психологической точки зрения благодаря заимствованиям итальянский язык приобретает авторитет и статус. Как показал анализ, в английских статьях используется минимальное количество заимствований или не используется вообще, что обуславливается тем, что английский – язык мирового масштаба, на котором говорят во многих странах.

Кроме того, была выявлена большая частота употреблений разговорной лексики в статьях. Выбор наиболее употребительного слова вместо более сложного аналога может соответствовать поиску определенной выразительности, из чего можно сделать вывод, что разговорные фразы – потенциально эмотивные. В ходе сравнения итальянского и английского публицистического дискурса было выявлено регулярное использование разговорных фраз и выражений в обоих исследуемых языках.

Таким образом, можно прийти к заключению, что как в современной итальянской прессе, так и в английской функция

передачи информации и функция влияния являются главными, порой невозможно определить, какая из них превалирует. Когда автор изобретателен и прибегает к творческому использованию правильных лексических средств, его публикации способны оказать особое влияние на читателя.

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